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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Representation of Iraqis in Hollywood Iraq war films: a multimodal critical discourse study

Aljubouri, Atheer

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P R I F Y S G O L
BANGOR
U N I V E R S I T Y



**REPRESENTATION OF IRAQIS IN HOLLYWOOD IRAQ
WAR FILMS: A MULTIMODAL CRITICAL DISCOURSE
STUDY**

**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS
AND ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN FULFILMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF
PHILOSOPHY**

By

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Abstract

In the wake of the 9-11 terrorists' attacks in New York City in 2003, Iraq has been referred to as the main supporter of those 'villains' who committed the atrocity. It is the US media that took part in demonising Iraq through a great deal of misconception and misrepresentation (Chomsky, 2003). Accordingly, the 2003 Gulf War was launched against Iraq to topple Saddam Hussein, America's major menace at that time, to help the helpless persecuted Iraqis, the very people who underwent some 13-year-old devastating economic sanctions (Resolution 1483 -UN Security Council). In order to tackle this misconception of facts and misrepresentation of Iraq and Iraqis, which we find notoriously unfair, this study is going to provide some insight into showing how the state of affairs can be institutionally distorted in order to affect the audiences' views through the medium of films. By focusing on written texts, Critical Discourse studies have not paid sufficient attention to textual Multimodality and left it almost unattended. This study will attempt to underline the Iraq War films as Multimodal analysable data. Succeeding its Vietnam predecessor, the Iraq War Films have become a distinctive genre used by Hollywood, the California-based giant film maker. From 1996-2014, Hollywood has produced about fifteen films on the Gulf wars that befell Iraq in 1991 (Operation Desert Storm) and 2003 (Operation Iraqi Freedom). The series of films started with Edward Zwick's *Courage Under Fire* (1996) and ended, to the time of launching this study, with Clint Eastwood's *American Sniper* (2014). The present study has only chosen three films to be analysed by adopting a Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis framework. This Multimodal analysis will provide a relatively comprehensive toolkit to tackle the many semiotic resources films build upon in order to support their story line. In addition to exploring the various filmic semiotic resources, the multimodal type of analysis used in this study will have a critical nature to probe how the Iraqi identity is represented in the milieu of the selected films, taking into consideration that critical discourse studies have understudied the concept of identity and ideology in films. Moreover, this framework is going to employ a cognitive approach in analysing different scenes excerpted from the selected films. The interdisciplinary cognitive quality the adopted framework enjoys will definitely enhance the critical nature of the study per se.

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List of Abbreviations

AQI	Al-Qaeda in Iraq
CL	Critical Linguistics
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
DST	Discourse/Deictic Spatial Theory
MCDA	Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis

Chapter One

Introduction

1.1. Introduction

Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis (MCDA) is the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) version which can be extended to tackle both verbal and nonverbal texts, i.e., “visual communication” (Machin & Mayr, 2012: 1). MCDA attempts to analyse social issues which cannot be covered or even dealt with by a writing-oriented approach like CDA (Kress, 2010, Kress & Van Leeuwen, 1996/2006, Machin, 2007; 2013). Hence, MCDA is an approach which can flexibly lend itself to deal with other media such as “computer games ... movies, ... fashion, toys, music, architecture, and town planning and in the very ways that we engage our bodies and interact” (Machin, 2013: 347). Talking about interaction, scholars of multimodality have concentrated and surveyed a variety of interactive data, such as Images, (Machin, 2007, Machin & Mayr, 2012), monuments (Abousnnouga & Machin, 2010), sound and music (Van Leeuwen, 1999; Machin, 2010), colour (Van Leeuwen, 2011; Machin, 2007), literacy (Kress, 2003; 2010), film (Baldry & Thibault, 2006; Bateman & Schmidt, 2012, Wildfeuer, 2014), and other corpora. This thesis is going to ponder over the investigation of identity representation of Iraqi civilians, soldiers, rebels, security forces, interpreters, and their physical, environmental and religious cultural identity in selected films from a multimodal critical perspective, in such a way that both verbal and nonverbal semiotic resources will be considered as concise as possible. Accordingly, the main contribution this thesis is going to afford is a threefold cognitive critical account which includes Christopher Hart's (2014a) cognitive linguistic approach, Paul Chilton's (2004, 2005, 2014) Deictic Spatial Theory, and Theo Van Leeuwen's (1996, 2008) Social Actors Analysis. In most CDA studies, the cognitive effect pertaining to how discursive practices are comprehended is avoided, and as a result, understudied. To this effect, the approach this thesis has come up with will try to help give a critical cognitive insight on how inclusion/exclusion take place as viewers are exposed to highly ideology-driven media like films that represent late 20th-century American military experience in the Middle East.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

In the period from 1990 to 2003, two wars have been launched against Iraq by the USA and their allies in which large parts of both military and civilian infrastructure were destroyed, while, in the same time, the U.N. severe economic sanctions were harshly imposed, (Khadduri & Ghareeb, 2001; Chomsky, 2002; Miller, 2004; Pilger, 2004; Edwards & Cromwell, 2004). The first Gulf War “against Iraq [launched] for the liberation of Kuwait was waged between 16 January and 28 February 1991 by an alliance led by the United States,” (Cull et al., 2003: 157). The war and embargo adversities inflicted upon Iraqis have not been alleviated in the wake of the 1991 Gulf War, but they were rather aggravated when the U.S. military command overlooked Saddam Hussein’s hideous acts to stamp out the rebellion which broke out in southern and northern Iraq (Chomsky, 2002, Lando, 2007). Tragically, all the intense war ordeals undergone by Iraqis have never been “fully comprehended in the west” (Pilger, 2004: 35), due to the fact that the media did not cover the war’s events, “despite extensive reporting in print media” (Prince, 2009: 286), for instance, there “was no photograph of a single dead Iraqi child, no names of particular Iraqis, no images of suffering and grief to convey to the American people” (Solomon & Erlich, 2003: xi). Meanwhile, the Iraqis, who were still suffering from the 1991 war and sanctions, had to be ready for another devastating war. After almost twelve years separating it from the first one, the second Gulf War took place on the 19 of March 2003, with the title “Operation Iraqi Freedom” (McGoldrick, 2004:16). In addition to the accusations of Iraq as having links with the 9-11 accomplices (Rid, 2007: 7), the ‘Operation Iraqi Freedom’s’ title was used by American media to give the war a moral justification which touched upon the idea of “liberating oppressed people” (Piety & Foley, 2006: 74); the very people who suffered from “more than a decade of restrictive UN economic sanctions” (Miller, 2004: 12). Unfortunately, this second war was supported by a high percentage of misconception which overwhelmed the USA by help of media, to the extent that large numbers of Americans believed that Saddam Hussein was the main threat the USA was facing at the beginning of the 21st century. It is only after two weeks from the 9-11 terrorist attacks, “some 60 percent of Americans came to regard Saddam Hussein as “an immediate threat to the US” who must be removed quickly in self-defence,” (Chomsky, 2003: 15). Notwithstanding no proof supported Iraq’s links to the terrorist attacks of 9-11, millions of Americans still believed the opposite:

Nearly two years after the start of the war, a Harris Poll in February 2005 found that 36 percent of Americans continued to believe that Iraq had WMD before the war started, and 44 percent still believed Iraqi nationals were involved in the hijacking of planes on September 11, 2001. The public's stubborn belief in Iraq's participation in the September 11 attacks remains firm despite the explicit rejection of this claim by the 9/11 commission, which covered every possible aspect of the attacks (Dadge, 2006: 2).

It seemed that the misconception about Iraq was adamant in the USA. An opinion poll organized by the Knight-Ridder newspaper company showed that those who believed themselves to be well-informed about the war details were totally misconstrued as they "thought that one or more of the 9/11 terrorists were Iraqi when, in reality, not one of the terrorists was an Iraqi citizen." The survey came up with the fact that people who knew reality about war events would unlikely adopt a "fierce, aggressive, or militaristic stance." Most importantly, the survey organizers pointed out that "[t]hose who show themselves to be most knowledgeable about the Iraq situation are significantly less likely to support military action" (Steuter, 2008: 17-16). Therefore, this MCDA study will be interested in dealing with how Iraqi identity is misrepresented and the way it is stereotyped through the media of film, especially that films are one of the few mediums through which US citizens have come to know their Iraqi counterparts.

1.3. Rationales of the study

The basis for selecting this study is motivated by three main reasons; first, the importance to tackle some selected films that provided false portrayal of Iraqis and their culture through the medium of film which depicted them as culturally backward, almost illiterate, savage, chaotic, and in need of an exterior power to save them and help rule their torn apart country. These Hollywood-produced films have marked the era of Iraq Wars of 1991 and 2003. According to the Internet Movie Database (www.imdb.com), the period from 1999 to 2014, a total of about 15 films have been released by Hollywood about the Iraq War. The films have started with Edward Zwick's *Courage Under Fire* (1996) and ended, till the writing of this thesis, with Clint Eastwood's high grossing film *American Sniper* (2014). Second, it has been observed that analysing films from a multimodal critical discourse analysis perspective is understudied, especially that "[a]nalyzing visual communication is, or should be, an important part of the 'critical' disciplines," (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2001: 14). Besides, CDA has predominantly focused on the written type of

data and scarcely paid attention to the nonverbal ones, while it can flexibly be employed to analyse “the ways that sounds, images and words can have particular meanings and sum up to a broader picture or message” (Machin, 2010: 6). Also, films, as media of visual representation, are characterised by the fact that they do have “their own effects” and can produce aspects of inclusions and exclusions whose effects, discursive practices and cultural meanings should be critically assessed (Rose, 2012: 17). The third motivation that stimulated this study has much to do with the film data themselves. A film is a modern medium which is suitable for comprehending life in such a way that it “bears traces of [...] many layers of human cognitive and cultural evolution,” (Rédei, 2012: 897). Moreover, film has the capability to persuade viewers in terms of imagination (Currie, 1995, 19), hence, films are so convenient for their producers to include in them the type of ideology they like to disseminate. Talking about the dissemination of ideology, the medium of film is considered to be a highly consumed material among billions of people who spend millions in cinemas and buying and hiring videos. For instance, Bignell (2002: 181) recognized that “[i]n 1997, British people spent £506 million going to cinemas, but spent £369 on video rentals, £858 million on buying videos, and £1,003 million on subscriptions to TV movie channels”.

In his theory of social compellingness, Davies (2014) elaborated how the human brain is still influenced by the (previously evolved) old brain which is responsible of certain primitive functions. He (ibid: 7-27) points out that the strong emotional reactions we experience when reading a book or watching a film are related to that very old brain we have, while the new brain is responsible of processing the new events we are going through. According to Davies, when viewers are subjected to the multimedia of film, which appears to portray real people, they more likely to experience similar effect on their retinas, as if they were looking at real people. He also believes that the viewers who are attracted to visual images, colours, and repetition of symbols (semiotic resources), are inclined to like watching “humanlike” people undergoing different conflicting situations. In these situations, our old brains would react as if the people in films were real people, from whom we desire to learn new lessons. Hence, when we listen to or watch repeated ideas (e.g. in a film), these very ideas will gain “plausibility through familiarity”. In other words, our attention is attracted to what we observe and to what we are looking for as we obtain new information “through eyes movements” or through attaining a better “vantage point”. Thus, we believe that the triple approach this thesis is offering

will contribute to answering many (unanswered) questions raised about how (the critically understudied ideology) is created and propagated within filmic data that comprise non-verbal elements such as colour, sound, music, and the like.

1.4. Research Questions

This thesis is concerned with the representation of Iraqis in the multimodal media of films. The selected films pertain to two major events that took place in the Middle East, i.e., the first and second Gulf Wars of 1991 and 2003 respectively. Broadly speaking, this thesis focuses on the implementation of the socio-cognitive framework designed in this study to tackle the way Hollywood Iraq War¹ films represented and stereotyped Iraqis compared with Americans, and the way these films influenced their viewers. Identity representation in the selected films is one of the interests of CDA, since CDA pays great attention to both text and talk (Van Dijk, 2003: 352). As far as text is concerned, it is the linguistic form which has priority, but when it comes to concrete aspects of representation, like culture and surroundings, the potential meaning implied in the different available semiotic resources, such as fashion, colour, artefacts, etc. appear to be more significant. This aspect of culture difference can enhance the notion of national identity in such a way that the processes of inclusions and exclusions are distinguished. Indeed, the MCDA approach used in this study will be very useful in unveiling the non-linguistic texts abundantly present in films. Finally, this study emphasizes how the process of conceiving semiotic resources operates on the part of perception. With this said, the following primary and empirical research questions will be considered in this study:

A. Primary methodological question:

How successful and practical can the socio-cognitive Multimodal discourse analysis approach designed for this study be in addressing both linguistic and non-linguistic modes of communication in filmic data?

¹ The Iraq war genre has been used by many film analysts such as Pisters (2010), Barker (2011), Donald & MacDonald (2001), and McSweeney (2014).

B. Empirical questions:

The abovementioned Primary methodological question can help operationalize the following empirical research questions:

- 1- How do film makers employ certain semiotic resources to represent Iraqis to their audience in order to maintain existing public opinions?
- 2- How negative out-group mental models are constructed to justify the War on Iraq?
- 3- What semiotic resources play a role in the (re)production of the multimodal discourse of Iraq war films?
- 4- How hegemony-driven ideology is (re)constructed in such a way that it is condoned or naturalized?
- 5- Are the selected Iraq war films affected by the Oriental discourse utilised by Western governments and policymakers?

1.5. Structure of Thesis

This thesis is composed of eight chapters. The present chapter, the Introduction, includes the background information about the situation in Iraq during and in the wake of the two Gulf Wars. It also includes the problem this study will revolve around (section 1.2.), rationales and motivations of the study (section 1.3.), and the formulation of research questions.

Chapter Two is a detailed account of Orientalism, its British account, relation to Islam, and the American version of it and the white man's burden is elaborated in (sections 2.2., 2.2.1. and 2.3.). Section (2.4.) sheds light on Orientalism and the history of Western intervention in Iraq, while (2.5) touched upon Orientalism, hegemony, and institutional discourse. The force of representation is dealt with in (2.6.). An overview of Hollywood as an institution, Identity construction and social actors analysis, Identity categorization, Stereotyping, and Inclusion and exclusion of identity are detailed in (2.8., 2.8.1., 2.8.2.1. and 2.8.1.2.) respectively.

Chapter Three is a Multimodal critical discourse analysis (MCDA) that highlights the domain of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) along with multimodality. In this chapter, critical linguistics and CDA are elaborated in (3.2 and 3.3), while the aspect of

multimodality, definition, mode vs media, and social semiotics are dealt with in (3.4, 3.4.1, 3.4.2., and 3.4.3). A summary is given in (3.5.).

Chapter Four comprises the main chapter in this thesis. It is a methodological multidisciplinary approach to the analysis of film. This chapter presents the main threefold framework designed in this study to analyse selected film on the war against Iraq. Previous studies and film theory are discussed in (4.2, and 4.3.). Interdisciplinarity, the nature of data, and data selection are shown in (4.4., 4.5., and 4.6.). Methodology and data analysis, thematic analysis, and context of situation are presented in (4.7., 4.7.1., and 4.7.2.). Details about the cognitive linguistic approach are given in (4.7.3.1- 4.7.4.3.)

Chapters Five, Six, and Seven constitute the practical part of this thesis, i.e., analysis. Chapter Five provides a linguistic, multimodal, and ideological analyses of the *Three Kings* (1999) film. Chapter Six gives similar analysis for the *Green Zone* (2010) film. While chapter Seven Analyses the film *American Sniper* (2014).

Finally, chapter Eight supplies the discussion, summary, and results of the thesis. It also illustrates how the reached results are related to the research questions given in this chapter. The originality, and contribution to the field of multimodal discourse analysis is also discussed in chapter Nine. In addition, this chapter will give insight on the potential suggestion for further research in the area tackled in this thesis.

Chapter Two

Orientalism and the Construction of Stereotyped Otherness

2.1. Introduction

This chapter is going to present details about the concept of Orientalism, how it has emerged and, consequently, influenced both social and academic spheres in the Western world. Besides, this chapter is going to deal with two phases of Orientalism development; European (especially British) in (2.2.), its Islamic nature in (2.2.1) and American Orientalism in (2.3.) The intervention in Iraq and its historical connections is discussed in (2.4), in addition to some essential concepts, such as 'hegemony' and 'institutional discourse' tackled in (2.5). The concept of representation and its associations is shown in (2.6), while Hollywood as an influential discourse-manufacturing institute is highlighted in (2.7). The chapter is also going to deal with identity representation and categorization of Iraqi Identity which is going to be analysed in later chapters. (2.8.1.1.) is related to stereotyping and its relationship with cognition and how they work together with regard to the concepts of "self" and "others". (2.8.1.2.) elaborates the notions of "inclusion" and "exclusion" which have to do with comprehending the nature of "ingroups" and "outgroups".

2.2. British and European Orientalism

This subsection tackles the Orient as seen through the eyes of the West (or Occident), mainly according to Edward Said's seminal work *Orientalism* (1978,1995) which "[...] was considered a "revolutionised study" and has been recognized as the basis for a new outstanding Post-Colonial theory" (Xypolia, 2011: 25-26). Said's (1978, 1995) *Orientalism* itself builds on the French philosopher Michel Foucault's concept of 'discourse', and the Italian Marxist philosopher Antonio Gramsci's concept of 'hegemony'. Said has focused on the idea that the West has obtained its knowledge about the East throughout "a [highly subjective] process that reflects certain interests, i.e., imperial interests" (Xypolia, 2011: 26). By making use of how Foucault views 'discourse' and its relationship with 'knowledge' and 'power', Said (1978, 1995) identifies his Orientalism stating that:

[...] without examining Orientalism as a discourse, one cannot possibly understand the enormously systematic discipline by which European culture was able to manage-and even produce-the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively during the post-Enlightenment period (p.3).

Hence, this study will look at Orientalism as a discursive 'formation' or practice. Michel Foucault was the first to mark the relationship between knowledge and power in his widely used model, which is still being employed by many sociologists in the domain of social theory (Mayr, 2004: 17). The type of discourse analysis inspired by Foucault attempts to realize how the cultural typical methods of talking and writing have beneficially come to be used in political or ideological contexts in such a way that those non-neutral contexts are capable of shaping how people think and behave as social human beings (Wooffitt, 2005: 39). Moreover, Foucault (1972: 7) emphasises the concept of intertextuality which is affected by history, saying that "[...] history is one way in which a society recognizes and develops a mass of documentation with which it is inextricably linked". He (ibid), believes that the discourse's discursive formations are related to specific "fragment of history" which cannot be continuous due to the 'discontinuity' and 'temporality' of history. It is Foucault's proficient nature of "reorganizing past events in order to rethink the present" which is determined by thought and history-conditioned experience (Hacking, 1986: 27-29) that influenced Said and motivated him to write his *Orientalism*. Lockman (2010) defines Orientalism as:

[...] that branch of the humanities which studied something called the Orient from the beginning of recorded history until the present, including the predominantly Muslim lands of Asia usually conceived of as components of a distinctly Islamic civilization. (p.103).

Lockman associates the Orient with the lands occupied by Muslims in Asia, not all Asia but only those parts related to Islamic civilization. Xypolia (2011: 26), gives a more accurate location of the 'Orient', stating that the British Empire, in the 19th century, had redefined and moulded the region by changing the name 'Orient' into 'the Middle East' to refer to those countries geographically located to the eastern shores of the Mediterranean Sea.

After determining the geographical location of the 'Orient', or the Middle East, it is significant to highlight how the West (or the Occident) have dealt with the Orient and

some other nations. The main objective behind the colonisation era was to impose 'white supremacy' on other 'underdeveloped' nations in order to obtain natural resources, expand trade, occupy new territories, and enslaving 'Other' people (Mama, 1995: 17). Colonisation have succeeded in many parts of the world, especially Africa, not only by means of material exploitation and political submission of resources and forms of life, but through the transforming and subduing of nations to the interests of imperial culture and psychology. And all these imperial aims have thrived through "a set of discourses and practices that subjugated non-European people and cast them in the position of subjected Others, while it advanced the interests of European nations" (ibid).

According to Said (1978, 1995), Orientalism has begun with the long European tradition of reconciling with the Orient, which is already existing in the European or Occident experience. This experience, in accordance with Said's Orientalism, had stemmed from the Occident's opinions about the Orient represented by French, British, Portuguese, Russian, Italian and Swiss interests in the Orient itself, which has later become Europe's economically most wanted colonies. Moreover, these imperialistic interests in the Orient have given rise to the most reappearing images of the Other (p.1). To give an approximate date of the beginning of Orientalism, Said (1978, 1995: 3) emphasized that the starting point of Orientalism has roughly begun in the Eighteenth century, that is when the Orient was first dealt with as it appeared in statements, views, descriptions, teaching, and other educational and political domains. In this connection, Orientalism has been associated with the new trade ties with India, and the religious-oriented aspects of the Biblical land in the Middle East or the "Levant". As Said (ibid: 5) puts it, "[...] Orientalism derives from a particular closeness experienced between Britain and France and the Orient, which until the early nineteenth century had really meant only India and the Bible lands" (ibid: 4). As a matter of fact, these thoughts, formulated about the historical and geographical aspects of the Orient, are reflected through "[...] a history and a tradition of thought, imagery and vocabulary that have given it reality and presence in and for the West", which sustain the idea of the Orient versus the Occident with reference to power and domination, as a type of a "complex hegemony" (Said, 1978, 1995: 7). As previously stressed, the Asian lands the West had targeted and colonised were associated with Islam and Muslims, hence, it is important to give some details about the relationship between Orientalism and Islam in (2.2.1.) below.

2.2.1. The Islamic Nature of the Orient

As mentioned earlier, the Orient, or the Middle East, is associated with the Biblical Christian land for which the Crusades had been launched and "[...] were an episode localized in time and place, in the religious contest between Christianity and Islam," (Sharp, 2009 :26), and then have given rise to future ethnic complexities unknown to European Christians who had only an opaque conception of the remote Muslims (Lyons, 2012: 16). In his (1981, 1997) book *Covering Islam: How the Media and the Experts Determine How We See the Rest of the World*, Edward Said has shown how the Western media was, and is still, affected by the thoughts derived from Orientalism. Said (ibid: 5) points out that, with regard to the West, Islam is not only considered a dreadful rival but also a historic threat to Christianity, and that "[f]or most of the Middle Ages and during the early part of the Renaissance in Europe, Islam was believed to be a demonic religion of apostasy, blasphemy, and obscurity". Said (1981, 1997: 13) adds that, according to Western views, 'true' Islam has historically posed a serious military threat to Europe; for instance, during "the Middle Ages and early Renaissance", Christian scholars, for hundreds of years, have envisaged Islam's prophet Mohamed as representing apostasy. Similarly, before the United States became a superpower, Little (2008) points out that:

[...] in the biographies of the Prophet Mohammed depicting the Islamic messenger of God as the founder of a wicked and barbarous creed that had spread from Arabia to North Africa by offering conquered peoples a choice between conversion and death. The revolutionary statesmen who invented America in the quarter-century after 1776 regarded the Muslim world, beset by oriental despotism, economic squalor, and intellectual stultification, as the antithesis of the republicanism to which they had pledged their sacred honor. (Little, 2008: 12).

All these prejudiced details have led scholars in the prestigious institutes of Oxford and Boston to produce even more biased and non-informative articles on Islamic culture "[...] according to standards, conventions, and expectations shaped by [... their] peers, not by the Muslims being studied (Said, 1981, 1997: 19). To give an example, Lockman (2010: 101-2) stressed that some Western white supremacists have described Islam as the remains of the past by asserting that "Islam was inert and unchangeable" in such a way that "any examination of the modern Muslim world to a narrow focus on whatever remained from the past." In a similar vein, Gregory (2004) employs the term 'colonial present' to accentuate the persistence of conceptualized geographies between the past and present. To give another 'modern' example, Talbot (2007) have examined how both

media words and images have influenced policy-makers emphasizing that when considering the photographs of the Taliban and Al-Qaeda suspects obtained from the Guantanamo prison "[t]he images of hooded, dazed and shackled men, shorn of their customary beards, evoked connotations of slavery and cast doubt on America's claim to be waging a war of civilization against barbarity" (p. 9).

In addition to the anti-Orient discourse disseminated by strong authoritative Western institutions and media, Said (1978, 1995: 27) have ascribed the strongly-naturalized biased views among Westerners about Orientalism to complete absence or failure of pro-Arab or Islamic representation or propaganda; indeed, Said himself, as a Palestinian, was a victim of the media which did not give him the required attention, as Kramer (2001: 28) stated that Said "[...] would later complain that Palestinians were systematically denied "permission to narrate" their own story".

2.3. American Orientalism and the White Man's Burden

According to Bhabha (1995: 75), Edward Said's analysis is closely related and relevant to colonial discourse. Indeed, Bhabha's perspective of Orientalism can even be extended to include how the United States of America made use of the Orientalists' views about the Orient, taking into consideration that "[...] Orientalism itself never loosened its grip on the modern colonial imagination" (Gregory, 2004: 145). Considering the immense expansion of American economic and political authority in the Middle East (Said, 1978, 1995: 2), this section sheds light on the actual transmission of hegemonic power from the former British Empire to the new superpower, i.e. the United States of America. On November 22, 1898, the renowned English poet and journalist Rudyard Kipling has finished his famous poem *The White Man's Burden* which he directly sent across the Atlantic Ocean to the US President Theodore Roosevelt. This poem was Kipling's encouragement to the USA, and Roosevelt in particular, to "[...] take an unabashed advantage of the conquest of the Philippines" (Nitchens, 2004: 50). After reading it, Roosevelt demanded that *The White Man's Burden* be printed in *The New York Sun* on February 5, 1899 (ibid: 53). It can be stated that *The White Man's Burden* marks the real British conceding of power for the USA, as Kipling exhorted the USA to embrace the "[...] moral duty of the "White Man's Burden" and bring the backward races to maturity" (Drabble, 2000: 808). Hence, the fundamental obligation of an "American foreign-service

officer" now is to control over the former tradition of "partition and postcolonialism" passed on from the United Kingdom to the United States (Nitchens, 2004: 9).

Encouraged by the moral values provided by the *White Man's Burden*, the USA have found the situation in Asia favourable in order to intervene in some of Britain's former colonies, especially that, as worded by Edward Said:

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, as Islamic nationalism in Asia and Africa increased, there was a widely shared view that Muslim colonies were meant to remain under European tutelage, as much because they were profitable as because they were underdeveloped and in need of Western discipline (Said, 1981, 1997: 14)

Later, at the beginning of the Twentieth century, the American policies and attitudes about the Middle East have started to take shape. Thenceforth, "[f]ew parts of the world have become as deeply embedded in the U.S. popular imagination as the Middle East" (Little, 2008: 9). And this very imagination is enhanced by the Christian religious views represented by concepts like "the Holy Land", and "infidels" to refer to "Muslims" and "some Jews" who lived there. In addition, according to Little (ibid: 9-10), this view stems from the "romanticized and stereotypic vision of some of the Old World's oldest civilizations". Due to the poignant opinions conveyed by the US missionaries and tourists who visited the Middle East in the 19th century, specifically the east Mediterranean region, the US officials and soldiers who served in that part of the world have transformed those "racial" stereotypical beliefs to portray the "'backward" Muslims and the "headstrong" Jews whose objectives frequently clashed with America's." These nearly postulated assumptions have not gone in vain, but they rather led to the production of various artistic forms such as films, top-selling novels, political cartoons, and trendy magazines, which had a deep influence upon the US political and social daily life. Moreover, Little (ibid) adds that the employing of the historical concept of the "hierarchy of race" in order to deal with the 'Other uncivilized Third World', in a way that a mental map had been generated in the minds of the 'civilized' United States and Western Europe. In other words, this racially based hierarchy has placed the Arabs and Jews near the bottom.

The media nourished negative opinions about Arabs and Muslims and other "Third World" countries, have made the American policymakers to believe that those countries and peoples, with "archaic and static traditional modes of life", are "dangerously" inclined to be corrupted by communism and internal stagnancy, and thus need to be modernized

and protected (Said, 1981, 1997: 29). It is in the 1950s that the majority of Westerners, especially US citizens, have come to thoroughly consider how the East has been shown as a symbol of danger or menace during that period of time which referred to the common Orient in addition to Russia (Said, 1987, 1995: 26). Moreover, Said (1981, 1997: 16) blames the American 'biased' media for villainizing Arabs and Muslims stating that it is quite seldom to come across an 'informative' article whose purpose is, for instance, to praise the "Islamic culture". However, we can frequently read articles which contain information about, for example, "a bomb in Saudi Arabia or the threat of violence against the United States in Iran has "Islam" seemed worthy of general comment".

According to Stam (1983: 5), "[l]ong before the first racist images appeared on the film screens of Europe and North America, the process of colonialist image-making, and resistance to that process, resonated through Western literature. Therefore, the US media negative stance towards the colonized peoples, some authoritative and significant widely distributed magazines, such as the *National Geographic*, have played a major role in demonizing Arabs and Muslims, as Little (2008, 10-11) phrases it:

The Arabs, Africans, and Asians who grace the pages of National Geographic are backward, exotic, and occasionally dangerous folk who have needed and will continue to need U.S. help and guidance if they are successfully to undergo political and cultural modernization.

In addition to the media influence on Americans, there was the huge undeniable impact delivered by Hollywood films and literary figures on them. Little (2008: 11) have emphasized the prejudiced attitudes adopted by Hollywood at the end of the twentieth century which "[...] confirmed that orientalism American style had sunk deep roots into U.S. popular culture". Furthermore, he (ibid: 13-14) adds that not only adults have been subjected to biased literary works such as those of Mark Twain "[...] who had instilled into his readers the "orientalist images of a Middle East peopled by pirates, prophets, and paupers more sharply focused than ever," but also young school children whose young minds were imbued with pictures of "evil" Middle East through the illustrated editions of *Arabian Nights*. Finally, Little (2008: 17) proceeds that in addition to films, magazines, and literary works, the T. E. Lawrence's book, *Seven Pillars of Wisdom* 1927, which came to be a best-seller in the USA within a short period of time, has shown to the Americans

that Arabs are "[...] brave and brutal primitives, noble savages badly in need of Western guidance and tutelage."

However, the concept of Orientalism has been subject to some harsh critique, especially that made by the British-American historian Bernard Lewis. Lewis (1982: 2-14) has acutely criticized the contemporary concept of Orientalism, especially the one proposed by Edward Said (1978), stressing that "'Orientalism' has been emptied of its previous content and given an entirely new one [...]" (p. 2), and, thus, has turned into a "poisoned" and polluted notion. Lewis pointed out that "Orientalism" and "Oriental" have been suspiciously remodelled only for the sake of "polemic abuse". He also believed that those scholars who supported the new concept of Orientalism, though the pioneers of them were Christians themselves, have been enthusiastically defending Islam and Arab nationality against Christianity. As a matter of fact, Lewis had directed most of his sharp remarks against Said whose *Orientalism* (1978) was dubbed by him as lacking objectivity and as limited to the Arab Middle East without reference to Turkey and Persia. This issue has led Lewis to think that Orientalism is a mere "negative" misrepresentation of reality itself. Brombert (1979) was another scholar to criticize Orientalism. He seemed to dislike what he called the "denunciatory" nature of Orientalism which he thought to be "selective" and lacking comprehensiveness, due to its random selection of a variety of sources. With this said, this study will attempt to show whether Said's Orientalism was as objective as it has been claimed through its threefold cognitive linguistic approach. After this brief demonstration of the causes that gave Westerners and, especially, Americans the reasons to alienate and exclude Middle Eastern Arabs and Muslims, it is significant to draw our attention to Iraq, the focus of this study, and how Western powers have intervened in its affairs.

2.4. Orientalism and the History of Western Intervention in Iraq

Historically speaking, the United States of America was not the first Western superpower to intervene in Iraq's affairs. The British Empire had previously exploited the concept of Orientalism in the creation of Modern Iraq. In the aftermath of the Ottoman Empire's collapse, it was the colonial administration of the British Empire that established the present-day Iraq (Gregory, 2004: 145). As a matter of fact, the first Britain administration, specifically 'the Delhi-based expatriate colonial apparatus', had found out that the British

model it developed for India was equally applicable to Mesopotamia. This idea was motivated by Orientalism which asserts that the dividing of the lands between the two rivers was necessary to supersede the corruption and "despotism" remained after the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in order to realise a true Iraq (ibid: 147-8). It is equally significant to mention that when Kuwait had obtained its independence in 1961, Iraq started to mobilize its troops to the southern borders, which prompted Britain to send its Hong Kong and Singapore-based warships with 6000 troops on board to defend Kuwait. Moreover, clandestinely, the United States have supplied the British troops with intelligence aid and even helped the insurgency in Iraq to turn into a military coup in 1963 perpetrated by Ba'athist Iraqi Army officers (Gregory, 2004:152). Actually, the intervention in Iraq has not come into a halt, but, in the wake of the second World War, the USA had frequently meddled in Iraq's political economy by help of Britain's increasing force and complicity, specifically after locating Iraq as a B-level threat along with North Korea and Iran (Boot, 2004: 20). It is this US-UK joint co-operation that has given rise to the 1991 and 2003 Gulf Wars (ibid: 145). Accordingly, these Gulf Wars launched against Iraq can be felt to have been influenced by Oriental views, for the U.S. troops have occupied Iraq in justification of democracy achievement, promoting development as part of the "war on terror," "nation-building," or "regime change" (Easterly, 2006: 219). At that time, the US government, encouraged by its think-tanks, was keen on exporting democracy to Iraq even "at gunpoint" if necessary (Little, 2008: 321).

However, the invasion of Iraq has not gone without vehement censure against the US administration. In the autumn of 2005, the United States' world prestige and influence, especially among Muslims, have declined to record low levels "[...] amid widely held sentiments that its war on terrorism was really a war on Islam" (Lyons, 2012:147).

2.5. Orientalism, Hegemony, and Institutional Discourse

As stated earlier in (2.2.), Edward Said's Orientalism has partly been built on Antonio Gramsci's concept of hegemony and how has the West, subjectively, acquired its knowledge about the 'Orient' driven by its 'imperial' interests'. According to Said (1978, 1995: 7), Orientalism is taking its power from cultural hegemony which has long been an influential concept in the Western academia, as Oriental thoughts have become a "collective" idea to distinguish the 'superior Occident' identity from the Oriental Other.

Indeed, Machiavelli, who influenced Gramsci, was the first scholar to formulate a theory of hegemony, as he was looking forward to realizing "[...] the possibilities for collective actions and attainable goals" (Joseph, 2002: 21). Machiavelli's emphasis on the use of both force and consent, especially when it comes to fulfilling the real tasks of government, has appealed to Gramsci whose concept of hegemony really differed from the one adopted by the Russians who linked hegemony to "proletarian leadership"; Gramsci has extended the sphere of hegemony to political leadership and society as well (ibid: 22, 28). Hence, the concept of consent is necessary to Gramsci who finds it vital to the understanding of power and hegemony required by any government to impose a political control (Ruberto, 2007: 14; Males'evic', 2006: 59-60; Phillips, 1998: 9; Ornstein & Stevenson, 1999: 5-6; Holub, 1992: 5; Lash, 2007: 55). Gramsci's focus on the notion of consent needed for activating hegemony is associated with the notion of ideology required to enhance hegemony itself. According to Althusser (1971, 2014), hegemony is realized and perpetuated in the civil society through the power of institutions. These institutions help cultural domination, through the power of politics and economy, to disseminate "the values, systems, ideas" of a specific 'powerful' culture on another 'less powerful' one, (Sharp, 2009: 84).

In this sense, hegemony is a fundamental notion spread by various microstructure institutions, such as education, religion, family, etc., which helps us assess how meaning and values are (re)produced and, thus, guarantee the consent of the wide spectrum of society to that status quo (Holub, 1992: 5). Therefore, and as Gramsci concluded in his analysis of social relations, a lot of professional and quasi-professional people in the political, medical, educational, religious, military, media, and literary sectors with "their value-laden intellectual activities, [...] produce hegemony and reproduce the status quo" (ibid: 23). As a result, the various categories of society, especially the capitalist one, will reach a unified understanding about the existing state of affairs, unequal distribution of power and wealth, and political leadership through ideological discourse" (Ornstein & Stevenson, 1999: 5-6). However, Ornstein & Stevenson (ibid: 6) point out that it is not an easy task to keep the (re)production of hegemony unchangeable, since the "restoration" of hegemony renewed political and economic plans, in addition to "[...] changes in ideological discourse to motivate and legitimate such change". In other words, what grants the fixed social relations, emphasized by Gramsci, is the concept of power which is closely related to the "exercise of hegemony" (Dahlberg & Siaperä, 2007: 6). As

mentioned earlier, hegemony needs to meet the aspect of consent in order to be more successful, and the dissemination of this concept among people requires some means of efficient representation.

2.6. The force of Representation

Said (1987, 1995: 14) believes that Imperial politics had a "productive", though restrictive, influence upon "[...] the production of literature, scholarship, social theory, and history writing [...]. However, the huge literature written about the Orient have not been really objective, simply because American and European writers and thinkers did not deal with the Orient as neutral individuals, but they were influenced by their own European and American identities (ibid: 11). These biased scholarly works have definitely misrepresented the Orient in order to preserve the typical image the 'Occident' had always cherished about the East. Ashcroft (2001: 36), sustains that " Orientalism can be seen as a useful model for a wide range of imperial control over representation".

In order to understand the current media representations, one must be aware of "[...] the cultural, historical, and political background within which we encounter these representations" (Saipera, 2010: 120). Therefore, this study, which attempts at analysing the medium of films, finds representation a fundamental aspect which touches upon the concept of Orientalism emphasized by Edward Said, especially that films "are inevitably constructs, fabrications, [and] representations" (Stam, 1983: 3). As a matter of fact, the Western audience, readers or spectators, are usually seduced by the various media of representation such as films, theatre, as well as written narratives to accept the prevalent ideologies disseminated by those media (Abrams et al., 2001: 145). Thus, all representations are ideological, whether positive or negative, and some people believe that "[...] they have been represented inaccurately or unjustly, in other words, misrepresented" (ibid: 236).

At this point, it is essential to give some details on what representation is and how it is employed in certain contexts, and as this study focuses on multimodal modes of representation, it, thus, gives equal importance to images; an importance similar to that given to written texts. Stuart Hall (1981) supports the idea that the photographic sign can give texts new dimensions of meaning, simply, because it enjoys two aspects of signification, news value signification and ideological level signification. As for the news values, Hall (ibid) explains, they encompass the photo in addition to the text, while the

ideological level comprises "[...] the elaboration of the story in terms of its connoted themes and interpretations". As in the case of the interpretations of Orientalism (or the Orient), to which the reader/viewer (especially the Western audience) is subjected, these interpretations are governed by the Orientalist who is living outside the Orient himself. This "exteriority" of the Orientalist will definitely produce representation which is not a real presentation of the Orient but rather a representation of unnatural depictions of it; in other words, "[...] there is no such thing as a delivered presence, but a re-presence, or a representation"(Said, 1978, 1995: 21). Besides, Hall (1997: 225) states that representation itself is a result of the process of stereotyping, emphasising that "[t]he theme of representing difference is a significant theme to be foregrounded". In studying samples of nineteenth century racially and slavery-oriented images displayed in popular culture, mass media, and commercial advertising, Hall (1997) found out that earlier traces of difference and Otherness have lingered in contemporary society". Indeed, the trend of bias representation has also been extended to the recent century represented by the second Gulf War of 2003 against Iraq which was associated with prejudicial image of Arabs and Islam similar to that depiction found in nineteenth-century Orientalist paintings (Bohrer, 2005: 135). Tejaswini (1992: 2) contends that, as far as the colonized people are concerned, representation is a quite significant practice as it is (re)produced in such a way that colonial hegemony is condoned and naturalised. With this said, as Bhabha (1997: 67) affirmed in his analysis of ambivalent colonial discourse, Otherness has been "an articulation of difference contained within the fantasy of origin and identity", thus, it is worth tackling the concept of stereotyping in this study (see 2.8.1.1. below).

2.7. Hollywood as an Institution: an overview

It is very essential to discuss Hollywood as an influential organization, simply because it can affect the way people think and behave. Societal institutions and organizations, such as Hollywood, are capable of controlling "[...] many aspects of representation, such as frequency and nature of portrayals of specific individuals or groups of people" (Moss, 2010: 357). Besides, Hollywood studios, as institutions, have been purchased by multinational corporation such as Coca Cola, Sony, Matsushita, and other news agencies which possessed film production companies. This means that "cinema is just one element of global media industry" which can hardly avoid the propagation of certain ideologies (Bignel, 2002: 181). Thus, at this point, it is useful to give a brief account of how

Hollywood came to prominence and how the course of accompanying events has affected its ongoing march.

Generally speaking, the importance of Hollywood has always lied in the fact that it “[...] has become an aesthetic and is no longer just a place in California” (Olson, 2000: 3). Attracted by Hollywood's "glamour and prestige" and escaping the politically unstable Europe, a lot of European film professionals had headed toward Hollywood, the Mecca of film industry, before the Second World War (Richardson, 2010: 3). Undoubtedly, Hollywood, as an influential institute, has definitely been affected by the real-world elites. In his Hollywood report of 1945, William Thomas Smith wrote:

Despite almost frantic effort at democratic preachment, as exemplified in the film crop of the past few years, Hollywood's attitude toward the Negro actor, the Negro worker, and the Negro race remains unchanged; the democracy it preaches is as usual "For White Only" (P.13).

Though black actors achieved “small gains”, with still badly-paid actors who have been given insignificant, mostly inauspicious, roles in few films (Ibid: 14), but, at that time, Hollywood lacked the power to employ more blacks or even assigning respectful roles to them for “the power rests with those who lead the studios, [...]” (Smith, 1945: 16). For instance, head of studios did fear the south, and, thus, they did not consider inflicting blacks with any offense. The south has flagrantly objected to giving blacks the sort of roles in which they might be “[...] shown “acting, or talking, or dressing like white folks [...] which would [...] create equality between the two races,” (ibid.).

Moreover, Blacks have not been the only people to be marginalized and misrepresented in Hollywood films, Jews have also had their own share of prejudice. Sayre (1996: 57) touches upon the fact that “[f]or over a decade, almost no film had included a Jewish character.” He adds that when both *Gentlemen's Agreement* and *Crossfire* (1947), which manipulated anti-Semitism, highly resonated at the box office, Hollywood tried to “[...] duplicate that success [...as it...] started to examine racism which was thought to be very daring.” Then, the studios were zealously encouraged to show black Americans' suffering by their fellow white citizens in films such as “Pinky, Home of the Brave, and No Way Out,” (Sayre, 1996: 57).

Indeed, stereotyping is one of the tools used by Hollywood to construct certain people by assigning to them particular selected roles, especially that the US government started to exploit the home of film industry. It is worth mentioning that Stereotyping permits the roles given to some chosen actors to be typical of them. For instance, Valdivia (1998) talks about the misrepresentation of Latin Americans in Hollywood's films. In her article *Stereotype or Transgression? Rosie Perez in Hollywood Film*, she says that Latin American actors, like Rosie Perez, are usually given similar roles. She recognized that in several films, Perez is shown as a "loud", "pushy" and "sexually active" character, and that everybody can discover her ethnicity, simply by looking at her "[...] dress, demeanour, and juxtaposition with the leading or white women" (p. 399). In the conclusion of her article, Valdivia states that "[...] women and minorities are underrepresented in media content, and when represented, they are marginalized, trivialized, or victimized." She elaborates that:

First, findings suggest that women of color are less represented than white women —that is, they appear in a less proportionate manner. Second, when people of color appear, they are generally men. Furthermore, we find that when women of color appear they are more likely to be African American, with Latina, Native American, and Asian women appearing less often than the hegemonically dominant women of color group, (Valdivia, 1998: 399).

As for Kitaef (2003:3), in her article, *"Three Kings: Neo-colonial Arab Representation"*, she points out that "[i]n the film Cube [Ice Cube, a black actor] comes from Detroit, a city known for its urban-centre, working-class, black population, and he uses ungrammatical street slang. The script constructs him as lower class, a stereotype contrasted to Wahlberg, who is white."

As a matter of fact, Hollywood's stereotyping has not only come over minorities like blacks or Latinos, but it also reached political systems like communists, with whom the United States of America had a long-term cold war. In the mid-1940s, producers refrained from depicting Russians in a favourable way, because "[...] the producers feared that charges of communism could wreck their entire industry, which was already losing its audience to television" (Sayre, 1996: 52). According to Sayre (ibid: 58), the period from the late 1940s and early 1950s contained themes that were "full of fear". Those themes have associated with "[...] uncertainty about the nature and the location of [American] enemies." The US-Soviet relations, which witnessed lack of communication, have been

reflected in Hollywood films. Encouraged by the US government, Hollywood films, at that time, produced the types of films in which “[c]ommunists were simply substituted for criminals, so the moviegoers were at home with the plots and styles of violence.” Those films showed Communists as “crude” and “foolish”. Sayre (ibid: 59) states that “[t]he imagery and language did reflect the atmosphere of the Cold War and [...] these movies reinforced the conviction that we must defend ourselves against possible invaders.”

The representation of communists in Hollywood films is a good example to prove that Hollywood is noticeably put under the US government’s supervision. Hollywood’s “[...] commitment to national politics emerged most strikingly in a fanciful film of 1941 [*World Premiere*]”, followed by several films functioning as “wartime propaganda”. At home, all Americans were subjected to such a kind of ideology-inculcated films during wartime, (Karnes, 1986: 267, 568). Karnes (ibid) believes that the US government, represented by President Franklin Roosevelt, have come to be conscious of the benefits of media with all its “symbols, images, and glamorous make believe”, which became a prevalent subject in the post-war era. In wartime, the US government found out that films and radio are “[...] essential agencies of communication [and] the need increased for cooperation with educational specialists and research scholars, particularly in the social sciences [...]” (Shaw, 1946: 72). Accordingly, Hollywood, through its *Hollywood Quarterly*, extended its cooperation with government educators during war and peace time (ibid: 75).

Even though Hollywood was very cooperative with the US government, some influential institutions denied cooperation with the giant filmmaker. In the wake of WWII, from 1947 to 1959, Hollywood was instructed not to mention the CIA in its films. According to Willmetts (2013: 131), “[i]n contrast to the FBI and the Pentagon, the CIA consistently refused to support Hollywood filmmakers and even actively discouraged Hollywood representations of American espionage.” The CIA has not been directly mentioned in Hollywood films until the mid-1960s when the American defamation law was passed (Willmetts, 2013: 132).

Although Hollywood was given more freedom than ever, but it had to be careful in dealing with both content and how to be respectful to the government. Nevertheless, Hollywood has been frequently assaulted by politicians and the conservative society for disseminating evil ideology. Sayre (1996: 51) quotes Senator Bob Dole, who once made some acute remarks against Hollywood, as saying “[o]ur popular culture threatens to

undermine our character as a nation." When the semi-musical *Songs of Russia* (1944), which pictures Russians resistance, was released, Hollywood received some intense accusations and criticism; for example, in 1947 the Committee chairman on Un-American Activities, J. Parnell Thomas, had accused Hollywood of being a "[r]ed propaganda centre". While the American Catholic Church-supported National Legion of Decency condemned the film and "had persuaded many Americans that U.S. movies were seething with communist doctrine" (Sayre, 1996: 51).

As far as Otherness is concerned, Hollywood has long contributed to the misrepresentation of their opponents. For Instance, in its Westerns, Hollywood has depicted Native Americans to appear as "intruders on what was originally their land and provided a paradigmatic perspective through which to view the whole of the non-white world". Not only Native Americans have been misrepresented by Hollywood, but also "lazy Mexicans, shifty Arabs, savage Africans and exotic Asiatics" (Stam, 1983: 6). In its attempts to misrepresent the Other, Hollywood has adopted means of alienating the colonized through the use of spoken language. For instance, it is natural for a viewer of a Hollywood film that S/he observes that Third World people are usually reduced to "[...] an incomprehensible jumble of background murmurs, while major 'native' characters are consistently obliged to meet the colonizer on the colonizer's linguistic turf [...]" (ibid: 7). The representation of Arabs and Muslims in Hollywood's Blockbusters had begun in the early Twentieth Century in films such as *The Sheik* (1921), *The Thief of Baghdad* (1924), and *Beau Geste* (1926), where stereotyped Arabs have been represented as "culturally backward, sexually depraved, and congenitally violent people" (Little, 2008: 17). Furthermore, it has been observed that Hollywood was keen on producing films which imply hidden ideology to refer to people and governments. For instance, the two films *Dune* (1984) and *Starship Troopers* (1997) have indirectly referred to Iraq's people and government. In *Dune*, the film starts with the emperor's daughter Irulan (played by Virginia Madison) who recites introductory information about the film's events which take place in the distant future. She talks about the universe, now ruled by her father Shaddam IV (which sounds like Iraq's toppled President Saddam). She also talks about the most precious substance (called the spice) which is vital for space travelling, saying that this substance is only available on one planet called "Irakis", "a dry planet with vast deserts" whose people are waiting for a savior "Messiah". As for the other film, the *Starship Troopers* (1997) which takes place in the 23rd century, it tells the story of human

beings, who have already invaded new planets, but, unfortunately, they must put an end to the threat of some "non-technological insectoids known as "Arachnids" /ə'ræknɪdz/ (which sounds like Iraqis). In the film, the planet is described as "an ugly planet, a bug planet, a planet hostile to life". It can be noted that the *Dune* was released in 1984, the time when the eight-year-old Iran-Iraq war was still taking place. The other film, *Starship Troopers*, was released in 1997, i.e., six years before the last intervention in Iraq in 2003. Another strategy followed by Hollywood to stereotype the Other is by depicting them as 'all the same', i.e., by making the audience identify the "[...] outgroups as less variable than average (i.e., as "all alike"), and to a lesser extent see ingroups as more variable than average (i.e., "we" are varied)" (Fiske, 2005: 40). An example can be given from our data, from *The Hurt Locker* (2008) film, when Staff Sergeant William James (played by Jeremy Renner) was talking to Sergeant JT Sanborn (played by Anthony Mackie) about an Iraqi kid (nicknamed Beckham) they know:

3.1- James: You think it's that little Beckham?

Sanborn: No, I don't.

James: You're positive? Sure!

Sanborn: Hey, I don't know, man. **They all look the same**, right? I don't know.

Showing the Other, as in the case of Iraqis in the above-mentioned example, as looking the same is related to the giving of "prejudgments about outgroups" (ibid: 45).

Another strategy followed by Hollywood films to accentuate Otherness is achieved through making the depiction of the Other, as emphasized by Van Dijk (1984: 91), as "more memorable, more_ credible, and therefore more effective". In the *American Sniper* (2014) film, for example, in the scene where the Gassab (the butcher) Al-Qaeda chief terrorist (dressed all in Black) drags a little boy out of his parents' house and graphically executes him in front of his panicked family with an electric drill as the camera was zooming in.

2.8. Identity Construction and Social Actors Analysis

The construction of identity is an essential part of study in several social sciences. After an identity is constructed, an urgent need emerges to fathom the idea of how people are categorized within specific linguistic and non-linguistic contexts. This study believes that Social Actors Analysis (Van Leeuwen, 1996; 2008) will be quite convenient in dealing with the identity issue, and to be more specific 'cultural identity'. In this regard, it is germane to this study that a brief elaboration of identity construction be provided.

2.8.1. Identity categorization

It is necessary to give some details about the concept of identity and how it is categorized with reference to social practices, especially that communication cannot be studied without reference to “people’s lives” (Gumperz, 1981: 1). Indeed, several fields of human sciences have spent good deal of time tackling the notion of ‘identity’ and, consequently, came up with huge debatable literature on this subject (Wodak et al., 2009: 10). However, Mole (2009: 3) speaks of identity as:

[U]sed in different ways depending on context. But, at its simplest, identity seeks to convey who we are or are perceived to be and the way we, as individuals or groups, locate ourselves and others in the social world. This becomes clear if we examine the psychological processes of identity-formation.

According to Benwell (2006: 17), identity is a term which has no fixed shape which is dependent upon and created in discourse. The formation of identity, in this sense, is realized when an individual is identified in terms of his/her membership with certain group(s), and is accentuated when an individual is seen to be different from other group(s), (Benwell, 2006; Jenkin, 2008; Tajfel, 1981, 1982; Burke & Stets, 2000, Stets & Burke, 2009; Turner, 1999; De Fina, 2003). This can be achieved in such a way “[...] that the self can never be grasped without the other, without change,” (Wodak et al., (2009: 14). In other words, ‘Us’ cannot be determined without being compared to ‘Them’. Historically speaking, the terms ‘ingroup’ and ‘outgroup’ which are immensely quoted in human sciences are originated in the Social Identity Theory developed by Henri Tajfel and John Turner in the late 1970s (Turner, 1979: 190). What distinguishes this theory is how a specific group member(s) look at member(s) of other group(s) as different from them by way of comparison, i.e., “by viewing members of the ingroup as unique and differentiated, whereas members of the outgroup are seen as “all the same”” (Hamilton et al., 2009: 182). Touching upon this issue, Benwell (2006: 25), pointed out that:

[T]he ingroup is the one to which an individual 'belongs' and the 'outgroup' is seen as 'outside' and different from this group. So, for example, we, the authors, might, whilst teaching or marking essays, perceive ourselves to be members of the lecturer 'ingroup', but view students as an 'outgroup'.

Hence, "[...] persons who are similar to the self are categorized with the self and are labelled the ingroup, [and] persons who differ from the self are categorized as the outgroup" (Burke & Stets, 2009: 118). On the other hand, Tajfel (1982: 2) observes that this categorization of "group identification" is realized in accordance with two components: "a cognitive one, in the sense of awareness of membership; and an evaluative one, in the sense that this awareness is related to some value connotations." He (ibid), even adds a third component which is related to the employment of emotions, especially, when taking "awareness and evaluations" into consideration. As far as the cognitive aspect of identity categorising is concerned, Van Dijk (1984) observes that we, as group members, tend to associate negative traits with outgroup members, and this necessitates that we accentuate our positive traits and be careful to mitigate our negative ones (ibid: 15-17). Van Dijk (1991: 184), in his analysis of racism in media texts, sustains that the media, to emphasise this idea also " [...] draws attention to the agency of outgroups when their acts are negative, while playing down or concealing similar acts by in-group members ". This process of ascribing good characteristics to our group and bad ones to members of other groups gives rise to what is known as 'stereotyping', which is going to be discussed in (2.2.1.1) below.

2.8.1.1. Stereotyping

According to cognitive science, stereotyping has much to do with mental cognition. Psychologists maintain the idea that "[...] ascribing identities to ourselves and others is a natural function of the brain [...]" (Mole, 2007: 3). Stallybrass (1977), (cited in Tajfel, 1982: 3), defines stereotyping as:

[A]n over-simplified mental image of (usually) some category of person, institution or event which is shared, in essential features, by large numbers of people . . . Stereotypes are commonly, but not necessarily, accompanied by prejudice, i.e. by a favourable or unfavourable predisposition toward any member of the category in question.

Talking about cognition and stereotyping, Ashforth and Mael (1989: 20-21) point out that issues related to group formation and identification are linked to “stereotypical perceptions of self and others”. Besides, they recognize identification as a “perceptual cognitive construct that is not necessarily associated with any specific behaviours or affective states”. They also add that for the sake of identification, an individual needs to “psychologically” pay attention to the “fate of the group” not only the group goals. Furthermore, Simon (2004: 69) contends that collective identity is associated with stereotyping “oneself and others”, postulating that when collective identity is established, group members relate specific traits to themselves and ascribe other attributes to outgroup members. Thus, Ingroup members are inclined to ascribe negative attributes to outgroup members and keep the positive attributes to themselves “thereby raising their evaluation of themselves as ingroup,” (Burke & Stets, 2009: 118). Hawkins (2005, cited in Brown, 2011: 77) supports that “[s]tereotyping divides groups, nations, people, and ethnic minorities into “good” or “bad”. And this happens as stereotyping contributes to the distortion of “mental representation of values through the idolization of some and the denial of positive characteristics of others”. This aspect of stereotyping can be clearly illustrated in President George W. Bush's speech when describing the 1991 and 2003 Gulf Wars against Iraq " [...] as efforts to defend freedom and goodness against forces of evil rather than as efforts to protect American resources in the region and benefit the American economy" (Greenberg, et al., 2009: 321). Indeed, what makes stereotyping cognitively significant is the fact that stereotypes are relatively easy to "create than to eradicate" (Rosenthal, 1934, cited in Jowett & O'Donnell, 2012: 107).

In addition, Tajfel (1981: 146-148), who sees stereotypes as “certain generalizations reached by individuals [and derived from a] cognitive process of categorizing”, provides two functions of stereotypes: (a) the function which is associated with creating and maintaining group “ideologies” in order to justify diversity of “social actions; (b) the function which helps sustain “differentiation” between ingroup(s) and outgroup(s). Tajfel (ibid.: 160-161) states that members of a group intend to create (usually negative) “outgroup social stereotypes” in accordance with certain conditions to justify actions directed against outgroups. Hence, stereotyping can be recognized as the significant type of attitudes required for a “preunderstanding of otherness” (Jeanrond, 2013: 47) enhanced by a “[...] mechanism for forming consensual perception and intergroup differentiation” (Bar-Tal & Teichman, 2005: 5). Accordingly, it appears that “[...] the mere

awareness of being in one group as opposed to another was sufficient under certain conditions to trigger processes of intergroup discrimination and competition", (Turner, 1999: 8). Therefore, creating an environment of negative intergroup discrimination leads to the creation of exclusion/inclusion categorization, since the human mind "must think with the aid of categories" (Allport as cited in Dovidio et al., 2005: 3), (cf. social actors analysis).

2.8.1.2. Inclusion and Exclusion of Identity

Identity helps understanding the nature of ingroups through which the aspects of inclusion and exclusion are created, and this can lead to "[...] the fact that the formation of every 'we' must leave out or exclude a 'they', that identities depend on the marking of difference", (Gilroy, 1997: 302). According to Hall (1996: 4), identities are constructed within discourse and, thus, must be perceived in terms of the discursive practices by which they were historically created in certain institutions on the basis of "difference and exclusion". Gottlieb (2006: 5) sustains this idea by stating that "[t]he stereotyped representations of members of minority groups and the language used to indicate their exclusion [are associated with] the carefully constructed national identity".

The institutions in which the categorical aspects of inclusion and exclusion take place determine the way ingroups and outgroups are identified. Consequently, ingroup and outgroup identification arises when people are identified as "[...] races, nations, ethnicities, classes, character types, generations, sexualities, etc." (Mole, 2007: 3). In so doing, constitutional elites employ the constructed identities to fulfil "various socio-political and economic objectives" (ibid.: 5). Hence, the comprehension of social structure is dependent upon the essence of social actors/agents (Burke & Stets, 2009: 6). With this said, an overview Social Actors Analysis is required to give a complete understanding of identity construction.

2.9. Summary

Chapter three has highlighted how the West used to have highly subjective views about the East motivated by imperial interests. This chapter has also shed light on Orientalism

which is seen as a type of discourse, and how people's way of thinking has been shaped up prejudiced views. The importance of history which led Westerners to view their eastern counterparts through repeated stereotyped images has also been tackled in this chapter. Besides, the old Christian-Islamic rivalry and how it has contributed to the still lingering opinions was discussed in this chapter too. The chapter has illustrated how the power was transmitted from Great Britain to the USA, and as a result, how the old British colonies had been controlled by the new superpower. Moreover, how the Oriental views which have been disseminated through books, magazines, films, and the like, helped extending the old subjective views to new Western generations were also discussed in this chapter. This chapter further dealt with the concepts of hegemony and power exercised by influential institutions, like Hollywood, and the power of representation that helped naturalising hegemony through stereotyping the Other. The control of methods of representation by influential institutions, identity construction, and representation of Iraq and Iraqis have also been elaborated in chapter three.

Chapter Three

Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis (MCDA)

3.1. Introduction

Before embarking upon the field of multimodal critical discourse analysis it is essential to have an idea about the nature of Critical Linguistics, Critical Discourse Analysis, and Multimodality. This chapter starts describing the subject of critical linguistics and how the field of CDA has emerged afterwards and became an interdisciplinary approach that deals with all types of discourse, including some of the semiotic resources employed in many aspects of media, advertisements, education, cinema, and the like. This point draws attention to the question of "[...] to which degree can we fully understand other modes without language, " (Van Leeuwen, 2015: 585), and/or whether the power of other semiotic resources is capable of evoking certain mental images into the audience's minds. This chapter attempts at highlighting the nature of the MCDA approach. Accordingly, Critical linguistics is discussed (CL) in (3.2) below, and the emergence of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) in (3.3). Aims of CDA are highlighted in (3.3.1), in addition to some essential widely used concepts of CDA, such as discourse (discussed in 3.3.2), text (3.3.3), and ideology, power, and institutions (3.3.4.). An overview of Multimodality has been given in (3.4), and a definition of it was provided in (3.4.1.). In (3.4.2.) clarification of the terms mode and media were given. The relationship between MCDA and social semiotics was pinpointed in (3.4.3.). Finally, a brief summary of the chapter was given in (3.5.).

3.2. Critical Linguistics

Despite the interchangeable use of the terms Critical Linguistics (CL) and Critical Discourse analysis (CDA) (Wodak, 2001; 2011), it is worth recounting some information about the emergence of this approach of linguistics; since CL has influentially contributed to the comprehension of CDA and many of its notions, (Wodak, 2011). CDA is deep-rooted in CL which is seen as a branch of Discourse Analysis "[...] that goes beyond the description of discourse to an explanation of *how* and *why* particular discourses are produced" (Teo, 2000: 11). CL emerged in the University of East Anglia in the United

Kingdom in the work of Roger Fowler, Robert Hodge, Gunther Kress, and Tony Trew *Language and Control* (1979), (Wodak, 2001; Machin and Mayr, 2012). These pioneers of CL were “[...] insisting on analyzing real texts and their relations to real contexts,” (Threadgold, 2003: 17). It is worth mentioning that CL has reciprocally emerged along with stylistics as parts of linguistic enquiry in the last two decades. “Both disciplines are compatible theoretically in so far as their practitioners use linguistic analysis as a basis for their interpretations of texts,” (Simpson: 1993: 2). But what makes CL distinct from stylistics, Simpson (ibid: 4) points out, “[...] is the way in which it expands the horizons of stylistics by focusing on texts other than those regarded as literary.”

In his chapter on CL, Fowler (1996) stated that in their book *Language and Control* (1979), they described Critical Linguistics as “instrumental linguistics” which studies language in order to perceive another phenomenon, i.e. any social practice. Fowler points out that in the book, in question, he and his coauthors have developed a public discourse analysis which they employed to decode or unpack the propositions in which ideology is hidden or implied in a “context of social formations”. He adds that they selected eclectic devices that underwent Halliday’s ideational and interpersonal metafunctions. Besides, Fowler and his coauthors have not only referred to Halliday’s metafunctions, but they also relied upon speech acts and transformations. However, Fowler confesses that they understudied the conception of instrumentality which was “quite complicated”. Most importantly, he stressed that they were keen on theorizing that language was a “social practice” (Fowler, 1996: 3). On the other hand, Wodak (2001:3) states that “[o]ther roots of CL and CDA lie in classical rhetoric, text linguistics and sociolinguistics, as well as in applied linguistics and pragmatics.” Thus, it can be stated that many linguists, who stressed the “complex” relationship between language and social life, have relied upon “interdisciplinary” approaches in their research, (Wodak, 2011: 53).

CL, according to Kress (1989: 446), is a domain that is politically motivated in order to bring the “structures of inequality” to light by affording a “social critique”. Theoretically, by doing so, the domain of linguistics acquires a “social and political relevance”. Thus, CL and CDA discursive practices cannot be distanced from human interaction because these theories intend “[...] to create awareness in agents of how they are deceived about their own needs and interests, (Wodak, 2001: 11). As a method of applied language analysis, CL sought to deal with certain problems in the use of language such as the unnoticeable ideology which pervades discourse. The process of unpacking the ideology implied in

discourse can be marked through a precise studying of linguistic structures “[...] in the light of the social and historical situation of the text, to display to consciousness the patterns of belief and value which are encoded in the language [...]”, (Fowler, 1991: 67). In his book *Language in the News: Discourse and Ideology (1991)*, Fowler relied upon Halliday’s three metafunctions of language (i.e. ideational, interpersonal, and textual), laying more importance on the ideational and interpersonal ones, stating that they are very significant in enhancing the CL approach he is adopting. Moreover, he referred to transitivity as a fundamental tool for “the analysis of representation”, especially that newspapers make use of transitivity as an essential ideological device. Hence, it is very necessary to shed some light on the later discipline that emerged from CL, i.e. CDA.

3.3. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

The recent form of CDA which is strongly affected by Critical Theory (Threadgold, 2003), has come to cover a vaster area of the linguistic and social investigation of texts. Fairclough’s (1992) view on the emergence of CDA can be summed up as follows:

- 1- Critical Linguistics focuses on the produced text without accentuating its process of production or interpretation.
- 2- Critical Linguistics pays little or no attention to discourse as involving social conflicts and as prone to social change.
- 3- The incorporation of language and ideology is not convincingly heeded by Critical Linguistics.

Therefore, the implied ideological aspects comprised in texts are almost overlooked by CL due to the lack of interpretation strategies, therefore:

Critical Discourse Analysts sought to develop methods and theory that could better capture this interrelationship and especially to draw out and describe the practices and conventions in and behind texts that reveal political and ideological investment. (Machin and Mayr, 2012: 4).

CDA is considered a kind of applied linguistics since it deals with various controversial texts. It is obvious that CDA has become “[...] a distinct theory of language, [and even] a

radical different kind of linguistics,” (Kress, 1990: 94). According to Fairclough (1995: 1), CDA is even a framework which helps studying language in relation to power and ideology and enables people to cope with domination in its linguistic form.

Kress (1990; 1989) believes that what distinguishes CDA from other discourse analysis approaches is the obvious political agenda it adopts when dealing with various texts. Hence, CDA is used in a broad range of spectrum of disciplines by a large number of scholars who are quite interested in the “reproduction” of sexism, racism, legitimization of power, politics, education, the media, and dominance relations (ibid). In other words, CDA “[...] provides theories and methods for the empirical study of the relations between discourse and social and cultural developments in different social domains,” (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002: 60). Fairclough (1995:16) stresses that what gave rise to CDA, which has already been influenced by Critical Theory, is the “[...] discursive practice within capitalist society [...]”, i.e. CDA is an approach dedicated towards tackling a variety of social problematic issues.

CDA scholars, (Bloor and Bloor, 2007; Fairclough, 1995; Wodak, 2011), stress that CDA does not only rely upon linguistic methods, but it finds recognizable strength in a multidisciplinary approach. Fairclough (1995: 210) states that “[...] linguistics is still dominated by formalism which has little time for integrating linguistic analysis into interdisciplinary frameworks”. Accordingly, the constitution of knowledge through linguistic functions requires CDA to acquire an “interdisciplinary work” for a more thorough understanding of these functions, (Wodak, 2011:52). Linguists who are interested in CDA have long defended the aspect of eclecticism adopted by CDA. For instance, Kress (1990: 88) defends eclecticism on two grounds:

- 1) it is unwise to neglect linguistic insights produced by generations of scholars, as well as by current work in linguistics; 2) the eclecticism does not operate at the level of the theoretical framework, where there continues to be efforts to develop a coherent theoretical approach.

However, Van Dijk (1993: 249) describes CDA as “[...] a complex, multidisciplinary - and as yet underdeveloped - domain of study, which one may call 'sociopolitical discourse analysis [...]’”. He (ibid: 251) believes that CDA is “underdeveloped” because it needs to “[...] examine in detail the role of social representations in the minds of social actors, [in

addition to the written and spoken texts]”; and this thesis is going to tackle this very point in detail later.

3.3.1. Aims of CDA

At this juncture, it is essential to mention the aims for which CDA was designed. According to Fairclough (1995: 23), CDA combines the following: “(a) analysis of text, (b) analysis of processes of text production, consumption and distribution, and (c) sociocultural analysis of the discursive event [...] as a whole.” Critical discourse analysts do not only pay attention to the (re)production of the various texts but they also “[...] want to know what structures, strategies or other properties of text and talk, verbal interaction or communicative events play a role in these modes of reproduction,” (Van Dijk, 1993: 250). Kress (1990: 84-85) states that CDA affords a critical approach “in its theoretical and descriptive accounts of texts”, and that critical discourse analysts desire to achieve a real change to both the discursive practices and the socio-political practices supporting them. Bloor & Bloor (2007: 12-13) summarise some of the objectives of CDA stating that CDA is dedicated to:

1- analyse discourse practices that reflect or construct social problems; 2- investigate how ideologies can become frozen in language and find ways to break the ice; 3- increase awareness of how to apply these objectives to specific cases of injustice, prejudice, and misuse of power; 4- demonstrate the significance of language in the social relations of power; 5- investigate how meaning is created in context; 6- investigate the role of speaker/writer purpose and authorial stance in the construction of discourse.

After shedding light on the basic aims related to CDA, now, it is necessary to provide some information on some of the fundamental concepts used in CDA literature, such as discourse, text, ideology, power and institutions, taking into account that these concepts are fundamental to understand how multimodal texts like films are similar to tackle with CDA tools.

3.3.2. Discourse

The term 'discourse' has become popular in the 1970s where it was employed by several humanities and social research domains including applied linguistics (Wodak, 2009: 7). Many social theorists, discourse analysts, critical linguists, and critical discourse analysts tried to define the term 'discourse' _ which is not very easy to define _ from their own point

of view, (Mayr, 2008: 7). However, in this study, 'discourse' will be defined according to the standpoint of CDA, since other disciplines do not pay the required attention to "[...] the social ideas that inform the way people use and interpret language," (Mayer: *ibid*).

Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999: 6) define discourse as "[...] a form of power, a mode of formation of beliefs/values/desires, an institution, a form of social relating, a material practice." While concepts such as power, social relations, material practices, institutions, beliefs, etc. are in part discourse. According to Fairclough (2003: 26) 'discourse' can be used in two senses: (1) as an abstract noun which refers to "language and other types of semiosis as elements of social life [...]" (2) as a count noun which refers to "particular ways of representing part of the world". An example of discourse as count noun would be the political discourse of New Labour or the political discourse of 'Thatcherism' (Fairclough, 2000: 21).

Gee (2011: 179-180) distinguishes between two types of Discourse; primary and secondary discourse. Primary discourse is associated with non-specialized people who speak the everyday language they have acquired since they were children. This type of discourse "gives us our initial and often enduring sense of self and sets the foundations of our culturally specific vernacular language". The secondary type of discourse is related to all discourses "we acquire later in life [...]" within a more public sphere. The acquisition of this type of discourse is achieved through contact with larger community institutions such as religious communities, organisations, schools, governments, etc.

Hence, it is worth saying that discourse is not limited to a single type of representation, but it can be represented through a variety of modes. Van Dijk (2014: 10) asserts that discourse is not only oral and verbal, it could be a written text which enjoys a wide range of typographical forms (e.g. font), images, music, sounds, "[...] as well as many types of 'embodied' signs, such as gestures, facework, body position in spoken interaction, as studied in the semiotics of discourse". Machin (2013: 347) enhances that:

Discourses are communicated not only through political speeches and news items but through entertainment media such as computer games and movies, in the social and material culture of everyday life such as fashion, toys, music, architecture, and town planning and in the very ways that we engage our bodies and interact.

With this said, the versatile nature of discourse, therefore, gives communication even a more powerful advantage as a powerful means of expressing ideology and imposing dominance.

3.3.3. Text

According to Halliday (1978: 60), a text-in-situation can be described as "the basic semantic structure" of a semantic process. He does not give a text a specific size, stressing that a text "may refer to speech act, speech event, topic unit, exchange, episode, narrative and so on." As for Fairclough (2001: 20), a text is not a process but a product of process of text production. A text, Fairclough proceeds, is a part of the whole process of social interaction. It is traditionally understood that a text is a piece of a written language, such as "a poem or a novel", or a distinct component of a work like a chapter. While in discourse analysis, a text has gained its broader sense to be understood as either "written or spoken discourse", for instance "the words used in a conversation (or their written transcription) constitute a text" (Fairclough, 1995: 4). Chilton (2005: 19) talks about texts as forms of talk or writing that manifest "coherence (largely conceptual) and cohesion (largely linguistic) in the technical sense of those terms; [...] an instantiation of text may display many forms of coherence and cohesion".

Kress (1990: 84) points out that all types of discourse analysis consider texts as appropriate domain which is related to linguistic theory and description_ not a "focus on constituents of texts". Kress (ibid) emphasises that everyone is interested in comprehending socially and contextually situated texts in order to provide details of texts that rely on social, cultural, and co-textual aspects of context so as to "provide explanatory categories for the description of textual characteristics". The socially located details of texts will afford a better comprehension of "the socio-cultural aspects of texts" (ibid). According to Umberto Eco (1990: 67), the interpretation of a text which is produced for a community of readers is considered to be a complex process "which [...] involves the readers, along with their competence in language as a social treasury." Speaking of the social impacts that affect the production of texts, Caldas-Coulthard (2003: 275-276) emphasizes that texts are not social practices, but rather representations of those given practices. She adds that when someone "writes or speaks" about a social practice, s/he is "recontextualizing", i.e., "transforming and creating other practices". Thus, CDA is viewed as an interdisciplinary approach which pays an intensive attention to how texts are

produced and comprehended following how CL has long "taken text as the relevant linguistic unit, both in theory and in description/analysis" (Kress, 1990: 88). Actually, CDA is quite interested in the (re)production, communication, and reception of texts because they permanently exist in the significant spheres of "socio-cultural life" (ibid: 92).

Although texts are principally considered linguistic cultural artefact before anything else (Simpson, 1993: 3), but, by contrast, they do not have to be uniquely linguistic at all; they could be "any cultural artefact - a picture, a building, a piece of music - can be seen as a text" (Fairclough, 1995:4). In nowadays modern societies, the use of "multi-semiotic" texts is highly increasing, for instance, language is widely combined with other semiotic resources especially in the field of visual media such as Television which obviously incorporates language with visual images, music, and sound effects or the combination of the three. Printed texts have also turned into multi-semiotic texts in their employment of photographs, diagrams, and, most importantly, their use of "the graphic design of the page is becoming an ever more salient factor in evaluation of written texts" (Fairclough, 1995; Wooffitt, 2005). As far as the blending of language with other multimodal forms is concerned, Jewitt et al, (2016: 24), contend that language basically belongs to a bigger 'meaningful' whole, specifically to a text which is composed of a number of distinctive modes (see mode vs media in 3.3.4. below).

3.3.4. Ideology, Power, and Institutions

Ideology is a fundamental term which needs to be elaborated in order to have the required tools "for a scientific understanding of discourse" (Fairclough, 1995: 45). Van Dijk (1998: 1) believes that giving a definition for the concept of ideology is not an easy task because it is as difficult as giving definitions for terms like "society, group, action, etc." However, He (ibid: 6) states that the best way to understand ideology is done through "look[ing] closely at their discursive manifestations". Consequently, Van Dijk does not reduce the study of ideology to linguistic discourse analysis, for "... ideologies are also being expressed and reproduced by social and semiotic practices other than those of text and talk" (Page, 191). Therefore, he extends the notion of ideology to include "non-verbal communication [e.g., semiotic messages such as photos, pictures, images, signs, paintings, movies, gestures, dance and so on]" (Van Dijk, 1998: 192). However, Van Dijk (1998: 8) gives a brief definition of ideology as "the basis of the social

representations shared by members of a group". Confining ideology to how members of a social group convey it would give rise to comprehending it in accordance with "basic categories that represent this opposition between Us and Them," (Van Dijk, 2001: 14). Thus, Van Dijk (ibid) adds: "cognitively, ideologies are a form of self-schema of (the members of) groups, that is, a representation of themselves as a group, especially also in relation to other groups."

With this said, Hart's (2014a: 11) cognitive linguistic approach (CLA) sheds light on "ideological properties of texts and conceptualization which have hitherto been beyond the radar of CDA." Not only linguistic texts are significant when unpacking implied ideology, but visual images (still and moving), can have similar importance especially when they "come with different ideological connotations which have the power to persuade" (ibid: 14).

Building on Halliday's (2004) Functional Grammar, which postulates that every language has three basic metafunctions; the Ideational, Interpersonal, and Textual respectively. The first metafunction shows language as a "theory of human experience" as it helps us categorising different lexicogrammatical properties, such as naming things, e.g., House, cottage, sheds, and verbs, e.g., walking, strolling, stepping and so forth. The second metafunction is called the Interpersonal metafunction. It emphasises enacting the personal and social relationship between us and other people. This metafunction has to do with the grammatical processes used to "inform or question, give an order or make an offer, and express our appraisal of and attitude towards whoever we are addressing and what we are talking about." (Halliday, 2004: 29). The last metafunction, i.e., the Textual one, "is related to the construction of a text". This metafunction:

[C]an be regarded as an enabling or facilitating function, since both the others – construing experience and enacting interpersonal relations – depend on being able to build up sequences of discourse, organizing the discursive flow and creating cohesion and continuity as it moves along. (Halliday, 2004: 30).

Hart (2014a: 72) argues that, in multimodal CDA, Halliday's metafunctions can encompass visual texts not only linguistic texts:

In an elaborated Multimodal Approach to CDA, we can further identify and analyse the ‘cultural’ artefacts present in a multimodal text which, too, contribute to its overall meaning. Such artefacts include, for example, clothing and other material objects, as well as semiotic products referenced intertextually (ibid).

He (2014a) talks about other “cultural artefacts”, or semiotic resources, which can be found in images, such as clothing, uniform, and the existence of other social actors. These artefacts can have certain associations, or connotations in Barthes’s (1977) terms. According to Hart (2014a: 75), it is very complex to deal with these artefacts by the support of a “grammatical framework”. Nonetheless, “Images [...] reflect and construct ideological Discourses when actors are routinely depicted in particular types of process and role.” We can say that the triple approach we propose in this study can be extended to analyze what Hart's approach is incapable of analyzing, such as the analysis of colour, clothes, sound, music, and the like.

Ideology, itself, is “expressed and reproduced by discourse” (Van Dijk, 1998: vii), whether to manipulate hearers (or viewers) or inform them (Hodge and Kress, 1993: 5). In this section, we deal with the concepts of ideology, power, and institutions together because, as Thomson (1990: 5) puts it, “[...] the concept of ideology can be used to refer to the ways in which meaning serves, in particular circumstances, to establish and sustain relations of power [or relations of domination]”.

Historically speaking, the term ideology was coined by Destutt de Tracy, Pierre Jean Georges Cabanis, and their circle who adopted the classic tradition in “the philosophy of the Enlightenment in which the notion of genesis holds a central place, they meant by it the theory (-logy) of the genesis of ideas (ideo-)” (Althusser, 1971, 2014: 166). Fifty years later, Karl Marx has totally changed the meaning previously given by Destutt de Tracy's circle and provided it with a more radical leftist “utopian communist” nature in order to resist his rivals at that time (ibid). Althusser (ibid: 167) believes that ideology can be approached in accordance to regional contents, such as religious, moral, legal, or political ideology, and so on; or class orientation such as bourgeois, petty-bourgeois, proletarian ideology, and so on.

This study presents Teun Van Dijk's (1998, 2001) definition of ideology due to its socio-cognitive nature. Van Dijk (ibid), who tried to provide an uncomplex theory of ideology, believes that ideology plays a drastic role in shaping text and talk, hence, it should be

studied in accordance with social cognition. He (1998: 8, 2001: 12) briefly defines ideology as "[...] the basis of the social representations (or special form of social cognition) shared by members of a (social) group". Actually, ideologies are not always a product of evil dominant institutions and they do not always involve "[...] the representation of 'the world' from the perspective of a particular interest" (Fairclough, 1995: 44), but they could be quite positive when employed to comprehend the world around us and help us distinguish what is true and what is false (e.g. ideologies about the survival of humankind) (Van Dijk, 1998: 8-11). However, these ideologies, whether positive or negative, are not personal beliefs, but rather similar to "grammars, socioculturally shared knowledge, group attitudes or norms and values"; they are shared social beliefs (Van Dijk, 2001: 12). Because ideologies are sets of certain ideas, they are considered to be "mental objects", and that "emotions may involve the (mental) interpretations of our cognitive and social psychology of beliefs, and later deal with their discursive and social dimensions" (Van Dijk, 1998: 17-21). Thus, we can say that people who engage in a specific demonstration or public protest are said to have shared, acquired, and used the same ideological beliefs which are located in their social memory (ibid: 29-30). Stressing the mental significance of ideology, Hall (1996: 25-26) describes his understanding of ideology as:

[...] the mental frameworks—the languages, the concepts, categories, imagery of thought, and the systems of representation—which different classes and social groups deploy in order to make sense of, define, figure out and render intelligible the way society works.

As the complex concept of ideology is prone to distortion (misinterpretation and misrepresentation), there must be a "transparent reflection of some 'reality' (Fairclough, 1995: 44)". In an attempt to alleviate the complex nature of ideology, Hodge and Kress (1993: 157) suggested that there are two functions that aggravate the complex character of ideologies. The first function has to do with the representation of the world that mitigates problematic issues such as "differences, antagonisms, conflicts of interest", this function is called the "solidarity function". The other factor is related to the group interests against the Other groups that accentuates features such as "difference, hostility, superiority", this function is called the "power function". These two functions, proposed by Hodge and Kress (ibid), can be helpful in pursuing "the process of fusion that is typical of ideology in use".

Accordingly, ideology is acquired from those postulated beliefs and values collectively shared by the members of a social group (Simpson, 1993: 5). Once an ideology is adopted by an influential group, it becomes dominant. Examples of dominant ideologies can be recognized as mediated by powerful institutions such as the government, the law, and "the medical profession" (ibid). Fairclough (1995: 87) sustains that the ideologies embedded in discourse/discursive practices turn to be most effective when they are 'naturalized' and considered to be commonsensical, especially when they "contribute to sustaining power relations" (Fairclough, 2001: 64). It is the naturalization of ideologies that makes people unaware of how social interaction is shaped and from which institution have all those taken-for-granted ideologies evolved (Simpson, 1993: 5). Indeed, people are not only poorly acquainted with the ideology they are subjected to, but are also highly influenced by that ideology, to the extent that they are "effects of their ideological positioning" (Pecheux, 1982, as cited in Wodak, 2011: 63).

Teun Van Dijk (1995: 22) gives a relevant example of how ideology is disseminated in order to affect the targeted people. For instance, European politicians and media are keen on ascribing social problems, such as unemployment and shortages in housing, to immigration and immigrants. In doing so, they attempt at affecting a good deal of people's attitudes and beliefs in order to obtain the required support to have some political decisions or restrictions made against immigration. To give a multimodal example from the *American Sniper* (2014) film, the US sniper (played by Bradley Cooper) shoots dead a car-bomber before detonating his car. The camera took a close-up shot of the car-bomber's hand which was holding, in addition to the detonation button, a Muslim praying beads. The focus on the Muslims praying beads indicates the religion of the terrorist as shown in figure 3.1 below:

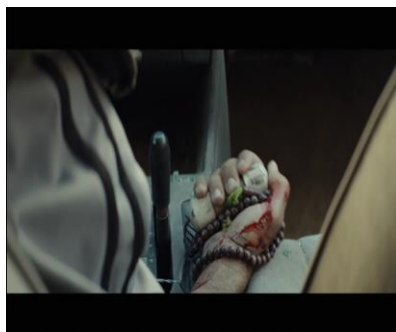


Figure 3.1. at (0:30:30)

Stressing the close relationship between language and ideology, KhosraviNik (2010: 60) asserts that the relationship between discourse and "the abstract sense" of ideology is a

dialogic interaction, and that discourse and ideology are constituted by each other and are constituting each other. Since discourse is the meeting place of language and ideology, studying the concept of ideology is a very important task in the domain of discourse analysis, and particularly CDA which is required in order to 'denaturalize' the naturalized ideologies (Fowler, 1995: 27, Wodak, 2011: 63). Thus, CDA regards ideology as a crucial concept, especially that "Ideologies are taken to be organised sets of beliefs which mobilise practices and viewpoints which sustain inequalities across society" (Wooffitt, 2005: 140). CDA is also concerned with studying ideology because ideology is functioning to safeguard the interests of the dominant groups who subtly attempt at influencing the people's capabilities to interpret the world around them, taking into account that those dominant groups are making use of the ideologies they support so as to legitimate their suspicious actions (Wooffitt, 1993:140).

As the means of media have substantially advanced, new methods of spreading ideas have come to be realized. Thomson (1990: 3), for instance, emphasizes the relationship between mass communication and ideology, stating that in modern societies mass communication, as a new apparatus, have been employed by dominant groups in order to impose a state of social control via the propagation of ideologies. Accordingly, studying ideology necessitates that we should explore the ways through which meaning is established and conveyed through different "symbolic forms" which vary from "everyday linguistic utterances to complex images and texts [...]"; those symbolic forms are essential to the analysis of ideology, especially in the societies where mass communication is developed (ibid: 7). Hall (1981: 259) also stresses the importance of the symbolic forms of representation, pointing out that we must comprehend power, not only with reference to economic power and "coercion", but also in accordance with "[...] cultural or symbolic terms, including the power to represent someone or something in certain way".

The ideology adopted by certain powerful groups is definitely serving the interests of particular dominating institutions. Dominance is defined as the practice of social power "by elites, institutions or groups, that result in social inequality, including political, cultural, class, ethnic, racial and gender inequality" (Van Dijk, 1993: 249-250). Van Dijk (1995: 20) summarizes the relationship between institutions, power, and ideology as follows:

[...] the elites have control over, or more or less preferential access to the most influential and important genres of discourse in society. Such access is defined in terms of their (powerful) social institutional positions or function, and vice versa, their control over or access to specific forms of institutional or public discourse sustain and reproduce their power in specific communicative situations. Such control, however, may well be legally or morally legitimate, e.g., when judges control verbal interaction in the courtroom or have the privilege to pronounce a verdict, when police officers interrogate a suspect or when a professor asks questions during an oral exam.

It is recognized that dominant discourse is (re)produced and controlled by few "recontextualizers" who provide and present their ideologies to a quite larger number of hearers/viewers. Those controllers would produce particular semiotic and linguistic ideology-containing "norms and values without being questioned" (Caldas-Coulthard, 2007: 276). Thus, for the time being, any access to the (re)production of symbolic forms practiced by mass communication will remain totally limited to and decided by "[...] the organizational features of large-scale media institutions and communication conglomerates" (Thompson, 1990: 267). Therefore, for instance, one can observe that Hollywood is an institution that practices its own power over the multitude of viewers who consume its products.

3.4. Multimodality: An Overview

One year ago, I received a formal letter from the city council requesting me to pay the council tax, but I paid no heed to this letter. After about one month, I received a similar letter that I also neglected. Keeping in mind that I am a full-time student, I even ignored the third one believing that I am exempt from tax. But after few days, I was compelled to react to the fourth letter simply because it contained a notification in red colour: **"COUNCIL TAX – REMINDER AND FINAL NOTICE"**. This warning really made me take an instant action and manage the tax issue only because it had a red font. This real story can serve to be a good example about the employment of other modes of communication; here it was the colour red.

Multimodality is practically omnipresent in all aspects of life starting from animal primates (Liebal et al., 2013), and ending up in the age of digital media "as the central mode for representation" (Bezemer and Kress, 2014: 233). It is generally known that Language can be either expressed through the modes of speech or writing by average people. Each one of these two modes of communication is considered 'mono-modal',

since, basically, only spoken or written words are involved in this type of communication. However, Kress (2000:189) has a different view as he eyes the modes of written and spoken language as multimodal, saying that “[...] we have to rethink ‘language’ as a multimodal phenomenon” though, he believes, this notion could be felt as “provocative” or “outrageous”. Indeed, this is very true especially when taking into consideration the paralinguistic features present in spoken language, such as intonation, rhythm, pitch, facial expressions, gaze, gesture, etc., and features of text design, such as layout, typography, colour, and punctuation present in the written mode of language as emphasised by Kress (ibid), or as Stöckl (2009: 11) phrases it, “[w]hat intonation, speed and rhythm are to speech, typography is to writing”. Kress et al. (2001: 2) believe that, traditionally, communication and representation have been “misleadingly” studied as monomodal phenomenon. In this regard, one may ask the question; ‘is communication realized mono-modally?’ Van Leeuwen (2011: 549) points out that linguists, throughout their tackling of “[...] texts and communicative events rather than isolated sentences [...]”, began to realize that communication is ‘multimodal’. In addition, many linguists, especially those interested in the approach of multimodality, believe that multimodality plays a drastic role in the process of communication and meaning making, (Norris, 2004; Lemke, 2012; Kress, 2010; Kress, 2014; Djonov & Zhao, 2014; Jewitt, 2014). In their edited book *Discourse & Technology: Multimodal Discourse Analysis*, Levine and Scollon (2004) state that in the whole book chapters, the contributors agreed upon the argument that “[...] discourse is inherently multimodal, not monomodal.”

Hence, the most significant concept that needs to be clarified at this juncture is ‘multimodality’. Historically speaking, contemporary multimodal studies had been launched by psychologists and linguists by the arrival of film and video analysis approaches 50 years ago (Granström et al., 2002: 2). According to Van Leeuwen (2011, 2014), the term ‘multimodality’ was first used in the 1920s as a technical term, not in linguistics but, in psychology to refer to the relations between the many sensory perceptions. While Machin and Mayr (2012: 6) emphasise that it is only in the late 1980s and 1990s that linguists started to believe that the process of meaning-making needs more than one mode of communication to be fulfilled, hence, linguists started to accentuate the visual semiotic resources found in communicative messages such as advertisements.

Studying multimodality is not limited to a specific field of study but it is present in several systems “[f]rom medical discourse to literacy studies” (Gibbons, 2012: 5). Kress (1997: 94) states that, “[t]he effects of multimodality are far-reaching, and deeply affect the paths into literacy of the children who are growing up in this—for me, new—communicational landscape.” Jewitt (2006: 362) enhances the view that multimodal resources, such as “[...] image, sound, animated movement, etc.” play a decisive role in achieving successful classroom communication. In addition, multimodality is also very essential in face-to-face communication and sign language (Granström et al., 2002; Kress, 2000).

3.4.1. Defining Multimodality

Several linguists have provided their own definitions of the term ‘multimodality’, among which were Theo Van Leeuwen and Gunther Kress, the well-known pioneers in the field of multimodal discourse analysis. According to Gibbons (2012), the term Multimodality has associated with Kress and Van Leeuwen’s seminal work *Reading Images: the Grammar of Visual Design* (1996), where multimodality started to gain academic interests. Van Leeuwen (2011: 281) defines multimodality as, “[T]he integrated use of different semiotic resources (e.g. language, image, sound and music) in texts and communicative events.” Describing it as a field of study, Kress (2012: 38) emphasises that, “[M]ultimodality names the field in which semiotic work takes place, a domain for enquiry, a description of the space and of the resources that enter into meaning in some way or another”. While Van Leeuwen (2011: 551) regards multimodality as “[...] a term for a phenomenon rather than a theory or method”. Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006: 177), referring to texts, point out that “[...] any text whose meanings are realized through more than one semiotic code is multimodal [...]”. Taking into account language and speech systems, Granström et al. (2002: 1) define multimodality as, “[...] the use of two or more of the five senses for the exchange of information.” This last definition has much to do with how speech interaction is multimodally perceived.

As discourse is not only disseminated through speech, other modes of communication need to be equally investigated in order to have a significant insight into how communication is accomplished. Machin (2013: 347) emphasises that:

Discourses are communicated not only through political speeches and news items but through entertainment media such as computer games and movies, in the social and material culture of everyday life such as fashion, toys, music, architecture, and town planning and in the very ways that we engage our bodies and interact.

As far as communicative uses are concerned, Machin (ibid) states that visual elements are similar to linguistic devices in that “[...] they can create moods and attitudes, convey ideas, [and] create flow across the composition [...]”. Hart (2014a: 72) extends the similarity between written language and images by saying that, “[a]lthough they are iconic [...] images also perform a symbolic function as they can ‘stand for’ particular people, places and time periods which may, in turn, invoke attitudes and emotions.” Hence, accordingly, when a combination of semiotic resources, such as colour, image (still or animated), dress, gaze, gesture, etc., along with written and/or spoken language, conflate to form a whole ensemble of communicative message(s), this process is called multimodality.

3.4.2. Mode versus Media

Having shown the nature of the concept of multimodality which provides us with a convenient toolkit or framework “[...] for the systematic description of modes and their semiotic resources” (Jewitt, 2013: 3), it is necessary to give some details about the terms ‘mode’ and ‘media’ and show how they are interrelated, especially that “[t]he difference between [more general terms like] multimodal and multimedia is largely a difference between “modes” and “media” (Lauer, 2012: 45).

Some scholars state that giving a definition for the terms ‘mode’ and ‘media’ is not very easy. In his attempt to distinguish between multimodal metaphor from mono-modal metaphor, Forceville (2009: 22) pointed out that giving a definition for the term ‘mode’ is not an easy task at all “[...] because what is labeled a mode here is a complex of various factors”. Thus, he tried to roughly define the word mode stating that it is a “[...] sign system interpretable because of a specific perception process.” In the light of this definition, Forceville relates mode to the human five senses, in order that the readers or addressees can reach the following points: “(1) the pictorial or visual mode; (2) the aural or sonic mode; (3) the olfactory mode; (4) the gustatory mode; and (5) the tactile mode.” However, Forceville himself believes that this categorization is not a satisfactory one because it creates some confusion, for example, “[...] the sonic mode under this

description lumps together spoken language, music, and non-verbal sound.” Nevertheless, it is taken for granted that there are different modes which comprise the following: (1) pictorial signs; (2) written signs; (3) spoken signs; (4) gestures; (5) sounds; (6) music (7) smells; (8) tastes; (9) touch.” On the other hand, Lutkewitte (2014: 2), points out that, in the domain of learning and literacy, it is difficult for both students and instructors to distinguish between these two terms (i.e. mode and media) because of the close relation held between them. Similarly, in his multimodal analysis of film semiotic modes, Bateman (2012: 75) states that giving a definition for the term ‘mode’ is a matter of presumption not definition, adding that, “[t]he precise nature of ‘mode’ in multimodality remains, therefore, unclear and a variety of descriptions circulate in the literature.”

Kress (2010) defines modes with reference to the affordances (“possibilities” or “constraints”, as stated by Jewitt et al. (2016: 3)), they provide. He describes a mode’s affordance as the “[...] potentials or limitations of a mode.” Thus, Kress (2012: 46) stresses that multimodality does not give priority to linguistic modes, basically, because it “[...] regards them, [the modes in question], as partial means of making meaning”. “Mode is socially shaped and culturally given resource for making meaning. *Image, writing, layout, music, gesture, speech, moving image, soundtrack* are examples of modes used in representation and communication” (Kress, 2009: 54). As for Matthiessen (2009: 23), he assigns the concept ‘mode’ a semiotic role within a semiotic system in a specific context which is, in turn, identified in accordance with medium or media.

However, several scholars have postulated that the relationship between the different modes of communication is interdependent and intertwined so that they contribute to successful meaning-making and meaning potentials in order to provide various types of information (Kress, 2001; Norris, 2004; Granström et al., 2002; Bell et al. 2013; Jewitt, 2009). The data obtained by Kress et al (2001), revealed that “[m]eaning is made in all modes separately, and at the same time, that meaning is an effect of all the modes acting jointly.” On the other hand, Bezemer and Kress (2014: 237) emphasized that language and image do have “different modal resources”. For instance, a written language possesses unique modal resources represented by “[s]yntactic, grammatical, and lexical resources, as well as graphic resources such as font type, size, and resources for “framing,” such as punctuation.” They (ibid) add that “[i]mage has resources such as position of elements in a framed space, size, colour, shape, icons of various kinds—lines,

circles—as well as resources such as spatial relation, and in the case of moving images, the temporal succession of images, movement.” Bezemer and Kress (2014) showed that the semiotic function provided by the different modal resources can be realized “with different resources in different ways”, i.e. each mode enjoys a different affordance in the process of meaning-making. As far as image is concerned, a static image, according to Stöckl (2004:14), has some sub-modes such as, “elements, vectors, distance, angle, colour etc.” A moving image, or a film, also possesses sub-modes for instance “panning” or “tilting”.

According to Kress (2001:43), a communicative mode is a socially determined phenomena, and “[...] the question of whether X is a mode or not is a question specific to a particular community. A mode is not only shaped by a society but it also capable of shaping the very society it is associated with, simply, because “[m]odes shape our encounter with the world and our means of re-making the world in semiotic entities of any kind (Kress, 2012: 46).

The other concept which needs elaboration is ‘media’ or ‘medium’. The twenty first century which witnessed an unprecedented advancement in technology, especially the high technology in the field of media, has made a big shift from the printed form of communication into the on-screen one. Hence, “After a long period of the dominance of the book as the central medium of communication, the screen has now taken that place. This is leading to more than a mere displacement of writing” (Kress, 2003: 9).

As a matter of fact, the early mentioned examples of a mode such, as static or animated image, gesture, speech, music, etc., need to be displayed via a specific channel in order to be observed by addressees, this channel is considered the media through which modes of communication are exhibited. Media, according to Lauer (2014: 24), are “[...] the “tools and material resources” used to produce and disseminate texts. [For instance], books, radio, television, computers, paint brush and canvas, and human voices. Bezemer and Kress (2014: 238), add that, “[m]edium has a material and social aspect. Materially, medium is the substance in and through which meaning is instantiated/realized and through which meaning becomes available to others (cf. “oil on canvass”).”

Basically, a medial channel is capable of displaying more than one mode at a time, in addition, “[...] different modes can be realized in the same medium, as demonstrated through the use of image and words in comics or illustrated stories” (Page, 2010: 6). For instance, a film can be a very good example of a media which concurrently encompasses

several modes such as, speech, sound, dress, colour, etc. It is worth saying that semiotic resources can be either 'material' resources, such as 'modes' or "immaterial conceptual resources" that can be recognized through modes such as "intensity, coherence, proximity, etc. in other words, semiotic resources are generated through the process of meaning-making by members of a society (Jewitt et al, 2016: 71). In conclusion, the concepts of 'mode' and 'media' are inseparable, i.e. one completes the other and the existence of the first relies on the availability of the latter.

3.4.3. MCDA and Social Semiotics

Social semiotics is a quite essential subject to this study, and to which more considerable attention should be paid. As a matter of fact, multimodality was motivated and inspired by the school of social semiotics where researches on the use of a mode or modes were "[...] guided by socially determined intentions and [...] group interests, subjective points of view or ideological stances" (Stöckl, 2004:10). What makes the subject of multimodality really important is that multimodal discourse analysis aims at illustrating the "socially situated semiotic resources that we draw on for communication" (Paltridge, 2012: 170). Social semiotics aims at comprehending how meaning is socially produced, interpreted, and circulated, as well as how individuals and societies are shaped by the processes of meaning-making (Jewitt et al, 2016: 58). According to Hart (2016: 340), any given text is multimodal in nature which could have ideological potentials. Hart (ibid) adds that multimodal discourse analysis exhibits a "useful paradigm through which to analyse the nuisances of meaning communicated via language as well as image". Kress (2001: 67-68) states that both communication and representation always rely on a variety of semiotic modes (resources) including language.

Linguists who are interested in the domain of semiotics emphasize the relationship between social semiotics, social theory and community (Thibault, 1991; Lemke, 2008; Kress, 2012; Van Leeuwen, 2005). Thus, any field of study which is interested in scrutinizing social phenomena tends to be critical of those phenomena. It is social semiotics which provides a comprehensive study of communication phenomena as a whole, not as selected instances. Social semiotics, just like CDA, can also deconstruct the complex ideologies used by powerful groups through the use of inconsistent semiotic forms (Hodge and Kress, 1988: 2-4). Emphasizing the relationship between social semiotics and semiotics, Hodge and Kress (ibid: 5) contend that though social semiotics heavily draws on semiotics in analysing certain semiotic structures and processes, social

semiotics is required to reconsider particular terms and concepts in order to "to reflect its emphasis on social action, context and use". Taking into account that both CDA and social semiotics aim at describing how power and ideology function in communication (Jewitt et al, 2016: 60), MCDA can provide the missing link between semiotics and social semiotics, especially that it is closely concerned with analysing the ideology implied in different semiotic and non-semiotic texts.

Thibault (1991: 7-8) stresses the critical nature of social semiotics, stating that social semiotics is keen on critically dealing with how social meaning-making practices are realized. He also points out that social semiotics is both critical and self-reflexive. It is critical because the social semiotic system (or part of it) can be enacted, maintained, reproduced, and changed through the functions practiced by "systematic copatternings of textual meaning relations and their associated meaning making practices". It is also self-reflexive due to the fact that social semiotics tends to elucidate its own theoretical viewpoint within the same critical perspective it draws on. Hence, "[i]t works to define its own relations to other social discourses, its own positioning in the sets of intersecting and often conflicting relations among these, and the sociopolitical interests these serve" (Thibault, 1991: 7-8). These critically assessed meaning-making practices are socially realized, and, thus, cannot be studied without reference to their use in a particular community (Lemke, 2008: 1). To this end, both multimodality and social semiotics enable linguists to deal with issues such as meaning and meaning making, agency, identity construction, meaning-making social constraints, the relation between social semiotics and knowledge, questions about how knowledge, is produced, shaped, and formulated in accordance with the various available modes; and by whom (Kress, 2012: 38). According to Van Leeuwen (2011), social semiotics has three dimensions:

(1) The study of semiotic resources and their histories; (2) the study of semiotic practices, of the uses of semiotic resources in specific social, cultural and historical contexts, together with the discursive practices that evaluate, teach, explain and control these uses; and (3) semiotic change, the exploration and development of new semiotic resources and new semiotic practices.

Here, Van Leeuwen emphasises the significance of not only semiotic resources but also that of semiotic practices and how they need to be equally explored in accordance with

different contexts, histories, and the change that may affect them. The widely used term 'semiotic resource' was originally used by M. A. K. Halliday in his book *Language as Social Semiotic* (1978). In his investigation of language and social system, Halliday (1978: 192) found out that it is significant to investigate language as a resource, not as a set of rules. Hence, according to him (ibid), people are always intending to "making creative use of their resources of meaning, and continuously modifying these resources in the process". As for Van Leeuwen (2005: 3), he observes that semiotic resources can be both actions and artefacts that we use for communication. These actions or artefacts are not restricted to the use of verbal messages, but they can be physiologically-produced, such as speech sounds; by muscles such as facial expressions and gestures; by way of technology such as using a pen, ink and paper; by means of computer such as fabrics, scissors and sewing machines, etc. Therefore, according to social semiotics, communicators not only rely upon the available semiotic resources, but they also take part in concocting as well as coordinating their use of those resources (Roderick, 2016: 4, 39).

3.5 Summary

This chapter has aimed at exhibiting the main theoretical part of the thesis, i.e. the intertwining of CDA with multimodality. The chapter has also shown how CDA has been emerged from CL and was improved to be a unique discipline itself. Besides, this chapter has illustrated that discourse(s) and texts can also be composed of non-linguistic semiotic resources, such as colour, image, film, and so on. This chapter has distinguished between the substantial concepts of mode and media necessary to comprehend the broader term of multimodality by providing some useful examples. The development of social semiotics from traditional semiotics and its relationship with multimodality have also been elaborated in this chapter. Indeed, this chapter has provided some essential concepts of CDA, such as discourse, text, ideology, etc. These concepts have always been significant means in analysing written texts such as written discourse. Here, they are shown to be quite applicable in the multimodal realm of films, i.e., films are considered as multimodal texts which can make use of different semiotic resources that ideologically shape identity and (re)construct it accordingly. In our case, Hollywood is the very institution that employs these elements in order to maintain certain discourse(s) and keep (re)producing them.

Chapter Four

A Multidisciplinary Approach to the Analysis of Film: Methodology

4.1. Introduction

The current interdisciplinary study will draw upon three main hybridized approaches to analyse certain excerpted film stills. The first approach will include Christopher Hart's (2014a) Cognitive Linguistic approach which he used to analyse verbal and visual data in selected newspapers. Along with Hart's approach, Chilton's (2004, 2005, 2014) approach has shown great deal of relevance when it comes to provide an interpretation of how viewers understand discourse practices in political discourse and in the representation of non-linguistic semiotic resources such as clothing, uniform, colour, etc. The third approach is going to be the Social Actors Analysis adopted from Theo Van Leeuwen (1996, 2008) which has also been proved to be successfully convenient when dealing with both verbal and visual entities. In addition to the three main frameworks, other methods of analysis will be adopted such as the Social Semiotic framework provided by Gunther Kress and Theo Van Leeuwen (1996/2006), conceptual theory and conceptual blends will also be handy in describing the multimodal resources found in the images to be analyzed as well as visual metaphors.

This chapter is going to shed light on the methods to be used in dealing with the analysis of Iraq War films, the data nature, and why they are of importance to this research. As the data used in this study is related to motion pictures, i.e., films, it is necessary that a multimodal approach is adopted in order to provide concise outcomes when analysing rich visual filmic texts. With this said, the chosen multimodal perspective needs to be eclectic, especially that it enjoys a Critical Discourse Analytic nature. CDA is considered a highly eclectic domain which builds on other domains when dealing with social-oriented issues. Wodak (2009: 3) points out that "[...] CDA as a school or paradigm is characterized by a number of principles: for example, all approaches are problem-oriented, and thus necessarily interdisciplinary and eclectic." In this chapter, (4.2) will highlight some of the previous attempts exerted to provide some insight on the analysis of films. This chapter also describes the interdisciplinarity of the main approach (4.2), covers the nature of data and significance (4.3), the criteria according to which the data have been selected (4.4),

and the adopted methodology and frameworks on which the analysis is based (4.5). (4.6) will provide a full explanation of Hart's Cognitive Linguistic Approach and the most salient categories it encompasses, such as ideology, embodied mind thesis, peripersonal distance, anchor, angle, and distance. In addition, (4.7) will elaborate on Chilton's Discourse Space Theory (DST) which fruitfully fits into supplying description and interpretation of various linguistic and non-linguistic entities. (4.8) is going to illustrate the social actors analysis which is quite useful in clarifying the relation between social actors (agents vs patients). Finally, (4.9) will give relevant cognitive analytic methods represented by conceptual metaphors and conceptual blends in an attempt to analyse visual types of filmic metaphors.

4.2. Previous Studies

As this study centres on Multimodality as an approach to investigate the representation of Iraqi identity in Hollywood's 'Iraq War films'², relevant film analytic studies have to be thoughtfully considered. Researchers interested in multimodal discourse analysis have resorted to different approaches to deal with this domain, i.e. multimodality, which makes use of different modes. Some of them have been keen on drawing on systemic functional grammar (SFG), others have made use of modern techniques in clarifying the relationship between film production and interpretation, and other researchers have developed their own approaches toward film analysis.

In his attempt to detect 'social reality' in a documentary tele-film about a Melbourne hospital, Iedema (2001) employed a social semiotic approach in order to provide an interpretation not a "scientific proof" as he points out (p. 200). In order to facilitate his method of analysis, Iedema proposed six levels of analysis; frame, shot, scene, sequence, stage and genre, and work as a whole respectively. In addition, he reformulated Halliday's (1973, 1978) metafunction criteria to be 'representation', 'orientation' and 'organization', stating that these metafunctions, as useful tools, will enhance the abovementioned six levels of analysis to elucidate the process of meaning-making in a film.

Rheindorf (2004), on the other hand, provides an outline of his previous work on film multimodality as a means of 'textual' analysis, and utilizes some scenes from the film *Dirty Dancing* (1987) as a sample of his multimodal analysis. The 'transdisciplinary' approach

² The Iraq war genre has been used by many film analysts such as Pisters (2010), Barker (2011), and McSweeney (2014).

adopted by Rheindorf touches upon other disciplines such as linguistics, film and cultural studies. He believes that “[...] the meaning of dance in film is therefore equally dependent on both the cultural context and the background knowledge of the spectator” (ibid: 139). In his analysis, he focused on the meaning of dance as a visual semiotic mode through the use of certain film resources such as editing and camera movement (p. 145).

By analysing still images (which he calls *transitivity frames*) of some TV commercial advertisements, Baldry (2006) proposed a multimodal macro and micro transcription as a toolkit for his analysis. He draws on both Halliday (1994 (1985)) and Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) in formulating his means of analysis in which he analyses any given modality, say ‘gaze’, in terms of metafunctions. “Thus, gaze has experiential, interpersonal and textual dimensions of organisation and meaning” (Baldry, 2006: 167). In his transitivity frames, Baldry tries to show how different meaning-making resources such as camera position and distance, and cutting between shots, on the one hand, and gaze, movement, speaking, and pointing, on the other can interact systematically.

In his (2004) study, O’Halloran explored “the spatial and temporal dynamics of visual semiosis” through a recourse to special video editing software as an attempt to demonstrate certain semiotic resources. O’Halloran has launched his study by employing a systemic-functional framework to analyze two short scenes from the film *Chinatown* (1974). By way of film analysis, O’Halloran aims at showing “[...] how commercially available software [such as Systemics 1.0] can be used in conjunction with a visual grammar to capture changing patterns in dynamic text” (O’Halloran, 2004: 111). O’Halloran has organized his systemic-functional analysis by making reference to film theory. Hence, in his analysis, he integrated categories such as, film type, film form, genre, and ranks in which she included: Film Plot, Sequences, Scenes, Mise-en-Scene (the shot) and Frame in order “[...] to describe how a visual grammar may be applied to the dynamic visual image” (O’Halloran, 2004: 126).

According to Tseng (2008: 89), a complete film analysis has not been yet “fully developed”. Therefore, by following Hassan’s (1984, 1989) conception of coherence and cohesion, she embarked on analyzing meaning construction in films using a multimodal cohesion framework. She states that, “Within film there is a complex interaction of co-occurring modalities, for example, words, images, sounds, colours, actions, etc. that combine and cohere to create meanings” (Tseng: ibid). Tseng, through analyzing the cross-modal meaning realization in the documentary film *Comandante*, she “[...]”

proposed a method for examining how units in each mode interact to establish a coherent whole” (ibid: 102).

Some researchers have multimodally studied metaphor in films such as Eggertsson and Forceville, (2009), and Rohdin (2009). Eggertsson and Forceville (2009) analyzed three modern horror films to describe the metaphor ‘human victim is animal’. They highlighted how multimodal metaphors, unlike the monomodal ones which are expressed either verbally or visually, are created through different modes. They also stress that a ““pure” multimodal metaphor thus presents a target in one mode/modality, and one mode only, and the source in another mode/modality only” (ibid: 430). As for Rohdin (2009), he studied multimodal metaphors in classical film theory from the 1920s to the 1950s. He pointed out that techniques like superimposition, verbal image, montage, and Cinematography have been used in this classical era to create visual metaphor in films. In his study, Rohdin emphasized the significance of intertitles in silent cinema film metaphors.

Bateman (2012) developed a socio-functional linguistic framework which is based on Halliday’s systemic functional grammar and Kress and Van Leeuwen’s approach to visual analysis (cf., in particular, Hodge and Kress, 1988; Kress and van Leeuwen, 2001; van Leeuwen, 2005b; Kress, 2009, 2010). He divided film into shots and employed his paradigmatic and syntagmatic factors to them and took the aspects of time and place into consideration. Thus, he (2012: 89) postulates that these “[...] syntagmatic and paradigmatic components are therefore seen as an inseparable whole”. Bateman holds the view that this framework can give a considerable understanding of how filmic units can be investigated depending on integration of both syntagmatic description and paradigmatic configuration. Finally, he states that: “Over long stretches of the majority of films, a combined syntagmatic-paradigmatic discourse analysis of the kind we have developed runs smoothly without facing problematic issues.” (ibid: 246).

Wildfeuer (2014a, 2014b) developed a detailed framework for analysing films. Her framework builds on discourse semantics and formal logic. She stresses that her analytical framework, as a new approach, will develop a logical interpretation towards film analysis. She also states that “[u]nderstanding and interpreting a film is thus not a matter of simply decoding the semiotic resources, but a process of abductive reasoning and logically concluding the content [...]” which depends on the multimodal content that leads the viewer to understand films by help of his/her background knowledge

(Wildfeuer, 2014a: 5). In her analysis, Wildfeuer applies logical formulae to the stills she extracts from a film where she converts logical structures into “[...] an artificial language of intentional logic which can be interpreted due to both its syntactical and semantical compositionality.” (ibid: 39).

In an attempt to incorporate the spatial and audio semiotic dimensions, by relying on a systemic functional approach aided by multimodal discourse analysis, Maiorani (2014) provided her model of analysis to emphasise the effects on audience when dubbing UK/US films into Italian. Maiorani applied a transitivity analysis to examine filmic narrative sequences which she selected from a corpus of films gathered by the Italian University of Pavia. Then she quantitatively showed the differences between the English films and their Italian dubbed counterparts, and how they gave different material, relational, mental, existential and verbal processes.

As for Christie (2014) she compared between a written text (Kazuo Ishiguro’s (1989) novel *The Remains of the Day*) and a filmed version of the same text (James Ivory’s (1993) film) adopting a pragmatic analytical tool to study these texts and relying on how Forceville (2010) views signs as intentionally exploited by a speaker/institution to be passed to the public; hence multimodality might be embedded in a pragmatic relevance theory. Accordingly, she tried to extend (im)politeness and indexicality phenomena to include the domain of multimodal analysis. Following her model of analysis, Christie (2014: 113) highlights that “[...] power relations are presented through different modalities in the film adaptation”. She also showed that power relations are presented through the use of quite different semiotic resources within the film medium. The power relations examined by Christie were limited to the relationship between servant and master in the selected film, i.e., not that kind of power CDA would be interested in, but, rather the one related to pragmatics and politeness theory. In other words, Christie's main analytical focus was on the micro levels of power, i.e., power in discourse and interlocutors' power relation rather than on the macro levels of power and its interrelation with ideology.

In her examination of James Bond’s Films 1962-2012, Katrina Lawless (2014) showed how ideology is disseminated through language in her selected films. She has conducted a qualitative and quantitative critical discourse analysis of Bond’s films examining only the verbal mode found in the selected films. She only sufficed herself with providing a description of how Russian identity is constructed in Bond’s films, overlooking how the

audience would interpret those films. As far as the audience are concerned, we believe, building on Chilton (2005), that no other approach rather than a cognitive-linguistic one would be suitable for examining how certain films' extracts can be described on the producer and receiver's part. Thus, to improve what the aforementioned studies have come up with, the integrated Hart, (2014); Chilton (2004; 2014); Van Leeuwen (1996, 2008) framework we propose in this study will be quite favourable in providing a multimodal critical discourse analysis of films that is capable of analysing both the verbal and nonverbal disseminated ideology through the medium of film. Unlike the multimodal cognitive critical discourse analysis this study is offering, most of the approaches and frameworks tackled in this review will not give a thorough description of the implied ideology nor will they fit into the realization of a critical approach towards the film data to be analysed in this study.

The framework we have formulated in this study is going to be of significance to those interested in multimodal critical discourse analysis, especially when it comes to analysing ideology in nonverbal modes of communication. Although this study is not targeting film studies and theory, however, it can help understand the hidden ideologies implied in films (see 4.3. below). In other words, the cognitive linguistic approach developed in this study can be of theoretical and empirical interest to those interested in the cognitive film theory, taking into account that film theory is originally based on linguistics in the first place (Fourie, 2001). By cognitive film theory I mean the one developed by the American film theorist, David Bordwell (1985). Finally, as previously mentioned by Van Dijk (1993) who considered CDA as lacking development due to its neglect of social representations in the minds of social actors, our framework can be a daring attempt to cognitively deal with social representation in selected Iraq war films. Moreover, as pointed out by Jewitt et al (2006) who called for filling the gap (the missing link) still existing between semiotics and social semiotics, this study is hereby trying to engage in filling the gap in question.

4.3. Film Theory

This subsection is intended to address the film theory issue and how far it is related to this study. As this study's main concern is focusing on a multimodal critical discourse analysis of selected filmic data from a linguistic perspective, we find it relevant, at this point, to set out a synopsis of film theory and how can the framework designed for this study be of use to film theory.

Talking about the different film theories, we refer to Abrams et al (2001) who emphasized some models that contributed to film analysis. According to Abrams et al (2001: 207), the hypodermic syringe model was an early attempt to contribute in spectatorship theory. This model was known for enjoying the strength of the underlying idea; as if a syringe is used to “‘inject’ values and beliefs into the spectator”. Psychoanalysis and ideology theories had an equal impact on the analysis of film. These theories have provided the spectator with a robust knowledge through stylistic codes that involved “editing, camerawork, mise en scene and sound [that located] the spectator in an unthreatening position of virtual power” (ibid: 208). Indeed, this model has not helped the spectator to produce a various range of meanings because the produced meanings were limited to the narrative and stylistic form. Smith (2001: 174) comments on the relationship between film and psychology as follows:

The relationship between film and human psychology has always been a source of fascination for film theorists, and many writings in film theory are informed by the belief that film has a special relationship to human psychology. Historically, film theory has been preoccupied with the thought that the film camera is, in some sense, like the human eye, or that ways of juxtaposing images are like forms of thought. Film theorists have differed in the kind of mental processes they emphasize and whether or not the mimicked processes are rational or irrational.

Semiology was another “ambitious” application that emerged to deal with the idea of how to characterize films, whether they are a type of language through the means of semiotics. Hence, terms like syntagma and syntagmatic, which indicated any fragment of a text, have acquired their way into the film vocabulary and narrative (ibid:217-18). The advent of new scholars like Lacan and Althusser, who made use of Freudian and Marxist methods of psychoanalysis, has changed the semiology trend of film analysis even more in such a way that the “result was a particularly complex theory according to which ideology is seen as unconscious, as an *imaginary* relation to real conditions of social existence” (P. 223).

The cognitive approach to film analysis, which rejected reasoning by analogy that was fundamental to it (Allen, 2011: 174), has started in the mid-1980s where books and essays were inked to show new trends in film theory. It was David Bordwell's

Narration in the Fiction Film (1985) that marked this new era of research, as well as Bordwell, Janet Staiger, and Kristin Thompson's *The Classical Hollywood Cinema: Film Style and Mode of Production to 1960*. These books were based on describing both films and the mental activities of spectators through cognitive psychology (Plantinga, 2002: 16-17). Plantinga (2002: 15) lays more importance on cognitive film theory stating that "it can become more central to film studies than it has been so far." Plantinga (ibid: 23) points out that "the most sustained contributions thus far have been made by David Bordwell and Noël Carroll."

Bordwell (2009: 356) states that cognitive science has proved to be helpful to many researchers who tried to find answers to questions related to film theory. Indeed, questions about how viewers would respond to films and how these films stir their emotions were drastic in the domain of cognitive film theory. Films, Bordwell (ibid: 357) adds, are addressing our conscience as they integrate events and imitate our "cognitive activities of memory and imagination through flashbacks and fantasy sequences". Bordwell (p. 363) argues that we were born in a three-dimensional world situated in a three-dimensional space in which we move freely aided by our visual sense. The development of cognitive film theory was motivated by drawing attention to "the problem of how films triggered emotions". Moreover, he contends that viewers experience suspense when watching a film because these viewers would judge that the desirable results portrayed in a film sequence are hard to be realized. In addition, quoting Smith (1995), Viewers' emotional response is determined by the events of the film story they are watching.

Plantinga (2002: 20) mentions some weaknesses of the cognitive approach to the analysis of film, stating that "for some time it was thought that a weakness of the cognitive approach was its inability to deal with the elicitation of emotion in film". He (ibid: 23) accentuates the claim that "cognitivists have developed an approach rather than a well-defined theory". Hence, Plantinga calls upon cognitive theorists interested in the domain of film studies to provide "a better understanding of the specificity of the film medium in the evocation of emotion" (Plantinga, 2002: 25). Most importantly, Plantinga (ibid: 28-31) gives some ideas to improve the cognitive approach to film analysis. He suggests that this model should give real attention to cultural issues like 'alterity' (Otherness) "gender and gender roles, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, etc." In addition, this approach should exert some effort to tackle "the mental models

of viewers”, especially those related to the aspect of place, i.e. Plantinga (ibid) believes that “[u]nderstanding how a movie plays differently in the suburbs versus the inner city, or in Dallas versus Paris or Sao Paulo [...] would involve a cultural analysis of the mental models under use by the audience”. Smith (2000: 52) enhances the aspect of identity arguing that more efforts should be exerted to study the relationship between “the imagery of cinema and art and the interpretations of national identity”. He also discussed the capability of suggesting an “ethno-symbolic-based framework to highlight “the role of various ethnic elements—myths, symbols, traditions and memories” and how this role is related to the shaping of national identity.

On the other hand, Buckland (2000: 13) indicates that cognitive theorists believe that "film theorists need to reject semiotics and start again by developing a cognitive theory of spectatorship untainted by semiotics". Bordwell, Buckland continues, was one of those cognitive theorists who questioned the possibility of neglecting semiotics. Although, Buckland believes that semiotics is necessary in considering the aspect of culture in addition to human mind.

Indeed, with reference to the aforementioned discussion, the MMDA approach designed for this study is really interested in combining cultural aspects, (e.g. Otherness) and semiotic resources (e.g. colour, clothing, surroundings, etc.) in a threefold social cognitive multimodal critical discourse framework, and, in such a way, it might be helpful to sustain the cognitive approach to film analysis.

4.4. MCDA as an Interdisciplinary Approach

As this study adopts a CDA approach, to deal with the multimodal aspects of filmic data, it needs to be interdisciplinary. Critical Discourse analysts emphasise that CDA is considered an interdisciplinary approach (Fairclough, 1995; 2006; Locke, 2004; Reisigl & Wodak, 2001; Wodak & Meyer, 2001; Weiss & Wodak, 2004). Weiss and Wodak (2004: 1) state that, in CDA, “[t]he concepts ‘theory’ and ‘interdisciplinarity’ refer to the conceptual and disciplinary framework conditions of discourse-analytical research”. Hence, interdisciplinarity is closely associated with CDA, especially that CDA is not an “autonomous” approach, for it permits analysts to tackle other domains of studies or disciplines, such as “philosophy, sociology, psychology, history, anthropology and literary theory”, in such a way that it provides us with a better comprehension of language function in society (Anthonissen, 2003: 279). Anthonissen (ibid: 298) stresses two

significant “levels” according to which interdisciplinarity is exhibited in CDA. The first level has to do with the fact that CDA is related to other critical approaches found in disciplines “such as sociology, mass communication, literary analysis”, etc. The second level is displayed in Applied Linguistics domains, where certain phenomena such as “communication patterns in public institutions, media discourse, the constitution of individual and group identity” are seen to be of interest to CDA. Martin (2003: 199) prefers to use the term “transdisciplinarity”, clarifying that it draws “attention on the need for shared expertise”. However, this study will be interdisciplinary in nature.

4.5. Nature of Data

Not only criticising documentary films have been produced about the wars on Iraq, but a considerable number of 'fiction' films have also been made during the wars and in the years after, and these films had represented both Iraqis and US troops and 'veterans' in certain ways (Kellner, 2010: 219). The data selected for this study consist of three Hollywood Iraq War Films, namely; *Three Kings* (1999), *The Hurt Locker* (2008), and *American Sniper* (2014). Indeed, Iraq War films have become a real genre in Hollywood film Industry. This relatively new genre has been used by some film analysts, such as Pisters (2010), Barker (2011), and McSweeney (2014), to refer to the films produced by Hollywood to mark the 1991 and 2003 Gulf Wars launched against Iraq. The number of films produced from 1991 to 2014 reached around fifteen films according to the internet movie database (IMDB) (www.imdb.com). Some of which, including the selected ones, have earned quite more than their allocated budgets. For instance, according to the Box-office Mojo website specialised in tracking box-office films revenues, *Three Kings* (1999) has made around (\$107,752,036), *The Hurt Locker* (2008) (\$49,230,772), and *American Sniper* (2014) (\$547,426,372) (www.boxofficemojo.com) all worldwide. Therefore, it can be noticed that the selected films have been watched by a huge number of viewers who were basically exposed to them whether in cinema theatres or through the availability of DVDs. It is worth stating that the selected films have been obtained as DVDs whose subtitles are available on (<http://www.moviesubtitles.org>).

One important question might be asked; why fiction films have been chosen to be the data of analysis in this study? Indeed, answering this question is not a laborious task. However,

there are several reasons which make films so important to be selected as data of analysis, it is postulated that:

[t]he language of the media [including films] is one of the most pervasive and widespread discourses that people from all sorts of literate societies are exposed to. With the advances of technology within communication systems and networks, the production of written and spoken news invades our lives daily (Caldas-Coulthard, 2003: 272-273).

Even though films are type of media which is similar to the arts of painting, music, literature, and dancing, but it is not necessarily that they are only used to “produce artistic results” (Arnheim, 1957: 8). As a matter of fact, a film is considered one of the many mediums through which ideology is conveyed, particularly “images of war [...] have real effects and become enmeshed in the ensuing material and social reality (Baudrillard, 1995: 11). In addition, significant media categories like movies and books have long been turned to be of global significance and continue to lay substantial influence on “national media systems, culture, and politics” (Herman & Chomsky, 2012: xiv), and help people perceive the political sphere (Baudrillard et al., 1983: 37). Besides, many people who are continuously exposed to media, such as TV, cinema, and other social practices, feel that what they are watching is a mere ‘recontextualisation’ of reality, (Caldas-Coulthard, 2003: 276). Hence, a film as a medium of ‘recontextualisation’ is employed in the “representation of the real to represent the unreal or the fictional” (Currie, 1995: 13). Most importantly, fiction films (not documentary) have been chosen as analysable data for this study, because they are highly related to the aspect of representation (not presentation). Kendrick (2008: 512) enhances this idea by contending that:

[T]here is a simple, dichotomous difference between presentation and representation, with the former defined as unaltered documentary footage of an actual occurrence and the latter defined as the re-creation of an event using cinematic means such as special effects, actors, and scripted actions.

Besides, fiction films do convey a good deal of implied or hidden ideology, while documentary films lack this distinguishing feature, since they give more actual presentation of reality. Consequently, this idea leads us to consider how ideology is implied in films. Currie (ibid.: 22-23) argues that people who systematically and normally

engage in watching films are most likely to be exposed to “false belief that the fictional characters and events represented are real.” Baudrillard (1994: 14), supports this idea by stigmatizing all types of images as “diabolical”, stating that “technical images, whether they be from photography, cinema or television, are in the overwhelming majority much more 'figurative', 'realist', than all the images from past cultures”. Baudrillard (ibid.) warns that viewers should not confide in the realism provided by images, postulating that all images and the representations and values they offer are not depicting reality, but rather a resemblance of reality. Furthermore, the representational perfection provided by cinema “leaves nothing to imagination so that it provides a sort of perfect copy of reality” (ibid.: 30). This point reminds us of the phrase “It was just like a movie” said by many people who witnessed the horrendous moments of the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Centre on 11 September 2001 (Kendrick, 2008: 511). Accordingly, ideology emerges only when reality is manipulated or fused in the model given by the media, e.g. cinema, which leads to the “implosion” of meaning via the alteration of reality into “hyperreality” (Baudrillard, 1994: 27-31). In this way, the film media could be employed to shape reality into a new version desired by film producers. Now, it is relevant to give some details on the three selected films for analysis, i.e., the *Three Kings* (1999), *The Hurt Locker* (2008), and *American Sniper* (2014).

4.5.1. *Three Kings* (1999)

This military-friendly film (Niemi, 2008: 171) is directed by David O. Russel, story by John Ridley, and starring George Clooney (Major Gates), Mark Wahlberg (Troy Barlow), Ice Cube (Chief Elgin), Spike Jones (Conrad Vig), and others. This film "examines the aftermath of the [1991 Kuwait liberating] war in order to suggest how the United States betrayed the [Iraqi] citizens who supported it in the conflict" (Eberwein, 2010: 123). The film shows two struggling groups, the Three Kings helped by Iraqi rebels and civilians on the one hand, and the Iraqi Army and Saddam's Republican Guard on the other. The films' story had a dramatic change when the Three Kings decided to steal the already stolen Kuwaiti gold bullions from the hands of Saddam's loyal soldiers, but later, when they saw the Iraqi Republican Guard abusing and killing their own armless people, plans have changed to freeing the Iraqi detained civilians and even share the gold with them. The film had a happy ending when the threatened Iraqi civilians have safely crossed the borders towards Iran and did not get killed by Saddam's troops. Ideologically speaking,

the US "involvement in the Gulf War as a captured American is tortured by his Iraqi captor (a scene analysed later in Chapter Six) to confess that the war was fought for the control of oil" (Chapman, 2008: 238).

4.5.2. *The Hurt Locker* (2008)

This Oscar-winning film was directed by Kathryn Bigelow, written by Mark Boal, and starring Jeremy Renner (William James), Anthony Mackie (JT Sanborn), Brian Geraghty (Owen Eldridge), and others. The film's events revolve around a US Army Explosive Ordnance Disposal (EOD) team deployed in 2005 Iraq, and how their lives are exposed to daily high risk while they defuse improvised explosive devices (IEDs). Unlike the *Three Kings*, in *The Hurt Locker* the protagonists do not know who their enemy is which could be anywhere and anybody. "The bomb-makers mingle with Iraqi bystanders to observe and assess their work, standing on balconies and at windows watching impassively as the Americans shout, sweat and gesticulate [...]" (Scot, 2009).

4.5.3. *American Sniper* (2014)

Though the *American Sniper* did not obtain as high reviews as the *Three Kings* and *The Hurt Locker* films, but it did make 547.4 million USD in the box office, which makes it the most successful war film of all time according to the Box Office Mojo. The film was directed by Clint Eastwood, written by Jason Hall (based on Chris Kyle's Novel *American Sniper: The Autobiography of the Most Lethal Sniper in U.S. Military History*), starring Bradley Cooper (Chris Kyle), Kyle Gallner (Goat-Winston), Sienna Miller (Taya Kyle), and others. Besides, *American Sniper* has won an Academy of Awards Oscar for best achievement in sound editing shared by [Alan Robert Murray](#) and [Bub Asman](#). The film tells the story of America's deadliest sniper with an officially confirmed killing record of 160 (Duke, 2015). In this film the American Sniper confronts two major enemies, the Jama'at al-Tawhid Wal-Jihad (Congregation of Monotheism and Jihad) led by al-Qaeda affiliate Abu Musab al-Zarqawi on the one hand, and al-Mahdi Militia led by the Shiite cleric Muqtada al-Sadr.

4.6. Data Selection

The data selected for this study comprise three Hollywood films, namely *Three Kings* (1999), *The Hurt Locker* (2008), and *American Sniper* (2014). DVDs of these films have

already been purchased to do the analysis. These films were also selected in accordance with the following criteria:

- 1- The timing of release.
- 2- The critical review and financial success each film has achieved.
- 3- The event(s) each film has highlighted.
- 4- The number of scenes Iraqis were represented.
- 5- The degree of represented barbarism on part of Iraqis which goes gradually from mild to strong depiction.

It can be stated that the timing of each film's release is of relevant significance to this study, for instance the *Three Kings* was released in the year 1999 during which Saddam Hussein was still in power. The second film, *The Hurt Locker* was released in 2008, i.e., the year which mediates between 1999 (the first film's release date) and 2014 (the third film's release date). As for the third film, *American Sniper*, it was released in 2014, i.e., after the American troops withdrew from Iraq. This film is also considered the last one to be inspired by the Iraq War. These three films, according to the (www.boxofficemojo.com) website, have grossed huge revenues compared with the rest of Iraq War films which relatively failed in the box-office (see section 3.3). All three films have acquired high review on the IMDB, Rotten Tomatoes, and Metacritic film and TV reviewing specialised websites (www.imdb.com, www.rottentomatoes.com, and www.metacritic.com). The three films' reviewing scores and expenses details can be represented as follows:

Film	IMDB	Rotten Tomatoes	Metacritic	Budget	Box Office Revenue	Net Profit
<i>Three Kings</i>	7.1/10	94%	82%	48 million USD	107.7 million USD	59.7 million USD
<i>The Hurt Locker</i>	7.6/10	97%	94%	15 million USD	49.2 million USD	34.2 million USD
<i>American Sniper</i>	7.3/10	72%	72%	58.8 million USD	547.4 million USD	488.6 million USD

Table (4.1) Films review scores

According to table (4.1), *Three Kings* has scored 7.1 out of 10 on IMDB, 94% on Rotten Tomatoes, and 82% on Metacritic. *The Hurt Locker* scored 7.6 out of 10 on IMDB, 97% on Rotten Tomatoes, and 94% on Metacritic. *American Sniper* scored 7.3 out of 10 on IMDB, 72% on Rotten Tomatoes, and 72% on Metacritic. The considerable critical review each film has been given by the specialised reviewing websites, in addition to the net profit in USD each film has gained are tangible proofs of the great success these films have achieved, at least in the USA.

Regarding the third criteria of selection, the *Three Kings* film has marked the events that came in the aftermath of the 1991 Gulf War, such as Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait, Saddam's heinous acts against his own people, and the ensuing U.N. economic sanctions. *The Hurt Locker* was released after almost one year from the beginning of US forces withdrawal from Iraq and the escalation of sectarian slaughter³ there. *American Sniper* came after one year from the total US troops withdrawal from Iraq. The last selection criterion is related to the frequency of Iraqis represented in these three films. After watching all the Iraq War films, it has been recognized that these three chosen films contain relatively good deal of scenes containing direct and indirect reference to Iraqis, subsequently, this leads to a fairer analysis. The number of scenes and stills selected to be analysed can be shown in tables (4.2), (4.3), and (4.4) below:

Situation	Scenes of each situation	Start of scene	End of scene	Scene total time in minutes	Number of stills
1	Scene 1	(00:00:31)	(00:02:05)	1.74	2
2	Scene 2	(00:06:19)	(00:08:48)	2.29	7
3	Scene 3	(00:17:06)	(00:20:49)	3.43	2
	Scene 4	(00:20:50)	(00:22:27)	1.77	5
	Scene 5	(00:22:27)	(00:22:64)	0.37	1
	Scene 6	(00:24:04)	(00:26:26)	2.22	10
4	Scene 7	(00:27:26)	(00:28:21)	0.95	1
	Scene 8	(00:28:21)	(00:30:20)	1.99	2
	Scene 9	(00:30:20)	(00:30:56)	0.36	1
	Scene 10	(00:30:57)	(00:32:56)	1.99	3
	Scene 11	(00:32:57)	(00:33:21)	0.64	3
5	Scene 12	(00:37:32)	(00:38:19)	0.87	3
	Scene 13	(00:38:26)	(00:44:21)	5.59	7
6	Scene 14	(00:44:25)	(00:44:33)	5.95	1
	Scene 15	(00:45:04)	(00:46:45)	1.41	4
	Scene 16	(00:46:56)	(00:48:05)	1.49	2
	Scene 17	(00:48:06)	(00:49:42)	1.36	1
	Scene 18	(00:50:57)	(00:51:55)	0.98	1
	Scene 19	(00:54:59)	(00:56:01)	1.42	1

³ <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-iraq-usa-pullout-idUSTRE7BE0EL20111215>

7	Scene 20	(00:57:13)	(01:03:28)	6.28	3
	Scene 21	(01:03:51)	(01:08:42)	4.91	3
	Scene 22	(01:08:42)	(01:10:19)	1.77	1
	Scene 23	(01:10:19)	(01:11:57)	1.38	2
	Scene 24	(01:11:57)	(01:14:32)	2.75	1
	Scene 25	(01:16:12)	(01:17:57)	1.45	1
	Scene 26	(01:17:57)	(01:19:35)	1.78	1
8	Scene 27	(01:20:36)	(01:20:53)	0.17	1
	Scene 28	(01:23:19)	(01:24:19)	1.0	2
	Scene 29	(01:33:57)	(01:34:17)	0.6	1
	Scene 30	(01:34:17)	(01:34:57)	0.4	1
	Scene 31	(01:40:28)	(01:48:24)	7.96	6
Total of stills					80

Table 4.2 *Three Kings* (1999) time of scenes and number of selected stills

Situation	Scenes of each situation	Start of scene	End of scene	Scene total time in minutes	Number of stills
1	Scene 1	(00:00:17)	(00:09:44)	9.27	14
2	Scene 2	(00:13:22)	(00:16:19)	2.97	7
	Scene 3	(00:18:45)	(00:21:53)	3.08	7
	Scene 4	(00:21:53)	(00:26:32)	4.79	10
3	Scene 5	(00:28:19)	(00:29:12)	0.93	2
	Scene 6	(01:30:54)	(01:31:39)	0.85	1
	Scene 7	(01:32:31)	(01:34:54)	2.23	2
4	Scene 8	(00:30:03)	(00:30:50)	0.47	4
	Scene 9	(00:30:50)	(00:33:32)	2.82	3
	Scene 10	(00:33:32)	(00:33:54)	0.22	1
	Scene 11	(00:33:54)	(00:44:43)	10.98	3
5	Scene 12	(00:50:37)	(01:08:13)	17.76	6
6	Scene 13	(01:17:21)	(01:21:55)	4.34	4
	Scene 14	(01:21:56)	(01:22:23)	0.67	1
	Scene 15	(01:25:59)	(01:28:41)	2.82	5
7	Scene 16	(01:37:39)	(01:47:01)	9.62	5
8	Scene 17	(01:49:55)	(01:57:06)	7.51	3
	Scene 18	(01:57:06)	(02:01:12)	3.06	1
Total of stills					79

Table 4.3 *The Hurt Locker* (2008) time of scenes and number of selected stills

Situation	Scenes of each situation	Start of scene	End of scene	Scene total time in minutes	Number of stills
1	Scene 1	(00:00:06)	(00:03:33)	3.27	5
	Scene 2	(00:26:29)	(00:28:27)	1.98	2
2	Scene 3	(00:25:02)	(00:25:49)	0.47	1
	Scene 4	(00:29:35)	(00:30:51)	1.16	5
	Scene 5	(00:30:51)	(00:31:48)	0.97	5
	Scene 6	(00:31:48)	(00:32:58)	1.01	3
3	Scene 7	(00:40:29)	(00:43:59)	3.03	3
	Scene 8	(00:44:53)	(00:50:34)	5.81	6
4	Scene 9	(01:01:12)	(01:07:13)	6.01	6
	Scene 10	(01:07:13)	(01:12:21)	5.08	8
5	Scene 11	(01:17:47)	(01:23:01)	5.54	7
	Scene 12	(01:24:18)	(01:26:46)	2.28	3
	Scene 13	(01:34:03)	(01:36:26)	2.23	4
6	Scene 14	(01:36:26)	(01:37:06)	0.80	1

	Scene 15	(01:37:06)	(01:37:57)	0.51	1
	Scene 16	(01:37:06)	(01:51:55)	14.49	8
Total of stills					68

Table 4.4 *American Sniper* (2014) time of scenes and number of selected stills

The aforementioned tables show the number of scenes and stills in which Iraqi characters have occurred. The Iraqi characters have occurred 65 times in *Three Kings*, 70 times in *The Hurt Locker*, and 59 times in *American Sniper* respectively. The tables also show the duration of each scene from which analysable stills were selected.

Finally, it has been recognized that throughout the three films, the process of humanising versus demonising of Iraqis has been realized on a continuum starting from decent freedom-seeking Iraqis to barbarians who do not mind having their little kids involved in the armed strife with the US Army.

4.7. Methodology and Data Analysis

This thesis is following a highly qualitative thematic analysis enabled by a Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis approach to analyse selected filmic data. The Multimodal approach adopted in this study is a socio-cognitive one; keeping in mind that multimodality is “an eclectic approach” (Bezemer & Jewitt, 2010:194). It is significant, at this point, to emphasize the thematic nature of analysis.

4.7.1. Thematic Analysis

Thematic analysis is not a mere counting of obvious words or phrases, it is basically a way of determining and describing both implicit and explicit themes within the selected data (Guest et al, 2012: 10) as an 'independent' and 'reliable' qualitative approach of analysis (Vaismoradi et al, 2013: 400). Thematic analysis is an encoding interpretive process used for encoding qualitative information. This process requires an explicit "code", i.e., a list of casually related themes. Besides, it is described as a process of analysis that renders qualitative information into qualitative data (Boyatzis, 1998: 4). The theme, which is the most fundamental element in thematic analysis, can be described at two levels; a manifest level which can be directly discerned in the given information, and the latent level which can be observed as an implicit phenomenon. In other words, "[...] themes may be initially generated inductively from the raw information or generated deductively from theory

and prior research" (ibid). Though it is differently defined by writers, a theme cannot code itself, it is produced as a result of "coding, categorization, and analytic reflection"; it is generally "a phrase or sentence that identifies what a unit of data is about and/or what it means" (Saldaña, 2009: 139). Thematic analysis is also essential in counting the frequency of certain objects categorized in a particular way (Krippendorff, 2004: 45). What really makes thematic analysis of importance is the fact that it provides scholars and discourse analysts with systematic and accurate ways of analysing various types of information which are related to "people, events, situations, and organizations" on both levels of understanding and interpreting (Boyatzis, 1998: 4). Moreover, this kind of analysis will definitely fit into the endeavour of studying visual images, such as films and images, which is considered a worthy kind of study. Banks (2007: 3-4) stresses that social researchers desire to include visual images (pictorial and moving) in their research motivated by two reasons; the first is that images have become spread everywhere and can be visually represented in most social studies. Second, the integration of visual images in research will provide some sociological observation which can be advantageously accessed by the visual sign. Banks (ibid) believes that visual thematic analysis can prove very helpful in the domains of gender, phenomenology, and postcolonial studies, especially to "set aside a distinction between 'high' and 'low' culture[s]" (p. 39). Evans and Hall (1999: 2) assert that semiotic resources can be studied in a way similar to that other cultural texts are approached in terms of meaning production and consumption. Indeed, thematic analysis can be employed to approach visual images though the means of categorizing, especially that data can be categorized through the use of themes into organized groups of repeated ideas (Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003: 38). Therefore, this study finds thematic analysis a quite useful method which can meet its critical nature.

The process of analysis adopted for this study, after thoroughly scrutinizing the films scenes, have found out certain prominent themes to be stressed in the process. These themes, which have much to do with representing Iraqis, can be recognized as in figure 4.1 below:

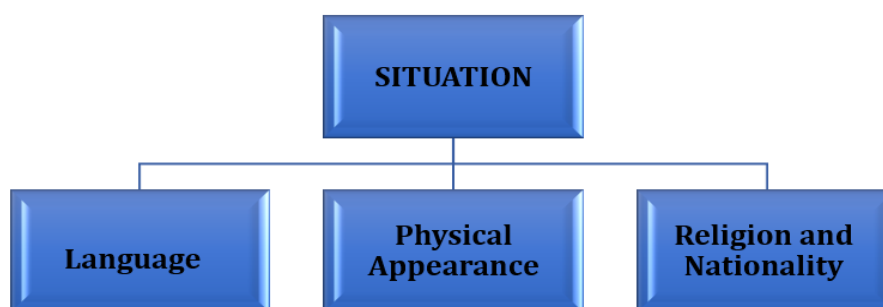


Figure (4.1) Basic themes of film analysis

In order to accurately deal with these three categories, the film has been considered as consisting of a number of context-governed situations. Each context encompasses several stills highlighting the accentuation of specific cultural traits. The use of language, for instance can refer to both the written and spoken forms of language. In order to show how the use of language in the chosen films has been marginalising Iraqis a phonetic transcription was adopted, relying on different online dictionaries, mainly on the Oxford Online Dictionary (<https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/>) and the Cambridge Online Dictionary (<https://dictionary.cambridge.org/>). Analysing the language used in the selected films focuses on how and which lexical items are used to refer to Iraqis and whether the language used conveys an agentive relationship with ideological significance. As for the physical appearance, this study has emphasised how certain semiotic resources have been employed to accentuate agency and (mis)representation of Iraqis. Finally, the themes of religion and nationality have been put together to show how the concepts of religion and nationality are represented and/or interrelated.

This thesis is going to observe the filmic techniques related to cognitively positioning Iraqis as the Other (out-group), in addition to identifying the semiotic resources employed to enhance this type of distinction which depicts Iraqis (and Muslims) as 'barbarous' unchangeable people who need to be guided by the Us (the in-group), the 'literate' superpower.

In order to achieve the required aims of analysis, this thesis proposes a threefold approach to deconstruct the naturalised ideology contained in the frequency of representation and nature of portrayal of Iraqis. This approach is dependent on Christopher Hart's (2014a) Cognitive Linguistic Approach (CLA), Paul Chilton's (2004; 2005; 2014) Discourse/Deictic Spatial Theory (DST), and Van Leeuwen's (1996/2008) Social Actors Analysis. This framework will be described in accordance to categorical

importance, though each one completes the other. In addition, this thesis will make use of the Conceptual Blending Theory (BT) to analyse some visual metaphors implied in the films.

4.7.2. Context of situation

The stills excerpted from the selected films will be chosen for analysis not according to the scenes in which they appear, but rather on the context of situation as it is looked at from a linguistic point of view. In other words, the stills to be analyzed will be selected from different scenes which are related to the same situation.

It was J. R. Firth, the distinctive British linguist, in his *Papers in Linguistics* (1961), who brought attention to the concept 'context of situation' on which the nature of meaning is dependent. Robins (1971), has investigated the context of situation and referred to Firth and Mailnowsky who both emphasized this concept from an ethnographic and linguistic points of view. Robins (ibid: 37) points out that Firth has examined the context of situation "as a set of abstract categories by means of which he hoped that all the relevant factors involved in the use and understanding of an utterance and its components could be identified in situations and classified in descriptions". In other words, the production and comprehension of utterances is realized "within a shared context of situation" (ibid: 35). As a matter of fact, the context of situation is not only very important in creating comprehensive discourse units (Clancy & McCarthy, 2015, 448-449) but also non-verbal action, personalities, and relevant objects (Robins, 1971: 37). As for Halliday (2014: 265), he eyes the context of situation as a significant "well-established concept in linguistics". Indeed, Halliday believes that the context of situation can provide interpretation to the "[...] particular semantic system, or set of subsystems, which is associated with a particular type of situation or social context". He even regards it as a "semiotic structure" or a sequence of meanings resulted from the very culture-constituting semiotic system (ibid). Finally, the surrounding environment is quite significant in realizing a comprehensible communication. As Robins (1964: 27) puts it, "[...] utterance or the successive sentences appearing in a certain context of situation are brought into multiple relations with the relevant components of the environment. Moreover, Fairclough (1992: 83) contends that the context of situation can be viewed according to the mental map required to determine how interpretation of a certain text is affected by context in a given case. According to Fairclough, this process is realized as the situation, in question,

"foregrounds certain elements; backgrounds others, and relates elements to each other in certain ways; and a specification of which discursive types are likely to be relevant" (ibid).

4.7.3. The Cognitive Linguistic Approach (CLA)

This approach was formulated by Hart (2014a) to give a critical account for both written and visual types of data. Therefore, it will be very useful to categorize certain visual film stills and how they are cognitively evaluated by viewers. What makes Hart's approach so significant for this thesis is that it pays intensive attention to the way written and visual texts are comprehended by viewers, and this idea can be achieved through locating the social actors with reference to three variables; Anchor, Angle, and Distance. Section 4.7.3.1. below will extensively highlight Hart's framework.

4.7.3.1. Hart's CLA

In his book *Discourse, Grammar and Ideology: Functional and Cognitive Perspective* (2014), Christopher Hart attempted to provide a framework which could be used to critically analyse both verbal and visual data based on both Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) and Cognitive Grammar (CG), postulating that Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) cannot be useful in unveiling the hidden ideology of texts without appealing to grammar. Hart (2014a: 6) emphasized the interdisciplinary nature of CDA and its reliance on other disciplines whether in linguistics or critical theory. He (2014: 9) also contends that SFG and CG should both be exploited in CDA in order to provide a robust kind of analysis. Thus, SFG and CG can complete each other, since the former can only be useful to give description of given texts, while the latter can lend itself very well when focusing on the interpretation process of a given text:

[...] SFG may be ideal for description-stage analysis of representation and evaluation in discourse and their (ideological) communicative functions, it is less well furnished for interpretation-stage analysis, which, according to Fairclough, involves 'more psychological and cognitive concerns' (1995a: 59) with how hearers construct meaning in discourse. (Hart, 2014a: 9).

So that, we can say, that SFG focuses on the description side of texts, while CG has much to do with the interpretation one:



Figure (4.2) SFG and CG

Hence, Hart (2014a) proposes a Cognitive Linguistic Approach (CLA) which can provide conducive aspects of description and interpretation of both linguistic and visual texts, especially that some linguists started harshly criticising CDA for neglecting the interpretation aspect in text analysis which is done by adopting a cognitive linguistic stance (Chilton, 2005a; 2011), and that CDA is lacking the required linguistic analysis (Widdowson, 2004). Other CDA analysts recommended that certain cognitive concepts must be applied to CDA (Wodak, 2006), since the “processes of producing and interpreting texts” are considered to be cognitive ones (Fairclough, 2001: 16). Hart (2014: 11) points out that CLA emphasises the “cognitive reflexes of representation and evaluation in discourse.” He adds that this approach delineates “the relationship between linguistic structures in texts and conceptual structures in the minds of discourse participants.” We can distinguish some necessary concepts in CLA, such as embodied mind thesis, and peripersonal distance, which need to be characterised. All these concepts are of recent significance in CDA.

4.7.3.1.1. Embodied Mind Thesis

At this juncture, the embodied mind thesis is very important when we experience our surroundings. This thesis asserts that:

various cognitive tasks, including memory, judgement, reasoning and language, are tied to physical experiences we have with our bodies and their situatedness in the world, (Hart, 2014a: 82).

Since early childhood, infants tend to experience the world around them relying on their actions. Mandler (2004: 24), indicates that “In the first five stages, the mind is action oriented and action based. Infants understand the world primarily through their own actions on it.” According to Lakoff and Johnson (1999: 17):

Our sense of what is real begins with and depends crucially upon our bodies, especially our sensorimotor apparatus, which enables us to perceive, move, and manipulate, and the detailed structures of our brains, which have been shaped by both evolution and experience.

As for Johnson (1978: xiv), he believes that our comprehension and reasoning is highly related to our imaginative bodily experience, elaborating that “the embodiment of human meaning and understanding manifest itself over and over, in ways intimately connected to forms of imaginative structuring of experience.” It is significant, at this point, to state that Images, too, can also be handled with relation to our bodies. Hart (2014a: 82) suggests that “It seems perfectly reasonable to speculate that we make sense of images in much the same way: with reference to our bodies.” Therefore, the embodied mind thesis leads us to the other significant notion of peripersonal distance.

4.7.3.1.2. Peripersonal Distance

Personal space, as defined by Little (1965: 237), is “[...] the area immediately surrounding the individual in which the majority of his interactions with others take place.” Little (1965) divides man’s personal space into three distinctive zones; the intimate, the causal-personal, and the social consultative zones. These zones, he adds, are considered stable, though they may vary in accordance with the given situation. According to Hall (1966, [1982]), the peripersonal distance can be divided into four areas:

- 1- The intimate distance which extends from a person toward another in about 6-18 inches. This distance is looked at as the one realized by a man and his wife or girlfriend in when they are in an intimate situation.
- 2- The personal distance which extends from a person to another in about 1.5-4 feet. It can be described as showing the relation between close friends.
- 3- The social distance which extends from a person to another in about 4-12 feet. It can be recognized as the normal distance for socializing with strangers.
- 4- The public distance which extends from a person to other people in about 12 feet and more. As shown in figure (3.3) below.

Tversky et al. (1999: 516) provide three spaces which they call; the space of navigation, the space of surrounding, and the space surrounding the body. They elaborate that these

spaces are employed and conceptualized differently by people, hence, they are schematized differently in people's mental spaces. Tversky et al. (1999: 522) suggest that:

For the space around the body, we need to keep track of the objects surrounding us, objects that may be obstacles to our movements or that may be useful for our activities. Because their danger or utility depends in part on their locations relative to our bodies. For this situation, our bodies are schematized by our body axes, which vary in accessibility in systematic ways.

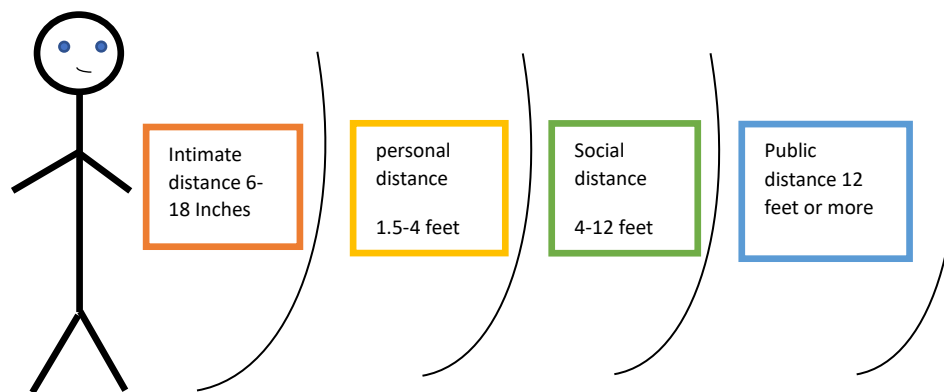


Figure (4.3) Peripersonal distance according to Hall (1966, [1982])

Talking about body axes, Hart (2014a: 82), following Tversky et al. (1998), states that “the embodied mind maps the space around the body in three dimensions relative to the body’s coronal (head/feet), sagittal (front/back) and transversal (left/right) axes.” These axes can be illustrated in figure (4.4):

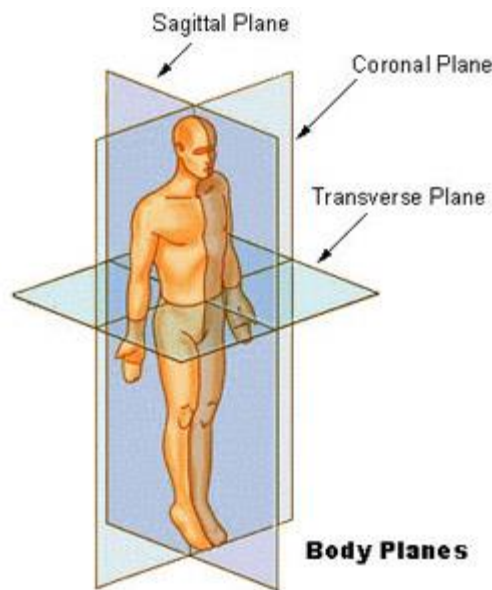


Figure (4.4) Body planes <https://training.seer.cancer.gov/anatomy/body/terminology.html>

Lakoff and Johnson (1999: 30) stress that these body axes or planes are realized in our imagination not as concrete objects in the real world:

Spatial-relations concepts are at the heart of our conceptual system. They are what make sense of space for us. They characterize what spatial form is and define spatial inference. But they do not exist as entities in the external world. We do not see spatial relations the way we see physical objects. We do not see nearness and farness. We see objects where they are and we attribute to them nearness and farness from some landmark.

Lakoff and Johnson (ibid: 34) point out that the conceptual structures formed in our minds are formulated according to our body shapes (and postures), for instance, our orientations are determined by our sense of sight which is realized in our fronts not backs and according to this front posture we interact with other people and walk forward, not backward. Thus, this orientation can underlie how “speakers describe the location of one entity (the locandum) in relation to another (the reference object) in a way that is relative to the speaker’s own ‘co-ordinates’ in space,” (Harta, 2014: 82).

On this ground, the process in which social actors are represented, activated or passivated, in Van Leeuwen’s (2008) terms, will be analysed according to the variables (or points of view) proposed by Hart (2014a), i.e., Anchor, Angle, and Distance.

4.7.3.1.3. Anchor

According to Hart (2014a: 85), Anchor, or anchorage, is a point of view or variable which is represented by the horizontal plane (Transverse plane) which is “analogous to film frames involved in panning.” Hart (ibid) shows that our orientation is related to a certain space on the horizontal plane which is composed in terms of a “conceptual metaphor STANCE IS POSITION IN SPACE which gives rise to metaphorical expressions such as ‘taking sides’ or ‘sitting on the fence.’” Hart suggests that this conceptual metaphor is established in our embodied experience. As far as still and moving images are concerned, a viewer would orient him/herself in an imaginative space based on associations supplied by the conceptual metaphor in question. This point can be represented in figure (4.5) below, where viewers can occupy one of four virtual stances, 0, 1, 2, or 3. These virtual points of view, in Hart’s (2014a: 89) words, “may have a number of ideological and affective consequences as they invite the viewer to share the perspective of a particular participant.”

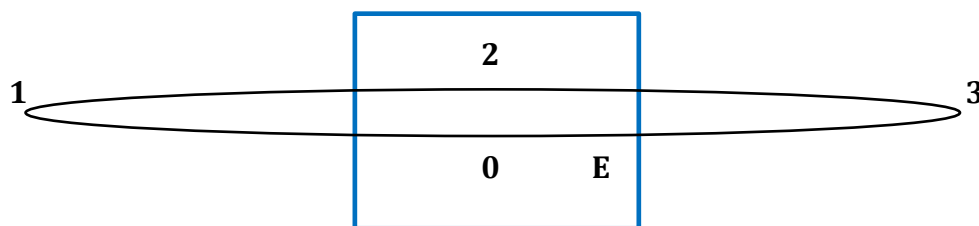


Figure (4.5) Cardinal points of view: Anchor (Hart, 2014a: 85)

We can take a sample still from the *Three Kings* (1999) film to show this relationship. Figure (4.6) below illustrate a US Soldier who shoots an Iraqi soldier from a far distance.



Figure (4.6) from *Three Kings* (1999) (at 0:01: 28)

This still can further be represented in terms of the anchor point of view as in figure (4.7) below:

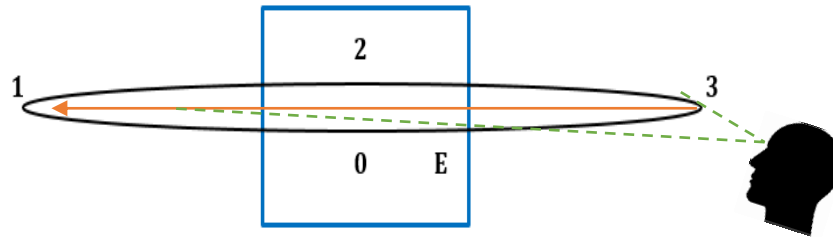


Figure (4.7) Point of view 3

It can be observed that the viewer is situated right behind cardinal point 3 which represents the US soldier. It can also be noted that the US soldier is clearly activated due to his nearness and the unidirectional flow of energy directed from his assault rifle towards the remote target makes him an agent. This is represented in the red vector with the tail near the soldier. The remote Iraqi soldier is seen as having a passivated action due to his remoteness and as being a patient. Moreover, a conceptual metaphor is enacted in the viewer's mind that MORAL IS CLOSE AND IMMORAL IS REMOTE which legitimates the killing process of the Iraqi soldier. The metaphor is enhanced by the other artefacts available in the still such as the baby's picture attached to the US soldier's helmet. In addition, as it is pointed out by Van Leeuwen (2001: 96), "Showing people from a distance (in a 'long shot') can also decrease their individuality and make them more into types, because from a distance we will be less able to discern their individual features."

4.7.3.1.4. Angle

Angle is the second variable point of view suggested by Hart (2014a). Angle differs from Anchor in that it is represented on the vertical plane (Sagittal plane). It corresponds to the tilting movement of the camera in filming. The tilting movement associated with the human's sagittal plane can be illustrated in figure (4.9) below:

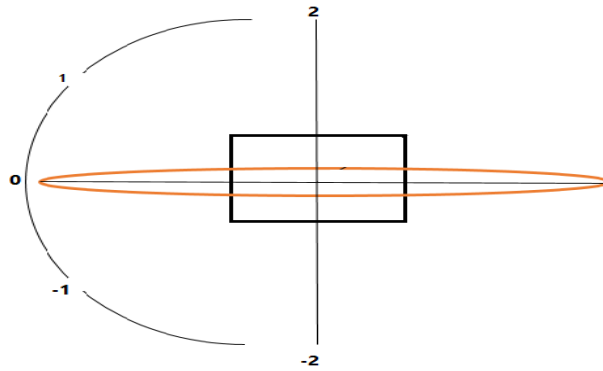


Figure (4.9) cardinal points of view: Angle (Hart, 2014a: 91)

The same figure (4.6) above can be represented according to figure (4.9). The viewer is located right behind cardinal point 0. 0 which provides us with an eye level view suggesting an equal relation. Hart (2014a: 92) specifies that “Cardinal points 1 and -1 encode diagonal views looking downwards and upwards, respectively. Cardinal point 2 encodes a ‘bird’s-eye’ view. And cardinal point -2 encodes a ‘worm’s eye’ view.” Returning to the embedded mind thesis, being located in cardinal points 2 and -2 gives rise to the conceptual metaphors POWER AND CONTROL IS UP/POWEERLESS AND LACK OF CONTROL IS DOWN, (ibid). This shows that the location represented in cardinal point 2 imposes a stance of power and control over, for instance, cardinal point -2 which is situated in a stance which connotes vulnerability, surrender, and lack of power and authority. Hart (ibid) mentions the fact that “In our physical experience, our body cowers in fright and stands tall in courage giving rise to a conceptual metaphor BRAVERY IS SIZE.” This can be shown in figure (4.10) below. This low angle shows a US soldier (Mark Wahlberg) located in cardinal point 2; his big size suggests power and control. The US soldier in this still appears to be the only activated participant (agent) which grants him a full authority.

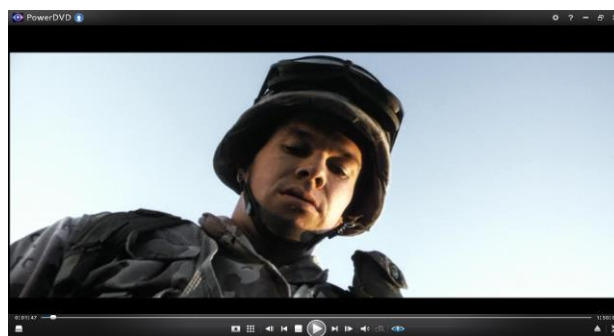


Figure (4.10) Low angle shot from Three Kings

4.7.3.1.5. Distance

This is the last variable point of view which is equivalent to zooming in filming. Hart (2014a: 92) states that Distance is involved in both the Anchor and Angle variable points of view. Distance can be illustrated in figure (4.11) below:

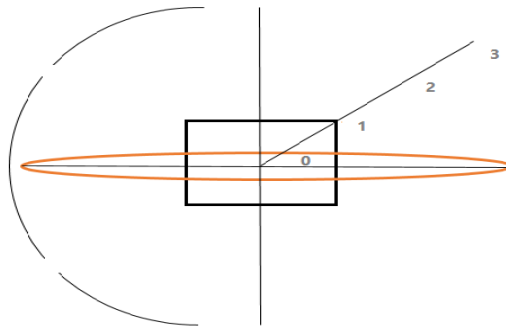


Figure (4.11) Cardinal points of view: Distance (Hart, 2014a)

This figure shows cardinal points from 0-3, i.e., from the nearest cardinal point of view from the event, i.e., cardinal point 0, to the furthest one represented in cardinal point 3. We can look at cardinal points 0-3 as similar to the personal distance areas shown earlier; the intimate, the personal, the social, and the public distance respectively. Cardinal points 0-3 can also “correspond with long shot, medium shot, close-up and extreme close-up,” (Hart, 2014a: 94). It is worth noting that the relation between Distance, Anchor and Angle involves effectiveness. Hart (ibid) emphasises that “the closer the distance, the stronger the effect of anchor and angle.” The following still shows this relationship:



Figure (4.12) Very close shot from Three Kings

This very close shot depicts a US soldier (Troy) inside an upside-down vehicle frantically looking at an anti-personnel mine. It can be observed that the mine is located within the

viewers' intimate distance which can definitely stir up the feelings of anxiety and danger in them. Hart (2014a: 132) supports the idea of how much is shown in the captured frame stating that "Shifts in distance pertain to how much of a scene is captured in the viewing frame. The viewing frame constitutes the conceptual content which, at any moment in the proceeding discourse, is currently the subject of the viewer's attention."

4.7.3.2. Discourse/Deictic Spatial Theory (DST)

Discourse Spatial Theory (DST) is highly related to the encoding of conceptual metaphors. In other words, during real discourse, or language in use, certain entities (utterer/interpreter) are positioned according to abstract three-dimensional axes, (Chilton, 2004; 2005; 2010; 2014). The relationship between speaker/and hearer is spatially conceptualized "to their physical location, to the point in time of the ongoing utterance, and to where they are in the ongoing discourse," (Chilton, 2004: 56).

According to Chilton (2004: 57), "Political actors are [...] always situated with respect to a particular time, place and social group." And this can be represented through deictic pronouns, such as 'we, us our' which can involve the conceptualisation of social "group identity, coalitions, parties, and the like, either as insiders or as outsiders," (ibid: 56). Chilton (2014) suggests an abstract three-dimensional space of DST which is originally established in the embodied cognition of physical space. He claims that this approach does not fit into all language characteristics, but it does have much to do with those properties encompassing the "situated use of language" (Chilton, 2014: 12). Consequently, "Each person has their own reference frame, grounded in their bodily orientation, which moves and turns with them," (ibid: 18).

Chilton's (2014) approach towards essential language properties is adopted from geometry, and more specifically from the "Euclidean three-dimensional space". In this approach, which is totally taken from geometry, the relation between geometrical transformations and the real cognitive operations is claimed to be correlated, (Chilton, 2014: 19). Chilton (ibid: 20) also employs terms like 'coordinate system' or 'axis system' to emphasise the relation with geometry. This correlation between DST and geometry is so important that it "allows us to model some fundamental properties of human discourse [and] enables us see the individual cogniser and speaker as situated at the intersection of different dimensions" (Chilton, 2005: 3). Accordingly, Chilton (2004: 58) suggests that "in

processing any discourse, people ‘position’ other entities in their ‘world’ by ‘positioning’ these entities in relation to themselves along (at least) three axes, space, time and modality.” These axes can stand for the three early mentioned body planes; the coronal, the sagittal, and the transversal planes. As stressed by Chilton (2010: 501), the “[...] spatial adpositions across languages exploit three-dimensional coordinate systems whose axes correspond to the sagittal, vertical and lateral axes of the human body.” These axes are going to be elaborated in detail below.

4.7.3.2.1. The d-axis (Space)

The Distance or space axis (d-axis) is considered the most essential axis in DST. “While spatial, temporal and social deixis are usually distinguished from one another, it may be the case that space is in some way more fundamental,” (Chilton, 2004: 57). What really distinguishes the d-axis from the other axes is its association with our comprehension of the “physical sense”, in addition, it is regarded as a “representational abstraction that reduces the three Euclidean dimensions to different spatial concepts, namely, direction and distance, which are part of human embodied conceptualisation,” (Chilton, 2014: 29). Figure (4.13) illustrates the three axes in question:

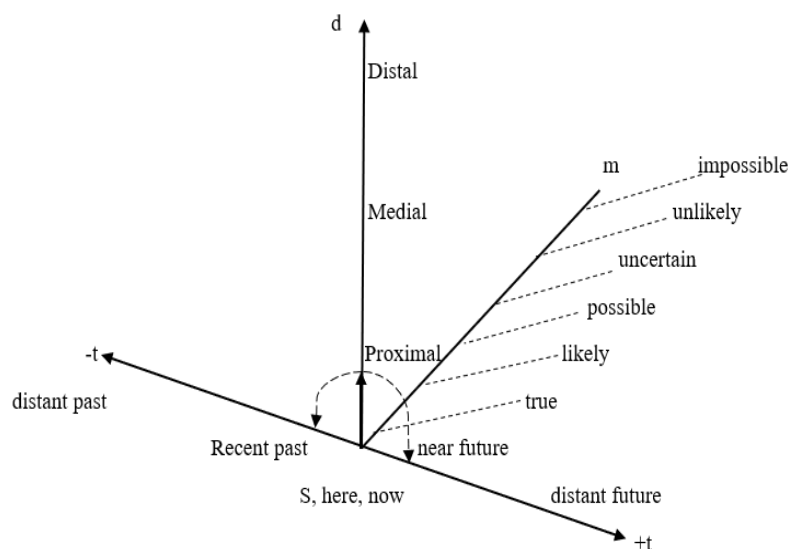


Figure (4.13) Attentional distance metaphorically projects onto temporal distance (Chilton, 2014: 34)

The d-axis which stands vertically can be divided into three abstract areas; Proximal, medial, and distal respectively. These areas may correspond to the peripersonal distance elaborated earlier in (4.3.3.); the intimate, personal, and social distance. On the d-axis

deictic pronouns can be attached starting from pronouns related to in-group, such as I, and we, and ending with those out-group pronouns, such as he, she, the enemy, etc. In other words, the deictic pronouns located closer to the deictic centre, or the proximal area, are representing in-group entities, while those situated away from the deictic centre are representing out-group entities. Chilton (2004: 60) points out that conceptual metaphors play a fundamental role in showing how social groups are represented on the d-axis:

“[...] social groups are conceptualised metaphorically on the basis of the image schemata *container* and *centre-periphery*. This is reflected in polysemous expressions such as ‘he has gone *too far*’, ‘*outside* the norms of convention’, ‘*within* the bounds of decency’, ‘*beyond* the pale’. Most telling are the concepts intuitively connected with ‘insiders’ and ‘outsiders’: insiders are those that ‘stay close to’ or ‘stand by our standards’; outsiders are expected, or suspected, to do the opposite. That which is morally or legally ‘wrong’ is distanced from Self. The scale is directional, oriented toward the Self’s authoritative ‘position’ with respect to Other.”

Basically, the distance from the deictic centre towards the other end is realized relatively not according to a certain precise order. Chilton (2014: 30) emphasises that certain deictic pronouns “[...] such as this vs. that [...] do not indicate precise measurements, but the entities referred to are distinguishable in terms of their relative distance from the speaker.” He also sustains that “[w]e are thinking of distance here not in metric terms but in terms of relative conceptual distance along the d-scale, grounded in psychological and linguistic considerations.”

Talking about political discourse and the universality of DST, Chilton (2004: 60) argues that:

Self is always right or in the right, the Other always wrong, or in the wrong. It is possible that a scale of this kind represents some universal conceptual pattern; what is certainly the case is that many instances of political discourse seem to build meanings that closely associate the Self with truth and righteousness, the Other with their opposite.

4.7.3.2.2. The t-axis

The time (t-axis) is shown as a horizontal line which extends from ‘-t’ to ‘+t’, i.e., from distant past to distant future. Between -t and +t other tenses are represented on the t-

axis such as 'near future' and 'recent past' which juxtapose the deictic centre 'now', as shown in figure (4.11) above. The representation of time on the t-axis is conceptualised in accordance with 'motion through space' which could be near or far from the deictic 'self', for instance; "[...] the revolution is getting closer', 'the time for an agreement has arrived', 'we are a long way from achieving our goals'," (Chilton, 2004: 58-59). The time zones, such as 'distant future' and 'recent past' shown on the t-axis can "correspond to proximal, medial and distal" on the d-axis, (Chilton, 2014: 33). Basically, the time zones shown on the t-axis, like is the case with the d-axis, are represented relatively in relation to the speaker's viewpoint, (ibid).

4.7.3.2.3. The m-axis

The last axis to be illustrated is the modal axis (m-axis) which is as equally essential as the other two early-mentioned axes. Chilton (2004: 59) explains the significance of the m-axis as follows:

With regard to the m axis a little more explanation is needed. The general idea is that Self is not only here and now, but also the origin of the epistemic *true* and the deontic *right*. The m axis seems to involve several strands. For instance, there are close connections between epistemic modality (having to do with degrees of certainty), deontic modality (having to do with permission and obligation) and negation.

So that, this axis which extends from the deictic self, as shown in figure (4.13), to remote entities can be described as a continuum starting with what is real (realis), with modal verbs such necessary, likely, possibly, and ending with what is unreal (irrealis) with modal verbs such as uncertain, unlikely, impossible, as illustrated in figure (4.14) below:

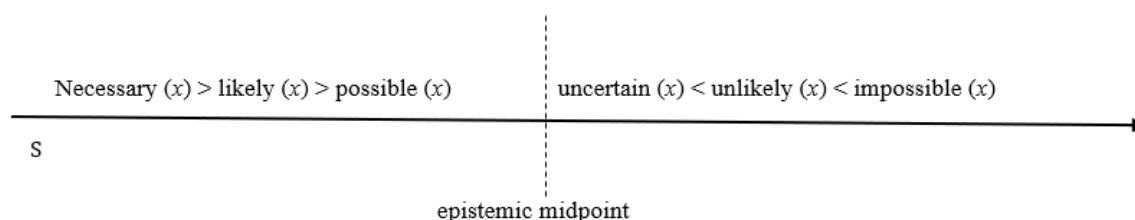


Figure (4.14) The m-axis (Chilton, 2014: 39)

According to Chilton (2014: 39) "What is close corresponds to what is most real for S and what is maximally distal modal corresponds to what is counterfactual, negated or unreal

for S.” Accordingly, “[...] the fact that modality, like space and time and social relations seems to be also conceptualised in terms of remoteness” (Chilton, 2004: 59). Hence, the closer an entity gets to the deictic self the more real it is realized, and the more distant it gets from the deictic centre the more unreal it becomes. On the m-axis, utterances are evaluated with regard to speakers’ comprehension which is related to “their subjective evaluation, or [...] in terms of the extent to which speakers decide to epistemically ‘detach’ or ‘distance’ the contents of an utterance from absolutely true assertions” (Chilton, 2014: 37). As far as figure (4.14) above is concerned, what is real or unreal in a given text is determined by the hearer/reader who can discern truth conditions of entities in terms of a cognitive denotative state. Chilton (2014: 38) demonstrates that:

The scale can be thought of as metaphorically spatial, in the sense that realis representations are positioned at S’s known reality; what S considers irrealis is ‘distant’ from S, or ‘remote’, ‘located’ at degrees of distance, with a limiting point that is counter to fact, i.e. ‘opposite’ to S’s known reality.

Essentially, DST can be used as a very crucial method for the analysis of both linguistic and non-linguistic texts. Chilton and Cram (2018: 416) emphasise that “[...] conceptual integration [especially the one provided by DST] is not only linguistic—it may also involve a combination of linguistic and non-linguistic representations.” Besides, he (2005: 6) states that:

The Discourse Space Theory [...] investigates the applicability of coordinate vector geometry for the representation of discourse processing, on the grounds that this formalism is systematic, well understood and, importantly, well-motivated for the description of non-linguistic perception and cognition.

Consequently, we propose that DST can conveniently be employed to analyse social actors’ non-linguistic artefacts, such as clothing, uniform, colour, etc. which Hart (2014a) indicated they cannot be systematically analysed within a grammatical framework. Hart (2014a: 75) has argued that “cultural artefacts such as clothing and their potential connotations are not easily approached within a grammatical framework.” In the following example a sample still from *Three Kings* (1999) film is analysed in terms of DST. The still shown in figure (4.6) above can be represented according to DST in figure (4.13) below. According to DST, Troy (Mark Wahlberg) was closer to us (the viewers) at the personal distance of the d and m axes. On the other hand, being situated at the remote

end of the S and M axes, the Iraqi soldier was alienated as an Other and as unreal. Figure (4.15) below shows a visual representation of agent versus patient in a way that it helps us understand how mental spaces are made by help of the imagined axes on which participants are located. We can recognize that artefacts such as the baby's picture attached to Troy's helmet, and Troy's own military uniform can both be situated very close to the deictic centre due to the fact that they carry meaning symbolically not what they "actually mean in the world (Machin, 2007: 125). It can also be observed that the mere baby picture affixed to the helmet can definitely be associated with "the western romantic idea of childhood and innocence," (ibid: 128).

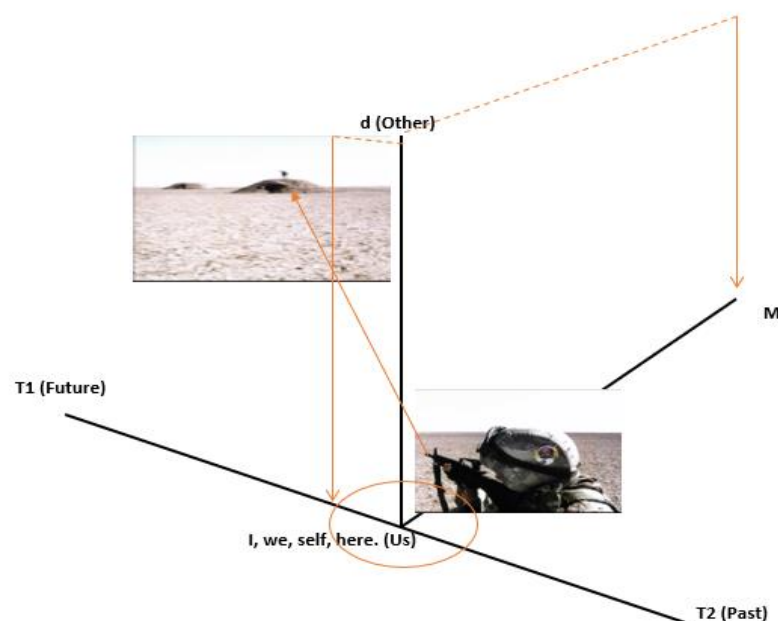


Figure (4.15) visual representation in DST

Moreover, the distance variable also plays a distinctive role in this DST analysis. It can be noted that Troy is located within our personal space and we are situated right behind him. Though he turns his back to us, but we feel that he belongs to our group as a defender who could receive an unexpected flow of energy, though he is portrayed as the source of energy flow towards an unidentified target through the imagined red vector which is equal to a performative verb as it is suggested by Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006). Therefore, the remote target is located at the far end of the d-axis and the remote end of the m-axis as envisaged as an irrealis.

4.7.3.3. Social Actors Analysis

The terms ‘actors’ or ‘agents’ are used in the jargon of sociology to refer to “individuals”, “person”, and “other” (Burke & Stets, 2009: 6). Social Actors Analysis is a type of discourse analysis developed by Theo Van Leeuwen (1996; 2008) which he used to provide a linguistic representation of social actions and actors. Van Leeuwen (2004) points out that this type of analysis has been developed within the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis. In his analysis of the “The Race Odyssey” data he collected from certain Australian newspapers dealing with the issue of immigrants, Van Leeuwen (1996; 2008) recognized that the social representation of immigrants in specific “institutionalized” grammatical uses has been targeting the public opinion of Australians towards immigrants. He adds that the way immigrants and immigration have been represented by the newspapers he collected was formulated to legitimize/delegitimize certain social practices in Australia. Van Leeuwen (2008: 28) states that in the selected newspapers, the “[r]epresentations include or exclude social actors to suit their interests and purposes in relation to the readers for whom they are intended.” Talking about his co-authored projects on social semiotics with Gunther Kress (1996; 2006), Van Leeuwen (2000) believes that Social Actors Analysis can also be used to deal with non-linguistic aspects of communication such as, visual representation of social actors and actions. This, he adds, can be realised when having to do with what he calls “us” vs “them” representation. Hence, Social Actors Analysis can lend itself quite flexibly with identity representation. What is important for this study is the capability of analysing multimodal texts not only linguistic ones. Van Leeuwen (2000: 349) affords five “strategies” suitable for a visual representation of people described as “others”. The first strategy is about excluding people, i.e., not representing them at all in a given context, while they are supposed to be present in the real world; this case can be similar to the way a photographer would crop his photograph excluding any undesired objects. The second strategy ascribes unbecoming and degrading statuses to specific agents, i.e., “[...] depicting people as the agents of actions which are held in low esteem or regarded as subservient, deviant, criminal, or evil [...]” (ibid). The third strategy involves making the represented people look the same; this strategy aims at unindividuating people and depicting them as “homogeneous groups” with no special traits. As for the fourth strategy, it inflicts people with “negative cultural connotation” in a way that they are shown living in an unfavourable milieu. The fifth and last strategy proposed by Van Leeuwen is that the

depicted people are racially stereotyped, for example, they are characterised by wearing similar clothes, colours, having similar skin colour and features, etc.

Van Leeuwen (2008: 29) argues that although some details about immigrants are assumingly known by targeted readers and could be described as “innocent”, but other details are meant to convey certain “fear” propaganda, such as depicting immigrants as “enemies of “our” interests.” Linguistically speaking, Van Leeuwen (ibid) points out that there are two ways to do so: suppression and backgrounding. The former completely ignores social actor(s) and never mention them in the text; and this can be illustrated in passive voice examples, for instance:

4.1- In Japan similar concerns are being expressed about a mere trickle of Third World immigrants.

In this example, (cited from Van Leeuwen, (2008: 29)), through the “passive agent deletion”, it is not mentioned who expresses these concerns. As for the latter, the exclusion is not considered essential, i.e., “[...] the excluded social actors may not be mentioned in relation to a given action, but they are mentioned elsewhere in the text, and we can infer with reasonable (though never total) certainty who they are.”

In an attempt to define social actors’ identity in visual texts, Machin and Van Leeuwen (2007: 44) suggest that people can be classified in accordance with two groups: functionalization and identification. In the first group, identity is defined with regard to “an occupation or role they do, (for example, ‘asylum seeker’, ‘immigrant’, ‘insurgent’, ‘guardian’, ‘pianist’, ‘mountaineer’, etc.).” While in the other group, identity is realized in what people “more or less permanently, or unavoidably are”. Here, Machin and Van Leeuwen (2007) recognized four types of identification: classification, relational identification, physical identification, and cultural identification. These categories of identity can be illustrated in figure (4.16) below:

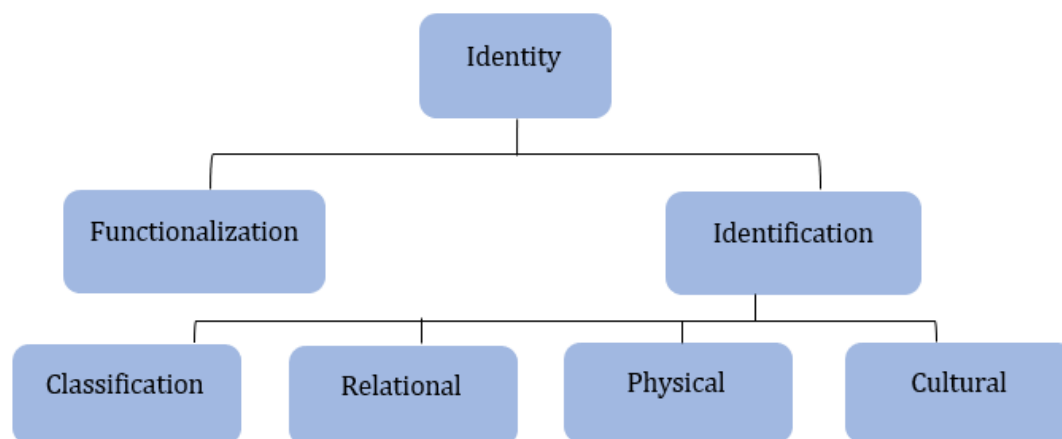


Figure (4.16) Social Actors Analysis of Identity adopted from (Machin & Van Leeuwen, 2007)

At this juncture, it is essential to elaborate these four identification categories. According to Machin and Van Leeuwen (2007: 45-47), classifying people can be done when describing them in terms of the social behaviour they adopt, for example ‘homosexual’ people. Relational identification of identity is realized when defining people according to their relationship with each other, e.g., the relationships associated with “kinship, work, friendship, networks”, hence, the “[l]imited, and culturally specific, sets of nouns [which] denote such relations: ‘friend’, ‘aunt’, ‘colleague’, etc.” As for the physical identification of identity, it is realized when constructing identity in accordance with “physical characteristics”. In this case, certain range of nouns indicating specific physical properties of people are articulated, for example, when colour of skin and hair is distinguishingly emphasized. The last categorisation of identity is the cultural identification. It is realized when certain aspects of culture are present, for example one can tell the status and nationality of people by the very clothing and hairstyles they wear. One more obvious example of this type of identification is the head scarves worn by Muslim women, i.e., the only presence of this head covering can motivate the onlooker to tell that what s/he is looking at is associated with Islam, (Machin and Van Leeuwen, 2007: 47).

4.7.4. Conceptual Metaphors and Blends

This section sheds light on the relationship between Conceptual metaphors and conceptual blends and how they correlate. However, our emphasis will be on conceptual blends and how they can be employed in illustrating visual metaphors.

4.7.4.1. Conceptual Blends

According to Turner (2007: 377), “[c]onceptual integration theory, [preferably Blending Theory (BT)], was founded jointly by Gilles Fauconnier and [Mark Turner] in 1993 and has been elaborated by [them] for more than a decade.” Being dependent upon mental spaces and having much to do with the dynamic nature of meaning making, some cognitive semanticists have asserted that BT has developed from Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) and Mental Spaces Theory (MST). These researchers have also emphasised that BT has evolved to accomplish what CMT and MST could not satisfactorily explicate, (Evans and Green, 2006: 400). Indeed, there were some linguistic issues whose explanation relied upon BT:

[BT was] originally developed in order to account for linguistic structure and for the role of language in meaning construction, particularly ‘creative’ aspects of meaning construction like novel metaphors, counterfactuals and so on. (Evans and Green, 2006: 401).

Besides, BT was so significant and rewarding that it motivated researchers in different fields of studies to apply it in “literary studies, mathematics, cognitive psychology, social psychology, anthropology, computer science and genetics,” (ibid.)

BT is a “[...] a powerful approach that can be used to describe how conceptual structure is projected between domains”, (Birsell, 2014: 304). Fauconnier and Turner (1998: 133) point out that blending, as a cognitive analogy-based process, is actively and effectively taking place in the very time when people start thinking. Chilton (2005c: 25) stresses that “[BT] offers an account of what the mind is doing when it processes metaphor-mappings, or when it constructs new concepts that are not metaphorical.” Hence, BT is not limited to provide analyses to certain grammatical constructions, but it can also be extended to meet other linguistic domains successfully. Turner and Fauconnier (2003: 469) state that BT can be employed to “many areas of thought and action, including metaphor and metonymy.” Essentially, mental spaces play a highly distinctive role in the interrelated conceptual operations of BT. According to Fauconnier and Turner (1998: 137):

Mental spaces are small conceptual packets constructed as we think and talk, for purposes of local understanding and action. Mental spaces are very partial assemblies containing elements, and structured by frames and cognitive models. They are interconnected, and can be modified as thought and discourse unfold.

Elaborating on mental spaces, Kövecses (2010: 267) argues that “[a] mental space is always much smaller than a conceptual domain, and it is also much more specific. Mental spaces are often structured by more than one conceptual domain.” Grady et al. (2007: 421) sustain this idea by saying that “[m]ental spaces [...] are not equivalent to domains, but, rather, they depend on them: spaces represent particular scenarios which are structured by given domains.” Cognitively, “[m]ental spaces are the domains that discourse builds up to provide a cognitive substrate for reasoning and for interfacing with the world,” (Fauconnier, 1997: 34). In addition, the construction of mental spaces is associated with frames and cognitive models:

The mental spaces set up in this manner are internally structured by frames and cognitive models, and externally linked by connectors, that relate elements across spaces, and more generally, structures across spaces. (Fauconnier, 1997: 39).

Mental spaces are functioning in working memory (short-term memory) where they are actuated through “structures available from long-term memory,” (Fauconnier, 2007: 351). As stated by Fauconnier (ibid.: 352), a mental space is framed when its aspects and relations are assorted together in a process that is known to us and can be described as a frame. Although a mental space can be “dynamically” organized in working memory, it can be “entrenched” in long-term memory. Fauconnier (ibid) gives the following examples illustrating that entrenched mental spaces could have other mental spaces adhered to them: “Other kinds of entrenched mental spaces are ‘Jesus on the Cross’, ‘Horatio at the bridge’, and ‘the rings of Saturn’.” In the case of ‘Jesus on the Cross’, the frame associated with the “Roman crucifixion” is evoked, as well as other frames such as “Jesus the baby”, and of “Jesus the son of God”, etc. Besides, “[a] mental space may be organized by a specific frame, such as boxing, and a more generic frame, such as fighting, and a yet more generic frame, such as competition, (Fauconnier, 2007: 352).

4.7.4.2. The Blending Operation

The blending process is a simple one which involves different possibilities. "It operates on two Input mental spaces to yield a third space, the blend. The blend inherits partial structure from the input spaces and has emergent structure of its own." (Fauconnier, 1997: 149). Actually, the blending operation requires four mental spaces to be successful: the generic space, input space 1, input space 2, and the blended space. Input space 1 and input space 2 are equivalent to CMT's source and target domains "except that they are more partial," (Croft and Cruse, 2004: 207). Following Kövecses (2005: 128), the blending process not only exploits CMT but it surpasses it, "[...] in that it can account for cases in which people imaginatively construct elements that cannot be found in either the source or the target domain."

4.7.4.3. The Four Spaces

As mentioned above, the blending process involves four mental spaces: one generic space, two input spaces, and the blended space which is the essential one. The generic space is the space which "[...] represents what the target and source domains have in common [...]," (Croft and Cruse, 2004: 207). According to Kövecses (2010: 270), the generic space has an abstract nature since it "[...] contains the abstract structure taken as applying to both input spaces." The generic "space is relevant [to conceptual metaphor] in two ways: either generic spaces can make metaphoric mappings between source and target domains possible, or two inputs will share abstract structures," (ibid.: 271). Hart (2010: 110) argues that the generic space can be observed "[...] in terms of theta roles, semantic categories which structure the ideational representation in discourse of a given scenario. For example, with regard to who did what to whom, where, and how."

As far as the relationship between the generic space and the two input spaces is concerned, "[e]lements in the generic space are mapped onto counterparts in each of the input spaces, which motivates the identification of cross-space counterparts in the input space," (Evans and Green, 2006: 404). Fauconnier and Turner (1998: 5) stress that "[t]he utility of the blend lies principally in its relation to input spaces; by itself the blend would do no effective work for us." That is because these "[i]nput spaces allow the creation of a generic space, that is, a space which captures the similarity between the two input spaces involving such elements," (Hurtienne, 2014: 73). In order to go forward in illustrating the blending operation we need to have an example. The best example, at this juncture, is

metaphor, because it “[...] is one particular kind of linguistic expression which prompts for the construction of a number of mental spaces,” (Hart, 2010: 109). In addition, “metaphors involve spaces which contain elements belonging to two different (potential) scenarios with different background frames or assumptions,” (ibid.: 110). Fauconnier and Turner (1998: 5) state that:

Metaphor is one of the phenomena that give rise to blends. It has the appropriate features: partial projection from input spaces; emergent structure in the blend; counterpart structure between input spaces; projection of integration of events from the source, the unconscious status of the blend until it is highlighted; cognitive work specific to the blend, and so on.

Let us take an example from Hart (2014a: 139), “Britain is bursting at the seams”, which is a comment made on the “British immigration policy under Labour Party”. Hart (ibid) points out that in view of this example, two input spaces are constructed. In input space 1 (the source domain) we have elements from the textiles frame, and in input space 2 we have elements from the immigration frame. If these elements are separately observed, i.e. literally, they will make no sense in the given context, thus, they need to be mapped in a process which is called ‘cross-space mapping’ (Fauconnier, 1997; Fauconnier and Turner, 2002). Cross-space mapping in metaphor “[...] depends crucially on a cross-space mapping between two inputs (the Source and the Target),” (Fauconnier, 1997: 168). Figure (4.17) below shows how cross-space mapping is realised. It can be observed that the solid lines relating input space 1 to input space 2 are functioning as the cross-space mappings. In other words, the cross-space mapping lines are interlacing two different frames or scenarios: the textiles frame and the immigration frame. The connected counterpart elements in the two input spaces can involve distinctive ‘vital relations’ (Fauconnier and Turner, 2002: 47). According to Turner (2007: 381), these vital relations “can obtain between mental spaces in the network (“outer-space vital relations”) or within mental spaces in the network (“inner-space vital relations”) or in some cases both.” Instances of vital relations can include: change, identity, time, space, cause-effect, part-whole, role, and others, (Turner, 2007: 381).

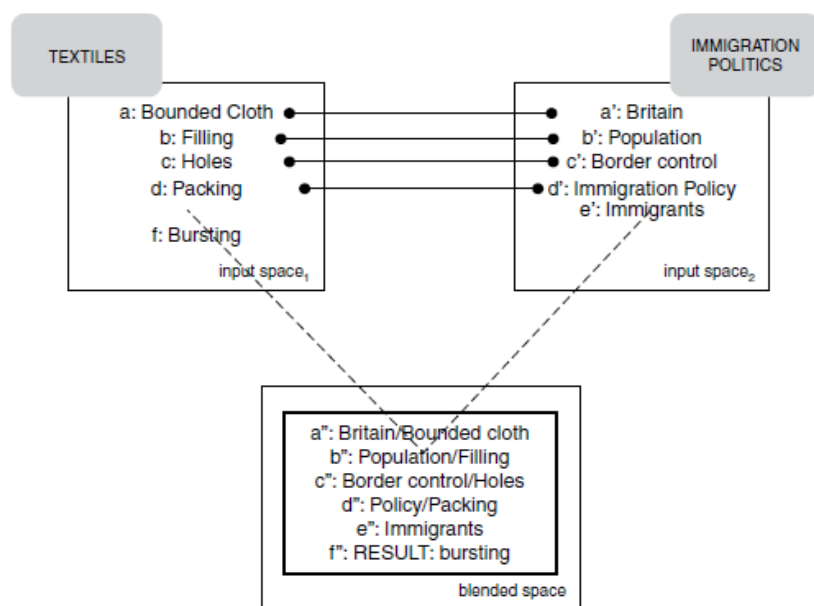


Figure (4.17) Integration network in 'Bursting at the seams' (Hart, 2014a: 141)

The construction of blending involves three operations: composition, completion, and elaboration, (Fauconnier and Turner, 1998: 144). 'Composition' is achieved when new relations are created by the space-mapping of two input spaces, (Hurtienne, 2014: 72). For instance, in the example 'Britain is bursting at the seams', the element 'Britain', which has the analogy of a 'Bounded cloth', develops into a new blend 'Britain is bounded cloth'. Regarding metaphor, this type of composition is called 'fusion', (Hart, 2010: 111). Fauconnier and Turner (1998: 144) maintain that "[b]lending composes elements from the input spaces, providing relations that do not exist in the separate inputs." As for the 'completion' operation, which completes 'composition', it is based on the employment of recruited frames:

Completion [is] based on independently recruited frames and scenarios: we rarely realize the extent of background knowledge and structure that we bring into a blend unconsciously. Blends recruit great ranges of such background meaning. (Turner, 2007: 397).

In other words, the process of 'completion' has to do with "[...] background knowledge, discourse context and basic cognitive abilities [which] provide the reader with additional structure to complete the blend" (Rohrer, 2014: 74). For example, in 'Britain is bursting at the seams' example, 'completion' is realized via frames related to the British policy

towards receiving new immigrants, and without these frames the process of ‘completion’ would not be successful. The ‘completion’ operation leads to the last process of blending, ‘elaboration’. ‘Elaboration’ is the process which runs the blend according to imaginative “[...] principles that have been established for the blend,” (Turner, 2007: 379).

The last and fourth separate space is called the blended space which can be observed from figure (4.14) that “the square inside the blend represents emergent structure,” (Fauconnier and Turner, 1998: 144). Returning to Hart’s Example (2014a: 142), “[...] in the blended space, we find the emergent inference that continuing to pack Britain full of immigrants will result in an expanding population and the country eventually bursting at the seams.”

What is really of interest to this study is the analysis of metaphors, and to be more specific multimodal metaphors. Multimodal metaphors, as defined by Forceville and Urios-Aparisi (2009: 4) as those “[...] metaphors whose target and source are rendered exclusively or predominantly in two different modes/modalities [...]” Multimodal metaphors which can be realised as “[v]isual blends, [and] as concrete visual images of conceptual blending processes, can serve as good illustrations of the blending framework,” (Rohrer, 2001: 196). BT, not CMT, is used to analyse multimodal metaphors in this study because the former is quite compatible with CDA (Hart, 2008: 1). The following example illustrates the blending process of visual metaphor.

In the very beginning of the *Three Kings* film the viewer confronts a written note which reads: “The makers of Three Kings used visual colours in some sense of this film. They intentionally used these unconventional techniques to enhance the emotional intensity of the story line.” This piece of information sustains some visual metaphors which could not have been possible were not for the change in colour techniques. Figure (4.18) below depicts the moment an Iraqi soldier is shot in the neck where his head is decapitated by the force of the bullet. The scene, though a kind of recollection of a previous event recited by another soldier, but, still, has a good metaphorical significance. It can be recognized in this short scene that the Iraqi soldier stays standing for a while even though he is decapitated by force of the shot. Besides, the blood forcibly spraying from his neck was comparably similar to the crude oil exploding out of an oil well, not only in the force of spraying but in the black colour too. The Iraqi soldier’s posture, which lasted more than usual, was also similar to the shape of an oil well.



Figure (4.18) Visual metaphor

This metaphor IRAQI SOLDIER IS OIL WELL can be represented according to conceptual blending theory as in figure (4.19) below:

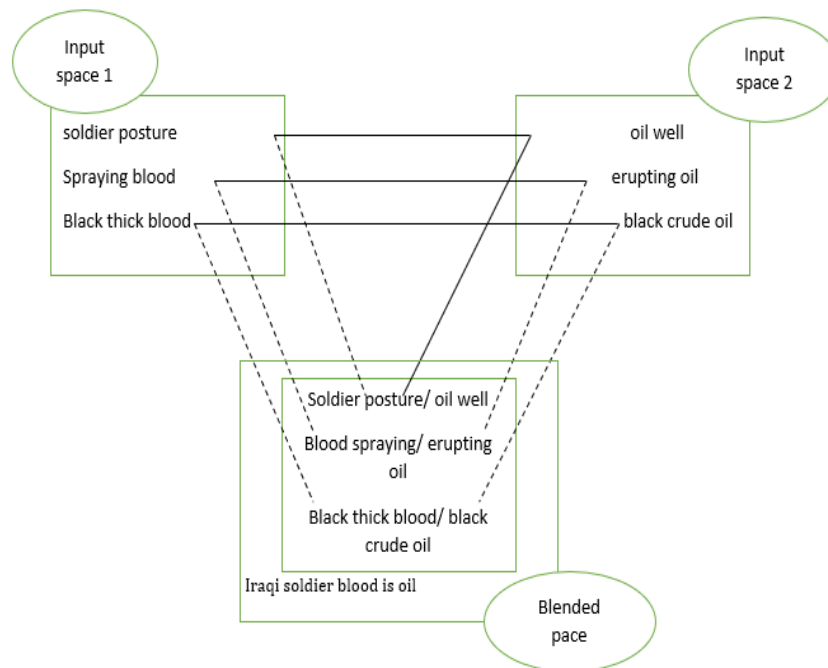


Figure (4.19) conceptual blend of visual metaphor

4.7.5. Transcription Features

It is worth mentioning that this thesis is not going to analyse all the scenes and shots of the selected films. Only those scenes and shots which are directly related to the depiction of Iraqis will be considered, i.e. irrelevant scenes are going to be ruled out. This study will

rely on extracted stills from each film to facilitate the process of analysis, taking into account that films are 'pictorial media' (Currie, 1995: 2). The idea of dividing a film into stills is adopted from Bateman (2012). The following table is designed to categorise identity representation in each film stills:

Categorisation				
Functionalisation	Cultural Identification			
	Linguistic	physical	environmental	Religious

Table 4.5. Stereotyping categorisation

It can be recognized that table (4.5) is divided into different divisions, such as the type of identity functionalisation, whether the identity in question is culturally identified in terms of linguistic, physical, environmental, and religious aspects. It is worth mentioning that the categories that make up table (4.5) are adopted from Van Leeuwen's (2008) Social Actors Analysis.

Finally, the five techniques adopted by Hollywood to accentuate the In-group/Out-group relation shall be manually counted and illustrated. These techniques can be stated as follows:

- 1- The use of non-Iraqi dialect and gibberish spoken language.
- 2- Emphasizing cultural backwardness.
- 3- Congenital violence.
- 4- Lack of variability (they are all the same).

Chapter Five

Analysis of the *Three Kings* Film (1999)

5.1. Introduction

The socio-cognitive approach utilized in this study will make use of Chilton's (2004; 2005; 2010; 2014). Discourse/Deictic Spatial Theory (DST) and the three significant variables proposed by Hart (2014a), i.e. anchor, angle, and distance, in analysing selected shots from the Iraq War films in which Iraqis and US soldiers are represented. Along with the socio-cognitive approach, multimodal critical discourse analysis will also exploit Van Leeuwen's (2008) social actors analysis to show how different characters are portrayed in the film shots to be analysed.

The analysis is going to deal with the '*Three Kings*' film which was released in 1999. This film is classified as an essential war collection by its distributor, the Warner Bros. Pictures. This film, also, was directed and screen played by David O. Russell, written by John Ridley, and starred by George Clooney, Mark Wahlberg, Ice Cube, and others. The film's scenes were located in Arizona, California (USA), and Mexico in order to imitate the environment of southern Iraq according to the Internet Movie Database (IMDB) http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0120188/locations?ref=tt_dt_dt.

The '*Three Kings*' film tells the story of four US soldiers who planned to steal the gold that was stolen from Kuwait by the Iraqi troops, but they, later on, discover that the people there, in Iraq, are in desperate need of their help. In addition, the film describes the situation of Southern Iraq in the wake of Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait in 1991 which resulted in a real chaotic predicament. The film focuses on how those soldiers have jeopardised themselves to save the lives of some Iraqi civilians and how they even shared the gold they recovered with those civilians in order to accomplish the rescue mission.

As a matter of fact, this film was selected to be critically analysed because it implies a great deal of covert ideology which is represented through various linguistic and non-linguistic semiotic resources. According to Kitaëff (2003) the *Three Kings* film is considered to be a complex film which explores the aftermath of 1991 Gulf War. She argues that despite the fact that this film tries not to represent Arabs in the usual stereotypical way Hollywood has used to represent them, it conveys a good deal of

“colonial ideology”. However, this film also represents a criticism to President Bush who called upon Iraqis to fight Saddam Hussein but he, later on, left them disheartened to face Saddam’s fury which resulted in numerous killings and persecutions, (Shaheen, 2001: 485). After being contacted by the Warner Bros Inc. to review the *Three Kings* film, Shaheen (2001) stated that he advised the producing company not to produce it because “[i]t perpetuates harmful images of Arabs and Muslims.” Hence, the analysis will attempt to show how Iraqis’ identities are represented in the scripts and the accompanying visual scenes of the film compared to non-Iraqis, i.e. the US troops. In this film, David O. Russell have used "fragmentary postmodern editing techniques to help convey the confusion of war and its aftermath—while also suggesting that U.S. foreign policy may be equally confused", (Booker, 2007: 40).

5.2. Analysis

The analysis will emphasize the frequently employed multimodal elements found in the films events. Certain selected stills will be analysed in terms of three main categories: 1. Language, 2. Physical appearance, and 3. Religion and nationality. The excerpted stills will be selected from different filmic situations, which directly or indirectly refer to Iraqis, and then will be analysed according to Hart's (2014a) variables, Chilton's (2004) axes of representation, and Van Leeuwen's (2008) Social Actors Analysis.

5.2.1. Situation 1

This subsection is going to deal with the very first scene of the *Three Kings* (1999) film. Situation 1 depicts an Iraqi soldier who was trying to surrender to the U.S. troops. However, he was shot dead by the confused Troy (played by Mark Wahlberg) who mistakenly thought he was posing a threat to him and the other troops. Stills 5.1 and 5.2, below, illustrate this situation.

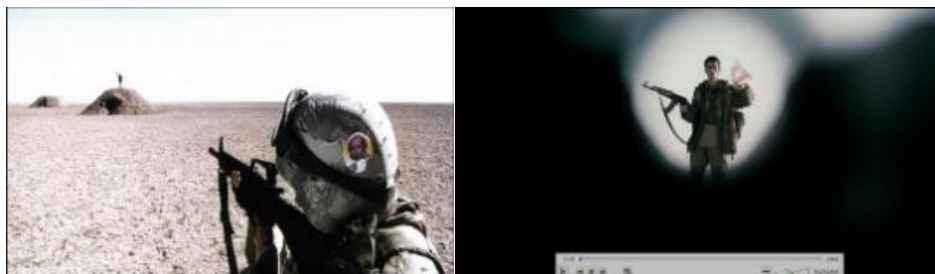
5.2.1.1. Language

The *Three Kings* (1999) film begins with a written note: "March 1991. The war just ended", marking the time of the event being represented by the film. When Troy observed the Iraqi soldier, the following speech turns took place between him and other U.S. soldiers:

5.1- Troy: Are we shooting **people** or what?

5.2- I think **this guy** has a **weapon**!

5.3- Conrad⁴: Whoa! Congratulations, my man, you shot yourself a **raghead**⁵. Dag! Didn't think I'd get to see **anybody** shot in this war.



Still 5.1 at (00:01: 28) Still 5.2 at (00:01:33)

While other U.S. soldiers were busy doing trivial things, Troy observed a figure of a soldier look-alike from a distance. He was not sure, especially that the war has come to an end, whether he is authorised to shoot any visible target or not. From the beginning of the situation marked by recognizing the 'enemy' soldier till its end which resulted in the killing of this very soldier, Troy and other U.S. soldiers never referred to this soldier as 'Iraqi', instead he was referred to as; "people", "this guy", "raghead", and "anybody". Actually, all these lexical items have not shown the real identity of the killed soldier who has posed a real threat when he directed the muzzle of his assault rifle towards Troy, instead they degraded him through the use of the word 'raghead'. In order to emphasise the danger this enemy soldier might cause to them, Troy has used the phrase "This guy has a weapon" to indirectly refer to a potential danger. The word "weapon" can easily evoke danger in the minds of audience.

5.2.1.2. Physical appearance

It is worth saying that the Other can also be distinguished or categorised in terms of physical appearance which has much to do with "facial appearance", "body appearance", and "clothing" (Jackson, 1992: 3,7; Nielson & Kernalleguen, 1976: 775, 779). This study will use the term physical appearance to refer to all these three aspects of facial appearance, body appearance, and clothing. Actually, before showing the first images of

⁴ Conrad (played by Spike Jones) is a U.S. soldier who is shown as a poorly-educated young man who always utters racial and offensive slurs.

⁵ Raghead is an "insulting term for South Asian or Middle Eastern people, in reference to turbans <https://www.dictionary.com/browse/raghead?s=t>

the *Three Kings* (1999) film, the viewers could hear an audible noise, which later came to be known as Troy's treading footsteps as he was jogging on the dry land of a barren vast desert heading towards the unknown figure of the Iraqi soldier. The noise, which lasted for 61 seconds, made by Troy's footsteps can give a clue to the viewers of which kind of environment he is present at, i.e., a desert. Looking at stills 5.1 and 5.2, one can realize how physical appearance can play a significant role in conveying meaning in addition to language. In 5.1, a transitivity relationship between an agent (Troy) and patient (an unidentified Iraqi soldier) is created. Besides, in the same still, Troy is depicted with his military uniform and a little baby picture is affixed to his helmet; viewers would easily conclude that Troy fathers a little baby. Using Van Leeuwen's (2008) term, Troy appears to be a "humanized" soldier who is shown to provide a metonym that 'US soldiers are family-endearing humans'. In about 100-yard distance, represented in a long-shot view (Still 5.1), Troy notices a figure climbing on a sand berm with a white flag in a hand and an Ak-47 rifle in the other. Believing that the figure may cause a real threat to him and to the other soldiers, Troy decides to take an instant action and shot the unclear enemy, especially that the target has turned his rifle into Troy's direction. Motivated by the conceptual metaphor MORAL IS CLOSE AND IMMORAL IS REMOTE (Hart, 2014a), we, as onlookers, are invited to take sides, and according to the spatio-grammatical perspective of distance, we take Troy's side who is known to us, and would legitimate his action of killing the distant unknown target whose unexpected potential harmful flow of energy could be directed against us. Besides, the shot person is still unidentified, but from his 'untidy different clothes', one can tell that he is a retreating Iraqi soldier who was trying to surrender, but the weapon he had to drop down led to his dramatic death, this suggests that he is a disorderly unprofessional soldier. The Iraqi soldier's figure is shown in a very long-shot, thus he is excluded and "impersonified". According to Hart's (2014a) figure of anchor cardinal points, the beholder, as a "bystander", is situated nearly behind cardinal point 3, while the shot Iraqi soldier is located in cardinal point 1 (figure 1 below). The flow of energy is travelling from cardinal point 3 through a body vector towards cardinal point 1. Technically, Troy, being closer to the beholder, is felt to be right while the far Iraqi soldier is associated with wrong (Chilton, 2004; Hart, 2014a). Figure 5.1 below shows the audience's 'we' position aligned behind the agent whose flow of energy is transmitted through an imagined vector toward 1, the vague threat.

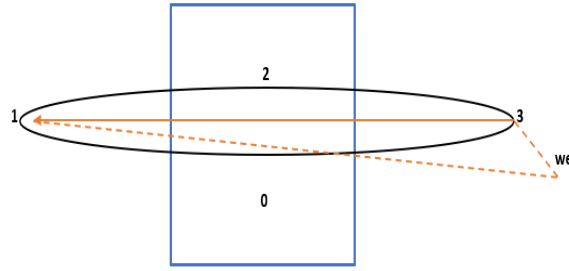


Figure 5.1 cardinal point of view: Anchor adopted from Hart (2014a: 85)

Figure 5.1 shows that the in-group social actor, i.e. Troy, appears to be a family cherishing man in uniform. While the out-group appears untidy and clumsy, and above all, confusingly untrustworthy and causing threat with weapon in hand and a white flag in the other. Furthermore, all the US six characters have avoided referring to the “other” character as an Iraqi. Instead, they referred to him as (this, he, anybody, people, guy, raghead), which enhances the aspect of Otherness. Figure 5.2 below illustrates all the three variables integrated. Consequently, Troy will be represented in accordance with the cardinal points X3, Y0, and Z0, while the Iraqi soldier will have the cardinal points X1, Y0, and Z3.

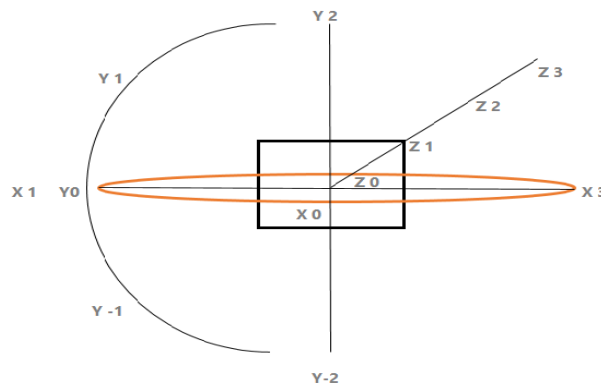


Figure 5.2 Idealized cognitive model for point of view (Hart, 2014a: 125)

Moreover, this scene can also be more clearly analysed according to Chilton’s (2004) Discourse Spatial Theory DST. According to DST, Troy was closer to us (the viewers) at the personal distance of the D and M axes. On the other hand, being situated at the remote end of the D and M axes, the Iraqi soldier was alienated as an Other and as unreal. Figure 5.3 below shows a visual representation of agent versus patient in a way that it helps us understand how mental spaces are made by help of the imagined axes on which participants are located. The variable distance also plays a distinctive role in this DST

analysis. It can be recognized that Troy is located within our personal space and we are situated right behind him. Though he turns his back to us, but we feel that he belongs to our group as a defender. The baby picture affixed to his helmet connotes that he has a family of which he is very proud, and this semiotic resource represented by the picture

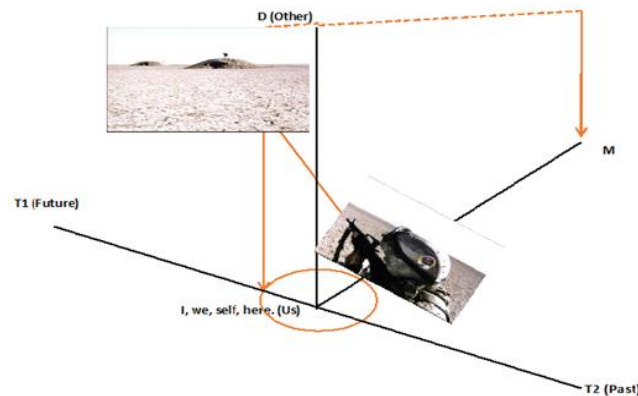


Figure 5.3 Visual representation in DST

meets the standards of western society. The unidentified Iraqi soldier who is far away, on the other hand, takes the far end of the M axis as an unreal.

5.2.1.3. Religion and nationality

Even though the aspects of religion and nationality are not present in situation 1 and the nouns used to refer to the killed soldier did not refer to his identity, but one can tell that he is an Iraqi depending on the phrase "March 1991. The war just ended".

Table 5.1 below illustrates situation 1 in more details:

Still No.	Function-aliased agent or Patient	Verbal individuation/ collectivisation	Categorisation			
			Cultural Identification			
			Linguistic	physical	Environmental	religious
6.1 and 6.2	Soldier	People, guy, raghead, anybody.	—	Non-white man, dressed in ragged military clothes with an Ak-47 and white flag.	desert	—

Table 5.1 Situation 1 representation

According to table 5.1, the represented soldier is not functionalised and not given identity. He is only verbally described as "people", "guy", "raghead", and "anybody" in a way to anonymise him. This anonymity which avoids ascribing nationality and function

to this man as a retreating Iraqi soldier could make the audience think about him as an outlaw militia man, in addition to showing him as a metonym of other Iraqis.

Still No.	Stereotyping techniques	Frequency of theme		Semiotic resources employed
		Civilians and rebels	Iraqi Army	
6.1 and 6.2	The use of spoken/written language	0	0	No spoken language is heard, though signing was present.
	Cultural backwardness	0	2	Clothes, action.
	Violence	0	1	Action
	Invariability of character (they are all the same)	0	1	Long camera shot, verbal description

Table 5.2 Situation 1 frequency of themes

The Iraqi soldier shown in situation 1 was not given the chance to speak up, though he was seen doing some unrecognizable signs. He is represented as culturally-backward twice through the ragged clothes he was wearing and the unprofessional manner he was following in surrender. He was thought to be using his rifle against the U.S. troops before being killed by Troy when he directed his assault rifle towards Troy (this idea was stressed by Troy when he said: "this guy has a weapon!"). As for character invariability, the Iraqi soldier was shown through a long camera shot unrevealing how he looked like or what he was doing (this idea is also emphasised by the nouns used to refer to him as "people", "raghead", and so on.).

5.2.2. Situation 2

Situation 2 depicts some Iraqi prisoners of war (POWs) who are surrendering to the U.S. and multinational troops. The situation starts with Captain Van Meter (played by Holt McCallany) giving surrendering instructions to the Iraqi POWs and sarcastically ends with the paper map taken out of an Iraqi officer's buttocks.

5.2.2.1. Language

Before meeting the Iraqi POWs, Captain van Meter has interrupted a rave party made by U.S. troops inside a military tent reminding them that they are expecting more Iraqi prisoners as in 5.4 below:

5.4- Captain Van Meter: We gotta take more **Iraqi prisoners** tomorrow! Tomorrow!

This is the first time the demonym "Iraqi" is used in the film. In the next scene Van Meter (still 5.3 below) is shown giving surrendering Iraqis some orders so that they are considered POWs as in 5.5 below:

5.5- Captain Van Meter: **Remove** the magazines from your weapon. **Sling** your weapon over your left shoulder, muzzle down. **Have** both arms raised above your head. **Approach** the multinational forces' position slowly. With the head soldier holding this document above his head. **If you do this, you will not die. You** will be processed as prisoners of war provided food, shelter, clothing, and be treated according to the guidelines provided by the Geneva Convention. **Do not** resist.

Captain Van Meter is using direct directive speech acts (imperative sentences) such as "remove", "sling", "have", and "approach" when instructing the surrendering Iraqis. He is also addressing them as "you", promising them with some privileges POWs will enjoy in accordance with "the Geneva Convention" if they accurately follow his orders; if the Iraqi soldier killed by Troy had followed these instructions, he would have lived. In 5.6 below Troy is repeating the instructions stressed by Captain Van Meter to some seated Iraqi POWs:

5.6- If **you** do this, **you** get this. (to one of POWs) **Sir**, **you**'re gonna have to take the **turban** off as well, okay?



Still 5.3 at (00:06:13)

Still 5.4 at (00:06:46)

In 5.6 above, Troy is addressing the Iraqi POWs using the pronoun "you". He also sarcastically called one of them with the respectful term "Sir", but told him to remove his head cover, a black and white keffiyeh wrapped up like a turban, "Sir, ... take the turban as well" (still 5.4 above).

Contrary to the calm way with which Troy is dealing with the Iraqi POWs, Conrad is making them panic by shouting and threatening them with a pistol, using offensive language as in 5.7 below:

5.7- Conrad: Did **you** rape and torture anyone in Kuwait, **Abdul**⁶? (to another POW) What about you **motherfucker**?

As a matter of fact, all the offensive language used to refer to Iraqis is expressed through Conrad, who is described as an ill-educated person with no proper education, as later mentioned by Chief Elgin (played by Ice Cube). In 5.7, Conrad has used offensive words to describe the Iraqi POWs such as "Abdul" and "motherfucker". While Conrad was threatening the POWs with his pistol, they were expressing their fear through uttering gibberish language. Now Conrad is pointing his pistol at an Iraqi Major (still 5.5 below) who is refusing to take his clothes off as shown in stills 5.5 and 5.6 and heard in a conversation in 5.8 below:

5.8- Conrad: Take **these things** off. Hey, no **comprende** English, **motehrfucker**?

5.9- Troy: Please you're making **them** crazy.

5.10- **He** wouldn't take **his fucking rags** off.

5.11- Troy (to the Iraqi Major): Excuse me, **sir**. ... We're gonna need **you** to disrobe like all the other **towelheads**, okay?

5.12- Iraqi Major: (in Arabic) leave me! Do not talk to me! Leave me alone!

5.13- Troy: Strip him down. ...There's a document in **that guy's ass**.

5.14- Conrad: Do you think **he** ate it?

5.15- Troy: No... (to Conrad) Pull it out, private.

5.16- I didn't join the Army to pull papers out of **people's** asses.

Just like situation 1, the language used in situation 2 did not directly refer to the nationalities nor the function of the people represented. In 5.8-5.16 above Troy and Conrad were discussing how to deal with a stubborn Iraqi officer who refuses to take off his clothes like the other POWs. The Iraqi officer was not functionalised as an officer nor as an Iraqi, instead he was referred to as "motherfucker", "them", "he", "sir", "towelhead", "guy", and "people". The word 'towelhead' is "an abusive term describing a person who wears a turban or keffiyeh" (www.oxforddictionaries.com). the word 'towelheads', here, is used to describe Iraqis, while the term is originally used to refer to Arab Bedouins and

⁶ Abdul is a Muslim and Arabic first part of a compound name referring to one of the contributions of Allah mentioned in the Koran (Hanks, 2003: 3), and it also refers to potent black people (www.urbandictionary.com).

the Persian Gulf Arabs who put on this kind of towel-like headwear. Hence, the word towelhead is used as a metonym to refer to all Mideastern people.



Still 5.5 at (00:07:37)

Still 5.6 at (00:08:05)

The paper map taken out from the Iraqi officer's buttocks has become a degrading sarcastic theme which has circulated and differently interpreted among the U.S. and multinational troops. For instance, as Major Gates (played by George Clooney) was accompanying Adriana Cruz, a TV reporter, (played by Nora Dunn) the following speech turns have taken place:

5.17- Major Gates: It was in the **guy's ass**.

5.18- Soldier: That's not the real story. It was in the **guy's dick**.

5.19- French special forces member: They pulled it out of the **guy's ear**.

Still, the Iraqi officer is not mentioned or functionalised but referred to as a "guy" who became a source of sarcasm. Referring to the map has not stopped yet, it was also mentioned inside a tent where Troy is seen helping Conrad wash his hands up (shown in a close camera shot) with an alcohol sanitiser and they were discussing this issue in 5.20 below:

5.20- Troy: Come on, you've washed your hands a thousand times.

5.21- Conrad: Lord knows what vermin live in **the butt of a dune coon**.

5.22- Troy (to Walter): Just stand outside so Chief and I can translate **my Iraqi ass map**, okay?

The "butt" map pulled out of an Iraqi is still emphasised. The Iraqi officer is offensively referred to as "a dune coon" this time and is still not identified. The word "dune coon" is a highly racial and offensive word that is "[...] used to describe any one of brownish tan skin and of Arab descent" (www.urbandictionary.com). In 5.22, Troy tells Walter (played

by Jamie Kennedy) to guard the tent from outside as he and Chief translate the "Iraqi ass map". The map this time is identified as Iraqi. Finally, the map they obtained from the Iraqi officer was depicted in a close camera shot, as shown in still 5.7 below:



Still 5.7 at (00:08:41)

In still 5.7 above, the map is clearly shown in a close-up and it is written in a complete gibberish writing.

5.2.2.2. Physical appearance

In stills 5.3, 5.4, and 5.8, as they are taking orders from the Americans, Iraqi POWs are shown surrendering in a state of chaos and disorder to the US troops. These Iraqis, who are physically identified by way of their ragged clothes, are shown in long camera shots which makes it hard for the audience to recognize their appearance; they all appear to be the same. It can be observed from the stills in question that Iraqis are shown in a state of anarchy; they do not behave like professional soldiers who have received regular training, thus they cannot approach the American soldiers in regular queues.



Still 5.8 at (00:08:38)

Still 5.9 at (00:06:48)

Nevertheless, the real photos provided by google images showed that the Iraqis who surrendered to the coalition forces were armless and followed careful methods of surrender. For instance, the photos found on google images depicted the Iraqis approaching in disciplined queues and the leading POWs raised white flags,

(https://www.google.co.uk/search?q=iraqi+soldiers+surrendering+1991&source=lnms&tbn=sch&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiP28XGv9LWAhVEPRoKHfbOBL0Q_AUICigB&biw=1366&bih=662).

In still 5.3, we, the viewers, are situated right behind the US officer, Captain Van Meter, who is using a megaphone while giving orders to the 'disorderly' surrendering Iraqi soldiers. In the same still, the Iraqis, who look dwarfed by Captain Van Meter and his interpreter, appear in a state of exaggerated panic as they receive his orders while being forced to comply to those orders by US soldiers. Here, the conceptual metaphors MORAL IS CLOSE AND IMMORAL IS REMOTE, POWER AND CONTROL IS UP/POWERLESS AND LACK OF CONTROL IS DOWN, and BRAVERY IS SIZE all work in still 5.3 respectively. Besides, also in still 5.3, all the Iraqis appear to be similar and the audience can hardly distinguish between one another, hence, an out-group/in-group difference is created; the disorderly Iraqis in ragged clothes versus the tidy US soldiers who try to tame them. The observing audience of the film will certainly take the Americans' side, since the orderly civilised Americans who form a partition between us and the uncivilised Other appear to be closer to the western style of life. Figure 5.4 below represents this in-group/out-group relationship:

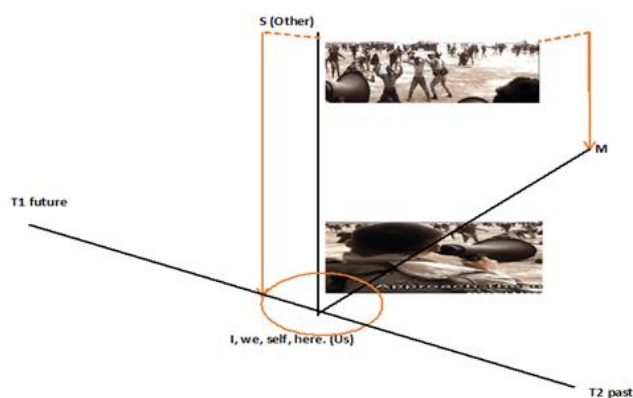


Figure 5.4 in-group/out-group relationship in DST

According to figure 5.4, the Iraqi Others are located at the far end of the D axis, while the American officer is situated nearer to the base which forms the in-group or 'Us' area. During the time Captain Van Meter speaks to the Iraqis, the camera is kept located right behind him, putting him in front of the audience, as if he hinders them from approaching Us; the camera only takes close-ups of Iraqis when it comes to show how disorganized they are, or when Americans are shown to be helping them up, as in still 5.9. In still 5.9,

the audience of the film are located face to face with the Iraqis being helped by the Americans situating them closer to the base of the D axis as shown in figure 5.5 below:

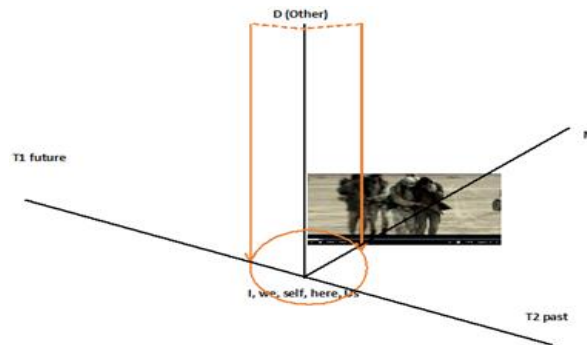


Figure 5.5 in-group/out-group relationship in DST

Being escorted and aided by American soldiers to walk, the Iraqi POWs shown in figure 5.5 would get closer to the in-group area located at the base of the D axis. Not only they get relatively closer to the intimate distance, but also closer to the base of the M axis giving them a more real and moral entity, hence, more confidence which gives rise to the conceptual metaphor MORAL IS CLOSE. As for stills 5.5 and 5.6 above, they depict an unyielding Iraqi Major, as his uniform shows, who refuses to comply with the orders given to him by the coalition forces. He keeps shouting in Iraqi Arabic "Away from me, leave me, don't touch me!". Conrad, the uneducated US soldier, is the person who tries to force the Iraqi officer take his "rags off" assisted by two other soldiers. As the ground-facing laid down POW struggles to keep his clothes on, the American soldiers undress him by force revealing his bare bottom. To their surprise, and to continue with this humiliating scene, the Americans found out a rolled-up piece of paper protruding from his buttocks. The Iraqi officer who keeps shouting, making complaints, and refusing to "disrobe" like the other POWs, cannot be located in the audiences' intimate space for being a stubborn and unyielding POW; he is rather put at the far ends of the D and M DST axes as an Other. Even though the Iraqi officer has entered the ingroup intimate space causing a state of disturbance and threat, the audience will not take his side but reject him as an Other. In still 5.6, though the Iraqi officer is still located in our intimate space, two of the US soldiers are shown in a low angle (at Y1 in figure 2 above) in a way that they sustain the conceptual metaphor POWER AND CONTROL IS UP/POWERLESS AND LACK OF CONTROL IS DOWN. Therefore, the audience will feel that the situation is at full control.

5.2.2.3. Religion and nationality

Situation 2 has included some direct verbal references to Iraqi nationality only. For instance, Captain Van Meter has warned his troops that they need to stop their raucous party because they have to be prepared for receiving more "Iraqi prisoners". Also, Troy referred to the map obtained from the Iraqi officer's buttocks as "the Iraqi ass map". As for religious aspects, they have also been verbally indicated when Troy was heard instructing one of the Iraqi POWs to take his "turban⁷" off; the verbal command was enhanced by a visual representation of a black and white keffiyeh stylised like a turban. Eventually, when Conrad was threatening some Iraqi POWs with a pistol, he addressed one of them as "Abdul" which has some religious connotations.

More details about stills 5.3-6.9 can be illustrated in tables 5.3 and 5.4 below:

Still No.	Function- aliased agent or Patient	Verbal individuation/ collectivisation	Categorisation			
			Cultural Identification			
			linguistic	Physical	Environmental	religious
6.3-6.9	Iraqi POWs	Iraqi prisoners, them, towelheads, people, you, sir, Abdul, he, motherfucker, guy, dune coon.	Iraqi officer was expressing complaints. Iraqi POWs were heard saying gibberish.	Non-white POWs dressed in ragged clothes.	Desert	The words Abdul and turban.

Table 5.3 Situation 2 representation

The Iraqis shown in table 5.3 are all functionalised as POWs through a verbal reference as "Iraqi prisoners", in addition to the instructions directed to them at the beginning of situation where they have been addressed as "you". However, when being talked about they have been collectivised through the use of nouns and pronouns such as "them, towelheads, people" and so on. Linguistically, the Iraqis have not been heard speaking, except for some of them who spoke gibberish and the Iraqi officer who was complaining from being forced to disrobe. Table 5.4 below shows more details on the frequency of semiotic resources and stereotyping techniques used in the film:

⁷ A turban is a "head covering for a man, worn especially by Sikhs, Muslims, and Hindus, made from a long piece of cloth that is wrapped around the top of the head many times" (www.dictionary.cambridge.org).

Still No.	Stereotyping techniques	Frequency of theme		Semiotic resources employed
		Civilians and rebels	Iraqi Army	
6.3-6.9	The use of spoken/written language	0	2	Use of gibberish and loud complaints in Arabic.
	Cultural backwardness	0	2	Clothes and action.
	Violence	0	0	0
	Invariability of character (they are all the same)	0	3	Clothes, action, long camera shots, and language.

Table 5.4 Situation 2 representation of theme

According to table 5.4, the majority of Iraqi POWs have not been heard speaking anything, except for some who spoke gibberish and the stubborn Iraqi officer who was expressing complaints about forcing him to take off his clothes. The Iraqi POWs have been represented as culturally backward through action (non-disorderly surrender) and ragged clothes. However, no violence was detected in this situation. As regards invariability of character, they have been represented as all the same through clothes, action, camera shots, and the language used to refer to them.

5.2.3. Situation 3

Situation 3 has to do with the beginning of Major Gates, Troy, Chief, and Conrad's journey towards retrieving the Kuwaiti gold bullions hidden in bunkers near the Shiites city of Karbala. The situation ends with the Three Kings team deceived by one of the Iraqi soldiers who sent them to another place.

5.2.3.1. Language

This subsection includes speech turns made by Iraqi civilians, rebels, army, and the three kings about Iraqis. In this situation the Iraqi civilians appear to be in urgent need to get help from any saviour to rescue them from the persecution they are inflicted with by Saddam Hussein and his troops. The film is also emphasising the idea that the first Gulf War launched against Iraq was not accomplished because Saddam Hussein is still in power and he abuses this power to kill his own people. Before launching their journey, the following conversation has taken place:

5.23- Gates: What do you think is inside the bunker?

5.24- Troy: Stuff **they** stole from Kuwait.

5.25- Gates: The first thing we have to do is make sure it's more than **a love letter** from one **Iraqi** to another. **Saddam** stole it from the sheiks, I have no problem stealing it from

Saddam. My guess is that **he** divided his bricks into many different stashes. Just one stash should be easy to take from **his surrendering army**.

In 5.24, Troy uses the subject pronoun "they" to those who stole "stuff" from Kuwait. He did not identify who did the stealing; the pronoun "they" could refer to every Iraqi. In 5.25, Gates clarifies who did the stealing, Saddam, the Iraqi President at that time. But Gates need to make sure whether the map, obtained from the Iraqi officer's behind, is not a mere letter sent "from an Iraqi to another". Gates's comment on the map could sarcastically refer to a homosexual relationship between the officer and another. Besides, Gates stated that it is easy to take the gold bullions from "Saddam's surrendering army". Here, the Iraqi army is represented as cooperating with Saddam in hiding the gold he stole from Kuwait.

In 5.26 below, when Conrad and Chief started to throw and shoot TNT-stuffed footballs, because they did not witness any action during the war, Gates became fed up and stopped the Humvee he was driving reproving them:

5.26: Gates (looking at a badly burnt corpse near the road): Is this what you're after? We dropped a lot of bombs **here**. We also buried a lot of **guys** alive.



Still 5.10 at (00:18:53)

Still 5.11 at (00:18:51)

In 5.26 above, Gates describes to Conrad and Chief how they killed a lot of "guys" (still 5.10) by throwing bombs at them. The word "guys" is used by Gates to refer to Iraqi soldiers in a way to collectivise them. On the other hand, 5.27-5.32 below, ascribes Iraq's problems to Saddam Hussein:

5.27- Troy: The fuck was going on back there, Major? **Civilians spitting on soldiers. Soldiers shooting civilians.** Ignoring us like we weren't there.

5.28- Gates: **They** surrendered. Now **they're** after **civilians**.

5.29- Why'd **they blow up** that milk truck?

5.30- Chief: Trying **to starve the people out**.

5.31- Conrad: Why?

5.32- Gates: Bush told **the people** to rise up against **Saddam**. **They** thought **they** had our support. Now, **they're getting slaughtered**.

In 5.27-5.32 the political and humanitarian conditions of Iraqi Shiites are discussed, though no direct indications are used. For instance, Troy, in 5.27, wonders about the clashes that happened between Iraqi civilians and soldiers when the three kings went into the village. In 5.28 and 5.29, the Iraqi government and army are referred to by using the subject pronoun "they". The Iraqi Army and Saddam Hussein are accused of "starving" "civilians" by not allowing food to reach them. George Bush, the former U.S. President is also accused of letting Iraqi civilians and rebels down by not supporting them against Saddam Hussein. Here, the pronoun "they" and the word "people" are used to avoid identifying the people as Iraqis (see 4.9.1. in chapter four for more historical details).

When the 'three kings' arrived in the village, which is supposed to be located near the Shiite city of Karbala where rebellion against Saddam reached its climax, they have been happily received by both civilians and rebels. The following expressions have been recognized when the Americans got in:

5.33- Man: (In Arabic) **الأمريكان ... الأمريكان أجو ... يَلْه أجو (The Americans have come! Come on, come on, they have come!).** (Women's **Ululation**⁸ is heard).

5.34- Young woman (crying): **Milk! Baby milk!**

5.35- **Allahu Akbar! Allahu Akbar!** (Allah is great) **والموت لصدّام (death be to Saddam!)** (English Subtitle) (in Arabic) **جايين يخلصونا من صدام (they (the Americans) have come to rid us of Saddam.**

5.36- Rebel man: (as he hugs Troy inside bunker) Hey, **I love the United States of freedom. I am hate Saddam.**

5.37- Man with megaphone: (while Iraqi civilians are throwing stones at the Iraqi Army) (English subtitle not spoken in Arabic) **down with Saddam's Army.** (in Arabic) **جايين يخلصونا من صدام (they have come to rid us of Saddam).**

⁸ [Ululation] is an exclusively female vocalization typical of Middle Eastern, African, and (to some extent) southern European women. It is produced with a high-pitched, loud voice, accompanied by rapid movement of the tongue and the uvula (Jones, 2001: 430).

5.38- Voices from different civilians: (to Gates and other Americans) **Please bring us food! Medicine. We need doctor.** (woman) **Hospital** (in Arabic عافية Please). (man) **we need your help, please.**

5.39- Iraqi rebel: **take me, take me, please take me!**



Still 5.12 at (0:22:01)

Still 5.13 at (00:22:36)

Still 5.14 at (00:23:07)

In 5.33-5.39, after expressing happiness after seeing the three kings, Iraqi civilians and rebels are calling upon their fellow-Iraqis to come out. They even started throwing stones at "Saddam's Army" encouraged by the "Americans" (still 5.14 above). They have also started begging the Americans for help to get food, baby milk, medical care, and so on. Others, as in 5.39, even asked the Americans for escape (still 5.12 above).

In 5.40 below, the Iraqi Army guarding a headquarter were represented as very confused and easy to control as they saw the Americans covered with the cow blood:

5.40 – Iraqi soldiers (as they observe the blood-stained Americans): They are **butchers** covered in blood.

However, the Iraqi Republican Guards, who arrived later in a military lorry outside the bunker, have been depicted as unswerving tough soldiers who contained the furious civilians effortlessly. They have even prevented a milk-laden tanker from getting into the village by shooting the driver dead and causing the milk to escape out by shooting it with an RPG. The Republican Guards' action has been supported by 5.41 below:

5.41- (in Arabic) اوگفوا، اوگفوا (Stop, stop!) **Stop the truck, nothing comes in!**



Still 5.15 at (00:23:23)

Still 5.16 at (0:24:08)

The agency relationship in 5.41 can be illustrated in figure 5.6 below:



Figure 5.6 Agentive relationship

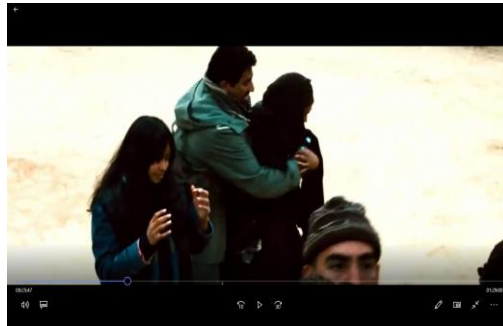
The agentive relationship illustrated in figure 5.6 and still 5.15 above shows how the Iraqi Republican Guards (A) are preventing the tanker (P) from entering the village to supply its people with milk. The vector traveling from A (located in the landmark LM) to P represents the flow of energy (through shooting). This relationship is supported by the phrase "nothing comes in". Here, the Republican Guards are shown as trying to deprive people from food stuff in order to starve them out. The civilians' suffering was shown more clearly when Iraqi civilian women and little girls started to collect the milk from the ground (still 5.16 above) and drink it:

5.42- Women (in Arabic): **Drink**, drink. **Bring the bowl**, come on, quick! **Call on them to come**.

Noticing this human suffering, the three kings decided to give the Iraqi civilians their own ready-to-eat meals. During the food distribution Troy observed that some Iraqi adults are snatching some of the food from little boys and women as in 5.43 below:

5.43- Troy: **The soldier's taking the water from that woman**. (to another soldier)
Hey, **give that back to the boy!**

In 5.43, an Iraqi soldier is represented as a very mean person by daring to force a bottle of water out of a woman's hands. Troy referred to another soldier who was also trying to snatch food from a boy as shown in still 5.17 below:



Still 5.17 at (00:25:47)

5.2.3.2. Physical appearance

As a matter of fact, different semiotic resources are employed in situation 3, such as clothes, colour, environment, and so on.



Still 5.18 at (00:21:16)



Still 5.19 at (00:21:12)



Still 5.20 at (00:21:39)

When the US soldiers, Gates, Barlow, Elgin, and Conrad went to the suburbs of the Southern Iraqi city of Karbala in order to recover the gold bullions, children were the first to welcome them, as shown in still 5.18. The still depicts two bare-footed Iraqi children in ragged clothes running after the 'Three Kings' Humvee. The two children are shown in a high angle camera shot right behind the US Flag whose red and white strips are clearly observed. The two children, whose dark-skinned features were not very recognizable, appeared running below the level of the driven Humvee while the US flag was waving in the wind. The US flag, as a metonym for the USA, was suggesting the idea that Iraqi civilians, including vulnerable children, are in need of urgent U.S. help. The two running children appeared relatively close to the social distance located at the base of the D and M axes as shown in figure 5.7 below:

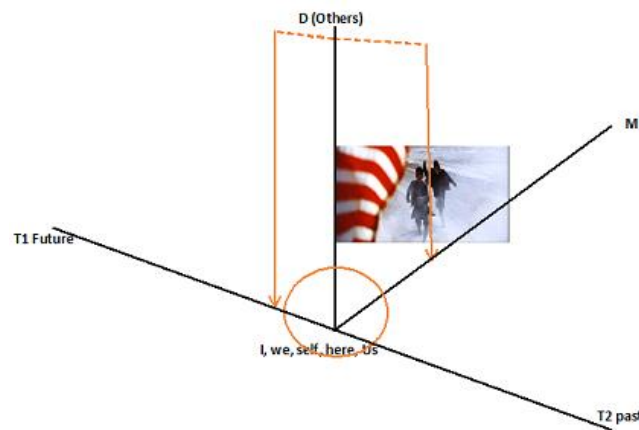


Figure 5.7 Representation of Iraqi children

According to figure 5.7, the two Iraqi children are located in the audience' social distance. The western standards of living will impose a kind of commitment in order to help the children in need all around the world, and those two children are suffering from tough circumstances caused by the Saddam's regime, as the film depicts. Still 5.19, on the other hand, shows two Iraqi women dressed in black abayas. These two women are culturally identified in terms of their clothes as they are seen to be wearing black clothes. The women and men shown in 5.19 are also environmentally identified in accordance with the desert-like poor area they are living in; the water well, also shown in the still, reflects the idea that they are so deprived people that no running water is available to them. Still 5.20 is one of the stills which depict the unprofessional nature of Iraqi Army soldiers who are shown easy to surrender even when confronted by few American soldiers. The soldier shown in still 5.20 appears with untidy black hair, ragged clothes, and a white and black keffiyeh which he uses as a scarf without the usually black military beret worn by the Iraqi Army.



Still 5.21 at (0:24:11)

Still 5.22 at (0:24:13)

Still 5.23 at (0:24:14)

As previously mentioned in (4.9.1. in chapter 4), in the aftermath of the 1990 Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, the Iraqi people have undergone severe United Nations Security Council sanctions which deprived them from the daily necessities of life, such as food and medicine. In situation 3, there is no reference to those economic sanctions, but, instead, all the blame is put on Saddam Hussein's regime as mentioned in 5.37 above. Stills 5.15, 5.16, 5.21, 5.22, and 5.23 illustrate a scene where a milk tanker was shot with an RPG by the Iraqi Republican Guard which led to a huge milk spilling on the dry ground. It is observable that only women in black abayas have hurried to drink from the spilt milk using their bare hands and different types of kitchen vessels. The women did not wait at the sides of the milk pool to obtain milk, but they rather waded in the spilt milk pool to drink. A close-up of still 5.22 depicts two Iraqi girls drinking from the spilt milk with their hands while their mouths can be seen smeared with the white colour of milk. Right behind these girls appears a poster portrait of smiling Saddam Hussein giving the impression that he is the main cause behind the starved people. Still 5.23 directly portrays an equally starved dog licking from the same milk, giving rise to the conceptual 'visual' metaphor IRAQI WOMEN ARE DOGS. It can also be understood from the women-dog juxtaposition that the women are living as miserable as a dog's life or are reduced to the lives of animals. This women-dog juxtaposition can be represented in figure 5.8 below:

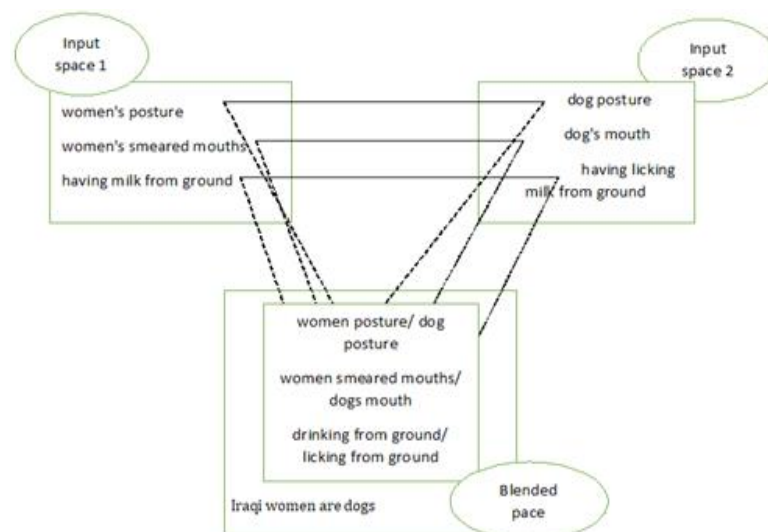


Figure 5.8 Women-dog juxtaposition

The instant appearance of the dog after the two girls and the previous women shows a kind of comparison between the two different creatures. However, the positioning of the Iraqi women in a long-shot, medium-shot, and relatively close-up shot is an attempt to let

the viewers feel their suffering, and, thus, to legitimate a potential humanitarian help to be given by Major Gates and his companions. In 5.22, the two young women are entering the viewers' intimate distance in a provocative way; it is not familiar that young women drink milk in such an improper way. Nonetheless, they cannot be located close to the base of the DST D and M axes due to the different clothes and behaviour they are indulged in. Previous and later scenes have shown that the civilians are in real need of the U.S. help during those scenes the camera took medium and close-up positions, as in 5.22 and 5.23. The Iraqi civilians in 5.12 and 5.24 are desperately asking major Gates and his companions (as US army members) for medicine and food to emphasise the need-for-help idea. The need for help, or maybe instant intervention, is represented in stills 5.12 and 5.24. Still 5.24 is incongruously showing an Iraqi civilian with an Afghani pakol⁹ who looks an Afghani national.



Still 5.24 at (0:24:19)

Still 5.25 at (00:25:47)

It can be observed that all the Iraqi women are wearing black clothes and head cover, reflecting Islamic restrictions which are observed by Westerners as involving a coercive act against Muslim women. All these factors prevent the represented Iraqis from going into the intimate distance at the bottom of the DST D and M axes.

5.2.3.3. Religion and nationality

The religious aspect of Iraqi identity is manifested through the minaret and dome of the only mosque shown (still 5.26 and 5.27 below) in the film were totally or partly present in the background. Still 5.26 shows major Gates as he arrives in a town near the Iraqi city of Karbala with his companions. We can observe a mosque, seized as a headquarter for

⁹ a 'pakol' is a flat, woollen, rolled-up hat which is nowadays considered one of the undisputed symbols of Afghanistan, (Foschini, 2014).

the Iraqi Army, with visible dome and minaret, in addition to Saddam Hussein's poster portraits fixed at the mosque's façade.



Still 5.26 at (00:20:40)

Still 5.27 at (00:24:49)

Still 5.26 is taken in a medium high camera angle situating the viewers right behind major Gates who is facing the Iraqi soldiers guarding the mosque. The high angle will definitely depict the Americans in a strong position close to the DST D and M axes making them as our "good" protectors, while the far Iraqi soldiers are shown to be "evil" according to the conceptual metaphors MORAL IS CLOSE AND IMMORAL IS REMOTE, POWER AND CONTROL IS UP/POWERLESS AND LACK OF CONTROL IS DOWN, and BRAVERY IS SIZE respectively. Still 5.27, on the other hand, depicts Gates and Troy giving away their ready-to-eat meals to the starved Iraqi civilians. This still is taken via a low camera angle putting the viewers with a similar status to that of Iraqis who are receiving the Three Kings' aid, stressing the idea that Iraqis are badly in need for help. Similarly, the Three Kings' appear in a strong position and the Iraqi civilians are shown to be 'powerless'. The mosque minaret which appears in the background in still 5.27 reflects a religious aspect that connotes oppression, especially that an Iraqi soldier can be observed overlooking the scene from the top of the minaret. Besides, in still 5.13, above, encouraged by the Three Kings' presence, some Iraqi rebels have been heard making enthusiastic verbal motivations via a megaphone. The rebels were urging their fellow civilians to confront the Iraqi Army (in Iraqi Arabic): "Allahu Akbar! Now we can fight these (Saddam Hussein's army). Allahu Akbar! Death be to Saddam". It can be observed that the expression "Allahu Akbar" (God is Great) is associated with friendly people who welcomed the U.S. presence. In other words, the expression "Allahu Akbar" is employed in a positive way not like a terrorism-linked expression.

Stills 5.10-5.27 can be represented in table 5.5 below:

Still No.	Function- aliased agent or Patient	Verbal individuation/ collectivisation	Categorisation			
			Cultural Identification			
			Linguistic	Physical	Environmental	religious
5.10-5.27	Iraqi civilians and Army	They, Iraqi, Saddam, surrendering army, civilians, soldiers, they, people.	Iraqi rebels and civilians are expressing a need for help. Iraqi soldiers express orders and fear.	Non-white Iraqis with ragged clothes	Desert, unpaved roads, water well.	Mosque, minaret, clothes.

Table 5.5 Situation 3 Representation

According to table 5.5, Iraqis are functionalised as civilians, rebels, and Iraqi Army (described as Saddam's army). When it comes to those involved in stealing the Kuwaiti gold, the pronoun "they" is used, in addition to Saddam as the real perpetrator of both stealing and committing war crimes. The pronoun "they" used to describe those who stole the gold can include both Army and civilians (they are all thieves). Iraqi soldiers have been represented as thieves, criminals, cowards, and selfish. As for the linguistic identification, Iraqi civilians have been heard expressing the need for humanitarian aid, such as milk, medicine, and so on. The rebels were encouraging people to revolt against the oppressive "Saddam's army". Whereas Iraqi Republican Guards were heard expressing rejection to the entry of food to the starving village. Physically speaking, All Iraqis have been portrayed as non-white dressed in rags. Some Iraqi soldiers are shown bearded without military berets. The environment is shown as a desert with unpaved roads, with a water well in the middle of the village. Some religious aspects have also been depicted, such as the mosque and its minaret taken as a headquarter for "Saddam's army", the black abayas worn by the civilian women, and the Afghani costume worn by the two Iraqi bunker guards to stress metonymy and collectivisation. Table 5.6 below illustrates more details:

Still No.	Stereotyping techniques	Frequency of theme		Semiotic resources employed
		Civilians and rebels	Iraqi Army	
5.10-5.27	The use of spoken/written language	12	1	Spoken Arabic and English, and other noise.
	Cultural backwardness	9	5	Clothes, colour, action, object (water well)
	Violence	1	2	Object (weapon) and action.
	Invariability of character (they are all the same)	6	2	Clothes, long camera shots, and language, and colour.

Table 5.6 Situation 3 frequency of themes

As shown in figure 5.6, some semiotic resources have been employed to represent Iraqis such as the use of spoken language, clothes, colour, objects, action, and camera shots. The use of spoken language has recurred 13 times, cultural backwardness 14 times, violence 3 times, and character invariability 8 times. Character invariability was emphasised through the use of clothes, camera shots, language, and colour.

5.2.4. Situation 4

Situation 4 starts with the 'three kings' returning to the village to retrieve the gold and ends up with the arrival of the Iraqi Republican Guards who savagely executed a civilian mother in front of her little daughter and other civilians and children. This incident has led to a drastic change in the course of events.

5.2.4.1. Language

In this situation, Conrad is reusing his racial language when threatening some Iraqi Army soldiers who already look non-white and dressed in ragged clothes. He addresses them as "Abdul" (discussed earlier in 5.2.2.1.) as in 5.44 below:

5.44- Conrad: Don't make me smoke your ass, **Abdul**. We gonna have no nonsense this time.

Another example of how Iraqi soldiers are represented is illustrated in 6.45 below:

5.45- Iraqi officer 1: (offering Gates a stolen food processor) **For wife!**



Still 5.28 at (00:30:23)

Still 5.29 at (00:32:17)

Still 5.30 at (00:32:36)

Example 5.45 villainizes the Iraqi army even more by depicting them as bribe-giving looters who steal from other countries and try to bribe their own enemies (the American soldiers) to help them persecute their own people (the Iraqi civilians). Still 5.28 shows an Iraqi officer who tries to dissuade Major Gates from helping the detained Iraqi civilians by giving him a stolen food processor. However, Gates throws the food processor in rejection of the bribe and heads towards a closed door trying to open it. To his surprise, Gates and Troy find a handcuffed Iraqi civilian laid on a bench with a piece of wood horizontally inserted between his jaws as shown in still 5.29 above. As Gates and Troy were still shocked, another Iraqi officer came to reassure them in 5.46 below:

5.46- Iraqi officer 2: (about an Iraqi civilian (Amir) detained inside a torture room) **It's OK. He's a prisoner, it's OK. These rebel Iraq problem.**

This Iraqi officer was punched in return by Gates. In still 5.30 (shown above), Captain Said was having a heated argument with officer 1 in 5.47-5.53 below:

5.47- (to Said in Arabic) **سعيد اگلك هذا السجناء لتخليه يروحون** Said, I say, ***this prisoners** don't **let him** go out.

5.48- Captain Said (To Gates): Ok, Ok, OK. We take them outside, so **it *don't bothering** you, OK. (In Arabic Iraqi officer 1) (English subtitle, not said in Arabic) Don't worry, we'll bring the **prisoners** back later. (To his soldiers, in Arabic) **يَلْهُ خُدوهم بَرَه يَلْهُ** (Come on, take them out).

5.49- Iraqi officer 1(to Captain Said): This (gold) belongs to **Saddam**. (in Arabic) **صدام راح يقضي على شغلي على حياتي** **Saddam** will ruin my business and my life.

5.50- Captain Said (English Subtitle): **Saddam** is more worried about the **rebels**. (in Arabic) **صدام مو همه الذهب، همه الشيعة** **Saddam** doesn't care about the gold, **he cares** more about the **Shiites**.

worried about the rebels". However, Iraqis would pronounce this sentence differently as: /sed'am mu: hem'e elðeheb hem'e elʕi:ʕə/ (See Clarity, 2003: 79). When the Three Kings got into the room where the Kuwaiti gold is kept, the argument between Captain Said and his colleague turned into a fight which was restrained by Gates. The Iraqi officer was blaming Captain Said for leading the Americans to where the gold is stored saying: "هسه ياخذون الذهب مال العراق كلها" /his'e jaxðʊ ilðeheb mal ilʕiraq kulhe/ which should be pronounced like /... kul'e/, not /kulhe/ which is a feminine denotative (he'll take all of the gold of Iraq); Gold in Arabic is a masculine noun. In 5.52, Captain Said has not even pronounced the word "أقو" properly, he pronounced it like /e'qu/, which should rather be pronounced as /weqʕew/.



Still 5.31 at (00:33:06)

In 5.54 below, an Iraqi soldier (Still 5.31 above) describes the freed Iraqi civilian women, children, and men as "prisoners" who should not leave the bunkers. He repeats his demand that these freed Iraqis should not leave the underground bunkers with a raised commanding tone of voice:

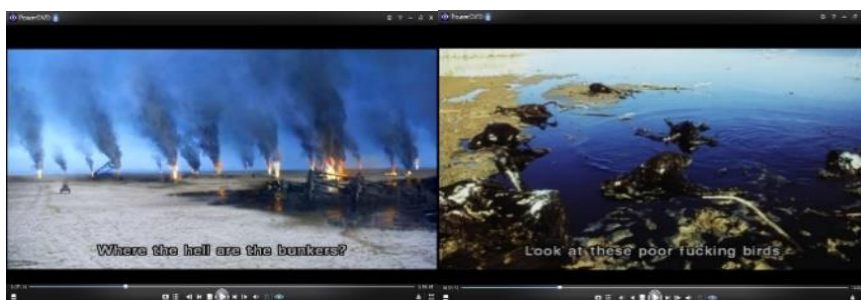
5.54- Iraqi soldier (to the Americans): The **prisoners** stay! (to the freed prisoners, in Arabic) لحد منكم يتحرك No one moves. (to the Americans with raised tone of voice) the prisoners **must stay**!

As shown in still 5.37 below, one of the freed Iraqi prisoners, Amir (played by the New Zealand actor Cliff Curtis), is received by his wife and little daughter. The wife can be heard shouting her husband's name: "أمير، أمير! شلونك عائد؟" (Amir, Amir! how are you, returner?). The wife over-stresses the /k/ sound of "shlounak" /ʃlɔ:nekk/, while the word "Ayid" /ʕaʔid/) is out of context, it means (returner, or the one who returns), as indicated in 6.55 below:

5.55- (in Arabic) أمير، أمير، شلونك عائد؟ شلونك، شلونك؟ *Returning, returning. (in Arabic) أمير، أمير، شلونك عائد؟ شلونك، شلونك؟ *returner? How are you?

5.2.4.2. Physical appearance

It can be observed that different semiotic resources have been employed to represent Iraqis in situation 4 such as colour, sound, action, and so on. Stills 5.32 and 5.33, below, depict a horrible man-made disaster which is caused by Saddam Hussein's orders to his troops to set fire into the Kuwaiti oil wells (Shields, 2005: 63; Lee, 2007: 54; Tumbler & Palmer, 2004: 90). In these two stills, the semiotic resource of colour is clearly used to represent the rising up black smoke and the crude-oil-covered dying birds whose noise (another semiotic resource of sound) is being heard. This dying birds' scene, made Adriana to sob, emphasising the emotional effects associated with both the smoke and dying birds.



Still 5.32 at (00:27:14)

Still 5.33 at (00:27:42)



Still 5.34 at (00:29:14)

Still 5.35 at (00:33:13)

In 5.34, Chief and Troy are easily subduing two men who were guarding the bunkers' entrance. Astonishingly, the Americans did not face any resistance from these soldiers disguised in Afghani attire, turban-like headwear, and black abayas similar to those worn by Muslim religious men. These men are totally alienated as Others due to their unusual clothes, disguise, being Saddam soldiers in a way that it is enhanced by the long camera

shot which makes it hard for the audience to recognize their facial features and expressions. Besides, these semiotic resources help locating them at the very far end of the M axis (irrealis) and the D axis; the long camera shot keeps them far from the social distance found at the base of the D axis.

In addition, it can be recognized that the two Iraqi officers, Captain Said and officer 1, (shown in still 5.30 above) look equally untidy, without wearing their berets which they are not permitted to take off while on duty. Besides, it can be noticed that they have grown a beard and a goatee which is quite restricted in the Iraqi army (Salman, 2012). The officer on the left, also, did not button his shirt, nor did Captain Said, on the right.

The Iraqi civilian woman and the Iraqi soldier can be differently represented on the DST axes according to how they are physically identified. They both look non-white with untidy clothes in a desert-like place. It can be observed that the soldier has not shaved his beard as required by the Iraqi Army regulations and did not even tidy himself up; he rather looks as a member of a disorganized militia. These stills can be analysed according to DST in figure 5.9 below:

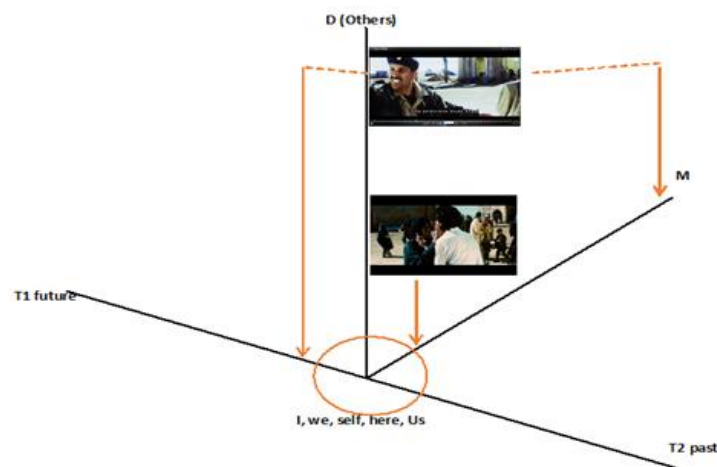


Figure 5.9 Iraqi civilians versus army representation

It can be seen, according to figure 5.9, that the Iraqi woman, as a powerless persecution victim, can be located closer to the in-group basis of the D and M axes, while the Iraqi soldier, being of an aggressive irrespective nature, on the other hand is situated at the far ends of the D and M axes.

5.2.4.3. Religion and nationality

Situation 4 does contain some hints to religion. For instance, in stills 5.36 below, when Amir, the Iraqi civilian who was being tortured inside the bunker, climbs out of the bunker with his hands still tied together and mouth blocked with a piece of wood, a full view of the mosque minaret appears behind him, the same minaret which appeared twice in situation 3 giving rise to the impression that Muslims are causing the suffering of other Muslims.



Still 5.36 at (00:33:04)

Still 5.37 at (00:27:13)

Still 5.37, on the other hand, shows two Iraqi soldiers disguised in Afghani clothes similar to those worn by the Taliban and Al-Qaeda terrorists. These two guards are filmed through a long camera shot in order to located them in the out-group alienated side. Stills 5.28-5.37 can be further illustrated in table 5.7 below:

Still No.	Function- aliased agent or Patient	Verbal individuation/ collectivisation	Categorisation			
			Cultural Identification			
			Linguistic	Physical	Environmental	religious
5.28-5.37	Iraqi Army and civilians	Abdul, prisoner(s), rebel, Saddam, Shiites.	Iraqi officers talk about prisoners and gold. Iraqi woman receives freed husband.	Non-white Iraqis with ragged clothes	Desert, unpaved roads, water well, oil pollution.	Mosque, minaret, clothes.

Table 5.7 Situation 4 representation

Table 5.7 shows that the Iraqis in situation 4 are functionalised as army members and civilians. Two of the Iraqi army soldiers were described as "Abdul" by Conrad. Iraqi army members have described the Iraqi civilians and rebels as "prisoners", "rebels", and "Shiites"; the word "Shiites" was spoken by Captain Said but the subtitle read "rebels". Saddam Hussein was described as the one who is the main culprit who caused all troubles to both civilians and army members, and this was shown through the linguistic identification that involved Iraqi army members. Iraqi civilians, on the other hand, have

been depicted as desperate who are required to be helped by Americans. All Iraqis were represented as non-white and dressed in ragged clothes. The Iraqi army members were untidily depicted to stress Otherness and lack of legitimization. The desert, the unpaved roads, the well, the burned oil wells, and the oil-covered dying marsh birds all emphasise backwardness. Table 5.8, below, provides more details on situation 4:

Still No.	Stereotyping techniques	Frequency of theme		Semiotic resources employed
		Civilians and rebels	Iraqi Army	
5.28-5.37	The use of spoken/written language	1	8	Spoken English and Arabic.
	Cultural backwardness	1	7	Colour, object, clothes, action.
	Violence	0	3	Action, colour, sound.
	Invariability of character (they are all the same)	1	3	Camera position and shot, clothes.

Table 5.8 Situation 4 frequency of themes

As far as spoken language is concerned, situation 4 has included the presence of 9 misrepresentations of Iraqi Arabic and use of language to maintain trivial characters and marginalization. As for cultural backwardness, it was accentuated 8 times through the use of colour, objects, clothes, and action. Violence have also been present three times in this situation through action, colour and sound. Finally, character invariability was emphasised through using different camera positions and shots in addition to clothes.

5.2.5. Situation 5

Situation 5 is about a graphic killing of an Iraqi civilian woman in the film. It starts with the arrival of Iraqi Republican Guards personnel and ends up with Gates killing an Iraqi officer who was responsible for the woman's killing.

5.2.5.1. Language

A conversation has taken place between Gates, Captain Said, and an Iraqi Republican Guards officer who came to put an end to the Iraqi civilians' rebellion, as in 5.60-5.68 (stills 5.38 and 5.39) below:



Still 5.38 at (00:37:46)

Still 5.39 at (00:36:36)

5.60- (in Arabic) "هذولة امريكان جاين ياخذون الذهب" (These Americans have come to take the gold)

5.61- You take the **Kuwaiti gold**, yes?

5.62- We take the **Kuwaiti gold**, yes?

5.63- **Saddam** cannot keep?

5.64- No, **Saddam** cannot keep.

5.65- ***Saddam** have many problem today.

5.66- He certainly does.

5.67- You need help to carry? ... (to his soldiers in Arabic (تعالوا هنا ساعدوهم) come here and help them.

5.68- **These men** help you.

In 5.60-5.68 above the Iraqi officer frankly acknowledges the existence of the stolen Kuwaiti gold in Iraq through a tag-question which is repeated by Gates in a similar over-lexicalised statement that mentioned the "Kuwaiti gold" again in 5.62. Saddam, as the lonely culprit responsible for the theft is also mentioned twice "Saddam cannot keep". The Iraqi officer is depicted as capable of speaking English, though not perfectly as in 5.65 above. He even offers the Three Kings his soldiers' help whom he describes as "men" not as 'soldiers' as in 5.68 above. 5.60-5.68 also show several misrepresentational aspects of Iraqi Arabic. For Instance, Captain Said and the Republican Guards officer started their conversation with ambiguous words. Then Captain Said told the officer: "هذولة امريكان جاين ياخذون الذهب /heðole əmri:kan dʒa:ji:n jaxðu:n elðeheb/ (these are Americans who came to take the gold). Iraqis would say: /heðole əlemri:kan dʒaji:n jaxðu:n ilðeheb/. Captain Said have not used a definite article "al" /el/ (the) before the word "Amreekan", also the

word "althahab" is pronounced /ɪ'ðeheb/ not /elðeheb/ in Iraqi Arabic (see Clarity et al. 2003: 79; Alkalesi, 2006: 298). The Iraqi Republican Guards officer ordered his soldiers saying: "Come here and help them (the Americans)!" "تعالوا هنا ساعدوهم" /teʔalu hneə saʔdu:həm/. An Iraqi Arabic speaker would say: /hna saʔdu:həm/, the /u:/ is noticeably shorter in the Iraqi Arabic accent (see Alkalesi, 2006: 33). While Gates was conversing with the Iraqi officer, an Iraqi civilian woman and her little daughter were being held captive by Iraqi Republican Guards. The woman was desperately calling upon the Americans to help them as in 5.69 below:

5.69- **Don't leave! Please don't leave!** Look (in Arabic راح يكتلونا) **they'll kill us. Help!**

5.70- Amir's daughter: Begging with unrecognizable Arabic.

Seeking external help by Iraqi civilians has been reiterated several times in the *Three Kings* film which maintains the Oriental views discussed in chapter three. In the meantime, the Iraqi officer ordered the woman to be "silenced" (killed), then the following argument has been detected:

5.71- (in Arabic سكتوها) **Silence her!**

5.72- (to Gates) you go, **please** (with a military salute).

5.73- This man is **head of uprising**.

5.74- (to Amir in Arabic اليوم اكلك) today, **I'll kill you**.

5.75- (Amir's daughter weeps near her mother's corpse in Arabic لچ يمہ، لچ يمہ) **Oh mother, oh mother!**

5.76- Gates (to the Iraqi officer) **I want you to leave** this town **now**.

5.77- **Saddam kill us** if we leave. **kill our family**. We give you the gold, now USA out of Iraq (he makes his Ak-47 ready for combat)

5.78- (to the Americans in Arabic لتكتلني، لتكتلني) **don't kill me, don't kill me!**

The Iraqi Republican Guard officer, after ordering the Iraqi civilian woman to be killed, politely requested Gates and his group to leave the town (5.72 above), justifying that the man he is detaining is "the head of uprising" (5.73 above). Amir is held by a tough Republican Guard who is heard threatening him "I'll kill you" (5.74 above), while his little daughter (played by Alia Shawkat) is heard weeping piteously in (5.75 above). The little

girl's weeping sound was so effective that it can evoke sympathy in the audience's minds. To this effect, Gates, who looks so moved by the tragedy, is heard ordering the Iraqi officer and his troops to leave the town at once (5.76 above). The Iraqi officer has adamantly refused Gates order, stating that "Saddam" would not only kill him but would kill his family as well if he leaves the town to rebels. Saddam Hussein has been mentioned in this situation four times in an over-lexicalised way to show him as the main antagonist in the film. In 5.78 above, after Gates killed the Iraqi officer, some Iraqi Republican Guards are heard begging Gates and his comrades to spare their lives in a humiliating manner as in 5.78 above.

5.2.5.2. Physical appearance

Situation 5 does contain several graphic scenes that evoke both fear and solidarity in the audience's minds using different semiotic resources. For instance, the scene of escaping Iraqi prisoners which has been interrupted by the arrival of a group of the tough Iraqi Republican Guards which made it more difficult for the Three Kings to rescue the innocent Iraqi civilians. To sustain the idea of incompetence and disorder, the elite Republican Guards officer and soldiers, shown in stills 5.38, 5.40, and 5.46, are depicted wearing unkempt uniforms and hair, namely Captain Said and the (unidentified) officer who did not give each other a military salute and had no berets, the matter which is not allowed in the Iraqi army. Not only the officers appeared with recognizably unshaved beards, but some of their soldiers too as shown in still 5.46 below:



Still 5.40 at (00:37:40)

Still 5.41 at (00:36:42)

Still 5.41, on the other hand, is a close-up of an Iraqi soldier's blood-stained hands with which he was directing ruthless blows to Iraqi civilians. This close-up shot has appeared after the Republican Guard officer offered his help to the Americans while his soldiers were busy assaulting their own fellow citizens.



Still 5.42 at (00:37:36)

Still 5.43 at (00:38:23)

Stills 5.40, 5.42, and 5.43 are also compelling for the Three Kings to interfere, especially that a little girl, her mother, and other civilians' lives are endangered by the merciless Iraqi forces. We, the audience, as bystanders, i.e., are watching what is going on between Saddam's Republican Guards and civilians, are located at cardinal point 0, as illustrated in Figure (5.2) (page: 105). Being located at a middle position (in cardinal point 0), the audience are taking a neutral position and they are the ones who determine who is right and who is wrong. It can be noted that the stance-taking principle mentioned by Hart (2010: 87) does not apply in this situation because the victims (the woman and her daughter) are positioned to the right of their oppressors (the Iraqi soldiers), i.e. the woman and the little girl are located at cardinal point 3. The DST axes can determine that the two victims are located close to the bottom of the DST D and M axes. Hence, they are humanised, while the oppressing soldiers, to the contrary, are located at the far ends of the D and M axes in such a way that they are totally alienated, as shown in figure 5.10 below:

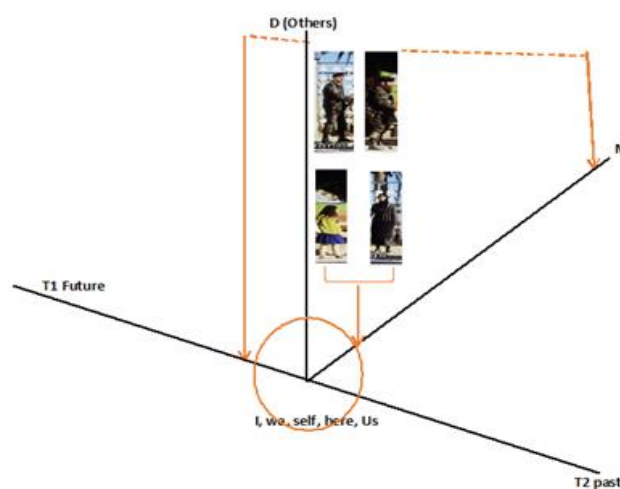


Figure 5.10 civilians versus Iraqi Army representation



Still 5.44 at (00:39:08)

Still 5.45 at (00:40:52)

Still 5.46 at (00:38:40)

Figure 5.10 above illustrates how the woman and her daughter are located closer to the in-group area while the soldiers are alienated as out-group Others. Furthermore, according to the Western standards, children and women are vulnerable individuals who must be protected and never assaulted. The woman and her daughter in 5.42 are, thus, depicted as individuals who need to be protected from the bodily harm they are subjected to by the Iraqi soldiers who are supposed to be protecting them. As the woman helplessly calls for help, the Iraqi soldier shoots her in the head right in front of her daughter. The woman is shown falling to the ground in a slow motion with the sound of her body hitting the ground to emphasise the aggressive act of killing. Here, several semiotic resources have been employed, such as gunshot sound, slow motion, thud of heavy body, and the consequent camera shot showing the woman lying on the ground with her blood on the dry soil, to emphasise a graphic picture of a violent heart-breaking scene as shown in stills 5.44 and 5.45. This scene which involved the killing of an Iraqi civilian woman and detention of other civilians is one of the longest scenes that represented Iraqi civilians in the *Three Kings* film which lasted for about three minutes. Stills 5.43-5.46, illustrate how civilians' faces are shown via medium camera shots to humanise the civilians, on the one hand, and to demonise the Iraqi soldiers, on the other. For example, still 5.43 is a medium shot of two detained helpless civilian women and two children sitting on the ground while an Iraqi soldier is seen aiming his Ak-47 at their heads. Whereas stills 5.44 and 5.45 are close medium camera shots that depict how the bereaved little girl is loudly sobbing near the dead corpse of her mother with her father consoling her. The sound of the sobbing kid is so poignant that it directly puts all the abused civilians into the audience's intimate distance, despite the cultural differences represented by the different clothes, language, and race. Hence, the audience will definitely wish the *Three Kings* to interfere and save the civilians' lives. Finally, still 5.47 below, shows the Iraqi officer killed by Gates with his bleeding head resting on the ground. It can be recognized that the officer's blood colour

is similar to that of crude oil. The change of blood colour from red into dark black can give rise to the visual conceptual metaphor IRAQI OFFICER'S BLOOD IS OIL to give a hidden message that the real objective of the 1991 Gulf War launched against Iraq was oil not the liberation of Kuwait.



Still 5.47 at (00:42:21)

5.2.5.3. Religion and nationality

Situation 5 does not contain hints neither to nationality nor to religion. However, stills 5.38-5.47 can be illustrated in table 5.9 below:

Still No.	Functionalised Agent/Patient	Verbal individuation/ collectivisation	Categorisation			
			Cultural Identification			
			Linguistic	physical	Environmental	religious
6.38-6.47	Iraqi Army and civilians	Saddam, these men.	Iraqi officer's dialogue with Gates. Iraqi civilian woman begging Gates.	Non-white Iraqis with ragged clothes and untidy hair.	Desert	Non

Table 5.9 Situation 5 representation

Situation 5 has represented some Iraqis functionalised as Republican Guards and civilians. The Iraqi Republican Guards were the agents, while the civilians were patients. The only one identified by name was Saddam who was mentioned four times in an over-lexicalized manner to show him as the perpetrator of Iraqis' suffering. Iraqi soldiers were never referred to as soldiers but were only referred to once as "men" to sustain their generic nature. Only few Iraqis were involved in speaking to Americans, Captain Said, the Republican Guards officer, a civilian woman and her daughter, and some soldiers. The Republican Guards officer was the one to dominate the whole conversation as he offered Gates his help, though he ordered the woman to be killed. The Woman was only requesting help from the Americans and her daughter was heard uttering gibberish

language, weeping, and calling for her mother. When the Iraqi officer was killed, the other Iraqi soldiers threw their weapons and started begging the Three Kings not to kill them. All Iraqis were depicted as non-white and shaggy with ragged clothes. As for the environment, it was a desert-like place.

Still No.	Stereotyping techniques	Frequency of theme		Semiotic resources employed
		Civilians and rebels	Iraqi Army	
6.38-6.47	The use of spoken/written language	2	3	Spoken English and Arabic, gibberish language.
	Cultural backwardness	1	5	Colour, action, object, camera shots.
	Violence	0	3	Action, colour, close-up camera shots, object (weapon), sound.
	Invariability of character (they are all the same)	1	3	Clothes, action, object.

Table 5.10 Situation 5 Frequency of themes

According to table 5.10, marginalization through the use of language have been detected 5 times on part of both Iraqi Army and civilians. Whereas cultural backwardness was observed 6 times through the use of colour, action, camera shots, and objects. Violence was recognized 3 times exercised by the Iraqi Army through action, colour, camera shots, objects and sound. Finally, invariability of character was noted 4 times by both Iraqi Army and civilians through the use of clothes, action, and objects.

5.2.6. Situation 6

Situation 6 is about the excessive use of force exercised by the Iraqi Army against their own civilians. The situation starts with the arrival of a tank and more Republican Guards and ends with the Three Kings saved by Iraqi rebels and Troy held captive by the Iraqi Republican Guards.

5.2.6.1. Language

The following are reprimanding remarks made by an Iraqi lieutenant colonel:

5.79- (English subtitle "Are you crazy. Saddam is going to kill you" not mentioned in Arabic) (in Arabic نقيب سعيد إشلون تخلي المساجين يروحون؟! Captain Said, how did you let the prisoners leave?)

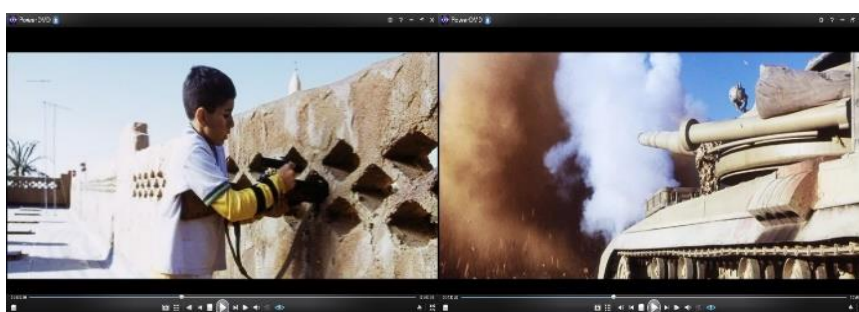
The Iraqi lieutenant colonel (still 6.48 below) was reproaching Captain Said in Arabic: "نقيب سعيد إشلون تخلي المساجين يروحون؟" /iɫɒ:n tixel'i ilmesadzi:n jʊrʊɦɔ:n/ (Captain Said, why did you let the prisoners go?). An Iraqi speaker would say /ɫɒ:n txel'i ilmesadzi:n jʊrʊɦu:n/ with consonant clusters at the beginning of /ɫɒ:n/ and /jʊrʊɦu:n/ (see Alkalesi, 2006: 47; Clarity et al. 2003: 103). The subtitle shown in 5.21 which says: "Are you crazy? Saddam is going to kill you", has not been uttered by the officer. Not paying the required attention to accent and accurate subtitle can be considered as a type of marginalisation as mentioned earlier in chapter three.



Still 5.48 at (00:42:41)

5.80- (In Arabic يَلِّه اِرمي) come on **shot!**

In 5.80, the same Iraqi officer is heard ordering the tank crew to shoot a sniper child who was trying to prevent the Iraqi Republican Guards from launching the tear gas mortaring against civilians as shown in stills 5.49 and 5.50 below.



Still 5.49 at (00:43:20)

Still 5.50 at (00:43:26)

When the tear gas mortaring started, and the atmosphere was overwhelmed with white smoke, little kids have been seen running away to escape the gas calling on their mother in a heart-breaking tone, while their horrified mother was asking everybody about them as in 5.81-5.82 below:

5.81- (in Arabic يَمَّة، يَمَّة) Mother, mother.

5.82- (in Arabic أطفال) My kids!

The following spoken language (in 5.83-5.90) is employed in order to ridicule the Other (out-group) Iraqi Army members:

5.83 – Iraqi soldier: (English subtitle) Can we **shoot** him?

5.84 - Iraqi lieutenant colonel: (in Arabic) "هسه نزعو فيه، هسه، هسه" (strip him off, now, now! gibberish)

5.85 – Captain Said: (English subtitle) We're not supposed to hold any Americans. (in Arabic (أمريكا كسروا وقف اطلاق النار، ها؟) The Americans have broken the ceasefire, haven't they?

5.86 - (in Arabic (هاذا دليل انه كسروا اطلاق النار * This is a proof that *he broke the ceasefire.

5.87 - Iraqi lieutenant colonel: English subtitle (not spoken in Arabic) "the rebels are seizing the tank!" (in Arabic (دبابة، دبابة! A tank, a tank!

5.88- Iraqi officer: (in Arabic (هازي المزيعة اللي تطلع بالا ان بي اس. هادي اطول مبتطلع بالتلفزيون

5.89- Iraqi lieutenant colonel (in Arabic (أؤؤخزوهم هسه (Take them now!)

As shown in still 5.55 below, when Troy was captured by Iraqi Republican Guards, an Iraqi lieutenant colonel has ordered his soldiers to strip him off. The Iraqi lieutenant colonel (in 5.48 above) ordered Troy to be stripped off: "هَسَّه نَزَّعُو فِيْهِ" /hes'e nez'eʃu fi:/, "هسه نَزَّعُو" /hes'e nezʔu:/ "strip him off! now strip him! (Gibberish)". Iraqi speakers would say: /his'e tnezʃu:/ (see Clarity et al. 2003: 176, 192; Alkalesi, 2006: 157). When captain Said asked his lieutenant colonel that the Americans have broken the ceasefire, the latter answered (5.85-5.86 above): "هاذا دليل انه كسروا اطلاق النار" /hæzæ deli:l in'ehu kəsʕeru/ (this is an evidence that he broke the ceasefire!). The Iraqi lieutenant colonel has referred to the U.S. Army with a singular pronoun (**he** **إنه**) instead of **they** (**إنهم**). On the other hand, the question that appeared in the subtitle: "can we shoot him? (5.83 above) has not been spoken in Arabic. Also, the subtitle: "The rebels have taken the tank!" was not said in Arabic either. Instead, the officer has only said "دبابة" /dʌ'bæbʌ/ (a tank) twice. An Iraqi speaker would say /de'bæbe/ (see Clarity et al., 2003: 176). As the Iraqi rebels took hold of the tank, the Iraqi Republican Guards started shooting at them. Meanwhile, Adriana

Cruz has come to cover the Kuwaiti gold bullions story and was recognized by one of the Iraqi officers who said: "هازي الموزيعة اللي تطلع بال ان بي اس، هادي اطول مبتطلع بالتلفزيون" /hæzi ilmuzi:ʕil'i titʕleʕ bil en bi: es hædi etʕwel mebtitʕleʕ biltelfizjɔ:n/ (this is the reporter we watch on TV, she looks taller in person). The subtitle reads "shorter" not "taller". An Iraqi speaker would say: /hæði ilmuði:ʕil'ititʕleʕ en bi: es hæi etʕwel min metitʕleʕ .../ (see Clarity et al., 2003: 8,77; Alkaesi, 2006: 25). The Lieutenant colonel said: "أؤخوزوهم هسّه" /ʔuʔxuzu:hum hes'e/ (take them now!), but the subtitle reads "get her out of here now". In Iraqi Arabic, Iraqis would say: /uxðu:hum his'e/ (see Clarity et al., 2003: 175). In 5.88, the Officers who had to fight the rebels who started attacking them with a seized tank were trivially talking about an American reporter in a ridiculous carefree way.

5.90-5.94 are included in a 3-minute scene where Iraqi rebels, civilians, and the Three Kings hid to avoid the Iraqi Republican Guard:

5.90- Iraqi rebels inside a cave: (in Arabic الله أكبر، الله أكبر) **Allahu Akbar, Allahu Akbar!**

5.91- Conrad: What's wrong with **him**? Is **he** dead? (prayer voices can still be heard) where are you gonna put **him**?

5.92- Iraqi civilian: A **shrine**.

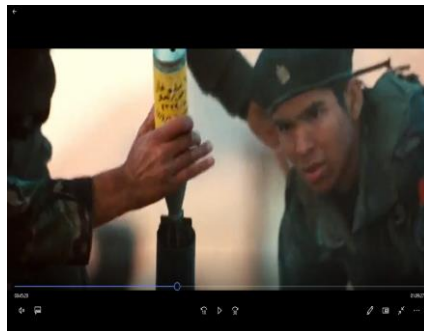
5.93- Conrad: A **shrine**? What kind of **shrine** you've got?

5.94 – Iraqi civilian: A **shrine** near a **holy man** that gives him comfort and access to **paradise**. (This scene lasted for about 3 minutes)

The conversation above shows how Islam is positively represented. In 5.90, we can hear a group of Iraqi rebels and civilians doing their daily prayers with the expression "Allahu Akbar" is clearly heard. The conversation between Conrad and one of the Iraqi civilians (5.91-5.94) who was saying some Shiite Islamic prayers next to an Iraqi dead corpse during which Conrad was eager to know what happened to the dead Iraqi and where are they going to bury him, in "a shrine ... near a holy man that gives him comfort and access to paradise", an Iraqi civilian answered. This sentence emphasises the positive opinion about Islam too, in addition, the word shrine has been stated four times to emphasise the Islamic idea of burial.

5.2.6.2. Physical appearance

Considering still 5.48, we can notice that the Iraqi lieutenant colonel did not have his beret on, which is a punishment-demanding act according to the Iraqi army regulations before the year 2003 when Saddam Hussein was in power. As the Three Kings escaped with some of the Iraqi civilians, Saddam's Republican Guards, accompanied by tanks, started mortaring the escapees with tear gas shells. Still 5.49 shows an Iraqi young kid holding a sniper's rifle which he used to shot at Iraqi soldiers from a house roof. The next still, 5.50, a tank is observed shooting at the kid destroying the house he took as a shelter. Again, the appearance of a kid with a grown-up weapon in hands is a shocking image for everyone, especially the Western society which cannot comprehend such a situation. Still 5.51 below is a close-up of two Iraqi Republican Guards inserting a mortar shell into a cannon. The mortar shells have been shown in a previous extreme-close up shot to evoke danger in the audience's minds. Stills 5.52 and 5.53 show the aftermath of the tear gas shelling against the Three Kings and the Iraqi escaping civilians. In still 5.53 Troy is trying to prevent two Iraqi children from going into the mines field while the atmosphere is filled with tear gas. In 5.54, Troy succeeds in stopping the Iraqi children but fails to escape the chasing Iraqi troops who are seen wearing gas masks.



Still 5.51 at (00:45:20)



Still 5.52at (00:43:46)

Still 5.53 at (00:47:31)

Still 5.54 at (00:45:54)

Once more, the audience are confronted with an unappealing situation where children are having to face the unpleasant consequences of war, this time children are attacked by tear gas. Children, here, are represented as non-white with dark hair. They are also not verbally individuated/collectivised. Also, it can be observed that the environment is a desert. The desert, the tear gas filling the air, and the masked Iraqi soldiers who are attacking their own people are significant semiotic resources which reflect the miserable situation those kids are going through. The child in 5.49 is briefly shown in a medium camera shot, while the children saved by Troy (stills 5.53 and 65.54) are shown by a long camera shot. Despite the long camera shot, the children are not observed in accordance with the conceptual metaphor MORAL IS CLOSE AND IMMORAL IS REMOTE because the children are already victimised and targeted by Saddam's troops, hence they are located at our social distance. i.e., close to the base of the DST M and D axes where the in-group side is located. The children in still 5.49, 5.53, and 5.54 can be analysed in terms of the DST axes in figure 5.11 as follows:

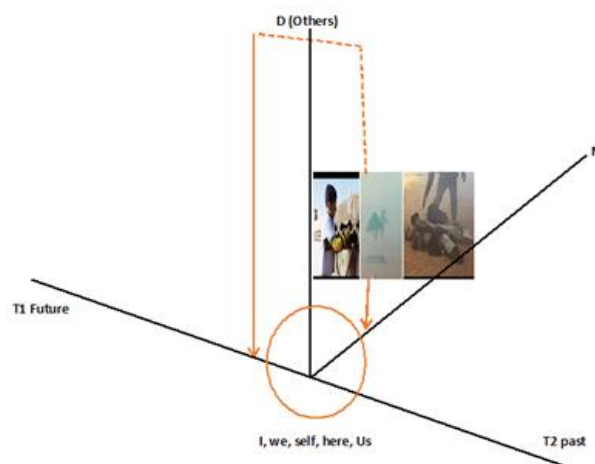


Figure 5.11 representing Iraqi children

Figure 5.11 describes how the Iraqi children are located at the audience's social distance due to the fact that they are victimised and need to be protected by the Three Kings. The Assaulting Iraqi soldiers are definitely located at the far ends of the D and M axis. The gas attack can also be cognitively represented in figure 5.12 below:

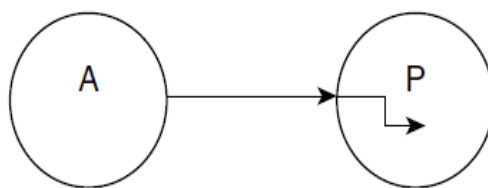
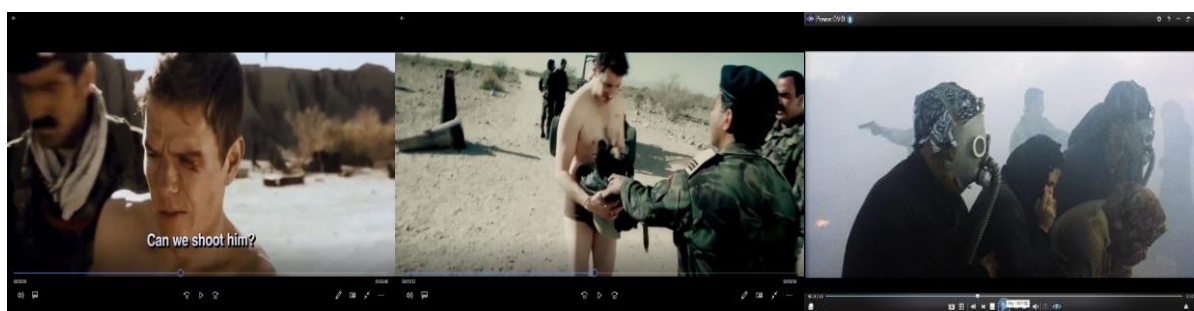


Figure 5.12 Attack against civilians (Hart, 2014: 115)

The attack shown in figure 5.12 is a one-sided attack done by A (agent or Republican Guard) against P (patient or Iraqi civilians). The flow of energy is represented by the vector and the agentive relationship is illustrated through the broken arrow.



Still 5.55 at (00:50:59)

Still 5.56 at (00:55:53)

Still 5.57 at (00:46:53)

Stills 5.55 and 5.56 above show Troy and Walter (played by Jamie Kennedy) both being treated in a ridiculous way. Troy has been ordered to take off all his clothes, and the already-stripped Walter, who requests his clothes back is only given boots and a helmet in a way that shows the Iraqi Army as a group of fools. Still 5.57, on the other hand, shows two Iraqi rebels with gas masks helping both Iraqi civilians and the three kings led by Gates. Hence, all Iraqi soldiers are located at the far ends of the DST D and M axes as out-groups for being the agents who did both mortar and persecute civilians as well as the Three Kings.

5.2.6.3. Religion and nationality

In situation 6, there is a positive representation of Islam and Muslims which is reflected in the worshipping practice they are indulged in, as shown in stills 5.58-5.60 below. Stills 5.58 and 5.59 show some Shiite Muslims practicing their prayers. The clothes they are wearing, the prayers they are reciting, and the women's way of mourning can apparently show their identity as Iraqi Shiites. These stills also express a kind of religious harmony

which is created through Chief's partaking in the prayer (still 5.58 below). Chief can be seen impressed by the way Iraqi Shiites are praying and how they are preparing a dead corpse for a burial ceremony (still 5.59 below).



Still 5.58 at (00:55:32)

Still 5.59 at (00:56:08)

Still 5.60 at (00:58:40)

In still 5.60, above, Chief is watching the altar the Iraqi Shiites have prepared underground where a black piece of cloth with writings from the Quran can be seen hung on the wall, in addition to some lit white candles resembling the atmosphere found in a chapel. Thus, Islam is positively represented through the use of several semiotic resources such as language, colour, clothes, noise, action, and objects.

Stills 5.48-5.60 can be represented in table below:

Still No.	Function- aliased agent or Patient	Verbal individuation/ collectivisation	Categorisation			
			Cultural Identification			
			Linguistic	Physical	Environmental	religious
5.48-5.60	Iraqi civilians and Army	Him, he.	Argument between Iraqi officers, conversation with Iraqi civilian.	Non-white Iraqis with ragged clothes	Desert, dusty unpaved roads.	Koran verses on cloth, praying.

Table 5.11 Situation 6 representation

The Iraqis in situation 6 are functionalised as Agent Army members and patient civilians. Only a dead corpse was verbally individuated through a conversation between Conrad and an unidentified Iraqi civilian. The dead body was described as "him" and "he". This situation has included some conversations between Iraqi officers who argued about the civilian prisoners freed by the Three Kings. The Iraqi officers and soldiers were heard issuing orders such as "shoot" and "strip off", asking permission to "shoot", talking gibberish, and speaking about trivial issues. All the Iraqis have been shown as non-white and dressed in ragged clothes. The place was a total desert area with no paved roads. in

addition to the violent Iraqi Army, the Iraqi civilians as well as their practised religion were positively represented. Table 5.12, below, illustrates the frequency of themes in more details:

Still No.	Stereotyping techniques	Frequency of theme		Semiotic resources employed
		Civilians and rebels	Iraqi Army	
5.48-5.60	The use of spoken/written language	2	10	Spoken Arabic and English, and gibberish.
	Cultural backwardness	2	2	Clothes, colour, camera shots.
	Violence	1	6	Objects, colour, camera shots, action.
	Invariability of character (they are all the same)	1	1	Clothes, colour.

Table 5.12 Situation 6 frequency of themes

According to table 5.12, there were some misrepresentations on part of language (12 times) which took place along with some gibberish to emphasise marginalization through the use of language. Also, cultural backwardness was present four times through the use of clothes, colour, and camera shots. Besides, violence was shown 7 times through the use of weapons (objects), colour (the white substance referring to tear gas), action, and camera shots which stressed the gas attack and agentive relationships. Finally, invariability of character, though was not frequent, was also present twice through the use of clothes and colour.

5.2.7. Situation 7

Situation 7 is about the agreement reached by the Three Kings and Iraqi rebels and civilians. The Three Kings agreed to take the civilians to the Iranian borders where they can take refuge in Iran. In return, the Iraqi rebels and civilians have promised to help the Three Kings rescue Troy who was kidnapped by the Iraqi Republican Guards.

5.2.7.1. Language

The sentences 5.96-5.116, below, are excerpted from a longer debate that took place between Gates and the other Three Kings on the one hand, and Amir and the other Iraqi rebels and civilians on the other. During this debate Amir who is dressed in Western clothes identifies himself as a graduate of the Bowling Green "Business School". During

his speech he used some business jargon such as "in the black"¹⁰ stressing his knowledge in both Business and English.

5.96- Amir: [...] **I went to B-school in Bowling Green**, OK. I came back to open a couple of hotels near Karbala, I nearly **in the black** when this stupid war started, and **you** guys bombed all my cafés. Now, **we** try to get rid of **Saddam**, **Bush** leaves **us** twisting in the winds ...

5.97- Iraqi civilian: Where is **American Army**? Where is **the army**?

5.98- Gates: Do you have a radio?

5.99- Iraqi civilian: No radio, **no water**.

5.100- Gates: Where is Barlow (Troy)?

5.101- Amir: **They've** got him.

5.102- Gates: Where **they** would take him?

5.103- Amir: Oasis bunker, it's full of **Saddam's Republican Guard**.

5.104- Amir: Why don't you call in the **Marines**?

5.105- Amir: Why not? **You have a huge army here**.

5.106- Gates: We don't have to be involved in the uprising, **we killed Iraqi soldiers** broke the peace accord.

5.107- Amir: We're fighting **Saddam** and die and you're stealing gold.

5.108- Amir: **They have a half million in the desert**, they send four guys to pick all this bullion? I don't think so.

5.109- Gates: We need to find **our man**; how much do you want to take to take **us** to him?

5.110- Amir: Is this yours to give? Ha? The only reason you have these bags is **my people** picked them up. We'll take **our share** and we'll help you carry **your share**.

5.111- Gates: And find **our man**.

5.112- Amir: **Amir Abdullah**.

5.113- Gates: Archie Gates.

5.114- Amir: You'll take **us** to the Iranian border. If **we** don't get into a refugee camp, **we** are dead. The nearest camps are in Iran.

5.115- Amir: No, **Saddam's soldiers will never take Saddam's gold**. The only chance we have **is if we are with Americans**.

¹⁰ "The term 'black' is used to refer to a company's profitability. A company is said to be "in the black" if it is profitable or, more specifically, if the company produces positive earnings after accounting for all expenses", (www.investopedia.com).

5.116- Amir: What good is it if you leave us here to be slaughtered? Ha? The **big army of democracy** beats **the ugly dictator** and saves the rich Kuwaitis. But you go to jail if you help us escape the same **dictator**? You saw what happened to **my wife**. Look at **my daughter**.

During the conversation, also, some hints referred to the broken promises made by the late U.S. President George Bush to save Iraqi civilians from Saddam's persecution. Hence, expressions such as "Bush leaves us twisting in the wind", "where is the American Army?", "call in the Marines", "you have a huge army here", and "half million in the desert" all refer to the U.S. Army which let the Iraqis down, and stressing the anti-war nature of the film. However, the Iraqis have expressed their need of American help as stated in expressions such as "the only way we have is if we are with Americans ". Moreover, the Iraqis have referred to Saddam in an over-lexicalised manner as the only threat they are facing as expressed in sentences such as "we're fighting Saddam", "Saddam's soldiers will never take Saddam's gold", "the ugly dictator", "the same dictator", and "they've got him (Troy) [...] Saddam's Republican Guard". Also, they have expressed the lack of food and water as in 6.99 above "no radio, no water". Even though Amir is a graduate of a U.S. university, he speaks English with a heavy accent, especially when he over stresses the /r/ sound, as if a speaker of Russian is speaking English. However, Amir has proved to be a good debater and negotiator as he emphasised some Othering expressions such as "we", "us", "you", and "you'll take us". At the end of this dialogue, there was a kind of religious misrepresentation as in 5.118 below:

5.117- (Gates) who's going?

5.118- Amir: Everyone, but the **priests**.

Amir, when asked about the number of people he intends to take to the Iranian borders, he answered "everyone, but the priests". In Islam they are not called "priests" but "sheiks" or "imams" (www.dictionary.cambridge.org).

The next long conversation has taken place between Captain Said and Troy. The first part involved investigation, while the second included torture (stills 5.69-5.72 below), as seen in 5.119-5.124 below:

5.119- Captain Said: What's your rank, **bro**?

5.120- Captain Said: Do your army come back to help **the people**? Tell the true, **dudesky**! Save us the big **bummer**!

5.121- Captain Said: (after electrocuting Troy) **does it hurt?** Asked you a question, **does it hurt?**

5.122- Captain Said: **You *bomb my family** do you know that? You ***blow up my home** ... My wife ***is crash** by big fucking block of concrete. **She *lose** her legs. ***Those legs cut off now** ... My son, **my son was *kill** in his bed. He's one-year **hold** (old). He's ***asleeping** with his toy doll **when the bomb *come** ... **Am not father no more**, don't remember? **My son is dead now**. I only joined **Saddam Hussein Army to make good living for my family**.

5.123- Captain Said: You know, **I got weapon and training from America** ... **How do you think I *learn my English?** Especially **this guy came here to train us *when fight Iran**. ... **Weapon, sabotage, interrogation**.

5.124- Captain Said: ... **maybe Saddam is very crazy and you are crazy to bomb all of Iraq?**

According to the conversation above, Captain Said appears as another Iraqi character who acquired his English from the Americans; "I got weapon and training from America ... How do you think I learn my English?" (5.124 above). Even though Said is almost speaking fluent English, but he uses slang lexical items as shown in expressions such as; "bro", "dudesky", and "bummer". He also made some grammatical mistakes as shown in 5.122 and 5.123 above. Besides, Captain Said is exaggeratingly pronouncing the /r/ sound which he pronounces in a heavy accent. Also, Said is depicted as an Iraqi who was forced to join "Saddam's army" only to "make good living" not out of patriotism. Through Said's voice Anti-war ideology is also expressed when he mentions the killing of his little boy and the life changing injury of his wife as shown in 5.122 above. Some lexical items have been used through Said to evoke anti-war sentiments in the viewers minds such as "you bomb my family", "blow up my home", "my wife is crash", "those legs cut off now", "my (one-year-old) son was kill", etc. Said also verbally emphasised the torture he inflicted upon Troy when he asked him twice "does it hurt?".

The Three kings are seen in the company of Iraqi civilians (still 5.61 below) with whom they made an agreement; the Iraqi civilians help the Three kings rescue Troy while the Three kings helped the Iraqi civilians cross the Iranian borders in return. While everybody was walking, Conrad has asked some Iraqi twin barbers the following:

5.125- Conrad: Do you think **America is Satan**, right? **America is Satan?**

5.125 above stresses the expression "America is Satan" which was first used by Ayatollah Khomeini of Iran who described the United States of America as "the Great Satan" (Harmon, 2005: 62). Since the use of this expression in Iraq is not familiar, hence it is used here to emphasise the Oriental view "they are all the same" though the Iraqi Barbers denied believing so. On the other hand, as the Three Kings accompanied by Iraqi civilians and rebels have approached an Iraqi village where they have been happily welcomed by the people of that village:

5.126- Iraqi civilian 2: **Welcome America.**

5.127- Iraqi civilian 3: **Welcome America, welcome.**

5.128- Iraqi civilian 4: **America welcome.**

5.129- Iraqi civilian 5: (in Arabic أهلاً وسهلاً بأمريكا) **welcome America.**

5.130- Iraqi deserter officer: (in Arabic مرحباً) **Hello!**

In 5.126-5.130 above, Iraqi civilians and rebels have expressed their happiness as they see the Americans coming into their village (stills 5.62 and 5.63 below).

In 5.131 below, Amir introduces an Iraqi deserter officer to Gates praising him that he is a "good man" who "helped them " near Karbala:

5.131- Amir: (to Gates) **they** are all **deserters, they leaved Saddam's Army**, but they help **us** near Karbala, **good man.**

5.132- Iraqi deserter officer: **George Bush get rid of Saddam now? Congratulations!** (he hugs Gates) (in Arabic تهانينا) **Congratulations!**

In describing the Iraqi officer as a deserter who left the "Saddam's army", Amir is trying to include this officer in the in-group/Us side. In 5.132, the Iraqi officer has misunderstood the issue that the Three Kings are sent by the Americans to help them topple Saddam Hussein. While 5.133-5.136 are extension to the dialogue started in 5.131:

5.133- Iraqi deserter officer: **from Kuwait.**

5.134- Gates: We'll use these cars **to fight Saddam's soldiers.**

5.135- Iraqi deserter officer: Cannot take! We need money. To eat, to live (in Arabic وانتوا جيشكم كله هناته احنه اكل ماعدنا ناكل) **all your army** is here, while **we don't have enough food to eat.**

5.136- (Gates) listen to me, we **will rise up together**. (Amir is interpreting "نثور سوه" rise up together)

In 5.133 the Iraqi deserter officer has offered the Three Kings some luxurious cars which they have been stolen from "Kuwait", but he refused to give them to Gates for free, justifying that the Three Kings have a huge army to support while the Iraqi civilians and rebels have "nothing to eat". This another reference to the U.S. army which let the Iraqis down. In 5.136 above, Amir has wrongly pronounced the word "نثور" /nθu:r/ (to rise up) which he mispronounced as "نتور" /ntu:r/. Amir has suggested a plan to use the "Kuwaiti" cars to fool the Iraqi Republican Guard protecting the Oasis bunker by going into one stately car procession. This plan has succeeded to fool the Republican Guards (still 5.66 below):

5.137- Iraqi deserter officer: (In Arabic to a group of Republican Guards) **هذا صدام جايبكم، راح** (يكتلنا كلنا، راح يكتلنا كلنا لان خسرتوا المعركة، اني راح انهزم، يله كلكم انهزموا ويبي، يله كلكم انهزموا ويبي) (English subtitle "**Saddam is coming. He's pissed at you for letting him down. He is going to kill everybody**".

5.138- Republican Guard1: (n Arabic **أكلناها والله**) We're ruined! (English subtitle "**That's bullshit**")

5.139- Republican Guard 2: (English subtitle) **Saddam is coming to kill us!**

5.140- Republican Guard 3: (in Arabic) **لکم صدام جاي علينا راح يكتلنا، لك صدام راح يكتلنا، انهزم، انهزم** **Saddam is coming to kill us, run for your life!**

5.137-5.140 are warnings made by the Iraqi deserter officer to fool the Republican Guards that Saddam Hussein has come to kill them. It has been recognized that 5.138 mismatches the subtitle shown on the screen, the Republican Guard said, "we're ruined" while the subtitle read "that's bullshit".



Still 5.61 at (01:09:06)

Still 5.62 at (01:08:30)

Still 5.63 at (01:08:34)



Still 5.64 at (01:13:25)

5.2.7.2. Physical appearance

Stills 5.61-5.63 deal with how those Iraqis cooperating with US soldiers are represented. The Iraqi educated civilian appears as wearing formal jacket and trousers, but with unkempt hair. 5.61 also depicts the only two Iraqi civilians who put on western clothes and capable of speaking English. As for the Iraqi deserted officer, even though he is dressed in typical Iraqi army uniform, but he puts on a keffiyeh as a scarf. Whereas still 5.65, below, depicts a group of Iraqis in black clothes whose gender can hardly be distinguished because of the long camera shot which portrays them. Besides, situation 7 appears to be filmed in a barren desert; as a matter of fact, the suburbs of Karbala are known to be rural with trees and farms. With this said, we can place all the Iraqi officers and soldier at the far end of the DST axes (the D and M axes), away from our social distance or the in-group side. The 'humanised' Iraqi deserter officer and the freed Iraqi educated civilian would be located in the viewers' social distance due to their cooperation with the US soldiers.



Still 5.65 at (01:18:04)

Still 5.66 at (01:20:52)

Still 5.67 at (01:23:38)

Stills 5.66 and 5.67 depict escaping Iraqi soldiers when told that Saddam Hussein was coming to kill them. The reluctant escape the Iraqi Republican Guards have made sounds unjustifiable, keeping in mind that they are professional elite soldiers who took part in a previous 8-year-war with neighbouring Iran. Still 5.67 shows an Iraqi soldier who is threatened at gunpoint by Gates. Though his life was at stake, he was determined to regain some of the jeans stolen from Kuwait before leaving the bunker. In both stills 5.66 and 5.67, a high angle is used to depict the Iraqis showing them in unfavourable positions. In still 5.66, the escaping Iraqi soldiers are taking the Y-1 position as shown in figure (5.2) (page: 105). Besides, the Iraqis in still 5.67 who are shown in a low long shot will be located at the far end of the D axis of the DST diagram as shown in figure 5.13 below:

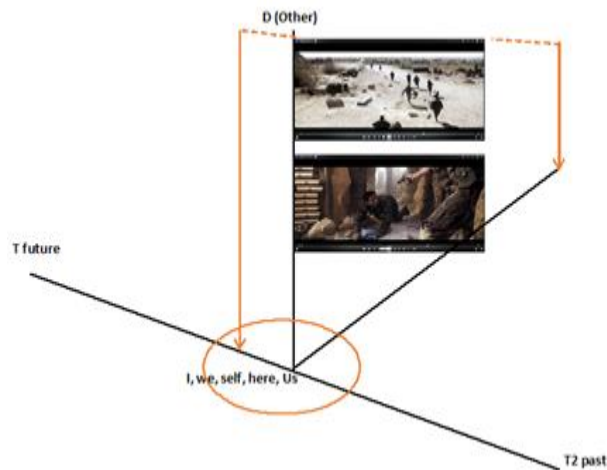


Figure 5.13 representing Iraqi Army

In still 5.66, both conceptual metaphors IMMORAL IS REMOTE and POWERLESS AND LACK OF CONTROL IS DOWN are activated.



Still 5.68 at (01:22:09)

Still 5.69 at (01:04:41)

Still 5.70 at (01:07:37)

5.68 shows a group of detained Iraqi men wearing keffiyehs and women dressed in black loose abayas. Stills 5.69-5.72 portray captain Said who is seen investigating and, later, torturing Troy. The audience would have sympathised with him had he not tortured Troy and forced crude oil into his mouth. It can be observed that 5.71 and 5.72 are both close-ups showing Troy being tortured with electric shocks and forced to have crude oil as the viewers can see the transfer of energy from captain Said (the agent) to the helpless Troy (the patient) (see figure 5.13 above for illustration).



Still 5.71 at (01:06:26)

Still 5.72 at (01:17:51)

The close-up camera shots locate the viewers in cardinal point 0, thus they create a kind of threat due to the inhumane act Troy is subjected to at the hands of the demonised Iraqi officer. Besides, according to Hart (2010: 95), nearness is not only associated with righteousness but also with "fear" and, hence 5.71 and 5.72 are too provocative that they locate Captain Said at the end of the DST D and M axes since the aggressive acts he has committed are evoking fear in the viewers' minds. Such a kind of fear is accentuated through certain semiotic resources which do aggravate the torturing scene, such as the electric wires attached to Troy's ears, the sparks coming out of the wires while two Iraqi

soldiers were testing them, the sound of electric shock affecting Troy, Troy's involuntary convulsions as he suffers the electric shock, the thick black crude oil going into Troy's mouth, and the helpless sounds Troy is making as he is forced to swallow the crude oil.

5.2.7.3. Religion and nationality

Situation 7 contains no reference to Iraqi nationality, even the Iraqi army are described as "Saddam's army" and "Saddam's Republican Guard". As for religion, the only way it was referred to is the clothes the Iraqi women were wearing, i.e. the veil and long loose abayas. Table 5.13 below provides more details about the stills 5.61-5.72 of situation 7:

Still No.	Function- aliased agent or Patient	Verbal individuation/ collectivisation	Categorisation			
			Cultural Identification			
			Linguistic	Physical	Environmental	religious
5.61-5.72	Iraqi civilians, rebels, and Army	You, they, Saddam's Republican Guard, Saddam, Iraqi soldiers.	Long conversation by Amir, Captain Said, and other short speech turns by other Iraqis.	Non-white Iraqis with ragged clothes	Desert, unpaved roads, water well.	—

Table 5.13 Situation 7 representation

Table 5.13 shows Iraqis functionalised as Iraqi civilians, rebels and Army. In this situation, some of the Iraqis are verbally individuated and humanised and given a significant chance to speak up as is the case with Amir and Captain Said. On the other hand, Iraqi army members are alienated and collectivised though the use of pronouns and nouns such as, "they", and "Saddam's Republican Guard". However, they are referred to as "Iraqi soldiers" when Gates wanted to justify why he cannot contact the U.S. Army to save Troy. Saddam Hussein has been shown as the main perpetrator of all troubles as the one who invaded and robbed Kuwait and the one who persecutes and kills his own people. Saddam was verbally mentioned 14 times in situation 7 in an over-lexicalised manner. As usual all Iraqis have been depicted as untidy non-white people who live in a miserable desert-like environment with unpaved roads. Table 5.14 below illustrates situation 7 in more details:

Still No.	Stereotyping techniques	Frequency of theme		Semiotic resources employed
		Civilians and rebels	Iraqi Army	
5.61-5.72	The use of spoken/written language	14	5	Spoken English and Arabic.
	Cultural backwardness	3	2	Clothes, action, objects, camera shots.
	Violence	1	4	Action, objects, sound, colour, camera shots.
	Invariability of character (they are all the same)	4	3	Action, clothes, colour, camera shots.

Table 5.14 Situation 7 frequency of themes

Table 5.14 represents the frequency of themes and the type of semiotic resources employed to evoke fear into the viewers' minds. Through the use of spoken language both Iraqi civilians and rebels on the one, hand and Iraqi Army on the other have hinted to certain Oriental aspects such as the request for exterior help, marginalization, despotism, and incompetence. As for cultural backwardness it was emphasised through the use of clothes, action, objects, and camera shots. While violence has been portrayed via action, objects, sound, colour, and camera shots. Character invariability has been stressed by employing action, clothes, colour, and camera shots as well.

5.2.8. Situation 8

This situation is considered to be the last one in the *Three Kings* film. It starts with Conrad shown dead and prepared to be taken with the Iraqi civilians towards the Iranian borders. The situation ends with the Three Kings successfully accomplishing their mission by convincing their U.S. officers to let the Iraqis cross the borders to Iran.

5.2.8.1. Language

Conrad's dead body is seen shrouded with a white piece of cloth in the Islamic way (still 5.74 below), while an Iraqi civilian is saying Islamic prayers in Arabic next to his corpse. Troy, who looks devastated after his close friend has died, agrees to Chief and Amir's idea of taking his Conrad's corpse to be buried in one of the Shiite shrines in Iran, as stated in 5.141-5.142 below:

5.141- Chief: He said he wanted to go to one of **those shrines**.

5.142- Amir: **Qum**¹¹ in Iran, we can take him with us.

Here, Islam is portrayed in a positive way again, especially that a Christian American soldier is being prepared for burial in the Islamic way and Islamic prayers are recited for his sake. On the other hand, Gates has asked the Iraqi deserter officer to join them in their journey towards the Iranian borders, but the Officer's answer was 'no', as stated in 5.143 below:

5.143- Iraqi deserter officer: No, I will stay **here to fight Saddam**.

The officer, as one of the rebels who started an armed combat against Saddam Hussein refused fleeing the country, justifying that he is going to stay "to fight Saddam".

5.144-5.162, below, describe the events that associated with the Three Kings and Iraqi civilians' march towards the Iranian borders where they are intercepted by both the Iraqi Republican Guards and U.S. troops:

5.144- Gates: We walk **them** past the **Iraqi soldiers**. Make sure **they're** safe.

5.145- Adrian Cruz: We're about 25 yards from **an Iraqi checkpoint** heading into Iran. ... It's a **barb-wired zone**. We have **men, women and children** here assumed to be **Iraqi refugees crossing over** into Iran. ... we did see a lot of **Iraqi soldiers**. ... **They are refugees now trying to escape from Saddam Hussein**. The **refugees** are 150 yards from the border of Iran.

5.147- Gates: **We** can make it before they stop **us**.

5.148- Colonel Ron: Arrest **them**. Gert them away from **those refugees**.

5.149- Gates: **Let's** go.

In 5.144 above, the Iraqi Republican Guards, who were previously described as "Saddam's army", are referred to as "Iraqi soldiers". In 5.145, through Adriana Cruz commentaries, Iraqi civilians now are described as "refugees" who are escaping Saddam's persecution. To evoke more sympathy in the audience's minds, Adriana described the Iraqi civilians as "men, women and children" who are heading towards a "barb-wired zone". The Iraqi army is described as "Iraqi soldiers" once more. In 5.147, Gates, now, includes the Iraqi civilians in the in-group side by using the plural pronoun "we" and the

¹¹ Qum is an Iranian city which is considered a Shiite holy city because it has the shrine of Fàtème Ma'sume, daughter of the seventh Imam of Shia Muslims, (Thurfjell, 2006: 69).

plural objective pronoun "us" to refer to both the Three Kings, himself and the Iraqi civilians. Colonel Ron also describes the Iraqi civilians as "refugees", who he wants them separated from the Three Kings. Gates, again, uses the objective pronoun "us" in 5.149 as he helps an old Iraqi woman to get up.

In 5.150-160, Troy, Gates, and Chief all beg Colonel Ron to let the Iraqi civilians flee to Iran to avoid getting killed by Saddam's troops. Here, the Iraqi civilians have been described as "people" and "refugees".

5.150- Chief: Let me just **help these people** get across!

5. 151- Troy: Look what's happening? Just **let them get over**.

5.152- Chief: (to the U.S. soldier who is arresting him) Help **those people get across** and I'll go with you. **They'll get slaughtered** if we don't help them across. Why you doing this, man? **They** gonna kill **them**.

5.153- Adriana: The **refugees** are not crossing the border. **They** have been **rounded up**.

5.155- Troy: Just let **them get over**!

5.156- Gates (to Colonel Ron): Are you gonna let **them** kill **those people**?

5.157- Chief: **They're** arresting **them**.

5.158- Adriana: (to Colonel Ron) Why aren't you helping **them**?

5.159- Chief: No. Get **those people** over first.

5.160- Gates: **They** helped **us** get find it, Ron. We made a deal. ... Come on return the gold. Save some **refugees**.

Finally, Gates succeeds in dissuading Colonel Ron from letting the Iraqi civilians down by tempting him with the stolen Kuwaiti bullions.

5.2.8.2. Physical appearance

As usual, the Iraqi represented in situation 8 have been shown as non-white and dressed in ragged non-Western clothes, however, they have been located in the in-group side; this was obvious in Gates speech when he included them in the in-group part of the D and M axes when he included them in the "we" and "us" pronouns" he used in 5.147 above. Stills 5.73-5.75 below depict the Iraqi Republican Guards, their appearance, and how they deal with their fellow citizens. In still 5.73, for instance, two Iraqi Republican Guards appear with clear make-up tanned skin, untidy uniforms, unfitting berets, one of them with visible beard, and carrying two Ak-47s in a ready-to-attack manner. In still 5.74, on the

other hand, a long camera view shows U.S. officers talking to Iraqi Republican Guards. The Republican Guard who is seen talking to the U.S. officers wears no beret, the other four Guards are wearing berets but, the other two Guards are putting keffiyehs on their shoulders. Whereas still 5.75, below, shows a Republican Guard punching Amir who is rounded up in a wire cage with other Iraqi civilians.



Still 5.73 at (01:40:48)

Still 5.74 at (01:47:04)

Still 5.75 at (01:45:22)

Still 5.75 in which Amir is punched can be further illustrated in figure 5.14 below:

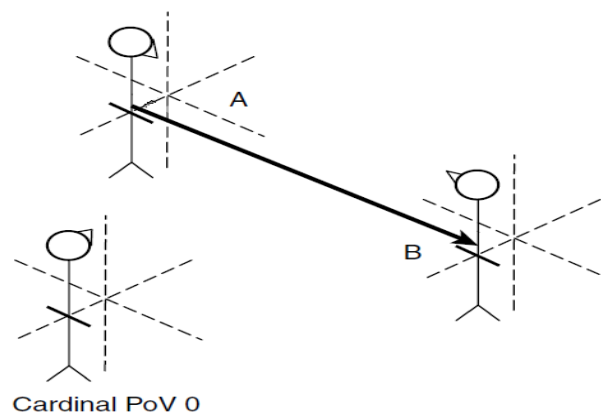


Figure 5.14 One-sided agentive relationship (adopted from Hart, 2014: 87)

Figure 5.14 illustrates a one-sided agentive relationship in which a Republican Guard directs a blow to Amir. Viewers, as onlookers, are situated in cardinal point 0 where they can only evaluate this relationship where the transfer of energy travels from A (the agent soldier) towards B (the Patient Amir). In still 5.76, below, Amir's daughter's head appears protruding with her broken arm also through the wire cage which looks too big for her. Meanwhile, sad music can be heard mixed with the noise of locking up and civilian women's weeping.



Still 5.76 at (01:45:32)

Still 5.77 at (01:47:53)

Still 5.78 at (01:42:22)

In 5.77 above, among more than twelve Iraqi civilians only one is recognised to be wearing some jacket and trousers without a headwear, all the others are wearing almost the same clothes and colours. As the last scene in which Iraqis were represented in an Iraqi environment, the next scene appears in the USA with the original normal filming colour can be seen. It can be recognized that the Iraqi civilians and rebels who appeared in situation 8 can be located within the viewers' personal distance very close to the DST M and M axes with viewpoints of (Y0, X3, and Z1) respectively (see figure 5.2, p.102), hence are situated in the viewers' social distance. The inhumane aggressive action practices by the Iraqi Republican Guards towards the unarmed civilians will definitely put those soldiers into the far out-group ends of the DST D and M axes.

5.2.8.3. Religion and nationality

In stills 5.79 and 5.80, several semiotic resources have been employed to accentuate the religious identity of the non-white Iraqi civilians and rebels. Certain semiotic resources such as black clothes, nature of audible prayers, and way of mourning have contributed to the fact that these Iraqi rebels and civilians are Shiites. Not only the Iraqis are humanised and individuated in these images but also Islam which is recognized as positively represented, taking into consideration that the Iraqi Shiite rebels and civilians have already saved the *Three kings'* lives and prepared Conrad's corpse in a respectable Islamic way and took it with them to be buried in a Shiite shrine, as if he was one of them. 5.79 shows Chief who is consoling Troy for losing Conrad, while a group of Iraqi Shiite women in black are mourning the recently deceased Conrad. In 5.80, five Iraqis are seen saying prayers next to Conrad's dead shrouded body.



Still 5.79 at (01:34:05)

Still 5.80 at (01:31:29)

Finally, in still 5.77 above, Gates, Chief, Amir, Amir's daughter, and the twin barbers are shown approaching the Iraqi-Iranian borders with Saddam Hussein's portrait seen right behind them. Saddam's portrait, which is one among several ones that appeared throughout the film, is located above a painted Iraqi flag giving rise to the idea that he is still in power.

Table 5.15 illustrates the details already discussed in situation 8:

Still No.	Function- alised agent or Patient	Verbal individuation/ collectivisation	Categorisation			
			Cultural Identification			
			Linguistic	Physical	Environmental	religious
5.73-5.80	Iraqi civilians and Army	Saddam, them, Iraqi soldiers, men, women, children, refugees, people.	Iraqi deserter officer's talk to Gates, Amir's daughter calling her father, some noises made by Iraqi civilians.	Non-white Iraqis with ragged clothes	Desert, unpaved roads, water well.	Clothes, rituals, Islamic prayers.

Table 5.15 Situation 8 representation

According to table 5.15, the Iraqis are either represented as civilians or Army. The civilians are shown as collectivised patients while the Army as functionalised Agents. The only Iraqi who has been verbally individuated is Saddam Hussein. Other Iraqis have been collectivised by using pronouns such as "them", "people", "men", "women", and "children". Linguistically speaking, the only Iraqi shown speaking was the Iraqi deserter officer who was heard talking to Gates in 5.143 above, and Amir's daughter who was heard calling for her father. In addition to some cries and noises made by some detained Iraqi civilians. Again, the Iraqis have been shown as non-white and dressed in untidy ragged clothes. Some of the Iraqi soldiers' faces were even contained visible make-up tanning. As for the environment, it continued to appear as a desert. Eventually, as far as religion is concerned, some semiotic resources have been employed to depict religion

such as clothes and rituals. Table 5.16 below gives more details about the semiotic resources used in situation 8:

Still No.	Stereotyping techniques	Frequency of theme		Semiotic resources employed
		Civilians and rebels	Iraqi Army	
5.73-5.80	The use of spoken/written language	3	0	Spoken Arabic and English, noises.
	Cultural backwardness	2	2	Clothes, colour, object, action, camera shot.
	Violence	0	1	Action, object.
	Invariability of character (they are all the same)	2	1	Clothes, action, camera shot.

Table 5.16 Situation 8 frequency of themes

Table 5.16 shows that the Iraqi Republican Guards have not been given any speaking role though they have been frequently depicted in a visual manner. While some of the Iraqi civilians were heard expressing their request for help from the Americans, and determination to fight Saddam as is the case with the Iraqi deserter officer. Cultural backwardness has been portrayed through the use of clothes, colour, object, action, and camera shots. As for violence, which was only practiced by Iraq soldiers, was depicted through employing objects (weapons) and agentive relationships. Character invariability, on the other hand, was represented through the use of clothes, action, and camera shots. It is worth mentioning that showing people visually acting without the being heard speaking is one of the methods used to show them in a generic manner (they are all the same).

5.4. Summary

This chapter have made use of Paul Chilton's Discourse/Deictic Spatial Theory (DST) to analyse certain multimodal semiotic resources such as language, clothes, colours, objects, action, etc. Christopher Hart's aspects of anchor, angle, and distance have also been adopted to analyse certain social actors' activities within specific excerpted stills. Also, Van Leeuwen's Social Actors analysis have been employed in order to put the selected stills into five main categories, i.e., 1. Language, 2. Physical appearance, 3. Religion and nationality. The selected stills have been chosen from certain contexts of situation which contained different scenes that varied in their length. Some scenes were very long (about 8.28 minutes), and others were too short (about 0.26 minutes). However, some short

scenes have been as equally significant as the long ones, since they included stills which were rich with graphic content and semiotic resources. This chapter aimed at analysing stills selected from the *Three Kings* (1999) and have emphasised different situations and events which represented different groups of Iraqis through the adopted socio-cognitive approach designed for this study. Besides, it is worth saying that some scenes have contained more analysable stills than others, according to the categories chosen for the analysis. Figure 6.15 below illustrates the number of themes and stereotyping techniques employed in the *Three Kings* (1999). The blue bar shows the Iraqi Army (IA) versus the Iraqi civilians and rebels (C & R) while the red bar illustrates the representation of Iraqi Army (IA):

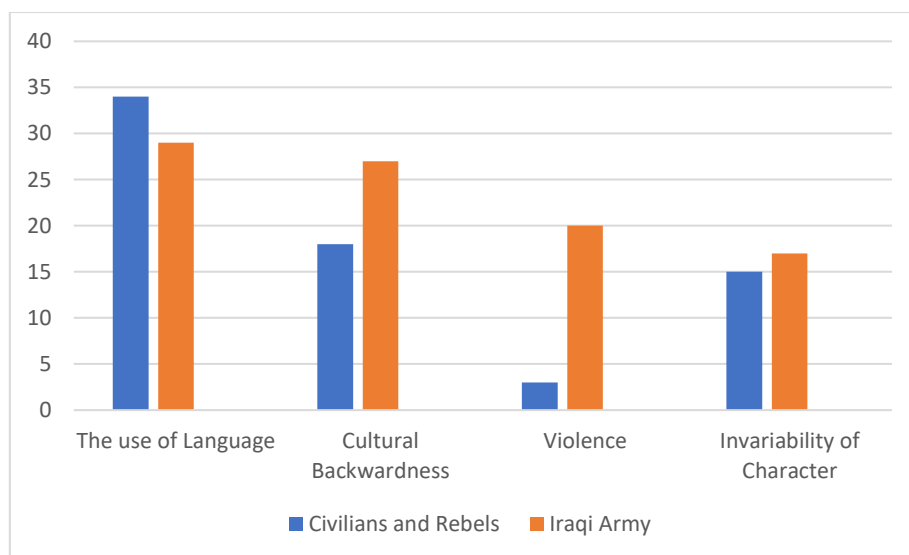


Figure 5.15 Iraqi Army vs Iraqi civilians and rebel's frequency of theme

It has been concluded that the semiotic resources employed in the *Three Kings* (1999) have emphasised the Oriental idea of the White Man's Burden through depicting Iraqi civilians as help-seekers, and this has been shown through the language spoken by many Iraqi characters. The concept of despotism was also accentuated in the film through the use of violence depicted through different semiotic resources such as language, action, colour, and objects. Even though religion (Islam in this case) was represented in a positive way, but still Iraqis' characters have been represented as invariable and culturally backward through the use of language, action, clothes, camera shots, colour, and objects respectively as illustrated in figure 5.16 below.

The frequency of deducted themes is shown in table 5.21 below in detail:

The use of spoken language		Cultural backwardness		Violence		Invariable of character (they are all the same)	
C&R	IA	C&R	IA	C&R	IA	C&R	IA
34	29	18	27	4	26	15	17
Total		170					

Table 5.17 Total frequency of theme

As shown in table 5.17, the use of language as a means of representation surpassed the other themes. Table 5.17, on the other hand, shows how IA is controlling the majority of negative themes, while C&R, because of their cooperation with the Three Kings, have been quite more positive. Table 5.18 below provides the percentage of used themes among IA compared to C&R.

Civilians & Rebels				Iraqi Army			
71 (41.76%)				99 (58.23%)			
The use of spoken language		Cultural backwardness		Violence		Non-variable characters (they are all the same)	
C&R	RA	C&R	RA	C&R	RA	C&R	RA
20%	17.05%	10.58%	15.88%	2.35%	15.29%	8.82%	10%

Table 5.18 Theme percentage

Table 5.19, on the other hand illustrates the semiotic resources employed in each situation in the *Three Kings* film:

SITUATION	SEMIOTIC RESOURCES USED							Total of all resources
	Language	Object	Clothes	Action	Camera shot	colour	Pose	
Situation 1	1	-	1	2	1	-	-	84
Situation 2	2	-	2	2	1	-	-	
Situation 3	2	2	2	2	1	2	-	
Situation 4	2	1	2	2	1	2	-	
Situation 5	4	3	1	3	2	2	-	
Situation 6	3	1	2	1	2	3	-	
Situation 7	3	2	1	2	2	1	-	
Situation 8	3	2	2	3	2	1	-	
Total of each resource	20	11	13	17	12	11	-	

Table 5.19 Use of semiotic resources in *Three Kings* (1999)

According to table 5.19, eighty-four basic semiotic resources have been used, especially to evoke feelings of fear and effect in the minds of viewers, the majority of which was language followed by action, clothes, camera shots, colour and objects respectively as further clarified in figure 5.16 below.

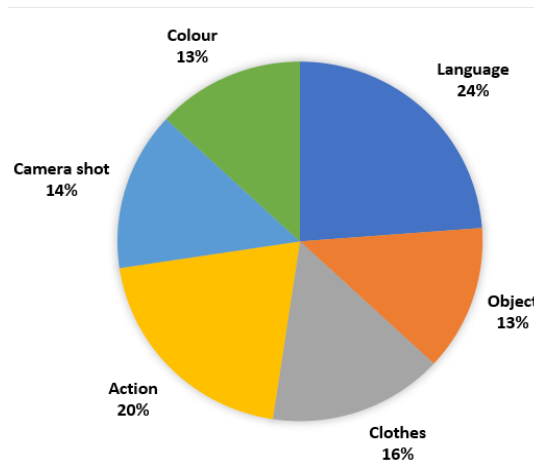


Figure 5.16 Frequency of semiotic resources in *Three Kings* (1999)

Chapter Six

Analysis of *The Hurt Locker* Film (2008)

6.1. Introduction

The Hurt Locker film, released in 2008, is one of the war films Hollywood has produced about the Iraqi situation five years after the toppling of Saddam Hussein's regime. In addition, what makes this film quite outstanding is that it has made a remarkable success at the box office, and received six Academy Awards Oscars for best motion picture, best achievement in directing, best writing (or original screenplay), best achievement in film editing, best achievement in sound mixing, and best achievement in sound editing according to the IMDB (https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0887912/?ref=nm_sr_1). Most of the scenes of this film, directed by Kathryn Bigelow and starring Jeremy Renner, Anthony Mackie, Brian Geraghty, and others, have been filmed in Amman Jordan to mimic places like Baghdad. *The Hurt Locker* (2008) is a film which tells the story of a US Army Explosive Ordnance Disposal (EOD) team whose previous bomb-defusing staff member (killed in action) was replaced by Sergeant William James (played by Jeremy Renner). During the film, the team goes through various dangerous bombs defusing missions that helped saving the lives of many US army personnel and Iraqi civilians.

According to the film's script, written by Mark Boal, *The Hurt Locker* revolves around the chivalrous deeds achieved by the EOD members who engaged in various missions in the city of Baghdad in 2005. The film provides no Baghdadi place names, except for the one explosion that took place near the Green Zone¹². Besides, no militia groups names have been provided, however the viewer, by help of some semiotic resources, could distinguish the identity of the militia(s) involved in committing terror acts in Baghdad; this point will be elaborated later in this chapter. Also, it is significant to mention that the Iraqi government at that time was headed by Prime Minister Ibrahim al-Jaafari who was chosen by the Shiite alliance to become Iraq's second Prime Minister after the toppling of Saddam Hussein's regime in 2003 (Carroll, 2005). In addition, in 2005, there were two main insurgency powers that struggled with the US troops on almost a daily basis, these

¹² The Green Zone "is a heavily protected four-square-mile area in the center of Baghdad that first served as the headquarters of the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) and is now the only relatively safe area for foreigners to live in Iraqi territory". (Fontan, 2009: 179).

powers were the Sunnite al-Qaeda-supporting Jama'at al-Tawhid Wal Jihad (Congregation of Monotheism and Jihad) led by Abu Musab al-Zarqawi on the one hand, and the Shiite al-Mahdi Army led by the anti-US Cleric Muqtada al-Sadr on the other (Beehner, 2006).

Similar to chapter six, the Socio-Cognitive Approach will be employed to analyse *The Hurt Locker*. This film contains a good deal of covert ideology which is depicted by means of various multimodal strategies, i.e., linguistic, and non-linguistic methods have been used to create certain impacts on the viewers who watched it. This chapter will attempt at identifying how the Iraqi identity is represented via analysing different stills excerpted from many scenes.

6.2. Analysis

This chapter will attempt at deconstructing the selected stills from *The Hurt Locker* which contain various semiotic resources. Like the previous chapter, different selected stills will be multimodally analysed in terms of three main categories: 1. language, 2. physical appearance, and 3. religion and nationality. The stills will be elaborated according to the situations in which they appeared.

6.2.1. Situation 1

The very first situation in *The Hurt Locker* (2008) depicts the attempt of the EOD team to defuse a hidden road IED (improvised explosive device). The place is Baghdad between 2004-2005, after almost two years of the American intervention in Iraq. These categories will touch upon the way Iraqi identity is represented through the semiotic resources of language, and other non-linguistic resources. This scene is considered a very long one (about 9 minutes and 24 seconds) in which the camera travels from one viewpoint into another.

6.2.1.1. Language

One of the categories that have to do with the representation of Iraqis in *The Hurt Locker* film is the aspect of language (spoken or written). In some scenes Iraqis have been given the chance to speak, mainly with Americans not with each other. This subsection shows how language have been employed in *The Hurt Locker* to represent Iraqis. The following stills, which contain certain multimodal semiotic resources, have been selected for

analysis, as they maintain the comprehension of meaning along with spoken and written language. Stills 6.1-7.4 below show the selected stills of scene 1 in which language was represented:



Still 6.1 at (00:00:58)

Still 6.2 at (00:01:25)

Still 6.3 at (00:03: 48)

Still 6.4 at (00:06:28)

The first scene of the film begins with the voice of an Iraqi interpreter as he directs the Iraqi civilians into leaving the place where an IED was supposedly placed by insurgents in the middle of road:

6.1 - (Iraqi interpreter in Arabic: **عدم الاقتراب من هذه البناية يوجد هناك قنبلة. الرجاء إخلاء المنطقة. على الجميع الهروب بسرعة. يوجد هناك قنبلة. إخلاء المنطقة فوراً. ممنوع الوقوف!**)

- Avoid **approaching** this building, there is a bomb! Please, evacuate this area! Everybody must be **escaping** quickly, there is a bomb! **Evacuation** of this area must be immediate! Do not stop! It is **not allowed** to stop!

- يمنع الوقوف بتاتاً! ابتعدوا عن هذا المكان وبأسرع ما يمكن! عدم الوقوف أمام الامريكان!

- It is absolutely **not allowed** to stop! Get away from this place as fast as possible! Avoid stopping in front of American soldiers!

In 6.1, the Iraqi interpreter is calling upon Iraqi civilians to leave the dangerous place where a hidden IED is about to explode. The interpreter has used a nomination strategy in formulating his warning sentences and never said who is the one ordering these instructive sentences to be followed; hence not revealing agency. In addition, the interpreter has made use of present passive tense as in (... is not allowed to ...) to keep agency anonymous. Besides, the nomination used in these sentences though spoken by an Iraqi interpreter warning his fellow Iraqis, but there is no direct mentioning of their identity as Iraqis or citizens. However, these warning sentences were sufficiently reiterated to keep the area clear of civilians who did not leave the dangerous place willingly, if it were not for the Iraqi security forces' attempts to disperse them.

Still 6.1 is a butcher's shop sign which reads (ملحمة الرويس, Alruwais butchery). Taking into account that the film was shot in Amman Jordan (according to the IMDB), it is obvious that the Arabic lexical item used in the sign can never be used in Iraq, i.e., in Iraq the word

(قصابية /qis^ʕæbə/, butchery) is used instead (see Clarity et al., 2003: 174). The Iraqi butcher, whose character was controversial for ignoring orders to evacuate the area (shown in still 6.2), has expressed his direct complaint that he does not desire to leave his butchery willingly, as in 6.2 below:

6.2 - (In Arabic: هاي شلون هاي! What is going on!)

The butcher has enhanced his unwilling direct complaint with body language (fast hand movements) and a raised sound pitch. In still 6.3, the butcher flagrantly defies evacuation orders and returns to his shop. In this same still a road sign can be seen showing a street name and address in Amman Jordan (حي الروضة، منطقة رأس العين، ش. Al-Safsafah st., Ra's Al-Ain Area, Al-Rawdha Quarter).

In the middle of the IED defusing process, while Sergeant Sanborn (played by Anthony Mackie) was busy covering Staff Sergeant Matt Thompson (played by Guy Pearce), he was unexpectedly approached by an Iraqi civilian who looked nonchalant about the risky situation. All what this Iraqi civilian was interested in is to start an informal conversation with Sanborn who threateningly pushes him away, as the grave situation does not permit more delay:

6.3- Hi! Where are you from?

- Where are you from?
- California?
- Where?

The exaggerated /r/ sound was really annoying as pronounced by the Iraqi young man. Someone can presume that this young Iraqi was only distracting the EOD team and delaying the bomb defusing. These stills can be represented on the DST axes as in figure 6.1 below:

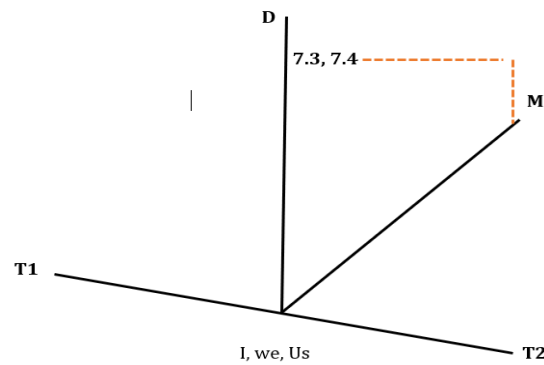


Figure 6.1 DST visual representation

It can be recognized, as shown in figure 6.1, that both Iraqis, the butcher and the young Iraqi man who did not abide by the evacuation orders, have been located at the far end of both the D and M axes, simply because they failed to be disciplined as told by the Iraqi security forces and the US bombs experts. Especially that they have been repeatedly warned in Arabic (their mother tongue) not to stay near the potential explosion killing zone.

As they were trying to defuse the IED, Sergeant J.T. Sanborn was talking with Sergeant Matt Thompson. The following sentences were used to refer to both Iraqis and their place:

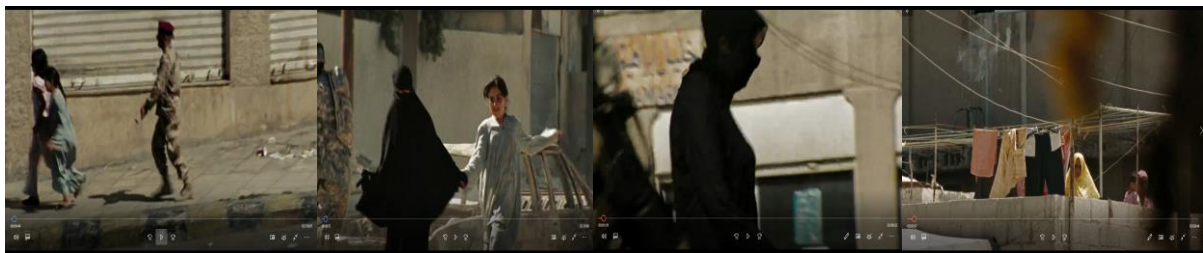
6.4- Sanborn: What, you don't like waiting around **this beautiful neighbourhood?**

Thompson: **I love it.** ... I want **them** to know if **they're** going to leave a bomb on the side of the road, we're going to blow up **their little fucking road.**

It is clear that Sanborn, in his question to Thompson about the (Baghdad) "beautiful neighbourhood", was sarcastic, taking into consideration that the place was totally messed up with the rubbles and different types of littered trash the camera was filming. It can also be recognized that Thompson has used the pronouns "them, they, and their" to collectively refer to Iraqis; since the viewer, in this context, cannot tell whether Thompson is referring to the insurgents who hid the IED in the rubbles or the civilians who are merely observing the situation. Accordingly, the use of words like "them", "they're going to leave a bomb", and "their little fucking road" are locating the Iraqis at the far ends of both the D and M axes and, thus, alienated and situated away from the in-group.

6.2.1.2. Physical appearance

This section tackles how Iraqis have been represented with reference to the physical appearance according to which they have been chosen to play their roles and to the places in which they appeared. The following stills, 6.5-6.14 below, are going to be multimodally illustrated and analysed. Stills 6.7-6.8 depict some Iraqi women and children and how they are behaving during the evacuation orders stressed by the Iraqi interpreter. Still 6.6 and 6.7 show two women dressed in full black Niqab¹³, one of them is accompanied by a little girl.



Still 6.5 at (00:00:44)

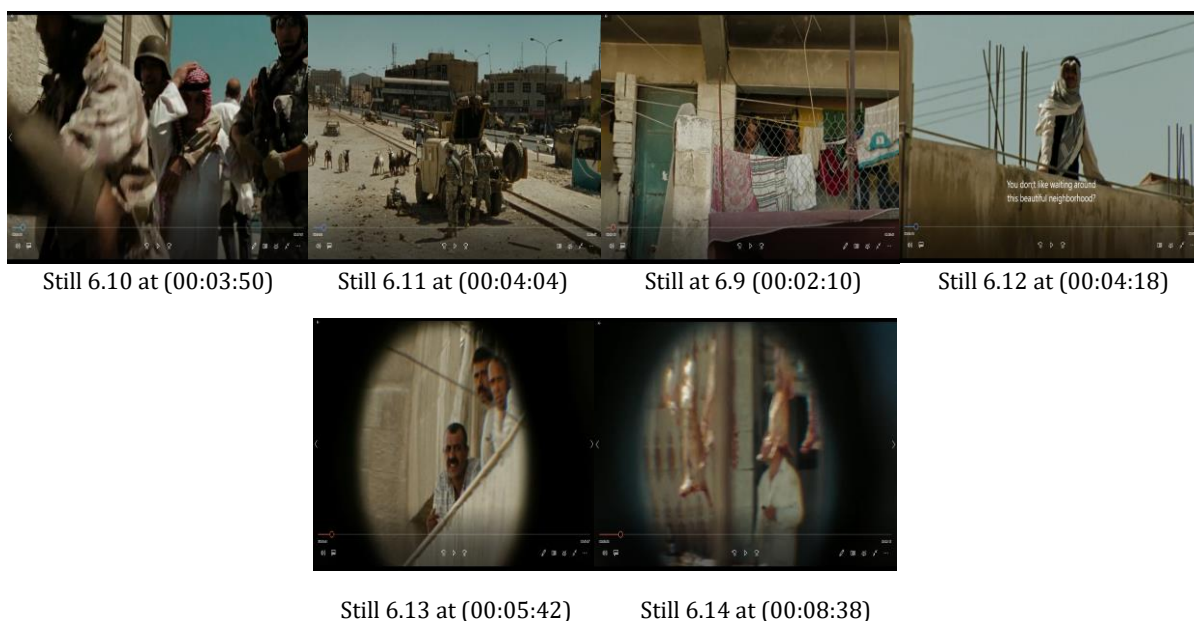
Still 6.6 at (00:00:51)

Still at 6.7 (00:01:19)

Still 6.8 at (00:05:44)

These women and girl are being pushed away by Iraqi security forces in order to avoid the potential danger represented by the still non-defused IED. It is worth mentioning that women with full Niqab are not true representative of all Iraqi Muslim women in Baghdad, for only few numbers of niqab-wearing-women can be recognized in Baghdad. Moreover, since these stills are non-agentive, they cannot be represented on the angle, anchor, distance framework, but they can rather be represented on the far end of the DST d and m-axes; taking into account that the niqab has been prohibited in some Western countries such as Austria, Denmark, France, Belgium, Latvia, Bulgaria, and the Netherlands (Pells, 2016; Krasimirov, 2016; Halasz, and McKenzie, 2018) as a proof of Western rejection of Niqab which is seen as a type of women persecution. Still 6.8 shows another woman in yellow hijab appears observing the situation from her house roof.

¹³ A loose garment covering the entire body and having a veiled opening for the eyes worn by some Muslim women, <https://www.dictionary.com/browse/niqab?s=ts>



Still 6.10 suggests an anarchy-like situation in which US and Iraqi soldiers are pushing Iraqi civilians away from the area where the IED is located. While the 'unruly' Iraqi civilians are being pushed away from the dangerous IED site and paying no attention to the repeated Iraqi interpreter's appeals to leave the dangerous area, a man (a butcher) with a white apron is seen sneaking back to his shop. Regarding this close up (shown in still 6.10), the viewers are located directly in front of the Iraqi civilians being pushed away by the soldiers in such a way that the social actors' vector is moving towards the viewers themselves, i.e., the viewers are viewing the scene from the civilians' viewpoint. This still can more be clarified in figure 6.2 below:

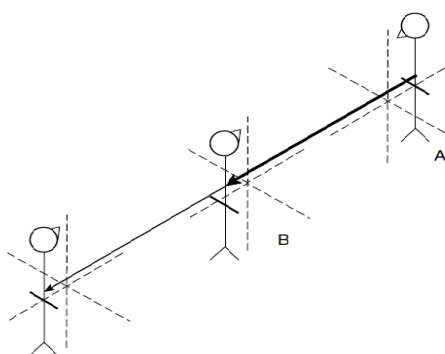


Figure 6.2 Vector and view from cardinal point 3 (Hart, 2014a: 89)

It can be observed from figure 6.2 how the flow of energy is going from point A (the soldiers) towards the viewers through B (the Iraqi civilians). In other words, the viewers are participating in this event as they are located in cardinal point 0, and an uncomfortable feeling is created as the Iraqi civilians are entering the viewers' intimate distance. As for

Still 6.11, through a long camera shot, the US soldiers are seen behind a military Humvee as they are trying to manage the IED situation. Right in front of the Humvee, a seemingly carefree Iraqi shepherd can be observed directing his goats towards the standing US soldiers, once more ignoring the interpreter's instructions to avoid standing in front of Americans. In still 6.11, the viewers are also capable of feeling the flow of energy coming from the Iraqi shepherd towards them; his inexplicit features are giving rise to the conceptual metaphor IMMORAL IS REMOTE.

Stills 6.9-6.13 depicts Iraqis in an observing position (a state of voyeurism); the audience cannot tell whether they are mere civilians or insurgents' supporters, especially that the butcher (still 6.14) who defied the evacuation orders and got back to his shop was trying to call someone on his mobile phone. Shortly after the camera made a zooming on his mobile phone, or maybe someone else's mobile phone, the IED exploded killing Sergeant Matt Thompson (played by Guy Pearce). The viewer is left unsure who is the perpetrator who made the IED to go off. In stills 6.5-6.14 Iraqis are shown to be wearing non-Western clothes, defying orders to evacuate the dangerous area, and above all most of them, with slightly recognizable features, can be thought of as suspects. These stills can be represented on the DST axes as shown in figure 6.3 below:

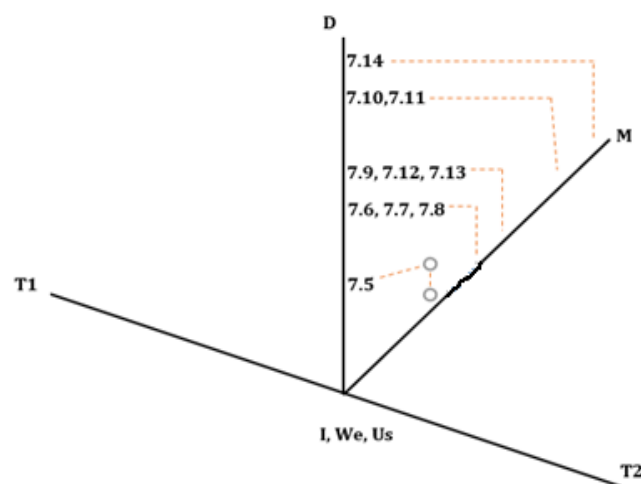


Figure 6.3 Representation of social actors on DST axes

According to figure 6.3, the two little girls with the Iraqi soldier guiding them to safety in Still 6.5 can be located closer to the viewers' in-group distance since they are innocent kids with a cooperative Iraqi security member. It can be observed that the butcher (still 6.14) has been situated at the far end of the D and M axes since he has already defied

orders to leave the area and used his mobile phone which puts him under suspicion. The Iraqis in stills 6.10 and 6.11 come next as out-group and thus are located close to the D and M axes far ends, since they have been not easy to discipline; their non-Western clothes have also contributed to putting them in the out-group. As for the Iraqi women in niqab, they have been located in the middle of the D and M axes since they are posing no danger, though have not acquired an intimate position closer to the in-group because of their non-Western clothes. Stills 6.9, 6.12, and 6.13 are together in the middle distance of the D and M axes, though they do not pose a tangible danger, but their collectivised identities are felt to be obscure due to the vantage point by which we can see them with hardly recognizable features and actions, in addition to the non-Western clothes they are wearing. The women in 6.6, 6.7, and 6.8 could have been situated closer to the in-group space of the D and M axes but the niqabs they are wearing have slightly distanced them from the in-group base.

6.2.1.3. Religion and nationality

Though stills 6.6 and 6.7 showed two Iraqi women with niqab, niqab is not enforced on Muslim women out of Islamic religious teachings, but due to socially related excessive piousness (Ibrahim: 2009). Therefore, the images of women with niqab is not going to be considered a religious factor. In the IED defusing scene, there was a very significant audible mode which is related to Islam, the Adhan (the Islamic call for prayer). At the beginning of *The Hurt Locker* (2008) film, specifically at (00:00:22), the viewers are capable of hearing "Allahu Akbar" (Allah is great), the phrase with which Adhan starts. What is really interesting is the fact that the Adhan's Allahu Akbar has been associated with the first steps of the IED defusing process, where the robot was being steered towards the road IED. Therefore, we can say that this point maintains the Oriental idea about Islam as a violent religion. In conclusion, stills 6.1-6.14 can be summarised in table 6.1 below:

Still No.	Functionalised patient(s)/agent (s)	Verbal individuation/ collectivisation	Cultural identification			
			Linguistic	Physical	Environmental	religious
6.1-6.14	Iraqi civilians. Butcher. Security forces.	Dude, them, they, their.	Interpreter warning people. Butcher sign. Butcher complaining. Young Iraqi civilian starting a conversation.	Non-white people with non-Western clothes.	Streets filled with rubbles and trash.	Adhan (call for prayer)

Table 6.1 Situation 1 representation

As shown in table 6.1, the majority of the Iraqis who appeared in stills 6.1-6.14 are functionalised as only civilians, few security forces, and the butcher, whose character was controversial as mentioned earlier. As far as the cultural identification of Iraqis is concerned, the butcher only was verbally individuated as "dude", the other Iraqis were collectivised by the use of pronouns such as "them, they, their". Among the many people shown in situation 1, only a hidden Iraqi interpreter was given voice as he was warning people to leave the area, the butcher who uttered few words, and a young Iraqi man who interrupted the bomb-defusing process. Besides, as mentioned earlier, the butcher's shop sign did not reflect the correct use of lexical item in Iraq which is considered a type of cultural misrepresentation and a marginalizing technique.

Moreover, table 6.2, below, provides more details on the frequency of the themes excerpted from the given stills:

Still No.	Stereotyping techniques	Frequency of theme			Semiotic resources employed
		Civilians	Security forces	Insurgents	
6.1-6.14	The use of spoken/written language	2	2	0	Exaggerated pronunciation of the English /r/. Wrong choice of lexical item.
	Cultural backwardness	8	0	0	Clothes, object (litter), action.
	Violence	?1	0	1	Colour, action.
	Non-variable characters (they are all the same)	5	0	0	Action

Table 6.2 Situation 1 frequency of theme

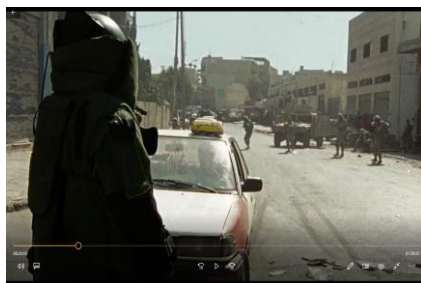
Table 6.2 shows the frequency of themes employed in the film as stereotyping techniques. The improper use of spoken and written language has been recognized twice in situation 1. The cultural backwardness was observed eight times as represented in the types of clothes, litter, and actions. The presence of violence was detected one time represented by the IED explosion which led to the killing of the US explosives expert. Despite the fact that the butcher was trying to call someone, we cannot tell who is the one who made the IED to go off, as the camera shows many onlooking people in addition to others who are shown to be secretly lurking behind the scenes that is why we put "?" in the table cell indicating civilians. Besides, as the Adhan has coincided with the bomb-defusing process, it can be considered a type of a potential violence source. Non-variable negative character was observed five times in accordance with action.

6.2.2. Situation 2

This situation has to do with the defusing of another IED. The EOD team is contacted by a US patrol who was informed by some informant about a hidden IED located near a mosque. The situation begins when the EOD team arrives to the place where another US patrol was hiding. The situation ends when James successfully defuses the IED.

6.2.2.1. Language

This subsection deals with the language used by or about Iraqis in situation 2. Still 6.15, below, illustrates the context in which an Iraqi interpreter was interpreting the orders he is told to convey to a seemingly reckless Iraqi taxi-driver:



Still 6.15 at (00:20:16)

An interpreter, who is supposed to be Iraqi and working for the US troops, is requesting what looks like an Iraqi Taxi-driver who broke through a US checkpoint to drive his car back to avoid being killed, in 6.5 below:

6.5- Iraqi interpreter in Arabic: يا أخويه إسمعه لهذا الجندي! إطلع من السيارة والا يقتلوك، الله يخليك! إطلع من السيارة! .

Oh, Brother, listen to this soldier! Get out of the car or they will shoot you, for Allah's sake! Get out of the car!

I can tell that the interpreter is not an Iraqi one, since his Arabic is quite likely a Jordanian. Iraqis will rather not use the interjection "يا" /jæ/ (Oh!) to call someone, they would simply say "أخوية" not "يا أخويه" (Brother! Not Oh, brother). Also, Iraqis, in Baghdad, will not say "إسمعه" /ismeʔə/ (listen to him), but /isimʔə/. They will also say "سيارة" (car) /sei'jærə/ or /si:'jærə/ not /si:'jærəh/. Also, Baghdadis will say "تره" /terə/(or) not "الا" /l'lə/. Finally, Iraqis will not say "يخليك" /jXe'leək/ (keep you), but rather /jXe'li:k/ (Clarity et al, 2003: 6, 85; Alkalesi, 2006: 251).

The Taxi-driver would have not stopped if James had not intercepted him with his handgun. During this situation, the Taxi-driver was offensively referred to by American soldiers as a "haji¹⁴":

6.6- U.S. Soldier: EOD has a nine¹⁵ on the **haji** in the car.

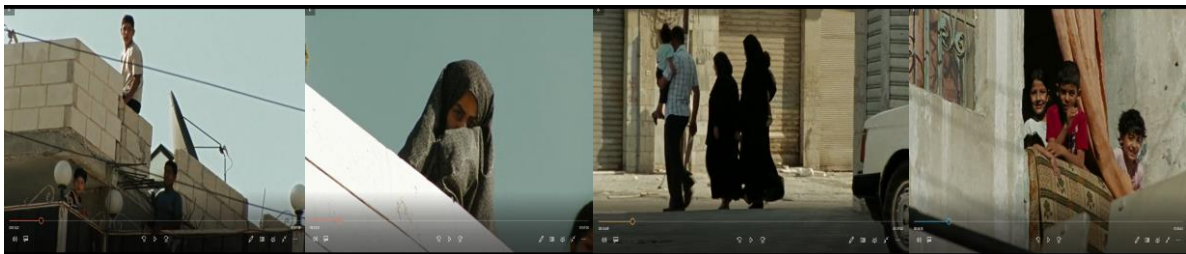
6.7- U.S. Soldier: The nine is now pressing into the **haji's** forehead.

Despite the interpreter's appeals to the Taxi-driver to drive back and James's handgun threats, the Iraqi driver was not taking any action, until James, with his gun "pressing" on the driver's head, succeeds in making him drive back and later subdued by the nearby U.S. Marines. The 'vague' nature of the Taxi-driver and his very slow response to orders made James to indirectly describe him as an insurgent in 6.8 below:

6.8- If **he** wasn't an **insurgent**, **he** sure as hell is now.

6.2.2.2. Physical appearance

Just like the other situations in *The Hurt Locker*, situation 2 contains some stills that depict the physical appearance of Iraqis and the place(s) in which they can be seen. This subsection can be further divided into three parts; the one when the EOD team arrived in the place where the US soldiers were hiding, the other when James confronted the reckless Taxi-driver, and the third one, and the last, where the IED is finally defused. The first part has to do with stills 6.16-6.22, below, which illustrate some Iraqi civilians, children, men, women, and a stray cat:



Still 6.16 at (00:13:32)

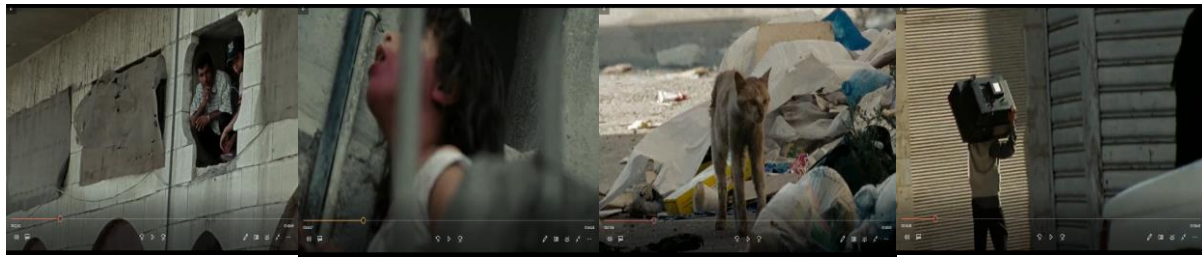
Still 6.17 at (00:13:33)

Still 6.18 at (00:13:49)

Still 6.19 at (00:16:18)

¹⁴ Haji is [an] offensive slang; disparaging term for [A]rabs, especially those of Islamic faith. First used by US military forces during the early stages of 2003 Iraq invasion. <https://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=haji>

¹⁵ 9mm pistol.



Still 6.20 at (00:22:02)

Still 6.21 at (00:26:27)

Still 6.22 at (00:21:56)

Still 6.23¹⁶ at (00:14:08)

Indeed, these stills were excerpted from the situation when the EOD team was trying to detect and defuse a road bomb. The place can be recognized as a Baghdad civilian neighbourhood where civilians can be shown as passers-by (still 7.18), or only observers (stills 6.16, 6.17, 6.19, and 6.20). As far as physical appearance is concerned, stills 6.17 and 7.18 show a girl who completely covers her face with an abaya except for her eyes as she is watching what is going on from the roof of her house, and a passing by man who holds a child and is accompanied by two women in black hijab. Stills 6.16, 6.19, and 6.21 show children who are observing the situation from their houses and a little girl who is sitting on the stairs of a flats building. It can be noticed that all these civilians and children are prone to the danger surrounding them, taking into consideration that the IED was hidden in front of one of the buildings they are living in. In still 6.20, we can see two men watching James as he was approaching the IED without revealing any expression of fear of the potential danger, especially that they are standing in the killing zone. In still 6.22, a cat meagre with hunger can be seen roaming about the dangerous place looking for food in the litter spread everywhere. It can be noted that another, injured and limping, cat was shown at (00:13:21) hardly walking in the 'filthy' streets. Still 6.23, which depicts an Iraqi man carrying a heavy television, is reminiscent of the shocking acts of looting that broke through many parts of Iraq in the aftermath of the 2003 US intervention in Iraq; the man is briefly shown in a medium camera shot in a way the television he was carrying has concealed his face. Stills 6.16-6.23 can be represented on the DST axes in figure 6.4 below:

¹⁶ Ali Baba, from *Arabian Nights*, a famous thief who lived in Baghdad. When the US and British troops invaded Iraq in 2003, the term Ali Baba was used to refer to the Iraqi suspected looters who started looting the deserted governmental buildings (Dewan, 2003; Gillan, 2017).

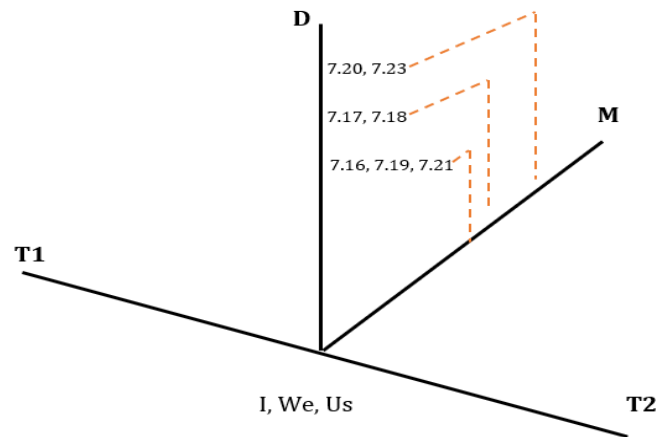
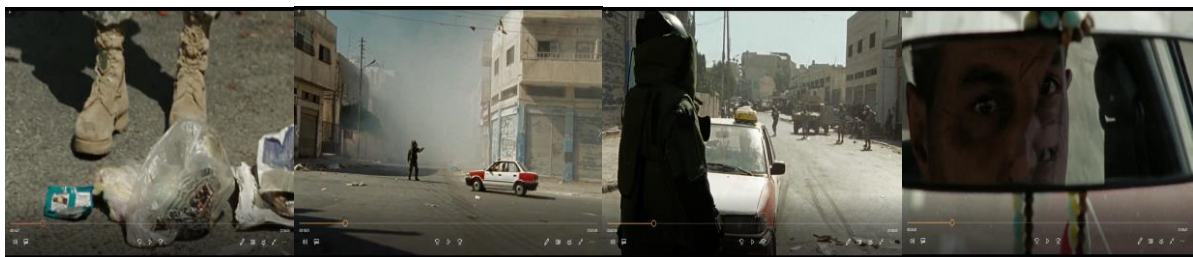


Figure 6.4 Representation of social actors on DST axes

Children have been located closer to the in-group area at the base of the DST centre since they can be considered victims of the irresponsible acts performed by adults. The women in hijab can be shown as taking a middle position due to the non-Western clothes they are wearing. The man with the television and those observing the situation from a window are located at the far ends of the D and M axes. The TV man reminds us of looters about whom we store certain mental images and the men appear cannot be determined whether they know about the hidden IED or not.

The second part of this subsection is related to the defusing of an IED with some more significant stills to be analysed. Stills 6.24-6.28 present the events that took place while James was heading towards the hidden IED:

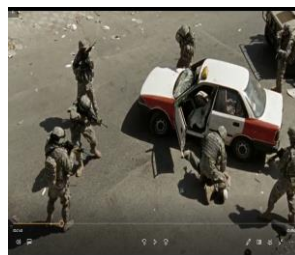


Still 6.24 at (00:14:27)

Still 6.25 at (00:19:25)

Still 6.26 at (00:20:16)

Still 6.27 at (00:20:20)



Still 6.28 at (00:21:43)

Still 6.24 is related to the image of the streets (place) in which James was walking until he reached his destination. Still 6.24 is one from a total of 28 images that portrayed how terribly messy the streets of Baghdad were. In a duration of 15 minutes the camera has focused on the litter scattered in the streets 28 times by way of different camera angles. This repeated way of showing similar items in a repeated manner can be described as an over-exaggeration or "over-completeness" (Teo, 2000: 20). Stills 6.25-6.28, on the other hand, can be described as some of the most provocative scenes in the film, where James with his bomb suit on is seen heading towards the hidden IED. As he was approaching the hidden danger, the calm atmosphere is interrupted by a speeding car which looks like a typical Iraqi taxi. As the U.S. troops were not lucky enough to stop the car, James was able to stop it in the middle of the road by pointing his pistol towards the car. Still 6.25 can be represented in figure 6.5 below, where the viewers are watching and evaluating the situation in cardinal point 0. The potential threat represented by the unknown car is indefinitely situating the car driver at the far end of both the D and M axes respectively.

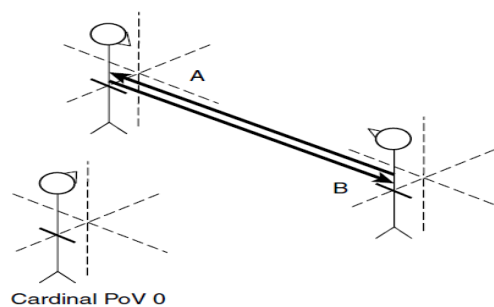


Figure 6.5 Cardinal point 0 (Hart, 2014a: 87)

What worsens the Iraqi Taxi-driver's position even more is the fact that it is "[i]mpossible to discern whether he's simply an annoyed taxi driver [...] or a Jihadi on a suicide mission" (Boal, 2007: 25). In a scene which lasted almost 3 minutes, James was trying not to kill the driver, but only threatening him with a hand gun till he began to drive back. It is worth mentioning that the driver's face was only shown for a short time in a broken mirror which villainizes him even more by showing him as a monster (still 6.27). In still 6.28, the US soldiers eventually succeed in subduing the Taxi-driver who remained mute and never uttered a word. Subsequently, the viewers will locate the Taxi-driver at the far end of the D and M axes as a totally alienated out-group member.

The last part of this subsection deals with the IED finally defused by James. The following stills, 76.29-6.33, are significantly related to this situation:



Still 6.29 at (00:22:08)

Still 6.30 at (00:22:26)

Still 6.31 at (00:24:10)

Still 6.32 at (00:26:14)



Still 6.33 at (00:26:24)

While James was heading towards the hidden IED, he is filmed walking down the road passing a blacksmith factory workshop (still 6.29). When James reached his target IED, he started examining it. James, indeed, was not alone, but was being secretly observed by a man who looks like a factory worker (Still 6.30 and 6.31). The man was totally mute and has never been heard uttering a single word. When James succeeded in defusing what has been revealed as a ring of IEDs, the man went downstairs and, then, went up into another residents' building where he dropped a 9-volt battery right in front of a little girl who was sitting on the stairs (stills 6.21, 6.32, and 6.33). The man with dressed in a worker's clothes, before going into the other building, he grimly stared at James who showed him the blasting cap he took out from the IED. The factory workshop, the man with the work clothes, and the battery he dropped all suggest that the IED was possibly made in the factory workshop located in the residential neighbourhood where civilians and children are seen either observing or walking around. Accordingly, it is hard to distinguish between innocent civilians and those involved in supporting insurgency. Similarly, the factory worker is not only put at the out-group ends of the D and M axes for getting the IED ready for explosion, but also for endangering his own people, e.g., the little innocent girl who was playing nearby.

6.2.2.3. Religion and nationality

Situation 2 also contains some clear hints that demonize both Islam and Muslims and Iraqi nationals as well. Stills 6.34-6.38 illustrate some images that touch upon the issue of religion and nationality:



Still 6.34 at (00:15:19)

Still 6.35 at (00:20:18)

Still 6.36 at (00:21:02)

Still 6.37 at (00:22:38)



Still 6.38 at (00:25:32)

Still 6.34 is one of the many images where a mosque minaret has been shown. The IED itself was hidden 20 meters away from the mosques side as verbally stated by Sergeant Carter the one who contacted the EOD team to explore the protruding wires found near the mosque:

6.9- Sergeant Carter: Down the block, about 20 meters **this side of the mosque**, ... one of our informants saw wires in a rubble pile - possible IED.

In this bomb-defusing situation, we have counted the times in which the mosque minaret was shown. The minaret has been shown 7 times in a period of about 14 minutes, giving rise to an example of 'overlexicalization'. In still 6.37 James is shown examining the still-possible IED with the whole mosque minaret completely shown to viewers. Besides, in still 6.38, while James was endangering himself defusing the IED with an extreme close-up of his masked head, suddenly, in the midst of this tranquil atmosphere the viewers can hear a recitation from the Qur'an¹⁷. The recitation was repeated twice, 15 seconds each inducing audience to make certain mental representation that Islam is violent.

¹⁷ Muslims holy book.

As far as the national identity is concerned, still 6.35 and 6.36 depict the Taxi-driver who recklessly did not stop at the US check point preventing people from approaching the killing zone represented by the hidden IED. It can be recognized in still 6.35 that an extreme camera close-up is focussing on an Iraqi flag hung together with a prayer beads inside the Taxi-driver's car. The beads have been shown 4 times, while the many flags hung in the car were shown 14 times in a duration of about 2 minutes. In addition, the Taxi-driver was shown wearing a taqiyya¹⁸ (pronounced /tʰæqi'jeh/) which is closely associated with devout Muslims.

Stills 6.15-6.38 can be illustrated in table 6.3 below:

Still No.	Functionalised patient(s)/agent (s)	Verbal individuation/ collectivisation	Cultural identification			
			Linguistic	Physical	Environmental	religious
6.15-6.38	Iraqi civilians, children, Taxi-driver, and a factory worker.	Brother, haji, he, insurgent.	Interpreter requesting Taxi-driver.	Non-white men, women with non-Western clothes.	Streets filled with rubbles and trash.	Mosque, mosque minaret, and a Qur'an recitation.

Table 6.3 Situation 1 representation

Table 6.3 summarises the details of stills 6.15-6.38 in which some Iraqis have been collectivised as passers-by or as observers. Two Iraqis were individualised, the Taxi-driver and the factory worker, even though they were not given voice and remained totally mute. There were two agents, the 'reckless' Taxi-driver and the factory worker who appeared to be responsible for the hidden IED, though not arrested. Only the Taxi-driver was verbally individuated by the Iraqi interpreter as "أخويه" (brother) and was offensively referred to by US soldiers as "haji" two times. He was also referred to as "insurgent" by James. The only Iraqi character who was given voice was the Iraqi interpreter whose body was invisible, though his voice could be heard. As for the physical identification, those Iraqis who were briefly shown have appeared in a long camera shot in such a way that their features were not quite clear, though, we can tell they were all non-white. The women's clothes were non-Western and black as usual. Concerning the place or environment, it was mostly messy with littered trash and rubbles causing us to think of cultural backwardness. Moreover, some Islamic notions have been present, such

¹⁸ An under-cap headcover part which is desirable for a Muslim worshipper to wear during Islamic Prayer (Kabbani, 1998: 58).

as the mosque and its minaret, the Qur'an recitation, the prayer beads, and the taqiyya worn by the Taxi-driver.

All these stills can also be represented in table 6.4 below:

Still No.	Stereotyping techniques	Frequency of theme			Semiotic resources employed
		Civilians	Security forces	Insurgents	
6.15-6.38	The use of spoken/written language	0	2	0	Spoken Iraqi Arabic, Qur'an recitation.
	Cultural backwardness	32	0	0	Clothes, object (litter), action.
	Violence	7	0	1	Action, colour.
	Invariability of character (they are all the same)	16	0	0	Action, clothes

Table 6.4 Situation 2 frequency of themes

According to table 6.4, spoken language was only recognized two times, the first when the Iraqi interpreter was requesting the Taxi-driver to drive back, and the second when Qur'an was heard when James was busy handling the IED. We showed in (6.2.2.1.) how the interpreter was speaking in a non-Iraqi accent which is a kind of a cultural misrepresentation. Also, the Qur'an recitation which coincided with the bomb-defusing was out of context. As for cultural backwardness, there were plenty of examples (32 times), e.g., the repeated focus on the streets which were full of littered trash and rubble, the non-Western clothes worn by Iraqi women, and the reckless behaviour committed by the Taxi-driver. Indirect and direct hints to violence have been emphasised 8 times; 7 times related to the mosque minaret and 1 to an insurgent. Non-variability of character was stressed 2 times in clothes and action, the long camera shot enhanced the collective aspect of identity, while the Iraqi flag, which is associated with Iraqi identity, have been shown 14 times in the Taxi-driver scene metonymically.

6.2.3. Situation 3

Situation 3 is related to an Iraqi DVDs seller boy nicknamed Beckham¹⁹. The situation starts when Beckham is shown selling DVDs near a US military base in the suburbs of Baghdad. He gets to know James who buys some DVDs from him, and even plays football with him out of sympathy. When James goes into a mission with his EOD team to search a bomb factory (see situation 6), he finds a deformed bombs-filled boy's corpse. Believing

¹⁹ A famous English footballer.

that the corpse was Beckham's, James interrogated the little boy's employer about his whereabouts. The man, with little comprehension of English, takes James to a random house just to escape James's threats. The house was Professor Nabil's, an Iraqi academic.

6.2.3.1. Language

While selling DVDs to US soldiers near a US military base in the suburbs of Baghdad, Beckham appeared engaging in a grown-up conversation, as shown in stills 6.39 and 6.40 below:



Still 6.39 at (00:28:20)

Still 6.40 at (00:28:37)

It can be recognized that Beckham's conversation with his US soldiers' customers contains a very offensive language which is similar to the one used by black and Hispanic American gangs shown in some U.S. films and TV shows. In 6.9 we can notice the lexical items given to Beckham to speak:

6.9 - (to a US soldier) What's up **nigger**?

- You cool? Or not? You want to buy the cool **shit**?
- the tight shit? No? **Fuck you!**
- (to James) Hey **nigger**! Buy some DVDs? New releases, very good!
- you are a smart **shit** you know? You are not like **those stupid fuck-face**.
- this is the best **shit**.
- Ah! (as he expresses approval to take a cigarette from James).

It is a fact that all American and Western (and non-Western) fathers will be very upset and angry at hearing their 11-12-year-old boys uttering words like "nigger", "shit", "fuck you", and "stupid fuck-face". Simply, a little boy who would say this type of obscene and offensive language is expected to be of a very low-class gangs-related undesirable and rejected human being. In his conversation with US soldiers, the little Iraqi boy, Beckham,

is not only using revolting language, but he is also willing to smoke a cigarette jokingly offered to him by James, the "Boomala" guy as referred to by Beckham.

In 6.10, below, Beckham is even using more obscene language, as he offers more DVDs options to James:

6.10 - Beckham: Five dollars? For what? Are you **crazy** now!

- You are **crazy**, man? That's impossible! It's Hollywood special effects.
- What do you want? **Donkey porn? Girls on dog? Gay sex?** Anything you want. You are **gay**? I can help you man.
- Yes, I play (in Arabic: **گولجي**)
- you are EOD? Boomala, boomala?
- it's fun, no? It's cool, it's **gangsta**, yeah?

In 6.10, it is unimaginable that an 11-12-year-old boy would use words like "donkey porn", "girls on dog", or "gay sex" which are associated with grown-up's pornography. It is generally well-known that boys under the age of 18 in the Western world are not allowed to have access to pornography, cigarettes, and alcohol. While our Beckham is shown to be speaking adult's language and is ready to accept a cigarette from a stranger.

It is worth mentioning that Beckham has mispronounced the word (گولجي) /gɒldʒi/ which means (goalie). In Iraq it is pronounced /gɒɫtʃi/ with dark /l/ or /ɫ/. Besides, the word "gangsta" is a one that is related to violence.

In situation 3, James was eager to find information to lead him to Beckham, that is why he forces Beckham's employer (still 6.41) to take him to the place where he can find the little boy, but it seemed that the seller's English was too bad to comprehend James:

6.10- (James to Iraqi seller in Arabic): كيف آ (ح)الك؟ How are you?

- أهلين! (Hello!)
- Sorry, man. **English, I no English.**

The seller, who is supposed to be Iraqi, has replied to James's greeting by answering "أهلين" /ehlieən/ (hello) giving rise to a cultural misrepresentation, simply, because Iraqis would simply answer "أهلاً" /ehlen/ in this case. Another misrepresenting sentence was heard spoken by a nearby merchant in 6.11 below (see Clarity et al, 2003: 85):

6.11- لا تنسى سكر الدكان (Don't forget to lock up the shop)

Indeed, Iraqis never say the word "يسكر" /jse'ker/ (lock up), they instead use the word "أقفّل" /uqful/ or "قفّل" /qe'ful/ (to lock up). Also, the seller has used the word "دكان" /du'kæn/ which means 'shop' to mean a 'stall'. In Iraq, the word "بسطية" /bes'ti'je/ (a stall) is rather used (see Clarity et al, ibid: 106).

However, the confused seller has taken James to Professor Nabil's house where the following conversation took place:

6.12- (Inside Professor Nabil's house. Arabic pop music can be heard)

- James: Shshshs! You speak English?

- Nabil: **English, French, Arabic.**

-James: Open your vest! Tell me what you know about Beckham?

-Nabil: For Whom?

-James: Beckham, 12-year-old-boy, body bomb.

- Nabil: I don't know but **please sit down. I'm professor Nabil.** This is my home. **You are a guest, please sit down!**

- I'm a guest! I'm looking for the people responsible for Beckham.

- You are CIA, no? **I am very pleased to see CIA in my home. Please sit!**

(Nabil's wife observes James's presence)

- Nabil (to James): Be careful the gun can go off!

-Nabil's wife: شيسوي المجرم هنا؟ (What's this **criminal** doing here?)

- Nabil: لا حجابة، طيبي جوه! (**don't say a word**, go inside!)

- Nabil's wife: شتسوي هنا؟ اطلع برة! ماكافي اللي سويتوه بينا؟ (What are you doing here? **Go out! Isn't it enough what you've [Americans] done to us?**)

- Nabil: شسويتني! طيبي جوه! شكّم مرة كتلج طيبي جوه؟ (What have you done? Go inside! How many times should I tell you so?)

James threatens a man, later known as professor Nabil, with his hand gun, asking him whether he speaks English, and whether he knows Beckham. The man, who was listening to Arabic pop music, starts a friendly conversation with the now 'confused' James, telling him that he is a trilingual professor Nabil. He even requests him to have a seat and considers himself a guest. Professor Nabil, after presuming that James might be a CIA, expressed his 'happiness' to receive a CIA agent in his house. When James tries to get out of Nabil's house, he meets his 'dignified' wife who has shockingly reacted towards James who was about to lose his composure. She expressed her complaints against the American

presence in Iraq in general by saying: "Isn't enough what you've done to us?" She even throws some dishes at James, injuring his forehead.

6.2.3.2. Physical appearance

Stills 6.41-6.43 below show how Iraqis have been physically represented in terms of physical appearance:



Still 6.41 at (01:31:32)

Still 6.42 at (01:33:46)

Still 6.43 at (01:34: 34)

Still 6.41 shows James threatening Beckham's employer who pretends that he does not speak English, nor does he recognize the name Beckham. The uncooperative bearded man looks non-white and wearing non-Western clothes. His appearance, pretence that he does know Beckham, and taking James to professor Nabil's house make him both incredible and unpredictable. In still 6.42, we are introduced to professor Nabil who is highly educated, dressed in Western clothes, unfanatic Muslim (listening to music) and above all quite hospitable. But his veiled wife (still 6.43), who appears very angry at James is shown very aggressive as she hits him with some dishes causing his forehead to bleed. Hence, she appears to be an agent as shown in figure 6.6 which shows how the vector travels from A (agent) to P (patient):

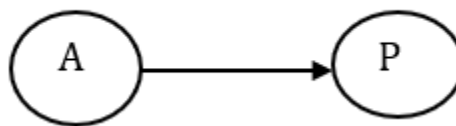


Figure 6.6 Agent vs patient (adopted from Hart, 2016: 342)

6.2.3.3. Religion and nationality

Situation 3 does not have any clear hint to religion, though it does refer to Iraqi nationality. As shown in 6.41 above, the Iraqi flag has frequently appeared in the stall holder's stall (at 01:30:13), and in his car (at 01:31:12), (at 01:31:26) and (at 01:31:43).

The Iraqi characters, Beckham, his employer, professor Nabil, and his wife, who appeared in sills 6.39-6.43, can be represented on the DST axes in figure 6.6 below:

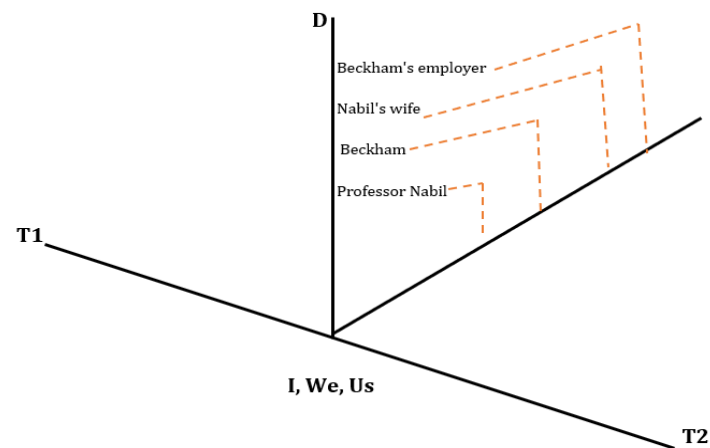


Figure 6.7 Social actors representation on DST axes

According to figure 6.6, the highly educated hospitable professor Nabil who appears dressed in Western clothes takes the closest position on both the D and M axes. While his wife is almost located at the far end of the D and M axes for not enjoying a welcoming nature similar to that of her husband, aggressively attacking James, and because of the non-Western clothes she is wearing. In spite of his offensive language, Beckham is put in a middle position at the D and M axes, only because he might be considered a victim of his backward community. Because of his elusive character, the Iraqi stall holder is located at the farthest ends of the D and M axes.

Table 6.5, below, identifies the characters shown in stills 6.39-6.43:

Still No.	Functionalised patient(s)/agent (s)	Verbal individuation/ collectivisation	Cultural identification			
			Linguistic	Physical	Environmental	religious
6.39-6.43	Iraqi boy, Iraqi stall-holder, Iraqi academic, his and house wife.	Smart guy, buddy, you, good kid. This guy, he, him.	Beckham's conversation with James, stall-holder and James conversation, James and Professor Nabil's conversation.	Non-white boy, and stall-holder. White academic with Western clothes. Woman with non-Western clothes.	Middle class house	—

Table 6.5 Situation 3 representation

As shown in table 6.5, Iraqis have been functionalised as DVDs seller, stall-holder, academic professor, and a house-wife. Two of these four characters have been individuated, Beckham who was described as a "smart guy, buddy, you, and good kid", and the stall-holder who was described as "this guy, he, and him". Moreover, the four

characters have been linguistically identified as they have been depicted speaking with James. However, they were all physically portrayed in a negative way except for professor Nabil who was positively represented. However, professor Nabil's house who is supposed to be a middle-class academic was not shown as good as expected.

Situation 3 can also be represented in table 6.6 below:

Still No.	Stereotyping techniques	Frequency of theme		Semiotic resources employed
		Civilians and security forces	Insurgents	
6.39-6.43	The use of spoken/written language	18	0	Spoken English and Iraqi Arabic.
	Cultural backwardness	2	0	Clothes, action.
	Violence	1	0	action
	Non-variable characters (they are all the same)	7	0	Action, clothes, object (flag).

Table 6.6 Situation 3 frequency of themes

Spoken language, according to table 6.6, was employed 18 times through different Iraqi characters, though certain linguistic misrepresentations have been identified (as discussed earlier in 6.2.3.1). Cultural backwardness was depicted 2 times through clothes and agency. Violence has been portrayed 1 time, whereas non-variable character has been indicated 7 times in terms of action, clothes, and objects.

6.2.4. Situation 4

This situation is about a car bomb detected at the UN headquarters in Baghdad. The EOD team arrives to the UN building while all personnel and employees were being evacuated. This situation has lasted for (14.38) minutes in which different events have taken place.

6.2.4.1. Language

In situation 4, only one Iraqi character has been given the chance to speak, he was the Iraqi police sergeant (shown in still 6.44 below) who told James how he knew the car was full of bombs:



Still 6.44 at (00:30:36)

The following conversation took place between James and the Iraqi police sergeant:

6.13- James: Where is the bomb?

- Policeman: It's behind the wall.

- James: Did you see any wires? Any smoke?

-Policeman: No, I didn't look. The **car has been parked illegally**. The **suspension is sagging**. There is **definitely** something heavy in the **trunk**.

- James: (Jokingly) why don't you walk over there and peek inside and tell me what you see?

-Policeman: You want me to go close to it? (In Arabic: خرة بعرضك. **What the fuck!**)

Examining the conversation in 6.13, we can observe that the Iraqi police sergeant is speaking English fluently and is using lexical items, such as "illegally", "suspension", "sagging", "definitely", "trunk" in a professional manner, in addition, he has used the passive voice, for example "has been parked" in a perfect way. However, we can tell that his pronunciation of the /l/ sound in "wall", and the expression he used when James joked with him "خره بعرضك!" (what the fuck!) are not spoken by Iraqis in this manner and context. Iraqis would use the dark /ɫ/ instead. Also, they would not use the expression also "خره بعرضك!" in this context, for it is often used in exclamation about a fantastic performance (Alkhalesi, 2006: 186). On the other hand, an Iraqi interpreter can be heard verbally warning people in the UN building to evacuate the area as fast as possible in 6.14 below:

6.14- (in Arabic): رجاء غادروا بحسب الاوامر و بانضباط! Please leave according to orders in a disciplined manner!

- Everybody must follow orders! على الجميع الالتزام بالاوامر!

- It is strictly prohibited to stop here! ممنوع بتاتا الوقوف!

- Please, leave quickly! رجاء غادروا و بسرعة!

- All employees must evacuate immediately! جميع العاملين والموظفين الاخلاء فوراً!

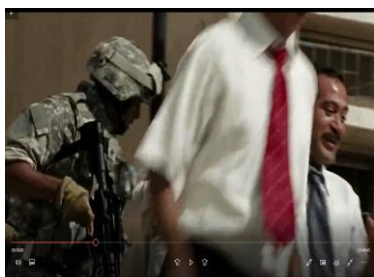
As we listen to the repeated warnings made by the Iraqi interpreter, we can observe how the Iraqi employees of the UN come out and evacuate in a perfect manner (stills 6.45 below), not similar to the one made in situation 1 when the Iraqi civilians were forced by Iraqi security forces to leave the dangerous area.



Still 6.45 at (00:30:05)

6.2.4.2. Physical appearance

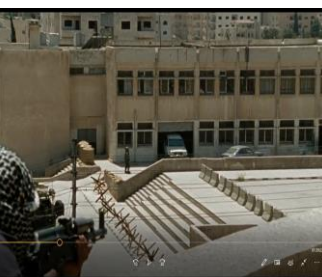
Stills 6.46-6.53, below, are excerpted from the UN-associated car-bomb situation. Now the EOD team have arrived to safely handle the car-bomb. Stills 6.46 and 6.47 show the evacuation process from the UN building. These stills depict both male and female Iraqi UN employees dressed in Western clothes and appear to be following what they are asked to do, i.e., an organised evacuation. Not similar to the majority of the Iraqi women who appeared in the film, the women, shown in still 6.47, are not only wearing Western clothes but also unveiled. The organised evacuation of the Iraqi UN employees in addition to the Western clothes they are wearing will definitely locate them very close to the DST D and M axes, i.e., close to the in-group base. On the other hand, still 6.48 shows an insurgent who is situated in the viewers' intimate distance in such a way that an atmosphere of discomfort and anxiety is created. The insurgent whose face is totally covered with a checked keffiyeh is aiming his AK-47 rifle towards James who is on his way to handle the suspicious car parked inside the UN private car park. After few seconds, the insurgent has opened fire on the parked car causing it to blaze with flames.



Still 6.46 at (00:30:06)



Still 6.47 at (00:31:36)



Still 6.48 at (00:31:29)

Thus, the insurgent has turned to be an agent who shot at the suspicious car with the intention to detonate it. Figure 6.8 below illustrates this agentive relationship with reference to viewers:

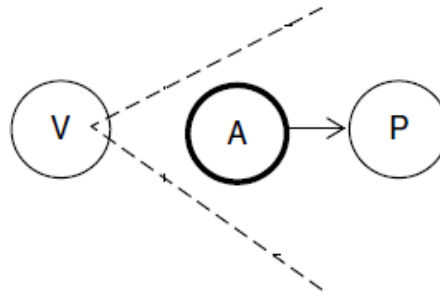


Figure 6.8 Point of view: Anchor (adopted from Hart, 2014a: 127)

According to figure 6.8, the viewers, who are invited to evaluate this event, are located right behind the agent (the insurgent) in viewpoint 0 on the horizontal plane while the vector is going from A to P (James).

In stills 6.49 and 6.50, Sanborn is looking at some Iraqis through his rifle's telescope, one of them was camera recording, the other was observing, and more three others were looking at the EOD team from the top of a minaret (still 6.54). Even though most of these observing Iraqis were dressed in Western clothes but they were all insurgency suspects, and this is clear in Sanborn warnings to Eldridge and vice versa. For instance, the following warning expressions describing observing Iraqis as "eyes" maintain the idea that these observers are not trustworthy, and they could be involved in the car-bomb issue:

6.15- Sanborn: I've got **eyes** on young man ...

Eldridge: You got **eyes** on a **guy** with a video camera?

Sanborn: We go **a lot of eyes** on us. I got eyes on **three guys** at the **minaret**. ... they are **communicating with your camera man**.

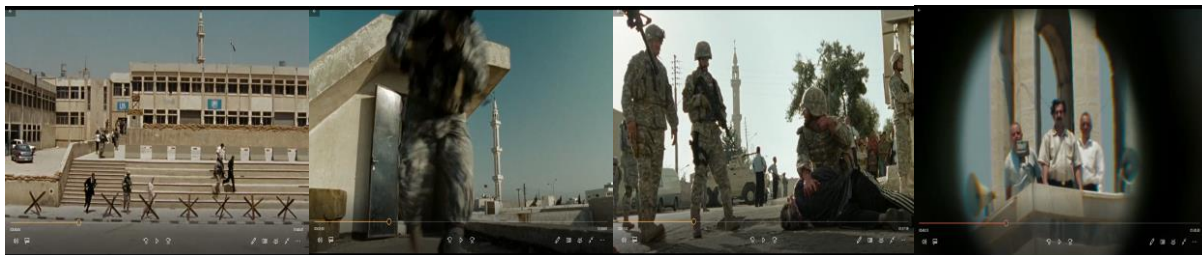


Still 6.49 at (00:36:34)

Still 6.50 at (00:38:14)

6.2.4.3. Religion and nationality

Situation 4 also contains candid hints to Islamic religion. All stills 6.51-6.54, below, involve the reappearance of a mosque minaret. For instance, at the very beginning of situation 4, the camera provides us with a clear image of the minaret located right behind the UN building where the car-bomb is parked. In still 6.52, Sanborn goes up the staircase of a near building after an insurgent sniper opened fire at the suspicious car causing it to burst into flames. When Sanborn appears at the building's roof and then disappears, the camera is still focussing on the minaret giving rise to a suspicious metonymic connection between the minaret and Islam.



Still 6.51 at (00:30:04)

Still 6.52 at (00:32:50)

Still 6.53 at (00:33:32)

Still 6.54 at (00:40:13)

The third time when the minaret was shown is the moment when the insurgent appears bleeding on the ground with US soldiers surrounding him, as depicted in still 7.53 below. In still 6.54, the three Iraqis are shown looking at the EOD team from top of minaret, and this is enhanced by Sanborn's sentence in 6.15 above "I got eyes on three guys at the **minaret**. ... they are communicating with your camera man". Suspicion about these three men increases as Sanborn warns Eldridge that they are making signs to the camera man.

The character in situation 4 can be represented on the DST axes in figure 6.9 below:

Still No.	Stereotyping techniques	Frequency of theme			Semiotic resources employed
		Civilians	Security forces	Insurgents	
6.15-6.38	The use of spoken/written language	0	8	0	Spoken English and Iraqi Arabic.
	Cultural backwardness	0	0	0	Clothes, action.
	Violence	0	0	1	Action
	Invariability of character (they are all the same)	7	0	0	Action, object.

Table 6.8 Situation 4 frequency of themes

Table 6.8 shows that spoken language has counted 8 times all spoken by civilians and security forces, no insurgents were heard speaking. Though slight misrepresentations have been detected on part of the Iraqi sergeant. No cultural backwardness has been detected in this situation though. Violence through agency has been recognized committed by an insurgent only once. While hints indicating non-variability have been recognized 7 times as action and object (mosque minaret).

6.2.5. Situation 5

In this situation, when the EOD team has finished disposing and detonating the bombs they collected from their previous missions in a deserted place, they come across a team of British mercenary prize hunters who were disguised in Arabic costumes. After getting to know them and helping them with their flat tyre, later, the EOD team and the mercenaries were being targeted by a sniper fire.

6.2.5.1. Language

Though in situation 5 no Iraqis have been heard speaking, however, Iraqis have been referred to in the conversation that took place between the EOD team and the mercenary prize hunters, for example, in 6.16 below, Eldridge has referred to the mercenaries as "hajis":

6.16- Eldridge: I got four armed men. They're in **Haji** gear.

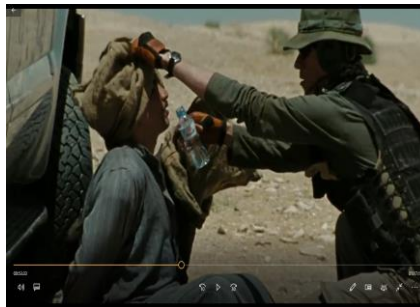
Eldridge who was maintaining security from his Humvee turret has described the prize hunters who were dressed in Arabs' clothes as wearing "haji gear", taking into account that the word "haji" is an offensive word as discussed earlier in (6.2.2.1.). In 6.17, below, knowing that one of the mercenaries have made their wrench useless as he threw it at an

Iraqi, Sanborn jokingly told the "wrench" man that people in Iraq are rather shot not attacked with a wrench, which can be used in emergency:

6.17- Sanborn (to the man how threw the wrench at an Iraqi): You know **you can shoot people here**. You don't have to throw a wrench man!

On the other hand, in example 6.18, the mercenary leader (played by Ralph Fiennes), has referred to two Iraqi enemy prisoners of war (EPWs) (still 6.55 below) whom he supposedly captured in the 'Shiite' city of Najaf. He described them as "Nine of Hearts" and "Jack of Clubs".

6.18- Mercenary Team Leader:(about the prisoners in his custody) Picked **them** up in **Najaf**. Nine of hearts [and] Jack of Clubs.



Still 6.55 at (00:53:33)

It is a misrepresentation that the mercenary leader has caught the two-high-profile former Iraqi officials who appeared on the US-coalition most-wanted Iraqi playing cards in the Shiite city of Najaf. As a matter of fact, the "Nine of Hearts" and "Jack of Clubs" were Mizban Khadr Hadi (Republican Guard chief of staff) and Sayf Al-Din Al-Rawi (Member of the Baath Party Revolutionary Command Council) the first has handed himself to the US forces in 2003, and the other is still on the run (Roberts, 2003). In addition, it is unbelievable that these (Sunni) officials, who have been long accused of persecuting the Shiites, were hiding in the city of Najaf, the most spiritual Shiite city in the world (Cockburn, 2008: 9).

6.2.5.2. Physical appearance

Situation 5 also contains some references to physical appearance. For instance, stills 6.56, 6.57, and 6.59 show the mercenaries described by Eldridge as "hajis" dressed in Arab clothes (Abayas and keffiyehs), and the insurgents, who are shown in an extreme-long camera shot, are also wearing Arab clothes.



Still 6.56 at (00:52:03)

Still 6.57 at (01:02:19)

Still 6.58 at (01:02:51)

Still 6.59 at (01:03:34)

Still 6.58 shows the insurgent sniper wearing black clothes, typical of Muslim jihadis. In still 6.59 an extreme-long camera shot depicts a killed insurgent with an AK-47 rifle typical of unorganized bandits. As far as agency is concerned, the insurgents have been shown to start attacking the mercenaries and the EOD team through sniper's fire. The sniper's shots coming from a far distance and the hardly observable insurgents maintain the conceptual metaphor MORAL IS CLOSE AND IMMORAL IS REMOTE.

6.2.5.3. Religion and nationality

Though situation 5 did not focus on Islamic religious aspects in a direct way, but, however, we have recognized a multimodal metaphor which is closely related to the stereotypical point of view induced in the Western state of mind (or mental images) about Islam and Muslims. Still 6.60 depicts a head-covered insurgent who appears next to a deserted railway line with a couple of goats grazing to his right. Here, a mental image is created about the insurgent and the goats (a sexual relationship), keeping in mind that several videos have been leaked through the US army in Afghanistan showing Afghani jihadis having sex with goats. Besides, the late Dutch director Theo van Gogh (1957-2004) who was assassinated by an extremist Moroccan-Dutch Muslim had often referred to Muslims as "goatfuckers" (Kuper, 2004) relying on the sustained stereotypical viewpoint about Muslims as bestiality-practicing race. However, it is a well-known fact that "[...] no current religion condones human-animal sexual contact; in fact, most religions condemn such behaviours" (Miletski, 2005: 86).



Still 6.60 at (01:06:58)

Examining the semiotic resources employed in situation 5, we can note that the insurgents are absolutely located at the far (out-group) ends of the DST D and M axes, unlike the mercenaries whose Western cultural identity (e.g. appearance, mutual objectives, and language) are situated within the in-group limits, and this is verbally sustained when the mercenary leader told the EOD team "We are on the same side".

The events of situation 5 can be summarised in table 6.9 below:

Still No.	Functionalised patient(s)/agent (s)	Verbal individuation/ collectivisation	Cultural identification			
			Linguistic	Physical	Environmental	religious
6.55-6.60	EPWs and insurgent.	Haji, people, them, guys, packages, they, target,	—	Non-white men with non-Western clothes.	A barren desert	—

Table 6.9 Situation 5 representation

Situation 5 shows no Iraqi civilians, only insurgents and EPWs who are verbally individuated "haji", "them", "guys", "packages", "they", "target". The Iraqi characters are never linguistically identified, though they are physically categorised as non-white with no-Western clothes. The sniper was shown wearing black clothes; the colour of villains. Nothing can be seen in sight except a barren desert with a one-storey building in far distance.

Still No.	Stereotyping techniques	Frequency of theme		Semiotic resources employed
		Civilians and security forces	Insurgents	
6.55-6.60	The use of spoken/written language	0	0	0
	Cultural backwardness	0	3	Clothes, object (goats), action.
	Violence	0	1	Action
	Invariability of character (they are all the same)	0	2	Clothes, long camera shot.

Table 6.10 Situation 5 frequency of themes

According to table 6.10, the Iraqi characters have not been given the chance to speak, but only agency as attackers. The clothes, the presence of goats in a desert, and the clumsy way of escaping made by the EPWs are all related to how culturally backward these insurgents were. Character invariability was shown relying on extreme-long camera

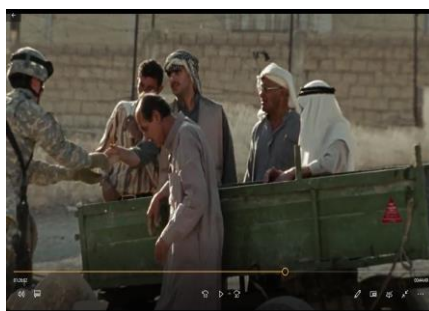
shots which did not reveal the insurgents' facial expressions, except for a brief view of the sniper in black clothes.

6.2.6. Situation 6

Situation 6 touches upon a searching-for-bombs mission performed by the EOD team in a Baghdad deserted big building located near a residential neighbourhood. The event takes place in two different places, inside and outside the building. While the EOD team are searching for bombs inside the building, Lieutenant Colonel John Cambridge (played by Christian Camargo) is urging some Iraqi civilians standing next to a donkey-drawn cart to leave the place which is not "too safe for them".

6.2.6.1. Language

This subsection highlights the conversation that took place between Cambridge and some older Iraqis who were trying to lift some stones from the ground and put them into a donkey-drawn cart, as shown in still 6.61 below:



Still 6.61 at (01:26:02)

At the beginning of the conversation, Cambridge, in an attempt to gain the older people's friendship, has used the Islamic way of greeting "السلام عليكم!", before asking them about the reason why they are gathering in this unsafe place.

6.18- Cambridge: (in Arabic) **السلام عليكم! Peace be upon you**²⁰!

- Older Iraqi: (In Arabic) أهلاً، أهلاً! وعليكم السلام! Peace be upon you too, hello, hello!

- Cambridge: What are you doing?

²⁰ The usual Muslims and Middle-eastern people's greeting.

One of the men answers him that they were trying to put the "الطوابيگ" /tʰewæbi:g/ (bricks) into the cart; the Iraqis would pronounce "bricks" like /tʰæbu:g/ or /tʰæbu:gæt/ (see Clarity et al., 2003: 24).

6.19- Older Iraqi: (In Arabic): والله الطوابيگ دنريد انحطهم اهنا... "We want to put these **bricks** into the cart".

Then, out of context, an unseen Iraqi man's voice was heard saying "ناكر الجميل!" **Such an ungrateful!**" indicating Cambridge.

6.20- Unseen man's voice: (in Arabic) ناکر الجمیل! **"Such an ungrateful!"**

Cambridge is continuing his mitigated non-commanding language with the older Iraqis by using lexical items such as "a little", "unsafe" (said it twice), "maybe", "I'm thinking", and, above all the plural subject verb "we" which expresses a clear way let them feel that he and them share similar objectives, i.e., Cambridge is trying to enter the older Iraqis in his in-group zone.

6.21-Cambridge: It is a little **unsafe** today. **Yeah**, it is a little **unsafe**. So **maybe ... I'm thinking maybe we should move?**

When Cambridge is greeted by a young Iraqi who joins the gathering, he repeats the Islamic greeting (السلام عليكم) to enhance his intimacy with the Iraqis. Cambridge even employs the compliment strategy when talking to the Iraqis. For instance, he answers a young Iraqi who said, "I am from Iraq", by saying: "I love it here", and "it's a beautiful place". He, then, repeats his indirect request to them to leave through a question, "but it is not too safe here, ok?". In addition, he reuses the plural subject pronoun "we", in: "we need to move", supporting his polite request with the word "please" in a soft tone of voice and a smile on his face.

6.22- Cambridge: (in Arabic)! السلام عليكم.

- Man: I am from Iraq.

- **I love it here**. It is a **beautiful place**. But **it is not too safe here**, OK? So, I think **we** need to move. **Please** (with a smile).

Believing that the situation might be seriously aggravated, and after exhausting all his polite indirect requests with the Iraqi civilians, Cambridge started to change his tone of voice into a stricter one and used a threatening language and even resorted to force by

using his rifle in order to break up the gathered Iraqis who are, now, increasing in number. However, he has mispronounced the Arabic word "إمشي" (walk) which is pronounced /imʃi/, by pronouncing it as "إشمي" /ifmi/, 6.22 below:

6.22- **Please, please, just** move. (in Arabic) اشمي... اشمي /ifmi/ he means "إمشي" /imʃi/. (threatening them with his rifle).

The use of a threatening language has caused the pushed-away Iraqis to express their complaints in Arabic as in 6.23 below:

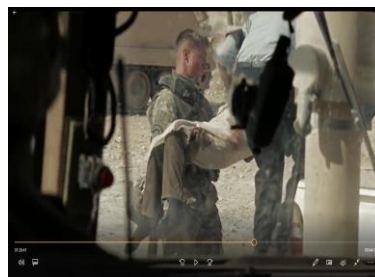
6.23- Man's voice: (In Arabic) هذا السلام الامريكي؟ هذا السلام الامريكي؟ Is that the American peace?!

- Older woman: (in Arabic) امشي ليضربونك الامريكان! امشي بلونا بلوة! Let's go lest the Americans shoot you; they are inflicted upon us!

- Man's voice: (in Arabic) طلعوا موتونا! Leave, you brought us death!

- A different man's voice: (in Arabic) كيف عيني، كيف! You can enjoy it now

When James recovered the little boy's dead body from the bombs factory and took the corpse outside to be given to the Iraqi police, the following conversation (6.24) took place between Eldridge and Sanborn, as shown in still 6.62 below:



Still 6.62 at (01:26:41)

6.24 - Eldridge: So, you think it was that little base **rat**?

- Sanborn: No, I don't.

- Eldridge: You positive?

- Sanborn: Sure. I don't know. **They all look the same**, right?

Eldridge described Beckham, the little DVDs seller as a base "rat". "Rat" is an offensive word which means a person who betrays his/her associates, an informer, or a scab labourer (www.dictionary.com/browse/rat). Sanborn seems to disagree with Eldridge,

but, after the latter insists, Sanborn states that "they [Iraqis] all look the same" enhancing the stereotypical view about Arabs.

6.2.6.2. Physical appearance

In addition to the depiction of people in non-Western clothes and emphasising their unresponsive behaviour, situation 6 also contains some graphic images of a little boy, whose abdominal area was disembowelled and stuffed with explosives by unknown terrorists who would use his dead corpse as a body-bomb for later (still 6.63). In still 6.63, the camera close-up shots, which illustrated how James removed the explosives from the dead boy's belly, were really repulsive. Indeed, the little boy's scene is formulated in a similar way passive voice sentences are made; the subject (or agent) is not mentioned, and all what we can find are hints. The little boy's still can be illustrated in figure 7.10 below:

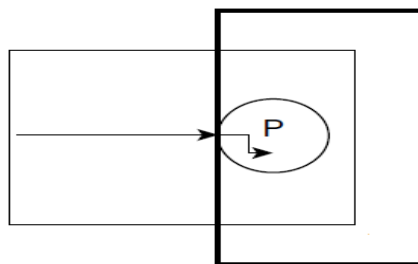
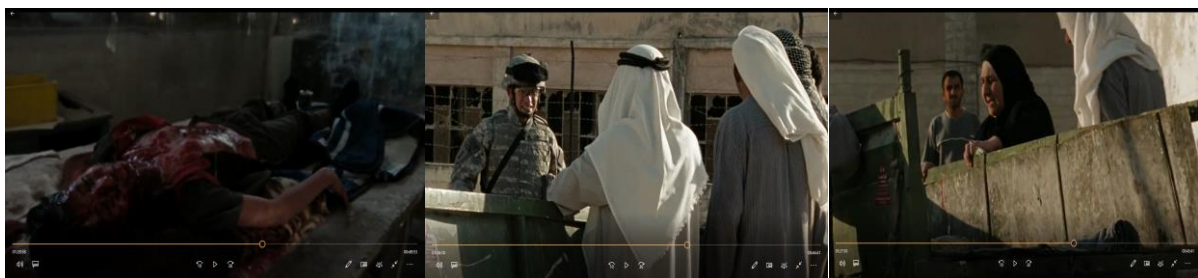


Figure 6.10 Extreme close-up of agentless scene (adopted from Hart, 2014a: 135)

Figure 6.10 illustrates how the patient is shown horribly killed and deformed in a close-up camera shot without mentioning who is the perpetrator of this savage act. The vector that goes towards the patient with a force does not come from a specific entity. In this way, the people Cambridge was talking to (stills 6.64-6.66) outside the building, where the corpse was found, are all appear to be potential suspects, especially that an IED has exploded shortly after they have left.



Still 6.63 at (01:20:58)

Still 6.64 at (01:26:10)

Still 6.65 at (01:27:10)

The Iraqi civilians depicted in stills 6.64-6.66 are all dressed in non-Western clothes and appear with a primitive method of transport; a donkey-drawn cart. In still 6.65, a complaining woman appears urging her husband to leave the scene to avoid being killed by the Americans as she thought.



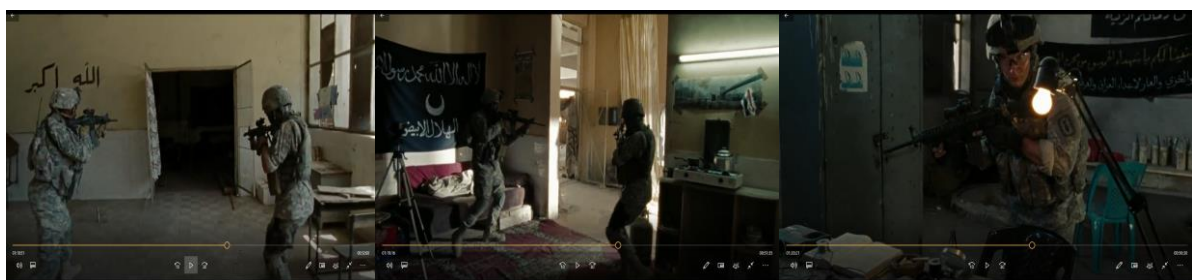
Still 6.66 at (01:27:20)

Still 6.67 at (01:27:25)

The Iraqi civilians who unwillingly left the dangerous place (still 6.66), when threatened by Cambridge, were thought to have left a white rice bag behind (still 6.67), which, few seconds later, was exploded killing Cambridge who was keen on evacuating the dangerous place. All these elements will locate the Iraqi civilians at the far ends of the DST D and M axes (in the out-group zone) for not cooperating with Cambridge who is believed to have been killed because of them.

6.2.6.3. Religion and nationality

As the other many scenes which contained religion-associating hints, situation 6 does involve some hints which directly and indirectly refer to Islam. For instance, in the following stills (6.68-6.70):



Still 6.68 at (01:18:51)

Still 6.69 at (01:19:16)

Still 6.70 (01:20:21)

When the EOD team were searching the deserted building, they have found out that it was used as a place for making different types of IEDs, including body-bombs. During their search, the viewer can observe certain slogans either written on walls or appear on

banners hung on the walls. For example, in still 6.68, the expression "الله أكبر" (Allah is great) can be seen painted on the wall. Whereas still 6.69 shows a black banner hung on another wall with the writings "لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله" (There is no other God but Allah, Mohammad is the messenger of Allah), which carries the essence of Islam's doctrine, and "الهلال الابيض" (the white crescent), which indicates a banner of a specific (imaginary) jihadi organization. In still 7.70, while Eldridge was searching the place, a black piece of cloth was shown with the writings "...دمائكم الزكية..." (... your pure blood...), and "لکم یا شهداء" (For you, the martyrs of Muharram²¹ Thursday ... shame and disgrace be to the terrorists who bear enmity towards Iraq and Iraqis). Moreover, and most importantly, the voice of Adhan was heard while the EOD team were searching the place at (01:19:08) and was replaced by suspicion music at (01:19:57), i.e., the Adhan lasted for 49 seconds. Stills 6.63-6.67 can be more illustrated in table 6.11 below:

Still No.	Functionalised patient(s)/agent (s)	Verbal individuation/collectivisation	Cultural identification			
			Linguistic	physical	Environmental	religious
6.63-6.67	Little victim, and Iraqi civilians.	You, we, that little base rat, they all look the same.	Older men man conversation with Cambridge, unidentified young men and woman complaining.	deformed corpse, non-Western clothes, donkey-drawn cart.	Place with litter and rubbles.	Islamic writings on wall, adhan

Table 6.11 Situation 6 representation

Table 6.11 shows how Iraqis have been represented in stills 6.63-6.67. In these stills, a little boy's blood-covered deformed corpse has been shown, in addition to some civilians. Besides, the Iraqis have been verbally identified in different ways, for instance by using pronouns such as "you", "that", "they". However, the plural subject pronoun "we" has been used to express solidarity, while the offensive expression "that little base rat" was used to describe the Iraqi little boy, Beckham. Linguistically, the Iraqi civilians have been given the chance to speak in a conversation with Cambridge, and, they also expressed complaints when forced to leave the place. As for the physical identification, all the depicted Iraqis have been shown wearing non-Western clothes standing near a donkey-drawn cart. The place is also shown with some littered trash and rubbles. The stills, also contained hints to Islam represented by the writings on the bombs-factory walls as well

²¹ the first month of the Islamic calendar

as the adhan which was heard when the EOD team were searching the dangerous place. Stills 6.63-6.67 can further be represented in table 6.12 below:

Still No.	Stereotyping techniques	Frequency of theme		Semiotic resources employed
		Civilians and security forces	Insurgents	
Stills 6.63-6.67	The use of spoken/written language	9	3	Spoken Arabic and English. Written slogans.
	Cultural backwardness	4	0	Clothes, object (cart, litter), action.
	Violence	?	2	Action
	Non-variable characters (they are all the same)	2	0	Clothes, action.

Table 6.12 Situation 6 frequency of themes

The Iraqi civilians in situation 6, according to table 6.12, have been heard speaking in 9 speech turns, while, though insurgents are not shown speaking nor in person, but their written slogans have been shown on the building's walls. The civilians have also been depicted culturally backward when they unwillingly left the dangerous place after earnest request made to them by Cambridge, in addition to the non-Western clothes they are putting on and the trash-filled place they are frequenting. As far as violence representation is concerned, the civilians' vague status depicts them as suspects, since they are not moved by the corpse James has recovered nor did they quickly respond to Cambridge's requests to leave. Also, the white rice bag which was exploded as they left the place, leaves the viewer unsure whether they are involved in this act of terror, thus we put "?" in the civilians table cell specified for violence. The non-Western clothes and the unresponsive action also depict the Iraqi civilians as acting and looking invariably; and this issue has been verbally emphasised in Sanborn's phrase "they are all the same".

6.2.7. Situation 7

This situation has to do with an explosion that took place in another Baghdad residential area because of an explosives-laden tanker. The situation shows some injured men, women who are lamenting the death of their loved ones, panicked children, and burning demolished buildings. This situation also depicts how Eldridge was almost kidnapped by insurgents, and how the EOD team successfully saved him.

6.2.7.1. Language

In situation 7, we can hear children calling for their parents, mothers looking for their kids, people asking for help and the like. Consider 6.25 below:

6.25- Little girl's voice: (in Arabic) يمه انتي وينج؟ Where are you mother?

- Little girl's voice: (in Arabic) ماما ماما تعالي! Mother, mother, come here!

-Little girl: (in Arabic) بابا تعال! بابا، بابا! Papa come her! Papa, papa!)

Panicked girls are heard calling for their mothers in heart-breaking voices amid all the destruction surrounding them caused by the exploded tanker. Still 6.72, below, shows a little girl who was calling for her father to help her.



Still 6.71 at (01:38:47) Still 6.72 at (01:40:27)

In still 6.71, above, women are shown lamenting their big loss blaming the explosion on the Americans in 6.26 below:

6.26- Woman in black: (in Arabic) اطلعوا! شسويتوا حرام عليكم، اطلعوا! **They've** [Americans] done us what **they** wanted, **leave!** It's an evil thing what **you're** doing to us, **Leave!** يمه هجموا بيوتنا علينا يمه! **They** have demolished our houses on our heads.

The woman is directly complaining and blaming the Americans for the explosion that demolished their houses and killed their loved ones, though no mentioning of the word American or Americans is heard.

In 6.27, below, panicked people are heard asking for help and looking for their missed children, sisters or brothers:

6.27- Woman: (in Arabic) انتي وينك؟ Where are **you** (feminine singular pronoun)?

6.28- Man's voice: (in Arabic) وينك ياسليمة؟ Where are you Salima?

6.29- Woman's voice: (in Arabic) **يبنتي يحييتي!** Oh, dear daughter! **يختي!** Oh, sister!

6.30- Man's voice: (in Arabic) **الله يخليك، الله يخليك ساعدني!** Help me Allah bless you!

6.31- Man's voice: (in Arabic) **اطلعوا من هون!** Get out of here!

The expressions in 6.27-6.31, above, reveal that the speakers are obviously not Iraqis. In 6.27, a woman is heard looking for her daughter shouting "انتى وينك" /weəɪɪk/ (where are you) Baghdadis would say "وينچ" /weəɪɪtʃ/. In 6.28, a man is heard also shouting "وينك يا" /weəɪɪk jə/ (Salima, where are you?), Baghdadis would say "وينچ سلیمه؟" /weəɪɪtʃ seli:me/ without using the "يا" (interjection used to call someone). The use of interjections has also been repeated in 6.29. In 6.30, a man is heard asking for help, but he mispronounced the word "يخليك" /jxe'leək/, Baghdadis would pronounce it as /jxe'li:k/. finally, in 6.31, a man is heard urging people to get out saying "إطلعوا من هون" /ɪtʰleʃu mɪn hɔ:n/, Baghdadis would say it as /ɪtʰɪʃu mɪ'næne or mɪ'næh/ (see Erwin, 2004: 275).

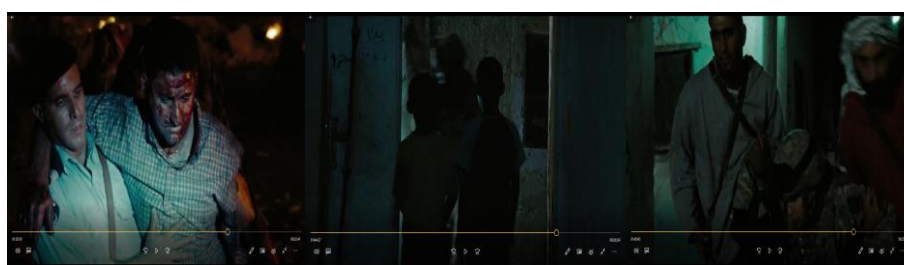
In situation 7, when James decided to hunt the insurgents responsible for the tanker explosion, Sanborn objected to his idea justifying that (6.32):

6.32- Sanborn: [...] three infantry platoons here whose job it is to go **haji** hunting. That's not our job.

In 6.32, the offensive word "haji" has been employed for the fourth time in this film here.

6.2.7.2. Physical appearance

In situation 7, Iraqi male civilians and security forces have been shown wearing Western clothes as in still 6.37, women wear shown putting non-Western black clothes as usual, and insurgents were dressed in asymmetrically ragged clothes with Islamic praying black taqiyya and white and black keffiyeh as shown in still 6.75. Children have also been shown playing in the narrow slums late at night as in still 6.74.



Still 6.73 at (01:38:10)

Still 6.74 at (01:44:27)

Still 6.75 at (01:45:45)

As far as agency is concerned, no real perpetrator has been mentioned, shown or indicated, except for the three insurgents, later killed by the EOD team, who were hiding in the narrow slums where civilians are living. These insurgents who were hiding among the residents make it even more difficult for the viewers to determine the nature of the terrorist(s) who made the explosion, keeping in mind that James has stated that the explosion was not made by a suicide-bomber, but someone who was hiding in the slums. The insurgents thus are located at the far ends of the D and M axes, for sure, while the Iraqi security forces are situated nearer to the viewers' in-group side. The Iraqi women in black are put in the middle of the D and M axes due to the non-Western clothes they are wearing. Our sympathy with innocent children also locates them nearer to the in-group side. Agency of the exploded tanker can similarly be represented as in the above-mentioned figure 6.10.

6.2.7.3. Religion and nationality

No clear hints to religion or nationality is shown in situation 7 except for the word "haji" mentioned in 6.32 above.

However, stills 6.71-6.75 can be illustrated in table 6.13 below:

Still No.	Functionalised patient(s)/agent (s)	Verbal individuation/ collectivisation	Cultural identification			
			Linguistic	physical	Environmental	religious
6.71-6.75	Civilians, policeman, victim, children, and insurgents.	Man, bad guy, haji, them.	Women crying and complaining, children and civilians requesting help.	Non- white people with non-Western clothes. Man, and policeman with Western-clothes on.	Huge crater caused by the exploded tanker and demolished buildings at night. Narrow alleys.	—

Table 6.13 Situation 7 representation

According to table 6.13, the Iraqis shown in stills 6.71.-6.75 have been functionalised as civilians. Only insurgents have been verbally individuated by using lexical items such as "man", "bad guy," "haji", and "them". Linguistically, women have been heard lamenting and expressing complaints against the Americans on whom they blame the terrible incident, in addition to some panicked people and children who have been heard requesting help. All the people shown were non-white, however, the women were dressed in black non-Western clothes, while a policeman and a victim were both shown dressed in Western clothes. The place was not very clearly shown due to darkness, only

partially demolished buildings and flames are visible. Narrow alleys have also been depicted. More details can be shown in table 6.14 below:

Still No.	Stereotyping techniques	Frequency of theme		Semiotic resources employed
		Civilians and security forces	Insurgents	
6.71-6.75	The use of spoken/written language	9	0	Spoken Arabic
	Cultural backwardness	4	1	Clothes, action.
	Violence	0	2	Action
	Invariability of character (they are all the same)	1	1	Clothes, action.

Table 6.14 Situation 7 frequency of themes

It can be recognized from table 6.14 that language has been heard spoken by Iraqi civilians in 9 speech turns, while the insurgents were kept mute as usual. Cultural backwardness has been represented in the non-Western clothes, the narrow-crowded alleys, and the children who were playing outside late at night. Finally, Iraqis have been depicted as culturally invariable through clothing; black for women, and asymmetrical ragged clothes worn by insurgents.

6.2.8. Situation 8

This situation is about an Iraqi suicide-bomber who tells the US forces, through an Iraqi interpreter that he is not really a "bad man" but the suicide bomb-vest which is affixed to his body with a tightly-locked-up iron frame was forced on him by someone (who is not mentioned). Meanwhile, the EOD team arrives in and James tries to handle this issue.

6.2.8.1. Language

Here, the EOD team are communicating with the man with the suicide-vest through an Iraqi interpreter who seems sympathising with him, especially when Sanborn suggested that they have to shoot him, as in 6.33 below:

6.33- Interpreter: But the bomb **was forced** on him!

6.34- He's **not a bad man**!

6.35- He has four **children**!



Still 6.76 at (01:50:51)

The man with the suicide-vest is trying to gain sympathy by stating that the bomb was put on him against his will, "... the bomb was forced on ...". Without stating who has forced him to put the suicide bomb on through the use of a passive voice sentence. And that he is not a "bad man".

The man with the suicide-bomb, himself, tries to convince the EOD team to help him as in 6.36-6.38:

6.36- Man (with suicide vest): (in Arabic) **I am a family man!** أي صاحب عائلة!

6.37- (In Arabic) خلصوني! بسرعة يمعودين. أي صاحب عائلة، الله يخليك. خلصني من هاي القنبلة أي ماشايلها Help me! **I am a family man**; may Allah bless you! Rid me of this bomb **I didn't put it on me**, quickly.

6.38- Man, in Arabic: عندي اربع اطفال. **I have four children.**

By referring to his "family" and the "four children" he has, the Iraqi man is trying to save his own life through inducing sympathy in the EOD team members. He also refers to the bomb saying that he did not put on himself; again, he refrains from referring to the agent who did this to him by using an agentless past tense sentence.

We have recognized that the Iraqi interpreter's character is not really an Iraqi due to his mispronunciation of Iraqi Arabic as shown in 6.39-6.43 below:

6.39- Don't move! If you move he'll **shoot you!** اإذا تتحرك بدو يطلق النار عليك!

6.40- **Stand still!** وگف محلك!

6.41- Unbutton your shirt **in order that** he can see **what is under?** إفتح قميصك مشان يشوف شو تحتو؟

6.42- **Kneel** on the ground and put **your hands** up! أركد عالارض وارفع ايديك!

6.43- **Put your hands** over your head, for Allah's sake, or he'll shoot you! **طلع ايديك عراسك، دخیل الله**

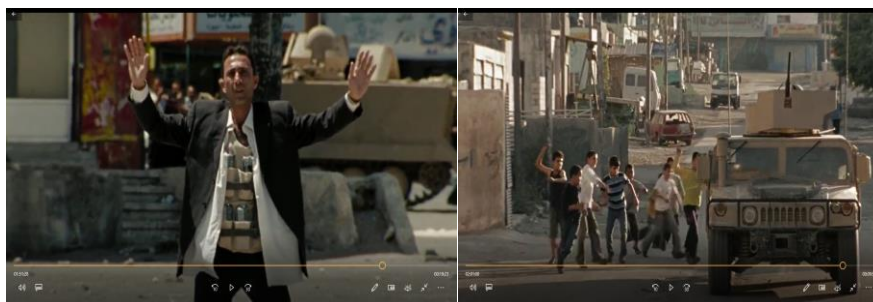
In 6.39, the interpreter said "بدو يطلق النار عليك" /be'du jɪtˤlɪq ɪlnær ʕeleæk/ (he'll shoot you), Baghdadis would say "راح يقتلك" /ræħ jɔutlek or jkɪtlek/ (he'll shoot you). In 6.40, Baghdadis would not say "وگف محلك!" /we'gɪf meħe'lek/, but rather "اوگف بمكانك" /ɔ:gef ɪbmukanek or ɪbmekanek /. Also, they would not say "مشان" /mɪʃæn/ (in order to), but rather "شو تحتو" /ʃu: teħtu/; "علمود" /ʕele'mu:d/; "شكو جواه" /ʃeku dʒe'wæħ/ (what's under it) not "اركد or ارجع" /ɪrkud or ɪr dʒeħ/. finally, Iraqis would not say "دخیل الله، عراسك، طلع ايديك" /tˤe'ɪɪf ɪdeæk ʕeræseək dexi:l e'lə/ (put your hands on your head), but rather "خلي ايديك على راسك لخاطر الله" /xe'ɪɪ i:diæk ʕele ræseək lxætˤɪr e'le/ (See Al-Bazi, 2006: 93).

Eventually, when the man was absolutely hopeless about surviving the bomb, he uttered the usual Islamic expression of shahada²², especially when they are about to die as in 6.44 below:

6.44- Man: (in Arabic) **اشهد ان لا الله الا الله و اشهد ان محمداً رسول الله! يارب! يارب! اشهد ان لا الله الا الله و اشهد ان محمداً رسول الله**. I bear witness that there is no god to be worshiped but Allah, and that Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah.

6.2.8.2. Physical appearance

The only adult civilian who appeared in situation 8 was the man with the enforced-upon suicide-vest. The clean-shaved man was dressed in a Western black suit with white shirt under it, as shown in still 6.77 below:



Still 6.77 at (01:51:28)

Still 6.78 at (02:01:00)

²² The Islamic profession of faith, "There is no god but Allah, and Muhammad is his messenger", [which is considered] the first of the pillars of Islam.

Still 6.78 is a representation of Iraqi children throwing stones at the EOD team's Humvee after they finished handling the suicide-bombing scene. In situation 8 the agent, as discussed in (6.2.8.1.), who enforced the bomb-vest on the Iraqi "family" man has never been disclosed; no one can tell who the perpetrator is, thus, the scene can be similarly described in the above-mentioned figure 6.10.

6.2.8.3. Religion and nationality

Though no hints to nationality have been recognized, but some direct and indirect references to Islam were noticed. For instance, the Shahada twice mentioned by the man with the suicide-vest was a direct reference to Islam. Besides, there was an indirect reference to Islam as shown in still 6.79 below:



Still 6.79 at (01:52:29)

Still 6.79 provides us with a camera long-shot in which the man, with the suicide-vest, was sitting on his knees stretching his hands, while we can vividly see a whole view of a mosque dome and minarets behind him. In this very still, the camera is positioned behind a window bars as if someone is peeping from the window, it could be the unseen agent who put the bomb on the man. The children, in still 6.78, due to their aggressive behaviour, they are located closer to the D and M axes.

Hence, the Iraqi man depicted in still 6.77, above, can be located in the middle distance of the DST axes. In other words, he cannot neither be regarded a terrorist (out-group) nor a 'trusted' friend (in-group), despite his cooperation with the EOD, being cleanly shaved, and his Western clothes.

Stills 6.76-6.79 can be more clarified in table 6.15 below:

Still No.	Functionalised patient(s)/agent (s)	Verbal individuation/ collectivisation	Cultural identification			
			Linguistic	physical	Environmental	religious
6.76-6.79	Interpreter, civilian with suicide-vest, children.	He, you, family man.	Interpreter giving instructions. Man, with suicide-vest requesting.	Non-white masked interpreter, and Clean-shaved man with black Western suit. Non- white Children.	Empty market square.	mosque

Table 6.15 Situation 8 representation

In stills 6.76-6.79, clarified in table 6.15, the Iraqis are functionalised as an interpreter, a man with suicide-vest, and children. Only the man with the suicide-bomb was verbally individuated as "he", "you", and "family man". The man and the interpreter are also given the chance to speak in Iraqi Arabic, in the case of the man, and mispronounced Iraqi Arabic and English in the case of the interpreter. Physically, the man was dressed in a Western black suit, while the interpreter looked wearing military fatigues and a black balaclava to hide his face²³. There was no special place to be identified, except for the unavailability of green areas and trees. As for the religious identification, there was a mosque right behind the man with the suicide-bomb shown in a long camera shot. Moreover, table 6.16, below, supplies more details about the events in stills 6.76-6.79:

Still No.	Stereotyping techniques	Frequency of theme			Semiotic resources employed
		Civilians	Security forces	Insurgents	
6.76-6.79	The use of spoken/written language	4	8	0	Spoken English and Arabic.
	Cultural backwardness	1	0	0	Action.
	Violence	1	0	1	Action
	Invariability of character (they are all the same)	1	0	0	Action. Long camera shot.

Table 6.16 Situation 8 frequency of themes

In accordance with table 6.16, the use of spoken language has been recognized 12 times, with some observed mispronunciation made by the Iraqi interpreter. Cultural backwardness was depicted through the Iraqi children who were throwing stones at the EOD team's Humvee, while they are not supposed to be involved in a violent action like this. Violence was recognized 2 times, the suicide explosion, and the stones-throwing children. The children were considered to be of non-variable character as well due to the

²³ Iraqi interpreters, working with the American troops in Iraq, were too concerned about not revealing their identities to their fellow Iraqis in order to avoid being identified and, then, targeted by insurgents.

misrepresentation they are depicted with; viewers would associate these kids with the Palestinian children who are used to throw stones at Israeli military vehicles.

6.3. Summary

Similar to chapter 6, this chapter employs a socio-cognitive approach which builds on Chilton's DST theory, Hart's notions of Angle, Anchor, and Distance, and Van Leeuwen's cultural identification categories. This chapter has provided an analysis of *The Hurt Locker* (2008) film. The representation of Iraqis in this film has varied, some characters were given more chances to speak and have conversations with EOD members; especially with James. Unlike chapter six, this chapter deals with the representation of Iraqi civilians and security forces versus insurgents, since both Iraqi civilians and security forces are on the same side and are both targeted by insurgents. It has been observed chapter seven differs from chapter six in the fact that Iraqis have not been given equal speech turns like those found in the *Three Kings* film. Similarly, Iraqis have been shown as more violent, more culturally backward, and quite of more invariable character. Religion has also been represented as invariably violent through indirect language hints and direct camera shots and objects. Figure 6.11, below, shows the number of themes that appeared in *The Hurt Locker* (2008), the blue bar shows Iraqi civilians (C), the grey bar shows Iraqi security forces and interpreters (SI), and the red bar shows insurgents (I).

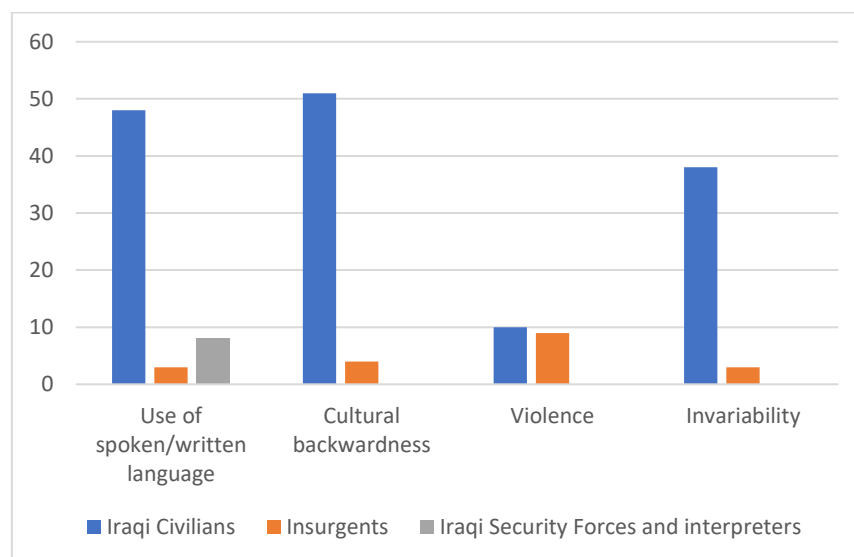


Figure 6.11 Number of themes employed in *The Hurt Locker* (2008)

According to figure 6.11, Iraqi civilians, represented by the blue vertical axis, are shown to dominate the majority of theme frequency; the use of spoken/written language,

cultural backwardness, violence, and invariability of character. They almost equally share the violence theme represented on figure 6.11 with insurgents. Regarding the Iraqi security forces and interpreters, they are only significantly depicted as making use of spoken language; in the remaining occurrence of themes, they appear quite positively represented. It can be recognized that the insurgents are not given a single chance to speak, nonetheless they are linguistically represented 3 times through written Arabic.

The frequency of deducted themes is shown in table 6.11 below in detail:

The use of spoken language			Cultural backwardness			Violence			Non-variable characters (they are all the same)		
C	SI	I	C	SI	I	C	SI	I	C	SI	I
48	8	3	51	0	4	10	0	9	38	0	3
Total			174								

Table 6.17 Number of themes used in *The Hurt Locker* (2008)

As shown in table 6.17, the most represented characters in *The Hurt Locker* (2008) are Iraqi civilians, followed by insurgents (whose national identity is unknown), and lastly by Iraqi security forces and interpreters. Table 6.18, below, shows how Iraqi civilians have controlled the negative themes in the film as illustrated by the given percentages.

Civilians			Security forces & interpreters						Insurgents		
147 (84.4%)			8 (4.5%)						19 (10.9%)		
The use of spoken language			Cultural backwardness			Violence			Non-variable characters (they are all the same)		
C	SI	I	C	SI	I	C	SI	I	C	SI	I
27.5%	4.5%	1.7%	29.3%	0%	2.2%	5.7%	0%	5.1%	21.8%	0%	1.7%

Table 6.18 Theme percentage in *The Hurt Locker* (2008)

According the 79 stills we have excerpted from *The Hurt Locker* (2008), the Iraqi civilians have been depicted, with regard to the themes, 147 times (84.4%), while the insurgents were represented 19 times (10.9%), and finally the Iraqi security forces and interpreters have only been represented 8 times (4.5%). These percentages show that the film has majorly focused on Iraqis and their cultural identity, which, as a result, has negatively been represented throughout the film. Table 6.19, below, illustrates the number of semiotic resources used in each situation in *The Hurt Locker* (2008). It can be observed that action (or agency) is the mostly used resource in this film followed by language, clothes, objects, camera shots, and colour respectively.

SITUATION	SEMIOTIC RESOURCES USED							Total of all resources
	Language	Object	Clothes	Action	Camera shot	Colour	Pose	60
Situation 1	2	1	1	3	-	1	-	
Situation 2	2	1	2	3	-	1	-	
Situation 3	2	1	2	3	-	-	-	
Situation 4	2	1	1	3	-	-	-	
Situation 5	-	1	2	2	1	-	-	
Situation 6	3	2	2	3	-	-	-	
Situation 7	1	-	2	3	-	-	-	
Situation 8	2	-	-	3	1	-	-	
Total of each resource	14	7	12	23	2	2	-	

Table 6.19 Number of semiotic resources used in *The Hurt Locker* (2008)

Figure 6.12 below shows the percentages of each used resource in *The Hurt Locker*.

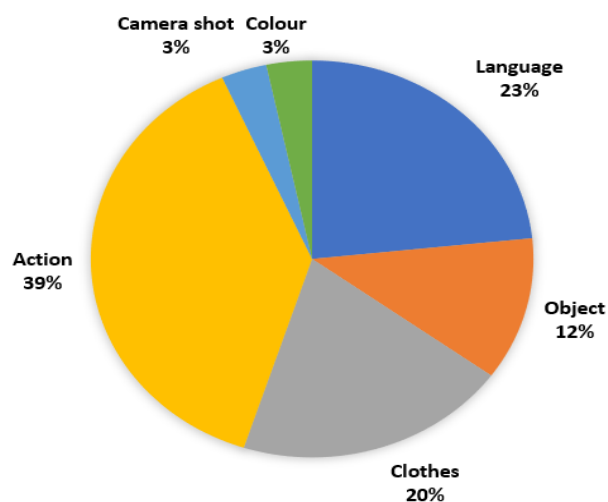


Figure 6.12 Frequency of semiotic resources in *The Hurt Locker* (2008)

Chapter Seven

Analysis of the *American Sniper* Film (2014)

7.1. Introduction

This chapter is the last analysis chapter in this study. It provides a Multimodal critical discourse analysis of the *American Sniper* (2014) film. The film is regarded the most successful war film in the history of cinema worldwide according to the Box Office Mojo. The film has also won an Academy of Awards Oscar for best achievement in sound editing by Alan Robert and Murray Bub Asman (IMDB). *American Sniper* (2014) tells the story of Chris Kyle (played by Bradley Cooper), "the most-celebrated sniper in American military history" (AllMovie.com) with 160 confirmed kills (Flax, 2016) "[o]ver the course of his 10-year military career [...] in four combat deployments to Iraq" (Biography Website). The Clint Eastwood-directed film is based on Chris Kyle's autobiography and written by Jason Hall. The film was released in 2014 and starred by, in addition to Bradley Cooper, Sienna Miller (Kyle's wife Taya), Luke Grimes (Marc Lee), Jake McDorman (Biggles), and others.

According to the IMDB, the film scenes have been shot in the United States of America, in addition to Salé, Morocco which was used to imitate places like Fallujah, Ramadi, and Baghdad. Chris Kyle has almost served 6 years in Iraq from 2003 to 2009 (Kyle et al., 2012). During these years Iraq has witnessed several events, the toppling of Saddam Hussein's regime in December 2003, turning authority to Iraqis in 2004, and the holding of first democratic elections in Iraq's History in 2005 (ibid.). During his service in Iraq, Chris Kyle had to face different ideology-driven military groups (or insurgents); armed guerrillas which consisted of Saddam Hussein's previous army divisions, the Sunni al-Qaeda in Iraq (AQI) which included many foreign fighters (or Mujahideen) led by Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, and al-Mehdi Army which is led by the Shiite cleric Muqtada al-Sadr, (see 3.9.2., Chapter 3 for more details). The film events started in the AQI-stronghold cities of Fallujah and Ramadi and were ended up in the Shiite al-Sadr city in Baghdad.

7.2. Analysis

This chapter will attempt at interpreting the selected stills from The *American Sniper* (2014) film which include different semiotic resources. Like chapter 6, different selected

stills will be multimodally analysed in terms of three main categories: 1. language, 2. physical appearance and agency, and 3. religion and nationality. The stills will be elaborated according to the situations in which they appeared.

7.2.1. Situation 1

This situation, which has been shown in the film's very first scene, deals with a kid-accompanying mother in hijab and black abaya who was trying to attack a patrolling U.S. platoon with an RKG²⁴ grenade. The situation ends with the mother and her kid both killed and Chris expressing pride to protect his fellow soldiers.

7.2.1.1. Language

In this situation the Iraqis represented have not been heard speaking, except for some gibberish words uttered by the Iraqi mother to her son. Some relevant conversations have taken place while Chris was observing the situation with Winston (played by Kyle Gallner), his guard. Besides, a conversation between Chris and Biggles was equally relevant. The following conversation in 7.1-7.10 do contain some reference to Iraqis. For instance, while a U.S. platoon was patrolling a street in Fallujah²⁵, Chris was scoping out the situation, guarded by Winston with whom he had the following conversation turns in 7.1 and 7.2 below:

7.1- Chris: **Fucking hot box.**

7.2- Winston: **Dirt** over **here** tastes **like dog shit.**

In 7.1 and 7.2, we can have an idea about how Chris and Winston feel about the place or the environment they are experiencing. The place has been described by them as being excessively hot, like a "hot box", and smells too foul for them, like a "dog shit". In 7.3, Chris notices an adult Iraqi with a cell phone (still 7.1 blow). He suspects that he is reporting the platoon to some insurgents.

7.3- Chris: (to headquarters) I got a **military-aged male** on a cell phone watching the convoy, over.

²⁴ A Russian-made antitank grenade.

²⁵ Fallujah is a city located west of Baghdad in the Anbar province which, after 2003, became a stronghold for Sunni insurgency and a headquarter for foreign jihadists (Dawisha, 2009: 246).

Shortly after, he observes a woman with her kid who appeared in the street, as shown in still 7.2 below:



Still 7.1 at (0:02:05)

Still 7.2 at (0:02:58)

7.4- Chris: I got a **woman** and a **kid**, 200 yards out, **moving toward the convoy**, over.

7.5 - **Her arms** aren't swinging. **She's carrying something**.

7.6- **She just pulled a grenade**. An RKG Russian grenade. I think **she gave it to the kid**.

7.7- Winston: That was gnarly. **Fucking evil bitch!**

In 7.4, Chris describes the woman and her kid as "moving towards the convoy". This movement (or motion) is an agentic relationship which shows a departure from point A (agent) towards point P (patient). This relationship can be illustrated in figure 7.1 below:

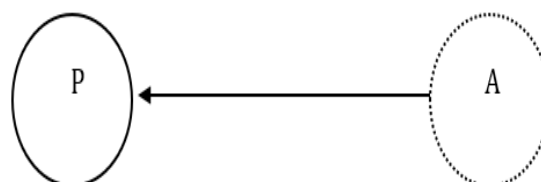


Figure 7.1 Motion schema (adopted from Hart, 2014:116)

The motion, as shown in figure 7.1, is departing from the right side to the left one. Indeed, we are viewing the situation through Chris's sniper rifle scope from cardinal points Y1 (Angle), Z2 (Anchor), and X0 (distance) respectively (see figure 6.2 chapter 6). The viewer can only see the woman and the kid, shown in still 7.2, but s/he knows that the patients are the U.S. convoy who are patrolling the area shown in later stills. The relationship is further illustrated in figure 7.2, below, where the viewer (V) is located in a distance, far away from the agents (the woman and the kid).

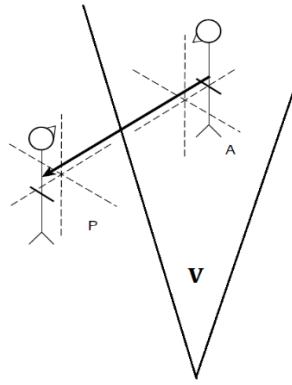


Figure 7.2 Viewer position in relation to agents and patients (adopted from Hart, 2014)

When Chris suspects that the woman was "carrying something", as in 7.5, his doubt came true as the camera has caught her in a medium shot revealing the hand grenade which she later gave to her kid who was eventually killed by Chris. These acts have been emphasised in 7.6 above. Realizing that her kid has failed to accomplish the attack against the U.S. convoy, the woman took over and tried to finish the attack but was also shot dead by Chris. The woman was described, in 7.7 above, by Winston as an "evil bitch".

As Chris went to have rest in his tent at a U.S. base, he met Biggles, another SEAL sniper. He asked him about the other team snipers' whereabouts:

7.8- Biggles: We're just picking our dick here, training **those fucking haji soldiers**.

Biggles obviously describes the Iraqi soldiers trained by the U.S. army as "fucking haji soldiers". The term "haji" is considered offensive and has religious connotations as previously discussed in (6.2.2.1.). On the other hand, to justify the killing of the Iraqi little boy, Chris has discussed this issue with Biggles stating that though the boy was too young to get involved in adult's combat, but he could have caused serious casualties among American soldiers as in 7.10 below. The woman's act represented by giving her little kid a grenade is once more emphasised in 7.9 as "evil" and made out of "hate"; not as a freedom fighter.

7.9- Chris: **This kid** didn't even have hair on **his balls** and **his mom hands him a grenade** [and] sends him running off **to kill Marines**. It was **evil**, man. That was **hate** like I've never seen it before.

7.10- Biggles: **That kid could have taken out ten Marines**. What about **other kills**?

7.11- Chris: **The other ones were righteous**. Like **God** was blowing on my bullets.

In 7.11, Chris describes his other kills as "righteous" and were achieved by "God's" help, giving rise to religious rivalry between Islam and Christianity (see 4.2.1. for more details).

7.2.1.2. Physical appearance

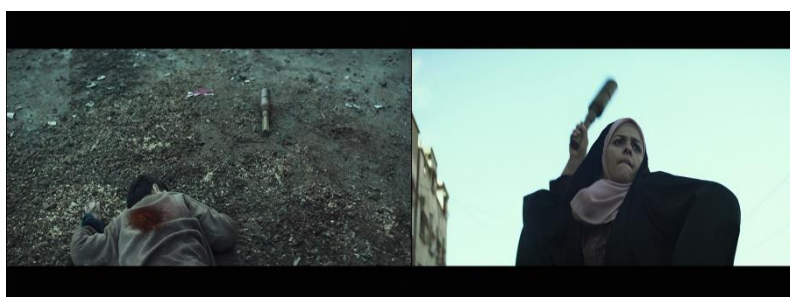
Situation 1 contains some relevant physical appearances of Iraqis. In Stills 7.3 and 7.4, for instance, the U.S. soldiers are seen patrolling a residential area in Fallujah. The Soldiers in the still appear behind an accumulation of rubble and trash with smoke going up, while Chris (the American sniper) is lying on a house roof scoping out the situation. In addition to stills 7.3 and 7.4, trash, rubbles, and messy roads have occurred 9 times in other stills suggesting a sense of cultural backwardness through an employment of overlexicalization. As for still 7.5, it is a misrepresentation example, like many others, where a house door is shown with painted European numerals, while houses in Iraq are numbered using Indo-Arabic numerals.



Still 7.3 at (0:00:48)

Still 7.4 at (0:01:05)

Still 7.5 at (0:01:24)



Still 7.6 at (0:26:33)

Still 7.7 at (0:26:39)

Stills, 7.6 and 7.7 are considered a cause and effect act. As the woman in still (7.7) has given her kid (still 7.6) a hand grenade to throw at a U.S. platoon, the incident ended up with both killed by Chris. In this incident, both the woman and her kid are represented as agents, while the patrolling U.S. soldiers as patients. In still 7.7, the woman, shown with a hand grenade ready to be thrown, has entered the viewer(s) intimate distance which is supposed to be safe. The woman's close-up with a low camera angle that shows her strong and powerful increases the sense of danger she is posing. Hence, the woman is alienated

to be an absolute Other with her morality situated at the end of the DST M axis, especially that she allowed her little kid to get involved in a military combat. Besides, the non-Western clothes she is wearing is increasing the sense of Otherness she is associated with. Still 7.6 shows the result of the woman's irresponsible action which led to the killing of her little kid and herself as well. The agentive relationship in which the woman has appeared can be represented in figure 7.3 below:

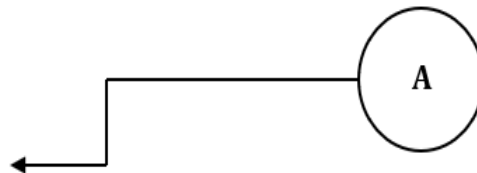


Figure 7.3 Patientless agentive relationship (adopted from Hart, 2014:122)

In still 7.7, the woman appears with a hand grenade in hand without showing whom is she attacking, until in later stills the situation is clarified. Figure 7.3 shows this agentive relationship the A (agent) with the vector travelling from right to left representing a linguistic structure similar to the sentence: *The woman is throwing a hand grenade*. It can be suggested that this patient-lacking structure can include not only the U.S. soldiers as patients, but also the viewers who are watching and this will demonize the woman even more. The kid, who was also dressed in non-Western clothes, has appeared wearing even non-Iraqi culturally-known clothes; the clothes he was wearing were more of Afghani origin.

7.2.1.3. Religion and nationality

In situation 1, the film begins with a similar idea with which *The Hurt Locker* (2008) has begun, i.e., the sound of Adhan which coincided with the Abrams tank and the patrolling-platoon. Here, while the Abrams tank's groan is being heard, the sound of Adhan can be heard too at (00:00:05). The film's first picture appears at (00:00:28) with the tank's groan concealing the sound of Adhan which is heard again at (00:00:49) while U.S. troops were combing the area. The woman's non-Western hijab can also be a reference to the woman as a Muslim. Hence, the woman and her kid are located at the far ends of both D and M axes of the DST to enhance their Otherness.

Stills 7.1-7.7 can be represented in table 7.1 as follows:

Still No.	Functionalised patient(s)/agent (s)	Verbal individuation/collectivisation	Cultural identification			
			Linguistic	physical	Environmental	religious
8.1-8.7	Iraqi civilian woman with her kid.	Woman, kid, she, fucking bitch, mom. Hot box, dog shit.	Gibberish words spoken by the woman to her kid.	Non-Western clothes.	Rubbles and trash.	Adhan and hijab.

Table 7.1 Situation 1 representation

According to table 7.1, the stills shown in situation 1 depict a woman and her kid. They have been functionalised with the words: "woman", "kid", "she", "fucking bitch" as the woman was trying to throw a grenade at the U.S. convoy. But, the woman was later described as a "mom" by Chris to emphasise the idea that she was a mother who ought to be a better model to her child. In other words, the woman was collectivised as an agent (or an insurgent) but was individuated as a mother. Linguistically speaking, the woman has been heard speaking but all what she uttered were unobservable gibberish words. The place was depicted as highly messy with lots of rubbles and littered trash which have been described as "hot box" and "dog shit" by Chris and Winston to accentuated backwardness. Finally, in situation 1, although no several hints have been observed about religion, but we could easily detect the Adhan that was heard while the U.S. convoy was patrolling the area. The woman's hijab and black abaya, and the boys Afghani costume are also seen to be of Islamic nature. Table 7.2, below, provides more details about situation 1:

Still No.	Stereotyping techniques	Frequency of theme			Semiotic resources employed
		Civilians	Interpreters	Insurgents	
7.1-7.14	The use of spoken/written language	1	0	0	Gibberish spoken words.
	Cultural backwardness	10	0	0	objects, clothes.
	Violence	1	0	0	Object (weapon)
	Invariability of character (they are all the same)	2	0	0	Action, object.

Table 7.2 Situation 1 frequency of themes

According to table 7.2, the woman and her kid, who are supposed to be civilians, have been shown to act like violent insurgents. The woman was not given the chance to speak obviously in a way to sustain her collectivised character. Indications of cultural

backwardness were observed 10 times, including messy roads and non-Western clothing. Violence and invariable character have also been recognized 3 times.

7.2.2. Situation 2

Situation 2 focuses on Chris's chivalrous acts of hunting down several insurgents to protect the U.S. Marines. In this situation Chris had to shoot dead a car suicide bomber before he reached the U.S. convoy patrolling a street in Fallujah.

7.2.2.1. Language

Throughout this situation, which emphasised Iraqi (or maybe foreign) insurgents, no Iraqi has been observed speaking. However, some referents to insurgents have been made by the Americans. For example, 7.12-7.16 talk about an insurgent sniper. In 7.12 below, Winston is warning Chris to pay more attention, as he walks around lest he be shot by a sniper called Mustafa:

7.12- Winston: (to Chris) keep your head down Tex. The **Muj** got **this sniper** too. [...]. **They** call him **Mustafa**. **He** was in the Olympics.

In 7.12, Winston has used the word "Muj" to describe the insurgents who brag about their professional sniper who can kill American soldiers from long distance. The word "Muj" is a short-form of the Arabic word "Mujahid" (plural is Mujahideen) which refers to those "Muslims who proclaim themselves warriors for the [Islamic] faith" (Encyclopædia Britannica Online), or a holy fighter as an equivalent to the word "crusade" (Esposito, 2003: 160).

7.13- Chris: (to Winston) You said **that AQI sniper** was in the Olympics, but **Iraq** hasn't qualified a **shooter** in the last three games.

7.14- Winston: Well, that's because **Mustafa's not Iraqi. He's from Syria**.

In 7.13 and 7.14 Chris and Winston discuss the fatal sniper who is targeting U.S. troops in Fallujah. The sniper is shown to be not Iraqi and his Syrian identity is verbally emphasised as in 7.14, and visually as he appeared later in a photo standing on a podium with a Syrian sports uniform to receive an Olympic medal. Thus, the sniper is excluded from being an Iraqi, though it is presumed that Iraq did have former professional snipers who fought in the eight-year Iraqi-Iranian war in addition to the two Gulf wars of 1990

and 2003, especially those who lost their privileges after the disbanding of the Iraqi Army in May 2003 by Paul Bremer, the head of the U.S.-led Coalition Provisional Authority in Iraq at that time (Kaplan, 2007). In addition, according to Nance (2015 :161), the emergence of some skilled Iraqi snipers who previously fought along with Saddam Hussein's army have worsened the military operations in many parts of Iraq. The sniper is also referred to in a brief scene in which Chris was inquiring about the sniper's whereabouts as in 7.15 and 7.16 below:

7.15- Jag officer²⁶: (to Chris) **His wife** said **he** was carrying a **Koran**.

7.16- Chris: Well, I don't know what a **Koran** looks like, but I can describe what **he** was carrying [...]

In 7.15 and 7.16, there was no direct reference to the sniper this time, he was only identified through the "Koran" he was seen holding in a reported speech (his wife said) which adds more vagueness to his identity.

7.2.2.2. Physical appearance

All the Iraqis shown in situation 2, in stills 7.8-7.16, have not been shown in close up shots, i.e., we have not been able to recognize their facial expressions as in stills 7.9, 7.11, 7.13, 7.14. 7.15 and 7.16 below. In still 7.8 a high angle view shows a U.S. convoy heading towards Fallujah. It can be observed how rubbles and littered items fill the place. In 7.9, the U.S. troops feel surprised of an insurgent falling from a top of building killed by Chris. The insurgent is collectivised through his ragged non-Western clothes and keffiyeh covered head.



Still 7.8 at (0:25:46)

Still 7.9 at (0:29:51)

Still 7.10 at (0:30:12)

²⁶ a JAG officer is a law graduate whose practices include everything from military law and criminal prosecution to international law and legal assistance (www.military.com).

Stills 7.10 and 7.11 depict a suicide bomber driving a car in a messy street. In still 7.11 we feel ourselves riding with the suicide bomber in his car via the close-up camera shot where both the suicide bomber and the bomb next to him are zoomed in. The close distance through which the suicide bomber and the bomb itself are shown can definitely induce fear into the viewers minds as the danger is located within their intimate distance in X0 (see 5.2.1. for more details).



Still 7.11 at (0:30:18)

Still 7.12 at (0:30:19)

Still 7.13 at (0:31:01)

Still 7.12, where U.S. troops are shown patrolling the area, shows who the suicide bomber is trying to obliterate. This agentic relationship can be illustrated in figure 7.4 below:

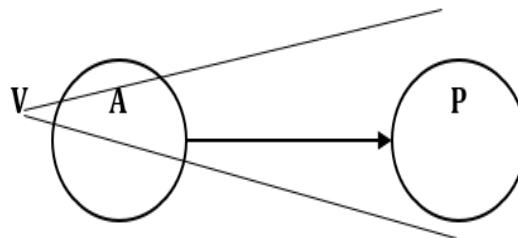


Figure 7.4 Agentic relationship (adopted from Hart, 2016: 115)

Figure 7.4 illustrates where the viewers are located, how they are eyeing the situation right behind the suicide bomber, and how the vector is travelling from left to right (from agent A to patient P). This visual agentic relationship can be equivalent to the linguistic form: 'The suicide bomber is trying to attack the U.S. troops'. Chris has been successful to stop and kill the suicide bomber before reaching his target.

Stills 7.14 and 7.15 represent two different insurgents, the first (still 7.14) was trying to plant an IED, the other was carrying an Ak-47 rifle who was taking an offensive position. Both insurgents have been shown through Chris's sniper rifle's scope to maintain another example of collectivisation; they are all the same with similar ragged non-Western clothes

and untidy hair. Still 7.16 shows two women in black abayas seen through Chris's sniping rifle's scope also depict them as collectivised.



Still 7.14 at (0:31:23)

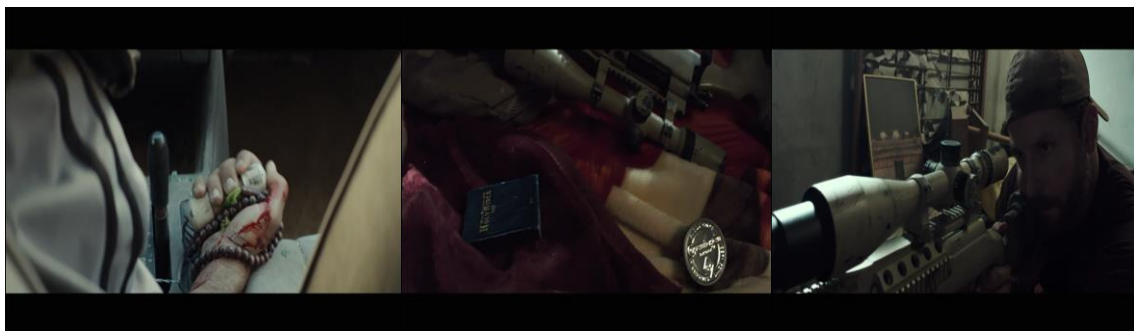
Still 7.15 at (0:31:36)

Still 7.16 at (0:32:01)

Accordingly, all the Iraqis who appeared in 7.2.2.2. are located at the far ends of the DST D and M axes as Others.

7.2.2.3. Religion and nationality

In situation 2, some significant hints to Islamic religion have been recognized. For example, in the suicide bomber incident (still 7.17), there was an extreme camera close-up to the suicide bomber's hand which was shown holding a detonating device and a Muslims' praying beads (misbaha²⁷) at the same time, the conceptual metaphor ISLAM IS VIOLENT can be created in the minds of viewers. After only 21 seconds Chris, who shot the suicide bomber dead, appears laying prone with his sniping rifle on a blanket.



Still 7.17 at (0:30:30)

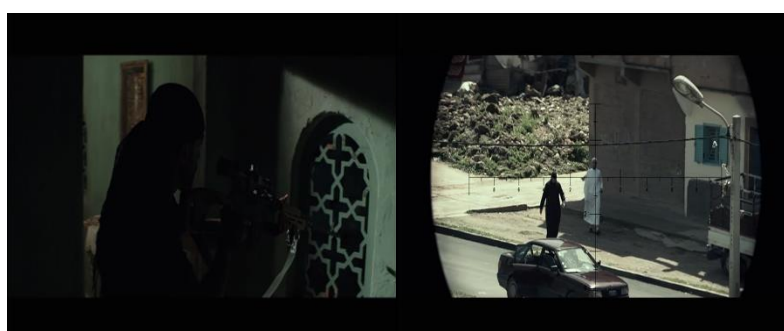
Still 7.18 at (0:30:52)

Still 7.19 at (0:31:34)

In still 7.18, a close-up camera shot showing the mini Bible Chris is keeping since childhood for the third time, immediately after killing the Iraqi suicide bomber suggesting a rivalry between Islam and Christianity. Forty seconds later, while Chris appears scoping

²⁷ A misbaha (rosary) used by Muslims to keep track of the names of Allah and in reciting glory to him in their prayers (Netton, 2013).

out through his sniper rifle, after killing an insurgent, a framed picture of Kaaba²⁸ can be seen right behind him, enhancing the same idea of Islam-Christianity rivalry as shown in still 7.19. Moreover, in situation 2, another aspect of Islam has been recognized; the Adhan which was heard at (00:30:31), when Chris killed an insurgent (still 7.15), and continued for about a minute until it stopped at (00:31:31) with the killing of an American Marines soldier by the enemy sniper. When the AQI sniper, Mustafa, was aiming his sniper rifle at the U.S. troops from a window, which resembles those kinds of windows found at Muslims' mosques, the Adhan was clearly heard (still 7.20).



Still 7.20 at (0:32:34)

Still 7.21 at (0:35:13)

Finally, still 7.21, seen through Chris's sniper rifle's scope, shows two Iraqi civilians (or maybe inactive insurgents as referred to in the film's script), dressed in Muslims' dishdasha²⁹ and taqiyya. These two Iraqis are collectivised through a long camera shot as well. In situation 2, no indications to nationality has been detected.

Stills 7.8-7.21 can be illustrated in table 7.3 below:

Still No.	Functionalised patient(s)/agent (s)	Verbal individuation/ collectivisation	Cultural identification			
			Linguistic	physical	Environmental	religious
7.8-7.21	Insurgents, women, enemy sniper.	Muj, this sniper, they, Mustafa, he, AQI sniper, his wife.	—	Non-white untidy people with non-Western clothes.	Streets littered with trash and rubbles.	Adhan, misbaha, Bible, Islamic clothes.

Table 7.3 Situation 2 representation

²⁸ Kaaba, (pronounced /kefbeh/), is the black square-like construction located in the centre of the Holy Mosque in Mecca (Peterson, 1995: 142).

²⁹ A long gown with fitted sleeves but generally not “waisted” (tighter at the waist).

Table 7.3 shows how Iraqis have been represented in situation 2. The Iraqis depicted in stills 7.8-7.21 were represented as insurgents except for two women who appeared in the darkness of night entering into a house. It has been recognized that all these Iraqis have not been given the chance to speak nor clearly shown, for instance, through camera close-ups; they were only briefly shown to maintain the idea of collectivisation as out-group. According to table 7.3, only the enemy sniper has been verbally individuated as a Syrian Olympic shooter, i.e., "this sniper", "Mustafa", and "AQI sniper". He has also been verbally identified in accordance with his religion as a 'devout' Muslim (7.16 above), e.g., "his wife said he was carrying a Koran". As usual, the insurgents have been physically represented as non-white dressed in non-Western clothes with some holding Ak-47s. As for the place, it was shown littered with trash and rubbles. Most importantly, the religious aspect was clearly indicated via certain semiotic resources such as "misbaha", "clothes", "Adhan", "Kaaba picture", and "Adhan". Moreover, stills 7.8-7.21 can be further represented in table 7.4 below:

Still No.	Stereotyping techniques	Frequency of theme			Semiotic resources employed
		Civilians	Interpreters	Insurgents	
7.1-7.14	The use of spoken/written language	1	0	0	Spoken language
	Cultural backwardness	2	0	6	Object, action,
	Violence	0	0	5	Action
	Invariability of character (they are all the same)	2	0	5	Objects, action, long camera shots.

Table 7.4 Situation 2 frequency of themes

Although table 7.4 does not include spoken or written language, but an audible Adhan can be clearly heard. Cultural backwardness has been recognized 8 times, 2 for civilians and 6 for insurgents as far as clothes and action are related. Insurgents only have been detected involved in violence through action, such as the use of weapons, suicide bombing, and IED-planting. As for character invariability, it was noted seven times, 2 for civilians and 5 for insurgents through employing clothes and regressive action.

7.2.3. Situation 3

Situation 3 is about a searching-for-insurgents mission made by U.S. Marines in Fallujah. In this situation, Chris decided to join the Marines in search for al-Zarqawi, the first AQI man. During this situation Chris and other U.S. troops discovered an Iraqi family that has

not abided by the evacuation orders issued by the U.S. army. The situation ends up with the family little boy and father killed by Elgassab "the Butcher", one of the Zarqawi's top aids.

7.2.3.1. Language

In situation 3, Chris was heading a squad of U.S. Marines searching houses in Fallujah. As the squad breaks into one of the houses, they found out that a family of five was still living in the house and have not evacuated yet. As Chris was the first to enter the house, he confronts a little boy and shouts at him to keep his head down, as in 7.17 below:

7.17- Chris: **Get down!** Get down on the ground **right now!** **Get your fucking ass down.**



Still 7.22 at (0:41:09)

In 7.17, threatening him with his rifle, Chris employs an adults violent and offensive language when talking to the little boy; "get your fucking ass down". This imperative³⁰ speech act used by Chris to command a little boy is enhancing the idea that all Iraqis are the same and cannot be trusted, including children too. In still 7.22 above, viewers are located at the same level with the little kid, as Chris is directing his rifle towards the boy. Thus, viewers are merely evaluating the situation and not participating or involved in the action. In the meantime, the boy's father shows up begging Chris to be careful with his son who does not understand English, as in 7.18 below:

7.18- The man: (in Arabic لا...لا ...لا /læ/ No, no, no!) He **no understand**.

³⁰ An imperative speech act is a sentence used to direct the hearer (Vanderveken & Kubo, 2001:4).

7.18- shows that man as capable of speaking simple English, but not perfectly, "He no understand", instead of "He doesn't understand". When Chris asked the man why have not they abided by the evacuation orders, the man replied in 7.19:

7.19- The man: I'm **sheikh** Al-Ob... this is my home I say.

The man has identified himself as sheikh³¹ Al-Obeidi (played by the Iranian- American Actor Navid Negahban) who was not willing to leave his house. Meanwhile, Sanchez (a Marines member) brings three women who were hiding in a back closet (stills 7.23 and 7.24):

7.20- Sanchez: I found **these bitches** in the back closet.

Sanchez has offensively referred to the three women as "bitches" who were mysteriously hiding. The following conversation took place between the sheikh and Chris, as in 7.21-7.27 below:

7.21- Sheikh Al-Obeidi: You are **welcome** here, you are my **guests**.

7.22- Sheikh Al-Obeidi: But **tell the soldiers to come in**.

7.23- Sanchez: **This haji** just wants **us** all in here, so **he can blow us** up.

7.24- Sheikh Al-Obeidi: If **he** sees American, **he know** we speak.

7.25- Chris: Who?

7.26- Sheikh Al-Obeidi: **Elgassab**, **he** come, he brrrrrrr ... brrrrrrr. Very bad, please.

7.27- Sheikh Al-Obeidi: (to the Iraqi interpreter in Arabic) بيتكلم مع الامريكان راه يجون وي قتلونه **they** will kill those who speak with the Americans.

In 7.21-7.27, the sheikh tries to welcome and convince the Americans to keep quiet and come into his house to avoid being seen by the AQI insurgents who will cause a lot of troubles to him and his family; and that is what happened later as shown in 7.21 and 7.22 above. In 7.23, Sanchez accuses the sheikh of deception, stating that he wants them all in to "blow" them up, and that is why the sheikh was searched for a suicide vest. Sanchez has described the sheikh as "haji" which is an offensive word as mentioned earlier in (7.2.1.1). In 7.24 and 7.26, the sheikh tries to convince them that his family's lives will be endangered in case they are seen talking to the Americans; "If he sees American, he know

³¹ The word sheikh means a "leader in a Muslim community or organization". In this context the word sheikh is associated with a man who leads and guides Muslims in usually in a mosque (<https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/sheikh>).

we speak", though this sentence is grammatically ill-formed, but it makes enough sense that the sheikh is referring to an insurgent who is threatening those who cooperate with the U.S. troops. This terrorist name is revealed in sentence 7.26 above as Elgassab (the Butcher). The sheikh, who is supposed to be very fluent and well aware of Iraqi and standard Arabic has mispronounced the word (القصاب\الغصاب) "the butcher" and pronounced it as /ɪlge'sæb/. It is either pronounced as /ɪlge'sʕæb/ in the Iraqi Arabic spoken in Fallujah or /elqa'sʕæb/ in standard Arabic (see Clarity et al., 2003: 164). When his English fails him, the sheikh makes "brrrrr" sounds to refer to the power drill the butcher is using when torturing and killing his victims. Now, Chris gets help from an Iraqi interpreter to interpret the sheikh's speech. The interpreter's character is played by the Moroccan actor (Fehd Benchemsi). The interpreter asks the sheikh about the real identity of the Butcher and the sheikh answers in 7.28 below:

7.28- Sheikh Al-Obeidi: (in Arabic) مائنده رهمه ابن ابليس the butcher. he's **merciless, son of Satan**.

7.29- Interpreter: (in Arabic) هو منفذ؟ Is he an **enforcer**?

7.30- Sheikh Al-Obeidi: (in Arabic) منقر، منقر، اي، اي yes, yes, an **enforcer**. (in English) number one soldier Zargawi.

In 7.28, the sheikh describes the Butcher as "مائنده رهمه" /mæʔinde rehme/ (merciless) and "ابن ابليس" (son of Satan). In Iraq the /ʔ/ sound cannot be pronounced as a glottal stop /ʔ/ by Iraqi Muslims (see Clarity et al. 2003: 84; Alkalesi, 2006: 36). In this conversation there was a clear misinterpretation, when Chris asked the interpreter to interpret the word "enforcer", 7.29 above, the interpreter interpreted it as "منفذ" (executer) whereas it should be "المسيطر على المجاميع" (A person who imposes his will by violence and intimidation, <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/enforcer>). The sheikh agrees with the interpreter; "منقر، منقر، اي، اي" (yes, yes, enforcer). He even did not pronounce it intelligibly, he pronounced it as /mune'fɪz/, which should be rather pronounced as /mune'fɪð/ (<https://en.bab.la/dictionary/arabic-english>). When the interpreter asked the sheikh about the Butcher's whereabouts, the sheikh answered in gibberish. Then he asked for \$100.000. Asking for money gives the impression that the man cares more about money. When Chris asked for evidence that the Butcher exists, the sheikh showed them his wife's hacked arm which seems to be amputated by the Butcher himself (still 24) as in 7.31 below:

7.31- Sheikh Al-Obeidi: (in Arabic) *فاطمة تعالي* come here, Fatima. *هبيتي تعالي* come here, darling (he shows them his wife's hacked arm) *هذا دليل* this is an evidence. *أمير خلف فانوس* Amir Khalaf Fanous, *هذا اسم الكساب* this is the butcher's name.

In 7.31 there were also some mispronunciation fails, such as "فاطمة" /fætme/ which should be pronounced as /fæt^hme/, i.e., /t^h/ not /t/ (<https://en.bab.la/dictionary/arabic-english>); and "حبيتي" /hebi:bti/ (darling) which should be /ħe:bi:btɪ/, i.e., /ħ/ not /h/ (see Clarity et al., 2003: 89).

7.33-7.35 show some speech turns while Chris and his team were trying to capture the 'Butcher', but things turned against them when the AQI sniper, Mustafa, started shooting at them:

7.33- Chris: (to Marc Lee) I got eyes on **the butcher**. He's got **the sheikh's kid** on the avenue.

7.34- Little boy: (shouts in Arabic) *يا به!* **Oh, father!**

7.35- The butcher: (in Arabic to sheikh Al-Obeidi) *ولّه لاء؟ تكلمت معاهم* did you speak with **them** or not? *اتكلمت معاهم؟* *اتكلمت معاهم؟* Did you speak to **them**? Did you speak to them? *كلمتهم؟* You spoke to **them**? (after killing the little kid in Arabic) *معاهم تموت معاهم* you talk to **them** you die with **them**.

The sheikh's little kid was panting and shouting for his dad "يا به" /jæbe/ (Oh father!), while the Butcher was dragging along an avenue. As the pleading kid's family were beseeching the Butcher, who was holding a power drill, to leave the little boy alone, the Butcher was shouting at the sheikh whether he spoke to the Americans as in 7.34. The Butcher has reiterated the question "اتكلمت معاهم؟" /ɪtke'limt meʃæħum/ (did you speak with them?), without specifying with whom he is accusing the sheikh to have spoken to. Indeed, it is clear for Iraqi speakers that the Butcher, who is supposed to be an Iraqi, is not speaking Iraqi Arabic, he is rather speaking Egyptian Arabic, taking into consideration the Butcher is played by the German-Egyptian actor (Mido Hamada). He said "اتكلمت معاهم؟" /ɪtke'limt meʃæħum/ in a sentence not familiar to Iraqis. According to Clarity et al. (2003: 92), the verb "to speak" is pronounced /ħitʃe/ in Iraqi Arabic. Also, the preposition "with" is pronounced /wi'je/, not /meʃə/ (ibid.: 214).

7.2.3.2. Physical appearance

Situation 3 contains many direct hints to physical appearance. In addition to offensive language, situation 3 includes many violent graphic scenes, such as the scene which

depicted the killing of the sheikh's little boy with a power drill (stills 7.27 and 7.29). Still 7.23 shows Sanchez who discovered three women hiding in a back closet. He described them as "bitches". All three women are dressed in non-Western Islamic clothes. Not mentioning whether these women are the sheikh's sisters, daughters, or wives may lead the audience to think of polygamy, especially that the three women have near ages, taking into account that polygamy is considered an insult to women as seen by Westerners (Bennett, 2016), and is even considered a crime by the UK, Europe, and North America (Chapman, 2001: 10).



Still 7.23 at (0:41:31)

Still 7.24 at (0:43:25)

In still 7.24, on the other hand, the sheikh gives an evidence to Chris that the Butcher exists, by showing the amputated arm of his wife³². Still 7.24 depicts how savage the Butcher is. Mustafa, the AQI sniper, shown in still 7.25 dressed in a black keffiyeh and tracksuit bottom, is taking up a prone sniping position to protect the Butcher who was about to torture and kill the sheikh's little kid.



Still 7.25 at (0:46:25)

Still 7.26 at (0:47:37)

Still 7.27 at (0:48:14)

Chris and his team were pinned down by Mustafa who prevented them from neither capturing the Butcher nor saving the kid's life. Stills 7.27 and 7.29 are the most graphic

³² The sheikh did not mention that the woman is his wife, but the *American Sniper* (2014) film's script has referred to the woman as the sheikh's wife.

stills in the whole film. These stills show the Butcher powering his drill and drilling it into the little kid's thigh (Still 7.27), and then into the kid's head (still 7.29). These two distressing stills are viewed in close-ups where the little kid is entering the audience's intimate distance. The semiotic resources of colour (blood), sound (the boy's screaming), and the drill going through his body all provide viewers with a sense of extreme danger. All viewers, especially parents, will feel growing unease as they are watching a little boy being subject to such a hideous act of human savageness represented by the Butcher, the head of an AQI group in Fallujah. Treating childhood with such an indescribable savagery is totally rejected by any human being. The Butcher, who appears in a medium camera shot (still 7.28), is still holding the power drill which, now, looks reddened by the little boy's blood, who is muted now.



Still 7.28 at (0:48:41)

Still 7.29 at (0:48:48)

Still 7.30 at (0:49:15)

The agentive relationship of killing the little boy can be illustrated in figure 7.5 (p. 96) below:

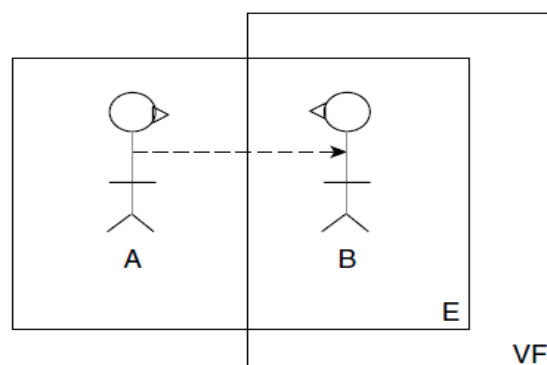


Figure 7.5 Agency visual frame (adopted from Hart, 2014: 96)

Figure 7.5 shows how the energy transfer was departing from A to B where the event of killing was being done to the boy by the Butcher. The visual frame (VF) was showing the

boy's suffering in a close-up camera shot within our intimate distance to aggravate the viewers' fear. Still 7.30, shows a medium camera shot of the sheikh shot dead by one of the Butcher's thugs for talking to U.S. troops. Finally, it has been observed that the sheikh house interior's decoration does not look familiar with Iraqi houses interior design, but it does look more of a Moroccan house architecture with the decorative zellige (ceramic mosaics) tilework (Aboufadil et al., 2013).

7.2.3.3. Religion and nationality

No hints to nationality have been recognized in situation 3. However, the Butcher and his henchmen appeared dressed in Afghani Mujahideen clothes and hair styles. An indication of polygamy, which is approved by Islam is also indicated by the presence of three women at the sheikh's house.

Hence, the Butcher and his militia men can be located at the far ends of the DST D and M axes as out-group members. While, the sheikh and his family, are neither located at the far ends of the DST axes nor close to the in-group intimate distance. They are rather located at the far social distance for not abiding by the evacuation orders, the huge sum of money the sheikh has demanded before cooperating with the U.S. troops, and the non-Western clothes they are dressed in. These details, shown in stills 7.22-7.30, can be illustrated in table 7.5 below:

Still No.	Functionalised patient(s)/agent (s)	Verbal individuation/collectivisation	Cultural identification			
			Linguistic	physical	Environmental	religious
7.22-7.30	Civilians and insurgents.	Your fucking ass, these bitches, haji, he, the Butcher, the sheikh's kid.	The sheikh's conversation with the U.S. troops.	Non-white people, non-Western clothes,	non-Iraqi house designs	Clothes

Table 7.5 Situation 3 representation

Iraqis, in stills 7.22-7.30, have been functionalized as civilians and insurgents. The civilians have been verbally collectivized in expressions such as "your fucking ass", "these bitches", "haji", and "he" to. These expressions maintain the idea of showing the Iraqis as all the same. However, the Butcher, when was dragging the sheik's kid was individuated as "the Butcher" whose savage act of torturing and killing the little boy was accentuated. The boy, after being victimized by the Butcher, was referred to as the "sheikh's kid". Linguistically speaking, the sheikh was given the chance to speak up with the Americans and showed a money-conditioned cooperation with them. In other words, he offered help

to capture the Butcher not for killing his fellow-Iraqis or maiming his own wife, but for gaining a financial support for himself. The Butcher has also been heard speaking, but in Arabic, when he was rebuking the sheikh for talking to Americans, and some of the sheik's replies were gibberish. The Iraqis shown in the stills, in question, have been shown as non-White dressed in non-Western Islamic clothes. The sheikh's house interior design was recognized as non-Iraqi. Finally, according to table 7.5, there was a hint to religion in the clothes worn by the insurgents and the sheikh as well.

Table 7.6, below, provides more details on stills 7.22-7.30:

Still No.	Stereotyping techniques	Frequency of theme			Semiotic resources employed
		Civilians	Interpreters	Insurgents	
7.22-7.30	The use of spoken/written language	9	1	1	Spoken Arabic and English
	Cultural backwardness	5	0	3	Objects (weapons, and means of transportation), clothes, and action.
	Violence	0	0	3	Sound, colour, objects (device, and weapon), action.
	Invariability of character (they are all the same)	5	0	2	Language, objects, long-camera shots.

Table 7.6 Situation 3 frequency of themes

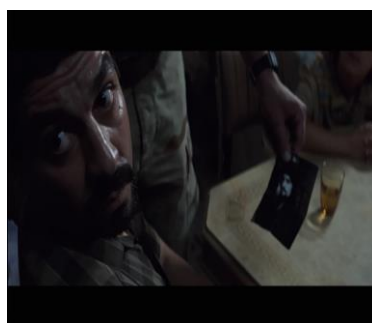
According to table 7.6, the sheikh has been heard speaking in both English and Iraqi Arabic languages in which he made some mistakes, especially when it came to Iraqi Arabic where he was recognized making some gibberish murmurs. The interpreter has also been making some mispronunciations in Iraqi Arabic and one interpretation fault. Cultural backwardness has been noticed 8 times through clothes, actions, the Ak-47 rifle which became representing unorganized militias, and the method of transportation the insurgents have used. Violence was shown 3 times through the semiotic resources of sound, colour, device, weapons, and action. As for invariability of character, it was recognized 7 times represented by both civilians and insurgents through the use of pronouns, clothes, and long camera shots.

7.2.4. Situation 4

Situation 4 is about a mission to hunt down the Butcher. The Butcher, this time, is attending a gathering in a Ramadi³³ restaurant with his followers. The situation starts with Chris's squad, equipped with night vision goggles, raid a 4-story building and commandeered an apartment overlooking the restaurant. The squad meets a family of three who invite them to dinner. The situation ends with the insurgents-supporter family man killed by the Americans.

7.2.4.1. Language

This situation involves some conversations that took place in the man's apartment. The man was investigated by Chris whether he or his wife know the Butcher as shown in still 7.31 below.



Still 7.31 at (01:02:23)

In 7.35-7.37, below, before launching the searching process, the following conversation took place between Colonel Jones (played by Chance Kelly) and Chris:

7.35- Colonel Jones: (to Chris) [...] These wars are won and lost in the minds of our **enemy**.

7.36- Chris: That's a **crusader** cross?

7.37- Colonel Jones: I want you to put **the fear of God** into **these savages** and find **his ass**.

In the above conversation, Colonel Jones shows Chris an AQI bounty poster which puts some \$180.000 on his head. The poster which contains a crusader cross draws the viewers' attention, again, to the Christianity-Islam rivalry. The Colonel wants Chris to take a squad of U.S. troops to search for the Butcher and asking him to "put the fear of

³³ Ramadi is the capital of "mainly Sunni-Muslim Anbar province in the Euphrates River valley" west of Baghdad ([Chmaytelli](#), 2015).

God into these savages". The word "savages", here, seems to be indicating AQI jihadists. Another conversation took place between Chris and Marc Lee before launching the operation in 7.38-7.42 below:

7.38- Chris: Alright, let's go get **this motherfucker**.

7.39- Marc Lee: That **Bible** of yours, is that bulletproof?

7.40- Chris: **God**, country, family, right?

7.41- Marc Lee: You got a **God**? ... I just wanna believe in what are we doing **here**?

7.42- Chris: Oh, **there's evil here**. We've seen it. ...you want **those motherfuckers** to come to San Diego or New York? We're protecting more than just **this dirt**.

Chris urges his squad to capture "this mother fucker", the Butcher. Meanwhile, the 'unreligious' Marc Lee asks Chris about the mini Bible he always carries with him; "that Bible of yours". Stressing his religious identity, Chris talks about the importance of "God, country, and family" to Marc who now questions the existence of God as in 7.41 where he also shows disbelief in the U.S. presence in "here", i.e., Iraq. Chris's answer in 7.42 above seems to convince Marc Lee that the "evil" "mother fuckers" Other "here" (in Iraq) might come and face them in U.S. cities, creating a mental image of potential terrorists attacking U.S. cities. He also describes "here" as "dirt", i.e., the dirty Other. Describing Iraq as the dirt the U.S. troops are protecting could generalise the idea of collectivisation that they are all the same. Besides, 7.43-7.53 are other conversations that took place inside an Iraqi civilian's apartment in Ramadi:

7.43- Interpreter: (in Arabic) انتہ شایف هذا الرجل؟ do you know **this man**?

7.44- Man: (in Arabic) مابعرفوا I don't know **him**.

Chris, through the Iraqi interpreter (played by Assaf Cohen), asks the man if he knows the Butcher "this man". The man denied that he knows him "مابعرفوا" /Mæ'beʁɪfu/ (I don't know him). Iraqis would rather say "ماعرّفه" /mæ'ʕurfe/ (see Al-Khalesi, 2006: 9).

7.45- Chris: (to his team) What we got?

7.46- Marc Lee: **sixteen military-aged males** have gone in.

7.47- Chris: is **he** still in there?

7.48- Biggles: probably see **the legend** and just let him right in, you know, big-time celebrity. Ask him to sign **their burka**³⁴.

As Chris and his squad were observing the situation outside from the man's apartment window, Chris, who had a short sleep, wakes up and asks his team about what they have found out. Marc Lee answers, "sixteen military-aged males" without accurately identifying them. When Chris asked about the Butcher using the subject pronoun "he", Biggles sarcastically answers him that "he", as a "legend", is busy signing their "burka(s)". Actually, the word "burka", as has been discussed earlier in (7.2.1.2.), refers to Muslim women's head-covering garment. Later, the man invites Chris and his squad to have dinner with them through the Iraqi interpreter as shown in 7.49 below:

7.49- Interpreter: **He** invites you to join **him** for Eid al-Edha supper. **He** says, on this day, everyone has a seat at my table.

To maintain the metonymic character given to Iraqis, the interpreter refers to the man as "he", and "him". The interpreter has shown exaggeration in pronouncing the /r/ sounds in the words "for" and "supper" which he pronounced with a trilling /r/ sound in a way where the "[t]ongue-tip trills, [similar to] some forms of Scottish English in words such as *rye* and *raw*" (Ladefoged & Johnson, 2011: 15).

When the dinner was served, the U.S. squad were chatting about food. Biggles, in 7.50 below, referred to the whole lamb head which appeared on top of rice:

7.50- Biggles: somebody will get on **that lamb head**?

Lamb heads are not served with rice in Iraq (more details will be shown later in 7.2.4.2). After discovering weapons and bombs hidden in the man's apartment, Chris found out that the man is involved in insurgency and urged him to cooperate with them to enter the restaurant as shown in 7.51 below:

7.51- Chris: See that **Muj**? (To the Interpreter) tell **him** ... **the Iraqi courts** can decide what to do with **him**. Or **he** can help us get inside that restaurant downstairs.

Now, Chris addresses the man as "muj" (discussed in 7.2.2.1 earlier), "him", and "he". The man was never referred to by his name. Chris then threatens the man to send him to "Iraqi

³⁴ Niqab.

courts" to deal with him; the demonym adjective "Iraqi" was used here for the first time as it is connoted with bad reputation that the man preferred to cooperate with U.S. soldiers than going to courts managed by Iraqis. In 7.52 below, the Iraqi interpreter has not only made mispronunciations regarding Iraqi Arabic, but also did not interpret what Chris said accurately:

7.52- Interpreter: (in Arabic) **راح اندك لشرته والامن تصرف وياك او تساعدنا حته ندخل المطعم** we'll send **you** to **the police and security forces** to deal with **you**, or **you** help us get inside the restaurant.

The interpreter in 7.52 above, was not accurate in interpreting Chris's speech. Chris did not refer to Iraqi police or security forces in the first place, he was referring to "Iraqi courts" instead. Besides, the interpreter has made some mispronunciations of Iraqi Arabic. He said /ʃurte/ (police) not /ʃurtʕe/ as pronounced by Iraqis (see Clarity et al., 2003: 135). He also mispronounced the word /metʕem/ which he pronounced like /metʕem/ (see Al-Khalesi, 2006: 37). Dauber (SEAL sniper played by Kevin Lacz), again, refers to the man as "he". Dauber also used the word "muj" to refer to a keffiyeh-wearing insurgent who opened the restaurant's door to the man as in 7.53 below:

7.53- Dauber: **He's** knocking. Lights out **Muj**.

Finally, 7.54-8.56 show how Iraqi civilians are protesting the killing of the man who was trying to shoot the U.S. squad:

7.54- Tribe leader: (in Arabic) **انت شيطان كبير** you're a **big Satan**.

7.55- Men: (in Arabic) **الموت لامريكا الموت لامريكا** **death be to America**, death be to America.

7.56- Men: (in Arabic) **بره بره امريكا** out, **out with America**. **شيطان كبير** Big Satan.

In 7.54-7.56 above, a tribe leader and a group of so-called Iraqi civilians are calling for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Iraq; as in 7.56 "بره بره امريكا" (out with America) (not shown as subtitle in the film). The tribe leader, in 7.54 and 7.56, is referring to Chris (the American sniper) as "شيطان كبير" /ʃetæn kebi:r/ (big devil). The tribe leader has pronounced this phrase as if he were an Iranian rather an Arab speaker. In standard Arabic it is written like "شيطان كبير" /ʃetæn kebi:r/ (Versteegh et al., 2006: 436), while in Iraqi Arabic it is /ʃetʕæn tʃibi:r/ (see Clarity et al., 2003: 255). Hence, it can be said that any Iraqi viewer will immediately notice that the tribe leader (played by the Afghan-born

American actor Fahim Fazli) is not an Iraqi Actor, or even an Arab. Although the expression "big Satan" was spoken by the Iraqi tribe leader, but, historically speaking it was first used by the Supreme Leader of Iran, Grand Ayatollah Khomeini, who branded the United States as "the Great Satan" (Harmon, 2005: 62) in the wake of the Islamic Revolution of Iran in 1979 (Dabashi, 2015). Accordingly, the film could indirectly refer to the US-Iranian struggle in Iraq too, giving rise to the idea that Iraqis cannot manage their own affairs without the help of a super power like the United States of America.

7.2.4.2. Physical appearance

In situation 4, several aspects of physical appearance have been recognized to connote violence, cultural backwardness, and collectivisation. For instance, in stills 7.32, 7.34, and 7.35 the man's little boy with long black hair was shown several times to indicate non-whiteness. Also, his mother was shown wearing hijab in her own apartment, while Muslim women don't have to wear hijab when they are in the company of their husbands, parents, sons, and daughters; the man's wife has been already putting hijab when the U.S. squad stormed into her apartment.



Still 7.32 at (01:01:57)

Still 7.33 at (01:04:42)

Still 7.34 at (1:04:47)

The Iraqi man invited the U.S. soldiers to have Eid al-Adha³⁵ supper with his family, as shown in stills 7.33-7.35. In still 7.34, a close-up camera shot shows a whole lamb head placed on a big plate of rice. Showing the lamb head in such an unattractive way represents a kind of backwardness in serving food, taking into consideration that lamb head is not served in Iraq in this way (Nasrallah, 2013). The lamb head, shown in stills

³⁵ A "religious Muslim holiday that marks the end of the annual pilgrimage to the holy city of Mecca" (Ghanim, 2011: 105-7) also known as the "feast of the sacrifice" (Esposito, 2003: 131).

7.33 and 7.34, is linguistically enhanced in 7.50 above when Biggles sarcastically referred to it as "that lamb head", and was rebuffed by the other U.S. squad members.



Still 7.35 at (1:04:55)

Still 7.36 at (1:06:24)

In still 7.35, when the man's little son has dropped his book on the ground, his father bent down to pick it up. While the man was bending down, Chris recognized that the man's elbow is red and calloused, as if he is used to take up a prone sniping position. After noticing the man's elbow, Chris, under the pretext of going to wash up his hands, enters into one of the apartment's rooms where he finds a hidden place that is full of hoarded weapons and bombs, as shown in still 7.36 above. Emphasising the issue of hoarding weapons and bombs in a civilian apartment within a family atmosphere is apparently reflecting violence, backwardness, and irresponsibility. Besides, the man is absolutely represented as a bad role model for his little son as did the woman in the very first film scene. After Dauber, the U.S. SEAL sniper, killed an insurgent, shown in still 7.37,



Still 7.37 at (1:08:43)

Still 7.38 at (1:08:48)

Still 7.39 at (1:10:23)

who was dressed in ragged clothes and a black and white keffiyeh, the 'family' man (still 7.38 above) took over the insurgent's Ak-47 and tried to shoot back at the U.S. squad, but was fatally shot by Dauber. The fire exchange between the man and Dauber is considered a reciprocal agentive relationship which can be illustrated in figure 7.6 below:

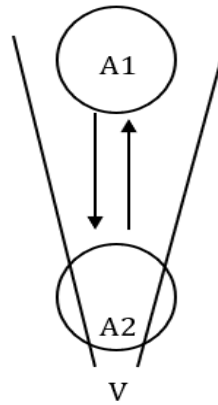


Figure 7.6 Reciprocal Agentive Relationship (adopted from Hart, 2014b: 172)

According to figure 7.6, both Dauber and the family man was considered an agent, i.e., A1 and A2. The vectors going from up to down and vice versa show the exchange of fire and the transfer of energy. Though the family man was killed but, still, he is located at the far end of the DST D and M axes as an undesirable out-group member. Moreover, in figure 7.6, the viewer(s) is located right behind A2; indeed, the viewer(s) is looking at A1 through A1's rifles' scope, so s/he would receive the transfer of energy from A1.

Still 7.39 shows two insurgents, one with an Ak-47 and the other with an RPG7 rocket launcher who start to attack Dauber. They, just like other insurgents, are dressed in unsymmetrical ragged clothes and black and white Keffiyehs. The insurgent with the RPG is shown as an agent A and Dauber who received the action and was injured later is a patient P. in this still there is a single transfer of energy from A to P and the viewer(s) is located right behind the insurgent as an evaluator of the event.

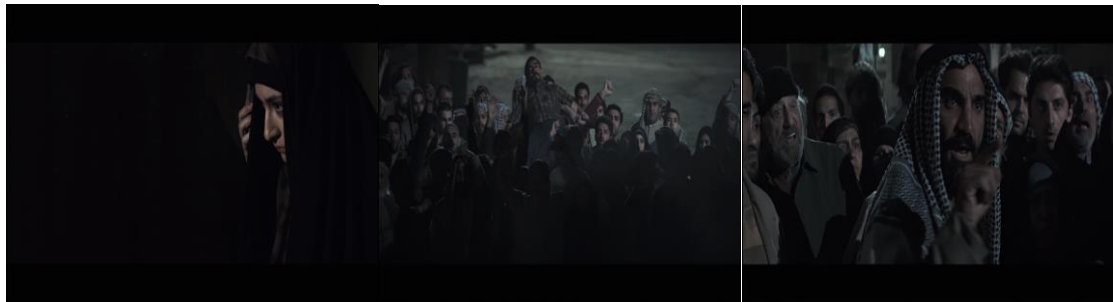


Still 7.40 at (1:09:13)

Still 7.41 at (1:09:16)

Stills 7.40 and 7.41 graphically depict insurgents' victims. The victim in still 7.40 appears shirtless in a medium camera shot hung via steel chains with bruised bleeding body, while the other still, 7.41, shows some decapitated heads, hands, and feet also depicted in a medium camera shot. Viewers who are subjected to these horrible stills in a place which

is supposed to be a restaurant will certainly evoke feelings of disgust and horror at the same time through the exhibited visual semiotic resources.



Still 7.42 at (1:11:03)

Still 7.43 at (1:12:15)

Still 7.44 at (1:11:50)

On the other hand, the woman in still 7.42 above, appears in a similar black abaya and hijab to that worn by the woman who gave the hand grenade to her little kid at the beginning of the film, the posture and hijab of both women is very similar to the hijab style worn by Iranian religious women (see Hatam, 2018). The black abaya, the dim black place in which she stands, and her muted character do coordinate to accentuate evilness and suspicion. Here, the woman is contacting, Mustafa, the AQI sniper, through a cell phone informing him of the U.S. squad presence. Stills 7.43 and 7.44 depict some Iraqis, who are supposed to be civilians, carrying the man's dead corpse considering him a martyr. In Still 8.43, the protesting people are shown in a long camera shot representing them in a collectivised way, i.e. with no clear facial expressions. While, the close-up still in 7.44, above, shows the tribe leader (discussed in 7.2.4.1.) wearing tribal clothes and black and white keffiyeh. It is worth mentioning that Iraqi tribes' people in the Anbar Province (where the cities of Fallujah and Ramadi are located) never put on black and white keffiyehs, they either wear white only or red and white keffiyehs (see Al-Muhanna, 1972: 18). Hence, we can say that the black and white keffiyehs, which are basically worn by insurgents and many civilians in the film, whether in the Anbar Province or anywhere else, can give a kind of unity or textual cohesion that conveys the idea that all Iraqis are the same, especially when it comes to violence and disorder.

7.2.4.3. Religion and nationality

Situation 4 does not reflect religion or nationality in a direct way. However, the Oriental concept of Christianity-Islam rivalry has been indirectly indicated through language in words such as "God", "bible", and "evil", on the one hand and "Eid al-Adha" and "Satan"

on the other. Though the Iranian involvement in Iraq is not obviously mentioned in the film, but reference to "big Satan" (in a Persian accent) through the tribal leader's tongue, in addition to the Iranian-style hijab can refer to Islamic violence. In addition, the word "Muj" was mentioned twice by Chris and Biggles, and the word "burka" was sarcastically mentioned by Biggles both refer to Islamic holy fighters and fanaticism. As for nationality, the Iraqi nationality has been mentioned only once in situation 4, and it was associated with a negative context, as mentioned by Chris who threatened the family man with Iraqi courts: "the Iraqi courts can decide what to do with him", hinting that the courts run by Iraqis are too bad even for an Iraqi insurgent. The Iraqi courts example is related to the Oriental concept of 'despotism' which has to do with lacking competence.

Stills 7.31-7.44 can be represented in table 7.7 below:

Still No.	Functionalised patient(s)/agent (s)	Verbal individuation/ collectivisation	Cultural identification			
			Linguistic	physical	Environmental	religious
7.31-7.44	Iraqi civilians and insurgents.	Enemy, savages, his ass, this motherfucker, this dirt, this man, males, he, him, the legend, Iraqi courts.	Man has been investigated by Chris, interpreter was interpreting Chris's speech, Iraqi protesters expressing condemn.	All non-White, only one man with Western clothes, others not.	Street littered with debris and trash.	Clothes, and some lexical items such as "God, Bible, burka, Muj, and Satan.

Table 7.7 Situation 4 representation

In stills 7.31-7.44, the Iraqi insurgents have been referred to as "enemy", "savages", "his ass", "this motherfucker", "this man", "males", "the legend". These lexical items do not only accentuate Otherness but also emphasise how bad and degraded the Other is. Even before, knowing his involvement in terrorist activities, the family man has never been individuated by a name, he was referred to as "he", and "the man", in a way that metonymy and collectivisation are maintained (they are all the same). Despite the fact that the U.S. squad have spent a long time in the man's apartment, but he was not recognized to have expressed any view, except for inviting the Americans to his table and briefly answering one question. In addition, in situation 4, Iraq was referred to as "this dirt" as a negative trait which is related to the Other. Linguistically, the interpreter has made some mispronunciation in Iraqi Arabic and an interpretation mistake. The protesters, headed by a tribe leader, have been calling for the withdrawal of Americans "out with America" and also shouted "death to America". Here, those who call for the U.S. withdrawal are only those who support terrorists. All the Iraqis who appeared in

situation 4 were dressed in non-white and dressed in non-Western clothes, the only one who was wearing Western clothes has turned to be an insurgent (the family man). As for environment, though the scenes related to this situation have been filmed in a dark atmosphere, but the only street shown was littered with trash and rubbles. Religiously speaking, situation 4 contained some hints to religion, especially the Christianity-Islam rivalry which has been recognized in lexical items such as "God" and "Bible" vs "evil", "burka" and "muj". More details on situation 4 can be shown in table 7.8 below:

Still No.	Stereotyping techniques	Frequency of theme			Semiotic resources employed
		Civilians	Interpreters	Insurgents	
7.31-7.44	The use of spoken/written language	3	2	0	Some gibberish speech, interpretation error, and non-Iraqi Arabic.
	Cultural backwardness	4	0	2	Objects (food), and clothes.
	Violence	3	0	4	Close-up camera shots, Objects (weapons), colour, and Pose.
	Invariability of character (they are all the same)	3	0	4	Clothes, long camera shots.

Table 7.8 Situation 4 frequency of themes

According to table 7.8, some of the Iraqis in situation 4 have been recognized as speaking gibberish, uttering non-Iraqi Arabic, and making some interpretation errors as regards the Iraqi interpreter. Spoken misrepresentation have occurred five times. Representing cultural backwardness which associated with civilians and insurgents have been recognized six times through the use of clothes and food. While getting involved in violence have been shown three times, concerning civilians, and four times in the case of insurgents through the employment of close-up camera shots, weapons, colour, and posture. Lastly, representing character invariability has been depicted seven times (three in the case of civilians and four in the case of insurgents) through the use of clothes and long camera shots.

7.2.5. Situation 5

Situation 5 is about certain military missions achieved by Chris (the American sniper) and his SEAL team in some unidentified areas of Iraq, where they had few skirmishes with insurgents. In this situation Biggles has been shot by Mustafa in the face and was sent to the USA to receive treatment; he later died in hospital. Marc Lee. Also, have been killed in

action while his team was searching a deserted hospital for insurgents; he was the first SEAL member to have been killed in Iraq according to the film.

7.2.5.1. Language

During this situation, language has been used to refer to certain thematic aspects, especially religious and racial aspects. For instance, in 7.57-7.59, bellow, the following conversation has taken place between Chris and his wife, Taya:

7.57- Taya: (to Chris) Had to make sure you didn't have **an Iraqi girlfriend** sending you sexy videos.

7.58- Chris: No, no, it's not. **They are savages. They're fucking savages.**

7.59- Taya: It's not about **them**. It's about **us**.

In this conversation, Taya has caught Chris watching videos videotaped by AQI about American troops being sniped by AQI snipers. Chris has immediately shut down the TV when he saw Taya coming in. She told him that she has already watched his videos, thinking that "an Iraqi girlfriend" might have sent him some "sexy" videos. At the beginning of the film the lexical item "savages" was only used to refer to insurgents by Chris and Colonel Jones. But in 7.58 above, the word "savages" is generally referring to all Iraqis "They are savages. They're fucking savages". The word "savages" is used again, in this subsection (still 7.45 below), to refer to Iraqis, as in 7.63 below:



Still 7.45 at (1:18:32)

Still 7.46 at (1:19:29)

7.60- Biggles: (to Chris) Hey! Got the ring.

7.61- Chris: From where? From **here**?

7.62- Biggles: Yeah, man. Fuck, yeah. It's so much cheaper **here**.

7.63- Chris: Dude, you bought it from **savages**? How do you know it's not a **blood diamond**³⁶?

7.64- Biggles: What the fuck do you care, man? You've spilled so much blood over **here**. You're the legend.

7.65- Chris: it's not for a **rock**! ... **Mustafa's** got **his peepers** out.

While the SEAL team was on a mission to hunt down some insurgents, Chris and Biggles had a conversation (7.60-7.65 above) about a diamond ring Biggles has purchased from a shop in Iraq. The word "Iraq" has not been used to refer to the place from which Biggles bought his ring, but, instead, the place adverb "here" was used three times as in 7.61, 7.61, and 7.64 above to preserve anonymity of place. In 7.63, Chris rejects the idea of buying a diamond from Iraqis, describing them of being "savages" who would use the obtained money for supporting insurgency. Hence, the theme of "they are all violent" is vehemently enhanced. In 7.65, through Chris's speech a pun is made which indirectly refers to the place where the "blood diamond" has been bought as "a rock" /ə'ræk/ (cf. Iraq /ɪ'ræk/). Also, Mustafa, the AQI sniper, has been mentioned again in 7.65 above in addition to "his peepers" (still 7.46 above) without referring to their identities.

Before launching the second mission to hunt down Mustafa, Colonel Jones was talking to Chris about the place where they have to do their search for insurgents. Colonel Jones did not literally mention the name of the place, but it seems that he hints to the Shiite Sadr city in Baghdad this time, as shown in 7.66 below:

7.66- Col Jones: (to Chris) **Shi'a cab driver** we source is saying there's strong hold seven doors down.

Taking into consideration the sectarian differences and enmity between Sunni and Shiite militias (as discussed earlier in 4.9.2 in Chapter four) a Shiite taxi driver cannot get information from a Sunni strong hold area. This issue became more obvious in Chris's sentence to Biggles as in 7.67 below:

7.67- Chris: ... The **bad guys fled** up into **Sadr city**. ... We'll wall them in and hunt **them** down. You're my brother and **they're** gonna fucking pay for what did **they** do to you.

³⁶ A diamond bought from a war zone whose cost value is usually used to fuel armed strife.

Chris has described the insurgents whom he fought in the Sunnite cities of Fallujah and Ramadi to the Shiite strong hold of Sadr city. Indeed, the idea of not giving insurgents a clear identity is collectivising them and moulding them into one metonymy to maintain the idea that they are all the same.

More hints to religious aspects, or Christianity-Islam rivalry, have been indicated in this situation. For instance, the word "crusade" has appeared in Marc Lee's letter to his mother, later spoken at his burial ceremony, as shown in 7.68 below:

7.68- My question is when does glory fade away and become the wrongful **crusade**?

In the film, Marc Lee has always been questioning the aim of U.S. intervention and presence in Iraq and was shown as an unreligious person (as in 7.2.4.1 above) who questions a potential "wrongful crusade" launched by the U.S. Army against Iraq. In 7.96, below, D has received Chris who came back from the U.S.A. in his last deployment to Iraq, informing him of the bad situation they have experienced in both Fallujah and Ramadi:

7.69- D: (to Chris) **we been shot off** position three nights in a row. **Fallujah** was bad, **Ramadi** was worse, but this shit is fucking **biblical**.

The passive voice sentence in 7.96 is hiding the identity of the agent who was shooting at the U.S. troops. Nobody can tell whether they were Sunni AQI jihadists or the Shiite Mehdi militia I a way to maintain metonymy once more. Besides, the word "biblical" has been used by D to refer to certain events mentioned in the Bible. The Agentless sentence in 8.96 can be represented in figure 7.7 Below:

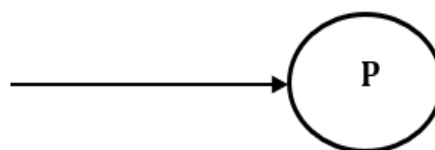


Figure 7.7 Agentless action schema (adopted from Hart, 2014a: 127)

Figure 7.7 shows an agentless action schema which shows the travelling of the vector towards patient (the U.S. troops).

In 7.47, below, Chris is employing a very offensive language to describe a little boy who picked up an RPG7 which was dropped by a shot down insurgent. The Iraqi kid is shown as too daring, not only to watch a killed man right in front of him without escaping the incident, but also to pick up the heavy weapon dropped by the man and then aiming it

towards the U.S. Humvee. Chris is shown reluctant to kill the kid whom he described as "a son of a bitch" and a "little cock sucker"; very offensive language that can only be used to describe adults as in 7.70 below:



Still 7.47 at (1:35:48)

7.70- Chris: (about a little kid) don't pick it up. Don't you fucking pick it up. **Son of a bitch.** Fucking drop it. Drop it, **you little cocksucker.**

The use of adult language to describe a little kid is enhancing the idea that Iraqis are all the same, including children who can be involved in adults' activities such as fighting.

7.2.5.2. Physical appearance

Still 7.48 is a medium camera shot of two men, one of them in a maroon tracksuit top is seen dialling his cell phone while the U.S. squad's patrol is passing in the street downstairs. The other man is covering his face with a black and white keffiyeh with leather chest magazine pouch.



Still 7.48 at (1:19:02)

Still 7.49 at (1:19:21)

Still 7.50 at (1:19:42)

The civilian-looking young man standing next to an insurgent also emphasises the idea that civilian Iraqis are involved in insurgency, especially that he was giving a call to Mustafa. Mustafa appears in his apartment getting ready to go sniping after being informed about the U.S. troops presence. A young woman appears standing next to him

with an infant in her hands as shown in still 7.49 above. In Still 7.50, Mustafa appears jumping from a house top into another in a long camera shot. Using houses tops to travel from a house into another in a highly conservative society stresses the idea that he is being supported by civilians and that he is known to them.



Still 7.51 at (1:20:25)

Still 7.52 at (1:24:30)

Still 7.53 at (1:25:42)

Still 7.51, on the other hand, shows Chris shooting down an insurgent who got off a van carrying an AK-47 in hands. The insurgent appears in a long camera shot wearing the usual black and white keffiyeh and ragged clothes with no clear facial expressions. Insurgents also appear in a medium camera shot (still 7.52) riding an old Renault car getting ready to attack a U.S. M113 armoured vehicle. The insurgents, who put on the usual black and white keffiyehs, end up killed by the M113 and their old car destroyed in a complete show of force; highly-trained U.S. military versus poorly-organized insurgents. In still 7.53, the SEAL team search an empty filthy badly-equipped hospital. While they are searching the hospital, they come under insurgents' fire. The attack has led to the killing of Marc Lee which can be represented in figure 7.8. below:

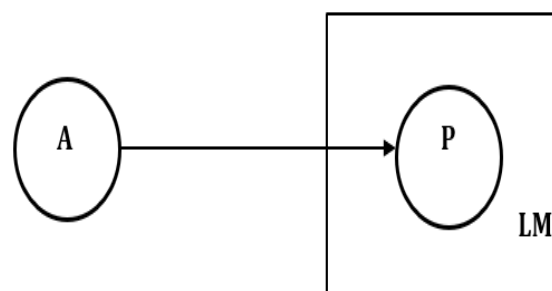


Figure 7.8 Agentic action schema (adopted from Hart, 2016: 339)

According to figure 7.8, the U.S. squad has come under fire from outside the building they were searching (the landmark LM), and the viewers are situated next to them. i.e., receiving similar transfer of energy from A.



Still 7.54 (1:34:51)

Still 7.55 (1:35:43)

Still 7.54 depicts an insurgent through a long camera shot who was trying to attack a U.S. Humvee with an RPG7. The insurgent is killed by Chris, but, to Chris' surprise a boy who was sitting on the pavement near the insurgent, has taken over the weapon and even tried to use it against the U.S. Humvee after the insurgent was killed. Chris, who was viewing the little kid through his rifle's scope, was quite hesitant to shoot him down, but, fortunately, the kid dropped the weapon and ran away just in the right time. Viewers will absolutely reject the idea of a watching kids (still 7.55) involved in any kind of fight or violence whatever the cause is. Accordingly, all the Iraqis who appeared in this situation are located at the far ends of the DST D and M axes.

7.2.5.3. Religion and nationality

Like the other situations in the *American Sniper* film, Situation 5 includes some religious and national connotations. For instance, in still 7.56, below, a framed photograph shows Mustafa on the podium receiving an Olympic golden medal. This visual image supports other previous references to Mustafa as a non-Iraqi sniper. On the other hand, still 7.57 shows a U.S. M113 armoured vehicle going on insurgents-searching mission. In the still's background a mosque minaret can be seen. Indeed, the same minaret has been shown twice as an example of overlexicalization. As for still 7.58. it shows a long camera shot providing a good vantage point to viewers. The still depicts an avenue surrounded by three-stories buildings. The avenue is littered with trash, rubbles, and burnt out cars. In the meanwhile, viewers can hear the bleating of a herd of goats reminding us of bestiality discussed in chapter 6.



Still 7.56 at (1:19:40)

Still 7.57 at (1:24:25)

Still 7.58 at (1:34:06)

Moreover, through the use of language there were some references to Iraqi identity and cities, such as "Iraqi girlfriend", "Sadr city", "Fallujah", and "Ramadi". Also, some lexical items have stressed the Christian-Islamic rivalry in words like "Shi'a taxi driver", "crusade" and "biblical". Iraq has also been indirectly referred to through the use of the place adverb "here" three times.

Stills 7.45-7.58 can be further illustrated in table 8.9 below:

Still No.	Functionalised patient(s)/agent (s)	Verbal individuation/ collectivisation	Cultural identification			
			Linguistic	physical	Environmental	religious
7.45-7.58	Iraqi civilians and insurgents.	Iraqi girlfriend, savages, them, Mustafa, his peepers, Shi'a cab driver, bad guys, and they.	—	Non-white, with unsymmetrical clothes.	Dusty streets with littered rubbles and trash.	Minaret

Table 7.9 Situation 5 representation

Table 7.9 represents Iraqi civilians and insurgents who are all appear visually and verbally collectivised. Lexical items to verbally collectivise Iraqis have been used such as "savages", "them", "peepers", "bad guys" and "they" in a way to let them appear as all the same. Only Mustafa, the AQI sniper, has been referred to by his name, in addition to a potential "Iraqi girlfriend" of Chris mentioned by Taya, and an unknown "Shi'a taxi driver" who was providing the Americans with some information about insurgents. No linguistic utterances have been recognized to have been said by Iraqis in this situation. As for environment, some streets have been shown as dusty and littered with trash and rubbles. A hint to Islamic violence has been recognize as a mosque's minaret has been shown twice behind a moving U.S. armoured vehicle. More details are provided by table 7.10 below:

Still No.	Stereotyping techniques	Frequency of theme			Semiotic resources employed
		Civilians	Interpreters	Insurgents	
7.45-7.58	The use of spoken/written language	0	0 ³⁷	0	Iraqis have not been shown speaking but contacting insurgents through cell phones.
	Cultural backwardness	6	0	4	Clothes, pose, close-ups, object (means of transportation), and colour.
	Violence	2	0	6	Objects (cell phone and weapons) and action.
	Invariability of character (they are all the same)	2	0	7	Long camera shots.

Table 7.10 Situation 5 frequency of themes

According to table 7.10, though neither spoken nor written language have been detected in situation 5, but some civilians have appeared using their cell phones to contact Mustafa who immediately took action after receiving their call. Keeping Iraqis mute helps emphasising the idea of alienation which helps locating them at the far ends of the DST D and M axes as out-group or Others. Aspects of cultural backwardness have been observed ten times through the use of clothes, posture, close-ups, means of transportation, and colour. While violence has been detected eight times (two times by civilians and six times by insurgents). Character invariability was recognized nine times (two by civilians and seven by insurgents) all through the use of long camera shots.

7.2.6. Situation 6

Situation six is the last situation of this film which depicts the last events that took place in Iraq. This situation is about the last mission achieved in Iraq by Chris and his SEAL team. In this situation, Mustafa is finally killed in an exceptional long-range sniping shot. In addition, the team, after Chris killed the enemy sniper, have been surrounded and attacked by dozens of insurgents who swarmed the place from many directions.

7.2.6.1. Language

Before launching the last mission by the SEAL team in the Shiite Sadr city, Master Chief Martin was describing the situation to the squad responsible for putting an end to the AQI sniper, Mustafa. The following short conversation has taken place, as in 7.71-7.76 below:

³⁷ Because interpreters have not been involved in this situation they are given 0.

7.71- Master chief Martin: the head-shed believe this T-wall here will help win the war by trapping **the remaining AQI** behind it. Problem is the engineers building the thing are getting picked off by **a sniper** from deep behind the wall.

7.72- Chris: How deep?

7.73- Master chief Martin: roughly 1000 meters.

7.74- Chris: is it **Mustafa**?

8.75- Master chief Martin: Mu-who?

7.76- D: **A sniper** who killed our fucking friend, Biggles.

7.77- We just need **him** dead. We'll settle you six blocks north into **enemy territory** which will put you right under **the sniper's** nose when **he** takes his shot.



Still 7.59 at (1:36:32)

Master Chief Martin (still 7.59 above) is talking to Chris and his team about the danger his engineers are facing when installing the T-wall around Sadr city in Baghdad, stating that they are being targeted by enemy sniper. Still 7.59 shows Master Chief Martin with a map of Sadr city hung on a wall in front of him. He tells the SEAL team that "the remaining AQI" fighters are hiding in the Sadr city. The presence of AQI terrorists in the Shiite Sadr city is illogical and a flagrant misrepresentation, as we have discussed the political, social, and religious conditions in detail earlier in Chapter three. In 7.74 below Chris tells the Chief that the only sniper capable of long-range sniping shoots is Mustafa, the AQI sniper whose name is mentioned here for the fourth time throughout the film. In 7.77 above, Mustafa is referred to as "him" who is hiding in the Sadr city (the enemy territory) among "unmentioned" civilians.

In 7.78, below, a U.S. Ranger was warning the SEAL snipers not to shot anyone:

7.78- Ranger 1: **The streets are crawling.** Hold your fire.

In still 7.62, the prominence in the sentence 'the streets are crawling with insurgents' does not mean the word crawling itself, but rather the relationship conveyed by the

setting (the streets) to the actors (insurgents) and activity it encompasses (Langacker, 1991). The absence of an agent in 7.78 is used here to downplay the force the U.S. squad is facing. The use of the participle verb "crawling" also gives no importance to the Other in an undesirable way.

During their mission in the Sadr city, the SEAL team were keeping in touch with their headquarters. In 7.79, below, the headquarters, through available aerial images, warns the SEAL team of the "enemy" surrounding them from all directions:

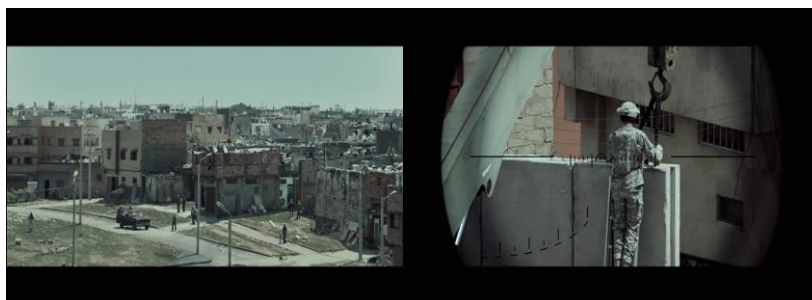
7.79- Headquarters: Echo 7 kilo, be advised you have **enemy** approaching all directions of your pos.

The word "enemy" has been used to describe the insurgents who were gathering to attack the SEAL team in a way to collectivise them. Some of the insurgents have been recognized uttering gibberish speech followed by the expression "Allah is great", as shown in 8.80 below:

7.80- Insurgents: (gibberish) ... (in Arabic) الله اكبر **Allah** is great.

7.2.6.2. Physical appearance

Situation 6 contains certain visual images rich with some semiotic resources used to depict certain themes. For instance, still 7.60, below, through a long camera shot shows a slum-like Sadr city with dozens of old crowded buildings, in addition to some insurgents who started to gather. The long camera shot is emphasising the idea of alienation and Otherness of those insurgents.



Still 7.60 at (1:40:13)

Still 7.61 at (01:40:57)

In still 7.61, viewer(s) can observe the back-side of a U.S. soldier who is mounting a ladder in order to attach a crane's hook into a T-wall block. Then, the soldier, who is seen through Mustafa's sniping rifle's scope, appears falling to his death after being shot by Mustafa. Viewers of still 7.61 can only evaluate this situation, since they are not receiving

the transfer of energy which was travelling from A (Mustafa) to P (the soldier) in a reciprocal agentive relationship similar to the one shown in figure 7.6 above (see subsection 7.2.4.2).



Still 7.62 at (1:44:06)

Still 7.63 at (1:45:25)

Still 7.64 at (1:45:49)

Stills 7.62-7.64, depict the attack launched by countless number of insurgents against Chris and his team who were positioned on top of a deserted building. The insurgents involved in the attack against the U.S. squad have been represented through the use of long camera shots in order to maintain collectivisation. They have also been briefly depicted in few medium and close up shots, only to show the unsymmetrical non-Western clothes they are wearing and the white and black keffiyehs they are covering their faces with. Actually, the insurgents have appeared in the last fighting scene, which lasted for about five minutes, fifty-three times in a way to stress overlexicalization necessary for evoking danger in the minds of viewers. The evoking of danger in the viewers' minds is also done through the use of agency which is shown, for instance, in still 7.64 above. This type of agency can be represented in figure 8.9 below:

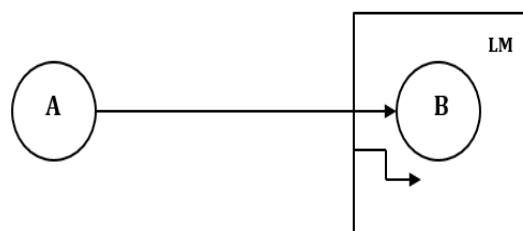


Figure 7.9 Agentive relationship (adopted from Hart, 2016)

Figure 7.9 shows the agentive relationship depicted in still 7.64 where several insurgents are storming into the deserted building in which the U.S. squad is positioned. The vector traveling from A (the insurgents) to P (the landmark LM) shows the direction of attack, while the small broken arrow illustrates the storming in effect the insurgents are

practicing. The flow of insurgents towards and into the building has been depicted in many stills to emphasise the sentence said by the U.S. Ranger in 7.78: "the streets are crawling". Therefore, we can say that the insurgents are definitely located at the far ends of the DST D and M axes as out-groups.

7.2.6.3. Religion and nationality

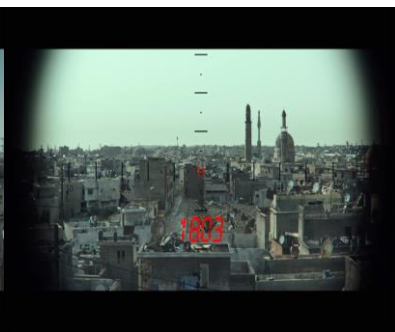
Finally, situation five has involved some indications to the Orientalist view about the Christianity-Islam rivalry through the use of visual images. For instance, when the U.S. squad, led by Chris, started their mission out of a U.S. Bagdad-based military camp (still 7.65), the U.S. armoured vehicles have appeared moving forward with a visible mosque minaret standing in distance.



Still 7.65 at (1:37:20)



Still 7.66 at (1:39:11)



Still 7.67 at (1:41:56)



Still 7.68 at (1:47:52)

As a matter of fact, the minaret has appeared twice with the camera focusing on it. Besides, different mosques minarets have reoccurred eighteen times in long, medium, and close camera shots as seen in stills 7.65-7.68, while Chris and his team were seen moving on top of a building, when Chris was using his binoculars, and when a U.S. Cobra attack helicopter was aiming its hellfire missiles. Moreover, as they started storming into the deserted building, the insurgents have been recognized shouting "Allah Akbar" as an attempt to reveal their religious identity.

Situation six can be illustrated in table 7.11 below:

Still No.	Functionalised patient(s)/agent (s)	Verbal individuation/ collectivisation	Cultural identification			
			Linguistic	physical	Environmental	religious
7.59-7.68	Insurgents.	A sniper, Mustafa, enemy, he.	Shouting and gibberish	Non-white, with unsymmetrical clothes and beards.	Dusty streets with littered rubbles and trash.	Minarets. Expressing Islamic motto.

Table 7.11 Situation 6 representation

According to table 7.11, all the Iraqis represented in situation 6 were functionalised as insurgents; no civilians have been discerned. Only Mustafa, the AQI sniper has been verbally individuated by his name; for the fourth time now. The remaining insurgents have been collectivised in a way to show the all the same through the use of nouns such as "enemy" and through metaphor such as "the streets are crawling". Linguistically, Mustafa, even though was filmed in different camera shots, including close-ups, but he was kept mute and never heard speaking a single word. However, the insurgents, though collectivised, have been heard uttering gibberish and heard saying some words to direct each other. As usual, the insurgents have been represented as non-white some with black beards dressed in unsymmetrical ragged clothes with black and white keffiyehs. The surrounding streets also were depicted littered with trash and rubbles and scattered burnt cars to draw attention to backwardness. As for the religious aspects, mosques minarets have been shown many times during the mission, in addition to some insurgents who have been heard shouting the Islamic exclamation "Allahu Akbar". Further details can be found in table 7.12 below:

Still No.	Stereotyping techniques	Frequency of theme			Semiotic resources employed
		Civilians	Interpreters	Insurgents	
7.59-7.68	The use of spoken/written language	0	0	2	Gibberish language
	Cultural backwardness	0	0	3	Objects (clothes), long and medium camera shots, colour.
	Violence	0	0	53	Objects (weapons), action
	Invariability of character (they are all the same)	0	0	53	Clothes, long camera shots.

Table 7.12 Situation 6 frequency of themes

It has been recognized that the insurgents depicted in situation 6 have been heard saying few guiding expressions and some gibberish language as they were running towards the building in which the U.S. squad positioned. Allowing the insurgents to say trivial

expressions and gibberish is a way to collectivise them and provide them with a vague nature. Insurgents have also been shown as backward collectivised individuals through the clothes they are wearing, long and medium camera shots, and the semiotic resource of colour as well. Insurgents have also been represented as violent with tendency to viciously attack the American troops and this has been shown through action and weapons. Eventually, the insurgents were depicted as invariable (or all the same) through clothes, and long camera shots. Even though Mustafa was shown few times in medium and close up camera shots, but he was not given a chance to speak a word; keeping him mute supplies him with an inhuman nature.

7.3. Summary

Chapter eight has thematically analysed the *American Sniper* (2014) film in accordance with the same cognitive framework employed to analyse both chapter seven and six. The analysis has included 70 different stills in which Iraqis were represented through language and other semiotic resources such as camera shots, colour, clothing, and so on. The *American Sniper* (2014) talks about the deadliest sniper in the history of American military, Chris Kyle and his SEAL team members. The team has been shown going through different situations in different Iraqi cities where they had to face many relentless insurgents. In this film, it is difficult to distinguish between Iraqi civilians, who have not been shown targeted by insurgents, except for Sheikh Al-Obeidi, who did not abide by the insurgents' instructions of not talking to the American troops. *American Sniper* (2014) have stressed the old Oriental view of Christianity-Islam rivalry through the use of different semiotic resources, especially the use of objects, language, and action (agency). The use of over-lexicalisation has also been observable in this film, i.e., through the successive repetition of the used resources.

Figure 7.10, below, shows the Frequency of themes with reference to represented social actors, i.e., Iraqi civilians, interpreters, and insurgents.

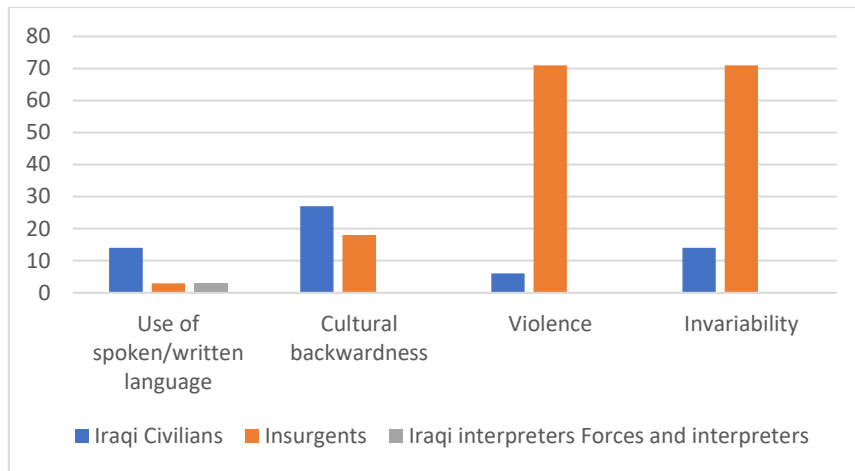


Figure 7.10 Frequency of themes with reference to represented social actors

According to figure 7.10, the Iraqi civilians have been given the chance to be humanised in some situations, as they are represented in the blue axis, whereas Iraqi interpreters have only been heard speaking in few situations. Similarly, the insurgents have only been trivially heard speaking in two situations, one of them was gibberish. Keeping insurgents muted supports the idea of dehumanisation they are shown with, in a way to depict them as all the same, i.e., as types not as individuals. In addition to spoken language, both Iraqi civilians and insurgents were depicted as culturally backward in several situations, while interpreters have been represented positively as long as they are cooperating with American troops. Despite the fact that all Iraqis were under suspicion of supporting insurgency, but insurgents have been drastically shown far more violent than civilians through violent actions and the use of weapons. However, a good deal of Iraqi civilians have been shown with invariable identity (all the same) through the use of clothing, and camera long shots; though all insurgents have been similarly represented with invariable characters, except Mustafa, the AQI sniper who was shown in many medium and close up camera shots, even though he was totally muted and has never been heard saying a word. Table 7.13, below, illustrates the total frequency of themes that occurred 227 times throughout the film.

The use of spoken language			Cultural backwardness			Violence			Non-variable characters (they are all the same)		
C	INT	INS	C	INT	INS	C	INT	INS	C	INT	INS
14	3	3	27	0	18	6	0	71	14	0	71
Total			227								

Table 7.13 Total of themes frequency

The reoccurring different themes shown in table 7.13 can be clarified in table 7.14 below:

Civilians			Interpreters						Insurgents		
61 (26.8 %)			3 (1.3%)						163 (71.8%)		
The use of spoken language			Cultural backwardness			Violence			Non-variable characters (they are all the same)		
C	INT	INS	C	INT	INS	C	INT	INS	C	INT	INS
6.1%	1.3%	1.3%	11.8%	0%	7.9%	2.6%	0%	31.2%	6.1%	0%	31.2%

Table 7.14 Themes percentages with reference to social actors

According to table 7.14, the majority of the stills analysed in this chapter have shown that insurgents have appeared more frequently in the film than civilians; they have appeared 163 times (i.e., 71.8%) versus 61 times (26.8%) for civilians. Hence, insurgents have been depicted as more violent and represented with more character invariability as shown in figure 7.12 above. Even though insurgents have appeared more than Iraqi civilians in the film, but civilians were shown more culturally backward (11.8% vs 7.9%). As for Iraqi interpreters, they have not been as negatively represented as Iraqi civilians and insurgents.

Moreover, it is significant to show what semiotic resources have been employed more than others to represent Iraqis in the *American Sniper* (2014) film. Table 7.15, below, illustrates the frequency of the different semiotic resources the *American Sniper* (2014) film has employed.

SITUATION	SEMIOTIC RESOURCES USED							Total of all resources
	Language	Object	Clothes	Action	Camera shot	colour	Pose	56
Situation 1	1	3	1	1	-	-	-	
Situation 2	1	2	-	3	1	-	-	
Situation 3	3	5	1	3	1	1	-	
Situation 4	3	2	2	-	2	1	1	
Situation 5	-	3	1	1	2	1	1	
Situation 6	1	2	1	1	3	1	-	
Total of each resource	9	17	6	9	9	4	2	

Table 7.15 Use of semiotic resources in *American Sniper* (2014)

According to table 7.15, the *American Sniper* has made use of objects (i.e., weapons, devises, trash, etc) more than other resources in order to maintain specific negative traits about Iraq and Iraqis. More details and clarifications are given in figure 7.11 below:

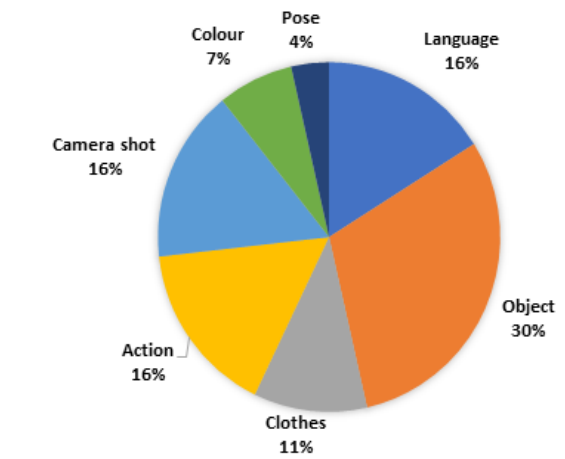


Figure 7.11 Frequency of semiotic resources in *American Sniper*

As shown in figure 7.11, the use of objects (30%) has surpassed the use of other semiotic resources, such as language (16%), action (16%), camera shots (16%), colour (7%), and pose (4%). Actually, the employment of objects has been used to evoke fear in the viewers' minds (e.g., showing severed heads and limbs, and weapons). Besides, action (or agency) (e.g., killing innocents with power drill, attacking with bombs) was the second semiotic resource that helped locate Iraqis at the far ends of DST D and M axes as out-groups.

Indeed, the *American Sniper* (2014) film makers have employed certain fear-evoking semiotic resources in order to represent Iraqis as insignificant, culturally backward and violently invariable people to maintain specific existing public opinions adopted by the Occident about the Orient. In this film, certain negative mental models have been created in the viewers' minds in order to justify war on Iraq. For instance, showing Iraqis as culturally-backward using some semiotic resources that indicate collectivisation and invariability such as long camera shots and violent actions. In addition, the old idea concerning Christianity-Islam rivalry has been frequently emphasised through the use of Objects such as Bible vs Koran and mosques. Besides, Iraqis have been shown as lacking the ability to stop the flow of foreign jihadists into their country by not representing any Iraqi security forces, who were only referred to as "fucking hajis" who need to be trained. This gives rise to the idea that Iraq is in urgent need of the help of a superpower, like the USA, to intervene in its affairs to enforce piece. Furthermore, representing powerless culturally backward violent Iraqis with no competent people to manage their affairs supports the held idea that Iraqis are too backward to govern themselves.

Chapter Eight

Conclusion and Discussion

8.1. Introduction

This chapter centres on the conclusions this study has reached after employing a multidisciplinary cognitive approach to tackle some selected films about the wars on Iraq. This chapter will provide succinct details about contribution and aims of study in (2.9.), revisit the research questions in order to illustrate how they have been operationalised (8.3.), highlight the use of semiotic resources in the filmic data (8.4.), discuss the three selected films (8.4.1-8.4.3) , discuss the findings of those films (8.5.), provide information on the limitations and challenges this study has confronted (8.10.), and, finally, state the potential for further research (8.11.).

8.2. Contribution and aims of study

In the field of CDA or CDS (Critical Discourse Studies) as some critical linguists prefer to name it), critical linguists have long been accused of being highly subjective, i.e. affected by their personal points of views when tackling certain domains of study. This thesis, by following a cognitive linguistic approach, have tried to gain a different perspective when dealing with 'unconventional' multimodal data such as the one provided by films. Indeed, to the best of my knowledge, the application of the cognitive linguistic approach is carried out for the first time to critically deal with filmic data in this thesis. In addition, I believe the framework employed in this thesis is well-suited for the development of CDA to encompass new data like films.

Taking into consideration (as discussed in previous studies earlier in 4.2) that the majority of critical linguists have paid more attention to the written form of language and, thus, have left the multimodal texts understudied, this study has attempted at incorporating CDA with Multimodality in order to realize a certain extent of comprehension of covert ideology through multimodal means. This study has shed light on the fact that multimodal texts can mainly be used, along with language, to represent some significant social events such as the concept of war in films and how the out-groups and ingroups are formulated via creating certain mental images and employing specific semiotic resources to evoke fear in the minds of viewers. Accordingly, we can assert that

this thesis has made a successful contribution to the domains of multimodal critical discourse analysis, as well as cognitive film theory on part of dealing with hidden ideology in filmic data.

8.3. Research questions revisited

It is relevant to reconsider the research questions germane to this study and how have they been operationalised throughout this thesis. The research questions previously discussed in the introductory chapter of this study are the following:

A. Primary methodological question:

How successful and practical can the socio-cognitive Multimodal discourse analysis approach designed for this study be in addressing both linguistic and non-linguistic modes of communication in filmic data?

B. Empirical questions:

The abovementioned Primary methodological question can help operationalize the following empirical research questions:

- 1- How do film makers employ certain semiotic resources to represent Iraqis to their audience in order to maintain existing public opinions?
- 2- How negative out-group mental models are constructed to justify the War on Iraq?
- 3- What semiotic resources play a role in the (re)production of the multimodal discourse of Iraq war films?
- 4- How hegemony-driven ideology is (re)constructed in such a way that it is condoned or naturalized?
- 5- Are the selected Iraq war films affected by the Oriental discourse utilised by Western governments and policymakers?

As a matter of fact, all these questions underlie one overarching main question, i.e., how successful and practical can the socio-cognitive Multimodal discourse analysis approach designed for this study be in addressing both linguistic and non-linguistic modes of communication in filmic data?

During the selected films, various semiotic resources, such as language, colour, clothes, etc., have been made use of by the films makers in order to maintain certain manipulated views on Iraq and Iraqis, especially through evoking some feelings of fear in the targeted audience of the films in question. These evoked feelings of fear have employed certain semiotic resources in order to villainize and simultaneously alienate the Other, i.e. through ascribing negative traits to Iraqis and positive traits to Americans through creating bad images about the Other and positive ones about US; the Americans. This study has also emphasised the use of some semiotic resources that contributed to the creation of multimodal discourse for the sake of naturalizing certain shared ideologies about the Other; in this study Iraqis. It has been concluded that the Iraq war films makers have been dependent upon or at least influenced by the concept of Orientalism (thoroughly discussed in chapter three) when representing the Other, i.e. Iraq and Iraqis, as well as Islam and Muslims.

8.4. Use of semiotic resources in the filmic data

The process of analysis has qualitatively and quantitatively emphasised and analysed certain themes and aspects that associated with the use of language, physical appearance, religion, and nationality, such as cultural backwardness, violence, and invariability of character. The outstanding themes and aspects that have been surveyed in the three selected films can now be discussed according to figure 8.1 below:

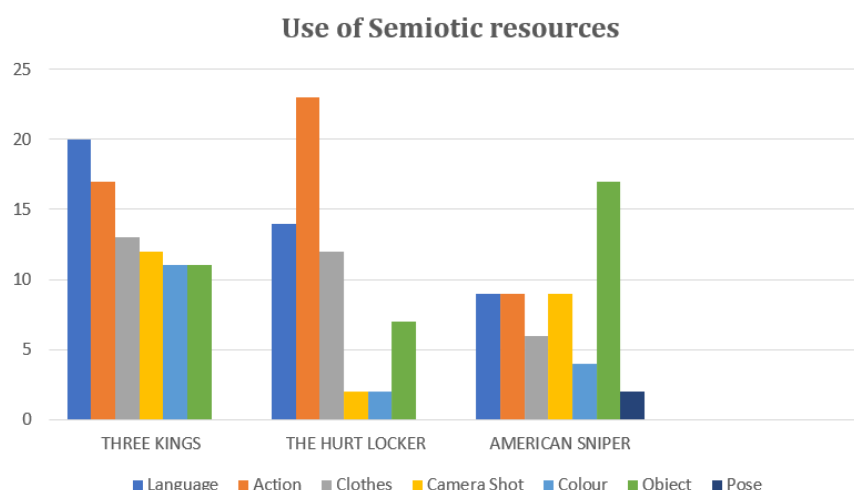


Figure 8.1 Use of semiotic resources

Figure 8.1 above illustrates the use of semiotic resources employed in the three films of *Three Kings* (1999), *The Hurt Locker* (2008), and *American Sniper* (2014) respectively. It can be observed from figure 9.1 that the semiotic resource of language in the *Three Kings*

has gone down in both *The Hurt Locker* and *American Sniper*. In other words, Iraqis have been given more chances to speak in the *Three Kings* than in *The Hurt Locker* and *American Sniper*; the use of language has obviously decreased in the other two films. Keeping in mind that the period of time during which the *Three Kings* was filmed is seven years, i.e., after the first Gulf War and four years before the second Gulf War. At that time the idea of saving Iraqis from their oppressive regime represented by Saddam Hussein had to be accentuated, hence, Iraqis have been shown as in need of urgent intervention to help them get rid of their misery. On the other hand, the situation in Iraq in the year 2008, which witnessed the apex of anti-American presence in Iraq, has required to represent Iraqis in a less appealing manner, and this is clear how language has decreased in *The Hurt Locker* while action (Iraqis are violent) has increased. In the *American Sniper*, when the U.S. troops began their withdrawal from Iraq, it can be observed that language have kept decreasing, while other semiotic resources have increased such as colour.

Figure 8.2., below, shows how the Oriental aspects used in the three films have been utilized:

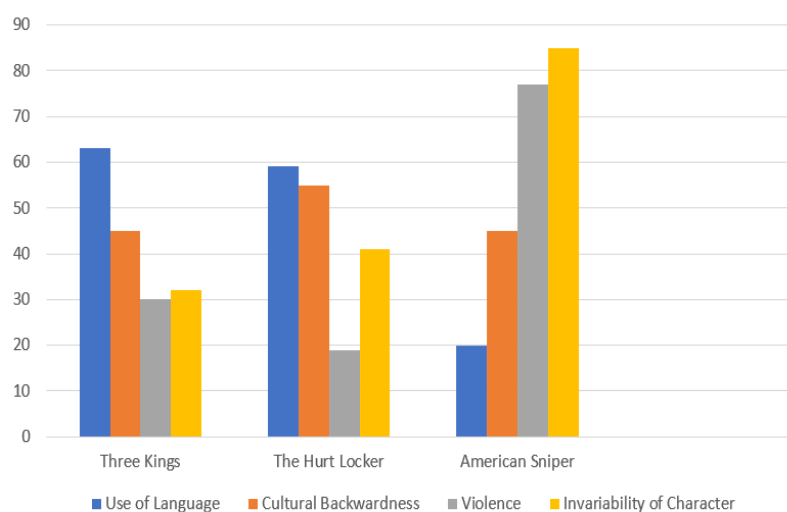


Figure 8.2 Oriental themes

In figure 8.2 the aspect of using language has gone down a little bit from the *Three Kings* to *The Hurt Locker* and reached its lowest level in the *American Sniper*. As for cultural backwardness it was present in the three films almost equally though it is shown more decreasing in *The Hurt Locker*. It can also be observed that the concept of violence has gone obviously up starting at its lowest level in the *Three Kings* and reaching its climax at the *American Sniper* (it is worth noting that the grey bar of violence in the case of the

Three Kings includes Iraqi Army and Rebels, if we remove the Iraqi Army and Republican Guard the Civilians will be shown barely violent). Finally, we can notice how the aspect of Character invariability has gradually gone up starting at its lowest level in the *Three Kings* and reached its top level in the *American Sniper*.

8.5. The negative out-group (the Other)

In the three films analysed in this study, Iraqis have been treated as out-group or (the Other) who are represented against a backdrop of US (the Americans or Westerners). In the three films, certain mental models have been emphasised using some identification techniques such as collectivisation/individuation and cultural identification. In the *Three Kings* films, the majority of Iraqis have been generically collectivised by making use of pronouns (e.g. he, she, they, etc) and nouns that suggest neutral function (e.g. the man, people, etc). Profanity was also used to avoid individuating Iraqis. 13.8% of the total words used to refer to Iraqis in the three selected films were profanity words, 16.9% of those words were suggesting violence and backwardness, the remaining 69.2% of the words were comprised of neutral words. As for the visual means of representation, in the *Three Kings* film, Iraqis have been depicted as non-white ragged-clothed people living in a barren desert with no running water and civil institutions to show their need for an external help. 52% of the language used by Iraqis in the *Three Kings* was related to the need for help. While the culprit who made all their suffering, Saddam Hussein, was negatively represented throughout the film both linguistically and visually (41.8% via spoken language) and (58.1% via visual means). Unlike the *Three Kings*, *The Hurt Locker* included noticeably fewer speech turns that involved Iraqis than the ones observed in the *Three Kings*. All insurgents in *The Hurt Locker* shared one characteristic, that is complete muting, i.e., no one of them has been observed to have said a single word, a murmur, or even making noise. The only Iraqis heard speaking up in *The Hurt Locker* were interpreters, a policeman, a little boy who only spoke offensively, a Professor who expressed his pleasure talking to Americans, and a desperate fooled suicide bomber. Only these heard speaking were dressed in Western clothes. In the *American Sniper*, on the other hand, only three characters have been heard speaking, the Sheikh who did not abide by the evacuation orders, the AQI leader who only uttered warnings, and the family man who turned to be an AQI supporter. In both *The Hurt Locker* and the *American Sniper*, a lot of visual overlexicalization examples have been detected, such as the rubbles and

trash-littered streets and the desert-like areas, to reflect an image of backwardness and a chaotic quagmire.

8.6. Mostly utilised semiotic resources

Despite the fact that language is considered the mostly used fundamental semiotic resource for communication in a myriad of domains but, in the three selected films, other semiotic resources have equalised and even surpassed language when it came to represent the Other. In the *Three Kings*, Language was the most frequently used semiotic resource in representing the Other Iraqis (24%) though visual action (agency) has been used nearly the same (20%). In *The Hurt Locker*, the use of language (23%) have been outpaced by action (visual agency) this time (39%), and even the use of clothes have come quite close to language (20%). In the *American Sniper*, the use of objects (30%) have come first among the other semiotic resources, and language had to share its second position with two other semiotic resources who were equally employed in the film. This time language, action, and camera shot(s) have all been used (16%). In conclusion, as far as representing the Other is concerned, other semiotic resources, rather than language, can be more frequently utilised than language itself, and this happens not because language has conceded its authority to other visual semiotic resources but representing the Other with other semiotic resources (e.g. clothes, colour, agency, etc) will situate them outside the borders of our territories and thus exclude them.

8.7. (Re)construction of hegemonic-driven discourse

Fiction films can be used to disseminate certain types of ideologies through the use of various semiotic resources such as language, objects, colour, etc. In the three films selected for this study, it has been observed that the Americans have been shown to be practicing the role of saviours of illiterate, backward, violent, and chaotic people, in this case Iraqis. In the *Three Kings*, for instance, the film starts with the Iraqis being described as civilians, rebels, and even 'Abduls' or 'towelheads' who are undergoing harsh treatment from their oppressive regime (Saddam Hussein). Their hapless situation had not been put to an end were not for the Americans' intervention which, in a sense, saved their lives by compromising the gold they obtained for their freedom. During the last film scenes Iraqis have been described as 'refugees' and 'innocents'. In *The Hurt Locker*, Iraqis have been shown as carefree ungrateful people who are not appreciating the efforts

exerted by the Americans to clear their IEDs-infested 'filthy' streets; without referring to the fact that Iraqis have not willingly chosen to be invaded by an exterior super power. Finally, in the *American Sniper*, Iraqis have further been demonised to have been shown as inhumane, as mothers do not mind having their little kids involved in a mortal combat against organised military forces. However, these mothers will not be described as 'freedom fighters' but as 'fucking bitches' instead. Another example is the family man who was adamant that he was not going to stop supporting the AQI fighters and making his family home as a store for weapons. It is worth stating that camera shots have played a great deal of significance in showing the agentive relationships that villainized Iraqis.

8.8. Institutional discourse and Orientalism

This section could be the most significant one to show how the strongly held Oriental discourse has long been influential when placing the Other on the outskirts of Our social distance. Indeed, Orientalism has been based on certain representational strategies that need mentioning once again:

- a. The use of non-Iraqi dialect and gibberish spoken language.
- b. Emphasizing cultural backwardness.
- c. Congenital violence (including violent religion).
- d. Lack of variability (they are all the same).

Throughout the three selected films, many characters that have chosen to perform Iraqi roles have failed to speak with a well-comprehended Iraqi Arabic. In other words, the film makers have refrained from hiring Iraqi actors to do Iraqi characters or at least consulting Iraqi speakers to teach those actors how to speak well-pronounced Iraqi words. This fact has extended to include the written form of language, i.e., some Jordanian street names have clumsily been shown to refer to Baghdad streets in *The Hurt Locker*, while the map obtained by the Three Kings showing Iraqi bunkers that contained the stolen Kuwaiti bullions has only contained gibberish language, and, last but not least, the Iraqi house numbers in the *American Sniper* were written in European style not Arabic, not regarding the Moroccan architecture of interior design. All these examples can be taken as marginalization techniques of depicting the 'insignificant' Other. In all the analysed films, gibberish and non-Iraqi Arabic has been largely detected, for instance, in the *Three Kings*, gibberish was observed 13 times (48.1%) while non-Iraqi Arabic was

14 times (51.8%) from a total of 27 words and expressions analysed. In *The Hurt Locker*, gibberish was recognized only once (3.4%), while non-Iraqi Arabic was observed 28 times (96.5%) from a total of 29 words and expressions analysed. Finally, in the *American Sniper*, gibberish was detected two times only (8.6%), while non-Iraqi Arabic appeared 21 times (91.3%) from a total of 23 words analysed. As for depicting Iraqis as culturally backward in the three films, in the *Three Kings*, from a total of 80 stills, Iraqis were shown as culturally backward (45 times), (60% for civilians and rebels) and (40% for the Iraqi Army). In *The Hurt Locker*, from a total of 79 stills, Iraqis were depicted as culturally backward (55 times), (93.7% for civilians) and (7.2% for insurgents). Whereas in the *American Sniper*, from a total of 68 stills, Iraqis were portrayed as culturally backward (45 times), (60% for civilians) and (40% for insurgents). This suggests that Iraqi civilians are very backward that they need to be reformed. Violent Iraqis was another significant theme that was discussed in the three films. In the *Three Kings*, out of 80 stills, Iraqis were shown as violent (24 times), (87.5% for Iraqi Army) and (12.2% for civilians and rebels). It is worth mentioning that the civilians and the rebels in the *Three Kings* have shown violence only in a state of self-defence. In *The Hurt Locker*, out of 79 stills, Iraqis have been depicted as violent 18 times, (50% for civilians) and (50% for insurgents). In the last film, *American Sniper*, from a total of 68 stills, Iraqis have been portrayed as violent 77 times, (92.2% for insurgents) and (7.7% for civilians). It is worth saying that in the *American Sniper*, Iraqi civilians were shown as too obscurely behaving that it was too hard to tell whether they cooperated with insurgents. Eventually, invariability of Iraqi Character (they are all the same) is another concept adopted from Orientalism to represent people. In the *Three Kings*, in a total of 80 stills, Iraqis have been shown as invariable 32 times, (46.8% for civilians and rebels) and (53.1% for Iraqi Army). In *The Hurt Locker*, in a total of 79 stills, Iraqis have been portrayed as invariable 42 times, (92.8% for civilians) and (7.1% for insurgents). Finally, in the *American Sniper*, in a total of 68 stills, Iraqis have been depicted as invariable 85 times, (16.4% for civilians) and (83.5% for insurgents). It has been recognized that in the *American Sniper*, all civilians have been shown to have links with insurgency.

8.8.1. *Three Kings* (1999)

The *Three Kings* film has been released in 1999, i.e., after eight years from the first Gulf war of 1991 and before only four years from the second Gulf war of 2003. It has been

concluded that the semiotic resource of language in *Three Kings* has been the highest among the other employed semiotic resources and techniques such as colour (13%), objects (13%), clothes (16%), action (20%), and camera shot (14%). The semiotic resource of language in the *Three Kings* has mainly been used to humanise the Iraqi civilians who underwent Saddam Hussein's oppression, but, on the other hand, language was used to villainize the Iraqi Army and Republican Army members. In the *Three Kings*, Iraqi civilians and rebels have been represented as non-white, dressed in ragged clothes, non-violent, and, above all, in need of exterior help to save them from their despotic government. As for the Iraqis religion (i.e., Islam), it has been represented as positive and non-violent through both language and objects. Even though 10% of the words used in the film contained profanity, but all of it was employed against the Iraqi Army which is shown as a persecuting and oppressive force. The environment, on the other hand, was shown as complete desert in a way to enhance the Oriental concept of backwardness. The environment was not represented through the use of language but rather the use of other semiotic resources, such as objects and colour.

8.8.2. *The Hurt Locker* (2008)

In *The Hurt Locker*, all Iraqis have been represented as non-white, except for the suspicious butcher who defied the evacuation orders. The majority were dressed in non-Western clothes. Besides, all Iraqis, except for the policeman and the hospitable Iraqi professor, were depicted as untrustworthy. Regarding the use of language in this film, 39 words have been used to refer to Iraqis, 10% of which contained profanity and racial expressions. As for Islam, it has been represented as a violent religion through the use of language and non-linguistic resources. Words, heard or written, have been employed in a negative sense to refer to Islam or Muslims. For instance, the semiotic resources of objects that associated with violent Islam have reoccurred frequently throughout the film in order to emphasis the Oriental idea of invariable violent Islam. The representation of environment was also manipulated to serve the oriental concept of backwardness. For instance, the Iraqi environment was envisaged as backward through the excessive use of objects such as trash, litter, rubbles, as well as colour. In addition to the non-linguistic semiotic resources, *The Hurt Locker* has made use of linguistic means to refer to the backward environment of Iraq by way of words which conveyed backward ideas such as "fucking desert".

8.8.3. *American Sniper* (2014)

Similar to the way Iraqis have been represented in the previous films, Iraqis have been represented as non-white with non-Western unsymmetrical clothes. Iraqis have been represented as untrustworthy backward people and they are all under suspicion. Iraqis have been linguistically referred to by using profanity (22.5% of the language used to refer to them). In addition, in the *American Sniper* film, Islam has been shown as a violent religion and was put in contrast to Christianity in a way to sustain the Oriental view of Christianity-Islam rivalry. For example, 52% of the language used to refer to Iraqis have indicated that Islam and Muslims are violent and cannot be changed. Also, 18% of the total words used to refer to Islam have supported the Christianity-Islam rivalry. Islam and Muslims have also been represented as violent through the use of non-linguistic semiotic resources, basically objects. For instance, 70% of the employed semiotic resources have shown that Islam is violent and there is a rivalry between Islam and Christianity. 52% of those resources emphasised the concept Islam is violent, while 18% stressed the Christianity-Islam rivalry. As for the Iraqi environment, it has been shown as backward through objects such as litter, trash, and rubbles.

8.9. Discussion of the findings

The findings of this thesis suggest that the film makers have employed certain semiotic resources for the purpose of maintaining specific existing public opinions. For Instance, in the *Three Kings* film the language used by Iraqis has reflected earnest requests by them for help through many expressions which directly reveal their demands for help. Accordingly, the Oriental concepts of backwardness and despotism were emphasised to justify the war on Iraq. Hence, the creation of out-group/in-group relationships was exhibited through a variety of semiotic resources. In conclusion, the oppressed Iraqis have been included in the in-group to sustain the idea of moral commitment towards them.

The Hurt Locker (2008), on the other hand, have shown Iraqis as backward chaotic people who are shown under suspicion. In order to justify the violence used against Iraqis in *The Hurt Locker*, Iraqis have been represented as incompetent violent people through the use of agency, objects, clothes, and camera shots. Unlike the *Three Kings*, *The Hurt Locker* has shown Islam as a violent religion which cannot be changed to harmonise with the Other.

Besides, in *The Hurt Locker*, only the characters who were related to the U.S. troops or those who expressed hospitality to them have been positively represented, as was the case with the Iraqi policeman and the university professor.

Eventually, the *American Sniper* has shown all Iraqis as untrustworthy, violent, and backward. Moreover, this film has stressed the Oriental concept of Christianity-Islam rivalry to justify intervention in Iraq.

In a nutshell, all the three films have been made in a such a way to sustain the Western views about the Other Orient in order to maintain certain established opinions through the use of different multimodal means.

8.10. Limitations and challenges

As previously stated in the introduction chapter, this thesis is limited to deal with only three Iraq War films due to two main reasons; firstly, it is not practically possible to analyse all the films produced about the Gulf Wars in a comprehensive way. Secondly, not all the films produced about the Iraq War has represented Iraqis in the way this study desires. As for the challenges, no academic study goes smoothly without certain difficulties and challenges. For instance, this study has faced some challenges when trying to adopt the right framework of analysis, choosing the excerpted stills, and when relating the analysable film stills with the theoretical part of this study.

8.11. Potential for further research

Actually, this thesis has highlighted how other semiotic resources can intermingle with the semiotic resource of language to emphasise certain states of affairs. It can also be stated that other potential for further research can be extended from this thesis. This study has focused on analysing the multimodal media of films as objectively as possible following the threefold cognitive linguistic approach it proposed. The data this study has analysed had to do with fiction films. However, other types of media, such as documentary films, TV reports, and even advertisements can be analysed relying on this cognitive linguistic approach. In other words, the framework designed in this thesis might be useful in analysing more complex and obscure types of racial representation in a variety of filmic data. Furthermore, a thematic qualitative analysis can encompass much greater data than the ones analysed in this study.

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