



استراتيجيات الاشارة في الايماء التماثلية بتعالقها مع تماثل العنصر الاجتماعي في لقاء حنان

الفتلاوي: دراسة تحليل خطاب نقدي

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تاريخ الاستلام : 2021-09-15

تاريخ القبول : 2021-09-22

ملخص البحث:

تتناول الدراسة الحالية سلوكيات الايماء و ترابطها مع المعالجة اللغوية و الفكر في الخطاب، و كيفية الاقتران في تشكيل التمثيل الادراكي-الاجتماعي للعنصر المجتمعي. كونها دراسة تحليل خطاب نقدي متعدد الوسائط، تعمل الدراسة على تشخيص التماثلات ضمن التفاعل المجتمعي، إذ يعمل فيها الكلام و الايماء على صناعة المعنى، كما تعمل الدراسة على الكشف عن الافكار و المضامين الكلامية التي تتضوي تحت الانماط اللغوية و ما يندرج معها من إيماءات تماثلية. تعمل الدراسة على الكشف عن طبيعة التعالق بين الايماءات التماثلية ( الايقونة، المجازية و الاشارية) و انماط لغوية محددة (تؤطر تمثيل العنصر المجتمعي ضمن قطبية نحن و هم) في كلام سياسي لحنان الفتلاوي في مقابلة على قناة الرشيد. يتناول حديث حنان الفتلاوي الخلاف مع العبادي (رئيس الوزراء السابق) ، و المسؤولين الكرد و اعضاء مجلس النواب، بصدد الادارة الفاشلة و القرارات الغير حكيمة. كجزء من متطلبات البحث، تنقضى الدراسة عن نوع العلاقة بين بنية الايماء و بنية الكلام و الوظائف التفاعلية التي يساهم بها كل من الوسائط في التفاعل بين المتخاطبين. توصلت الدراسة الى عدد من استراتيجيات الاشارة و الوظائف التفاعلية الناتجة عن التعالق بين الايماء و الكلام و مجموعة من المضامين الناتجة عن ذلك التعالق.

الكلمات المفتاحية: التماثلات - نقطة الانشاء - مقتضى الحال - القطبية.



## Referential Strategies of the Correlation between Representational Gestures and Representation of Social Actors in Al-Fatlawi's Interview. A CDA Study

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Receipt date: 2021-09-15

Date of acceptance: 2021-09-22

### Abstract

The present study deals with the gestural behavior in regard with linguistic manipulation and ideology in discourse, and how they work together to construct socio-cognitive representation of social actors. As a multimodal critical discourse analysis, the study seeks to diagnose representations in the communicative interaction in which gestures and speech function in meaning making, and to reveal the kind of ideas, absences and assumptions underlying the linguistic patterns expressed in speech and their associate representative gestures. The study works on uncovering the correlation between representational gestures (iconic, metaphoric and deictic) and specific linguistic patterns (circulating the representation of social actors with a polarization of *Us* and *Them*) in Al-Fatlawi's political speech (an interview on the channel of Al-Rasheed). Al-Fatlawi's talk tackles the contention with Al. Ibadi (former prime minister), the Kurdish senior officials and the Members of Parliament, about the bad administration and the unwise decisions. As part of the problem statement of the research, the study is supposed to explore the kind of relation between gestural structure and discursive structure and the communicative functions that each mode can contribute to the overall communicative interaction. The study comes out with a set of referential strategies and a set of communicative functions resulting from the correlation between gestures and their synchronized speech, and a set ideological attitudes resulting from that correlation.

Keywords: catchment, growth point, context model, polarization.



### 1- Introduction

Referential strategies, as far as the present study is concerned, are semiotic choices, embodying the organization of the representation of the social actors through gestural and discursive channels. The present study tackles the kind of correlation between gestures and speech in Al-Fatlawi's political speech, and how such correlation is manipulated through referential strategies characterizing the structures and functions of the linguistic and gestural encodings that can indicate underlying ideologies. The ideological polarization between in-groups and out-groups is the end focus of the CDA of the political speech in question, in line with the referential strategies that the study advances. Thus, a multimodal (audio-visual) CDA of the political speech in question is held to explore the referential strategies that constitute power relations and ideologies.

### 2- Statement of the Problem

The study works on uncovering the correlation between gestures and specific linguistic patterns, with reference to their communicative functions, starting with the notion that gestures during speech are not random. Cognitive Linguistics can be drawn on to explain why particular discursive and gestural referential strategies are used in political discourse, why they might be so effective, and to show some of the more subtle means by which certain discursive strategies are manifested in speech and effected in cognition.

Seeing that CDA has a sociopolitical and problem-oriented objectives, the focus of analysis is directed towards *Us/Them* contention (outgroup derogation and ingroup celebration) manifested in the political speech, downgrading (or omitting) negative properties of *Us* and rising negative properties of *Them*.

Up to the researcher's knowledge, currently, multimodal CDA studies focus on the relationship between speech and nonverbal modes of communication, including images, postures, etiquettes, etc., but little concern has been paid for the amalgamation between speech and its associate gestures in political speech and the correlation which is constrained throughout socio-cognitive factors, specifically in the Iraqi political speech. Thus, the present study is proposed to fill this gap.

### 3- Objectives of the Study



The study aims at:

- a- Examining instances of manipulation of linguistic and gestural structures in Al-Fatlawi's political speech.
- b- Understanding how the referential strategies of gesture and speech correlation affect interactions and how interactions affect this correlation.
- c- Discovering the underlying ideologies that are reproduced in patterns of self praise versus the invective of others.

### 3- The Research Questions

The study is an endeavor to answer the following questions:

- a- What are the referential strategies that build up the representation of the social actor?
- b- To what extent are gestures effective to the meaning of the utterance and what roles do gestures take?
- c- How does the gesture and speech correlation reflect the growth point model?
- d- How a catchment can contribute to the themes of discourse and to what extent can recurrent features of gestures reveal cohesive linkages in the text?
- e- What ideologies and attitude can be derived from the correlation between gestures and their synchronized speech.

### 4- Theoretical Framework

A fundamental strategy in political discourse analysis is the positive ingroup and negative outgroup description, organized by ideology. Speakers prefer to describe themselves positively and avoid a negative impression. Ideologies are a complex cognitive framework that controls the formation, transformation and application of social cognitions, such as norms, values, knowledge, attitudes and opinions, and social representations, and thus can be changed and adapted to new social and political situations. Ideologies tend to be polarized between *Us* and *Them* (i.e. ingroups and outgroups), representing *Our* social identity, goals, actions, norms, values, interests and resources; representing who we are, what we do, why we do it, how we (should or should not) do it, and what we do it for. In this respect, ideologies are the collective, basic mental self-schema of a group, consisting of information organized by these schematic categories. Forms of discursive power are of the persuasive type; the dominant groups tend to



conceal their ideology generally accepted as a natural or general system of norms, values, principles and goals which are selected, combined and applied. The power derived from ideological reproduction takes on a hegemonic form. Pronominal self-references may vary, depending on which reference group is most relevant for each argument, whereas principles of exclusion and inclusion reflect the strategies of power in the political process. The presence of rhetorical operations usually has persuasive functions, and therefore political significance in a political context of communication. (van Dijk, 2008, pp. 33-34, 2015, pp. 1-2).

Including and excluding referential strategies in this respect include: suppression, backgrounding, role allocation, objectivation, impersonalization, abstraction, personalization, assimilation, individualization, identification, functionalization, differentiation, anonymization, association, dissociation, specification, genericization, collectivization, aggregation, categorization, nomination and over-determination (van Leeuwen, 1996; 2008: ch. 2; van Dijk, 1997, pp. 34)

Representational gestures generally occur with speech and one of their defining features is that they represent something being talked about. Being global and synthetic, they can represent a character's motion, position and shape holistically while linguistic items represent information more selectively (e.g. motion alone might be expressed with a verb)( Parrill, 2008, p. 198).

In his account of the referential function of gestures, Calbris (2011, p.5) propounds that physical features of gestural expression have semiotic potential; he presents a model of how the representational activity of gesture functions when realizing this potential for conveying meaning during speech production and in liaison with it. His model assumes that a representational gesture is established by a mapping from a source domain (physical experience) to a target domain (notion).

The gestures to be tackled in this talk is of the representational type. Iconic gestures echo the content of the spoken message and present images of concrete entities and/or actions. Iconic gestures represent their meanings pictographically, in the sense that the gesture's form is conceptually related to the semantic content of the speech it accompanies. Metaphoric gestures can present images of the abstract. An abstract meaning, in a metaphoric gesture, is presented as form and/or space. Abstract pointing is a kind of metaphoric gesture, where space and a locus within it are used to present a non-spatial meaning. Speech and gesture are co-expressive in the



sense that they portray the same event, for various aspects of the gesture correspond to aspects of the event, but each articulate its own aspects of it. Iconic gestures perform a referential function, and look like the ideas and items to which they refer (McNeill 2005, pp. 38- 41).

## 5- Research Methodology

To be rigorous, replicable, transparent and retrievable in the methodology of the study, the researcher follows a quantitative method represented by frequency information of the recurrence of the thematically biased catchments, to be statistically approached to the polarized representation of the social actors. This is combined with qualitative method of the functional interpretation derived from the CDA of the data in question. Thus, the present study uses the mix approach method.

Data analysis follows a set of strategies, drawing on van Dijk's (2008) analytical framework of analysing political discourse and McNeill's (2005) catchment analysis that examines recurrent features of gestures in line with discourse theme. An overall frame of analysis is to tackle the structures, contextual properties and implications of discourse. The first section of analysis (for each extract) deals with the manipulative strategies of gestural and discursive effects, including structures of gestures, linguistic representation of the social actor, the contextual properties and the pragmatic inferences derived from gesture – speech correlation. The second section deals with the catchment analysis and their correlation to linguistic themes. The third section deals with the ideological attitudes derived from the manipulative discourse of gesture and speech correlation and how they function in constructing the representation of the social actors, the positive self presentation and negative other-presentation.

### 5-1 Sample Description

The interview is an Iraqi political speech by the former member of Iraqi parliament, Hanan Al-Fatlaei, exhibited on Al. Rasheed Channel, at the program of Al. Mashad. The video takes about 45 minutes, obtained from online source (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VsafhmiWir4>, published on Sep, 19, 2016). The selected extracts are associated with representational gestures.

### 5-2 Data Collection

The interview of Hana Al-Fatlawi is chosen purposefully for the topical organization that embodies contention among the speaker and other social actors, and that is in line with the aims



of the study. Sixty extracts are the sum of the intended data to have a correlation between representational gestures and their synchronized speech. The extracts are chosen to reflect the gestural correlation to discursive forms that construct identity reference of the polarized *Us/Them* representations. Extracts are associated with a number, timing on video by minute (M) and image (I) number. Words associated with gestures are written with bold.

## 6- Data Analysis and Interpretation

This section propounds the linguistic forms with their associate gesture and the set of attitudes derived from the correlation between the two modes. Thus, description and interpretation are presented on the following two sections, priming for plain answers to the questions of the study.

### 6-1 Linguistic Manipulation and Gestural Effect

The following table embodies the frequency of gestural structures that involve discursive-cognitive aspects of gesture and speech correlation: Form, Function and Contextual properties of the talk. Representational gestures involve three forms: iconic, metaphoric and deictic, and seven functions derived from the correlation between gestures and their associate speech: descriptive, indicative, emphatic, complementary, detailing, suggestive and anticipatory. Six aspects of the contextual properties are propounded:

- A- What a social actor is.
- B- What a social actor does.
- C- How a social actor acts.
- D- Where a social actor acts.
- E- When a social actor acts.
- F- What attitude a social actor reflects.



*Table 1:discursive-cognitive aspects of gesture and speech correlation: Form, Function and Contextual properties*

Discursive-cognitive aspects		Form			
		Iconic	metaphoric	deictic	Total
<i>Function</i>	Des	9, 12a, 12b, 16, 22a, 34, 35, 53	25		9
	Ind	2, 10, 20, 21, 23, 24a, 40, 41, 42	18, 39, 44, 48, 59	3, 6, 11, 19, 22b, 29, 31	21
	Emp	7,12c, 17, 24b, 26a, 26b, 28, 30, 37, 45,			11
	Com	1, 27, 36a, 50a, 50b	4		6
	Det	5, 8, 14, 24c, 32, 33, 36b,46, 51, 52, 54, 55, 57, 58, 60	15		16
	Sug	13, 49	38, 47, 56		5
	Ant		43		1
<i>Total</i>		49	12	7	68
<i>Contextual properties</i>	A	13, 16,22a, 23, 24c 40		22b	7
	B	10, 14,24a, 27, 32, 36b, 46, 51, 54, 58, 60			11
	C	5, 24b, 36a, 55,	4, 15, 43,		9



		57	44		
	D	2, 42	18	3, 6, 11, 19, 29, 31	9
	E	50a, 50b			2
	F	1, 7, 8, 9, 12a, 12b, 12c, 17, 20, 21, 26a, 26b, 28, 30, 33, 34, 35, 37, 41, 45, 49, 52, 53	25, 38, 39, 47, 48, 56 59		30
<i>Total</i>		49	12	8	68
		71%	17,5%	10%	

## 6-2 Gesture and speech correlation

This section is concerned with explaining the efficient strategies derived from the former section. The information in the former section is considered, but not necessarily referred to. Headlines depend the catchment of the growth point and their correlation to discourse themes.

Most of the gestures are formed with the left hand and this is due to physiological features, rather than semantic ones.

The following table embodies the frequency of referential strategies of thematically biased catchments with polarization of *Us, Them and Others*:

Table 2: strategies of thematically biased catchments (STBC)

Types of Gestures	STBC	Types of catchments	Social actor	US		Social actor	Them		Others	Total of catchments
				Praising	Derogating		Praising	Derogating		
Deictic	FP	FPL	We	11						1
	Ha	DHI	Iraqi	3, 6						



		people							6	
		LHI	We	22b		PP		19, 29		
		HPB				Officials' families		31		
Iconic and metaphoric	Orientation	EO	speaker	10		PM	21	24a	8	
						PP		18, 20		
						Al-Ubaidi		43		
		VO			Al-Ubaidi		55			
		EVO				PP		42		
	Incarceration	PHI	PP (presu)	22a		MP		12b	7	
		HCInc	Iraqi people	16		PP		23		
		CInc				PM				25
						Gov		44		
					media		59			
	Submission	ES	speaker	2		MP		39, 48	8	
		TS	speaker	1, 8						
		SubSA	Speaker	4, 15		Al. Allaq		36a		
	Simulation	MS				Al. Allaq		36b	15	
						Media		57, 58, 60, 32		
HWS					PM		33, 46			
					KRG		51, 53			
					Ibadi		54			
SAS		speaker	5	14	MP		24c, 27			
	KRG					52				
Symmetry	OS			9, 12a				2		
me	BM				PM		34, 35			



	LM				PM	40		4	
					Gov	41			
Relegation	RR	Iraqi people	30					5	
	SAR				KRG	24 b, 50a,50b			
					MP	28			
Emoticon	FSE				MP	38, 49, 56		5	
	EGE				MP	47			
	CFE	Speaker	13						
Reflection	CNR	speaker	12 c, 26 a			7, 17, 37,		7	
					MP	45			
	RNR				MP	26b			
Total			17	3		1	45	2	68
%			24, 6%	4%		1, 4%	67%	3%	

The following table outlines the frequency of linguistic representations (GOS) due to grammatical indications in the three talks.

Table 3: linguistic representations of social actors

Linguistic representation	# of items	Linguistic representation	# of items
Foregrounding	3	Individualization	2
Suppression		Collectivization	18
Pronouns	35	Aggregation	2
Nomination	10	Objectivation	9
Functionalization	7	Abstraction	1



Identification	5	Explicit dissimilation	5
Specification	4	Indetermination	13
Generalization	3	Association	1
Total of GOS	118		

Inclusion and exclusion strategies of representing social actors are highly affected by the intentions of the speaker and discourse themes. Eighteen referential strategies of linguistic representation of social actors are observed in the talk. Concealing the identity of the social actors can be achieved through six strategies: foregrounding, suppression, use of pronouns and indetermination, objectivation and abstraction. Use of pronouns takes the highest frequency among the grammatically oriented representations in all talks, rating 30% of the grammatically biased representations.

### 6-3 Ideologies and Power Relations

The speech tackles the state of corruption and failure to manage the government by the political parties, political blocs, and the government. An overall ideology derives from the talk is that most of the representatives (as well as the government) do not deserve the public's votes because they are incapacitated, and lead by corruptive blocs. The speaker manipulates the public's mind to guarantee the votes for the coming election campaigns. The speaker is presented with traits that her opponents lack and vice versa. The following attitudes are derived from the above mentioned analysis; they reflect the speaker's ideology.

1- Among the traits that the agent has and her opponents lack are:

- a. While her opponents lack honesty and sycophant, the agent (Hanan Al. Fatlawi) is honest and brave.
- b. While the agent represents the public through the number of votes she obtained in the elections or through her presence in the House of the Representatives, her opponents are not real representatives, being an empty episode in the community.
- c. The social actors (*Them*) are not ready to change their mind and they can not lead the country with their estrangement.



- 2- The speaker presents herself as active, moving in diverse direction to reveal corruption, while the speaker's opponents are presented as passive and incapacitated social actors, being paralyzed to perform their duties.
- 3- Thus, the speaker is sincere to her people and deserves to be elected in the coming elections, while the others (the government, the representatives, and the opposing media) do not show their sincerity to the public, and do not deserve the trust that the public bestowed to them.
- 4- Hana AL. Fatlawi is free to delimit the faults of others and has nothing personal against them; it is a big mistake that her opponents criticize her because they lose public's advocacy.
- 5- Political parties and blocs can not lead the country because they are sporadic.
- 6- The Kurds will never live in harmony with the Iraqi Government. It is taken for granted that the Iraqi government is entangled with the government of Kurdistan Region and should get rid of this correlation.
- 7- Al- Nijaifi is uncivilized social actor in manipulating political issues.
- 8- A criteria to assess the member is the number of votes he gets in the elections.
- 9- Al- Fatlawi is in position of defending the rights of *Us* and *Others*.

Among the set of ideas that construct the power relations between the social actors and the agent (Al-Fatlawi) who presents herself as rising over them.

- a- The government should listen to the agent and work according to her policy.
- b- The members of Parliament are incapacitated and should be on her side and yield to her policy. They should always be subordinate to her resolution.
- c- The public should trust the agent and bestow their votes to her because she is the real representative for them.

## 7- Results and Discussion

Meaning making is a reciprocation through correlation between the utterance meaning and the gesture meaning in line with contextual properties. Linguistic representation of a social actor is only one aspect of the construction of representation. It is integrated with the gestural and other contextual properties to build up the socio-cognitive construction of representation. The study has come up with a set of referential strategies derived from the correlation between



linguistic manipulation of representing social actors and the imagistic portraying of social identity. These strategies are the outset of thematically biased catchments among gestures, driven by a lingua-physical-imagistic schema. It is not the isomorphism between the shape of the gesture and the entity that is expressed by the gesture that specifies the imagery- language dialectic, but the set of interrelated schemas cognitively linked to the message content by the context model. Processing of representation takes five levels of social cognition: discourse, correlation, growth point, reproduction and representation.

The following is a discussion of the results that the study comes out with:

## 7-1 Deictic Gestures: Indication

### 7-1-1 Forefinger Pointing

One pointing gesture with left hand forefinger (FPL) indicate social actors' direction, I. 11 (in extracts 11). LH. forefinger points leftwards to indicate anonymised agent (who), referring indirectly with positive self-presentation, to the speaker herself.

### 7-1-2 Hand Indication

Three catchments are recognized in this respect: first, locational gestures that indicate distance (DHI) between the agent and the social actor, in images 3 and 6 (extracts 3 and 6). The agent in both cases indicate the speaker while the social actors in both cases indicate the public, with positive self-presentation. Second, gestures that indicate location (LHI) where social actors take actions, in images 19, 22b and 29 (extracts 19, 22 and 29). Third, a directional gesture of hand pointing backwards (HPB), image 31(extract 31), indicating the officials' families with negative sense. The correlation among catchments reflects the growth point in an imagery-language dialectic. The gesture in image 31 has much in concern with the catchments in Al. Ibadi discourse, in that backward indication burdens derogatory meaning.

## 7-2 Iconic and Metaphoric Gestures

### 7-2-1 Orientation

Drawing on the cognitive elements of image schema to describe the orientation of the gestures, three groups of gestures of this type can be observed in this speech:

- a- Extended landmark (EO): two groups are presented in this type: group A, with hands diverging, includes I. 10, I. 24a, I. 43 ( in extracts 10, 24 and 43); group B, with L. hand



sliding leftwards, includes I. 18, I. 20, I. 21 (in extracts (18, 20 and 21). In group A, I. 10 and I. 43 are identical, associated with the idea that the agent moves in diverse directions. I. 24a is constructed with catchment modification; the pre-stroke and the stroke phases are lower; it is associated with the idea that different agents move in diverse directions. In group B, I. 18 and 21 are identical and associated with social actors with positive sense (the public and representatives as brothers). I. 20, is constructed with catchment modification, the movement is in-between forwards and leftwards. It indicates the parties, with negative sense. A shift in thematic structure is associated with a shift in catchment structure.

- b- Vertical landmark (VO): one single gesture, I. 55 (in extract 55), is formed with raising hand, used with excluded social actor, indicating Al. Ubaidi with derogatory meaning.
- c- Extended – vertical landmark (EVO): one single gesture, I. 42 (in extract 42) is used with arcuate movement to indicate social actors in a holistic view.

#### 7-2-2 Incarceration

Three groups of gestures with incarceration catchment are recognized. Group A, I. 12b and I. 22a ( in extracts 12 and 22) are structured with paralleled hands (PHI) and indicate limits of group members ( *The State of Law* and *The House of representatives*), focusing on persona. Group B, I. 25, I. 44, I. 59 (in extract 25, 44 and 59) are structured with hand revolving in the space to indicate circulation (CInc) and limits of authorities, i.e., *the Relations committee, the Ministry* and *media*. Group C, I. 16, I. 23 a in extracts 16 and 23) are formed with handful catch (HCInc) and indicates group figuration of social actors .The association between catchments of each group reflects a schematic blending between linguistic topics and gestural structures.

#### 7-2-3 Submission

Three groups of submission catchments are presented in the talk: submission of thoughts (A), submission of talks (B), and submission of the agent's state (C). In group A, I. 2, I. 39, I. 48 (in extracts 2, 39, 48), the gesture starts with the pre-stroke, L. hand (I. 2 and 48) and both hands (I. 39) close to the temple (ES), then hand moves forwards, to give an impression of the submission of thoughts. In group B (I.1 and I. 8 extracts 1 and 8), the gesture starts with the pre-stroke, LH. fingers or both hands trundling under the chin, then hand(s) would move forwards to give an impression of the submission of talks (TS) with positive self-presentation. In group C, I. 4 and I. 15, I. 36a (in extracts 4 15 and 36a), the gesture starts with the pre-stroke, L. hand close to the



chest, then it moves forwards. The gestures are associated with states of affairs (SubSA) bravery, satisfaction and reform. The association among catchments shows that ideas of the same type are associated with gestures of the same features.

#### 7-2-4 Simulation

Three groups of simulation catchment can be shown this text: simulating (mimicking) a talking agents (MS), simulating an agent's behavior, and simulating a state of affairs. Group A involves I. 32, I. 36 b, I. 57, I. 58, I. 60 (in extracts 32, 36, 57, 58 and 60) and indicate derogatory sense of *Them*, Ali Al. Allaq in I. 36 and media in the rest. They all include social actors who speak ill of Al. Fatlawi and she simulates them with contempt. Association among the catchments reflects the cognitive framing of schema in the growth point.

Group B involves I. 33, I. 46, I. 51, I. 53, I. 54a (in extracts 33, 46, 51, I. 53 and 54) and indicate social actors making actions with hands (HWS): picking things up and throwing them, struggling, taking things, designing and typing respectively. This type involves *Them* (social actors: members of parliament, the Kurds and Al. Ibadi) with derogatory implications.

Group C involves I. 5, I. 14, , I. 24c, I. 27, I. 52 (extracts 5, 14, 24, 27, 52) with catchment depicting a state of affairs (SAS): hiding, making commotion, a change in situation, silencing one's speech and striking the body with disease, respectively. They involve negative situations.

Simulation gestures are mostly used to indicate negative actions of *Them* and associated with social actors being opponents to *Us*, i.e., the agent Hanan Al-Fatlawi (except in I. 14, though with negative meaning, it is attributed to the speaker).

#### 7-2-5 Symmetry

Symmetry catchment includes two gestures ( I. 9 and 12 a, in extracts 9 and 12), indicating the speaker's role in opposition (OS) to the representatives' role in the parliament. *Us/Them* distinction is manipulated by manifesting two opposing positions: posing *Us* on the bright side (*being active agent and questioning*), and posing *Them* on the dark side (*being incapacitated and inactive*).

#### 7-2-6 Measurement



Four gestures with measurement catchment are presented in this talk: I. 34, I. 35, I. 40, I. 41 ( in extracts 34, 35, 40 and 41). I. 34 and I.35 indicate measuring entities with belittlement meaning (BM), using forefinger-thumb measuring posture, while I. 40 and I. 41 indicate measuring the length of entities (LM) with derogatory sense.

#### 7-2-7 Relegation

Relegation catchment is associated with two groups: explicit negation (I. 24 b, I. 28 and I. 30 in extracts 24, 28 and 30) and implicit negation (I. 50 a, I. 50 b). Images 24 b, 50a and 50b are formed with L. hand in posture of sending away (SAR) and associated with the Kurds having negative situation against the Iraqi Government. I. 28 is constructed with both hands in posture of sending away, but associated to the dual nationals with negative sense. I. 30 is structured with LH. forefinger swinging, with refutation idea (RR), associated to the Iraqi citizens with positive sense.

#### 7-2-8 Emoticon

Emoticon catchment involves three types: A- face smiling (FSE), B- eyes gazing (EGE) and C- hand clenches into fist (CFE). type A involves gestures (I. 38, I. 49, I. 56, in extracts 38, 49 and 56) that implicate sarcasm of the members of parliament (PM). Type B (I. 47, in extract 47), indicating sharp looking, is also associates to the members of parliament with vitriol against them. Type C (I. 13, in extract 13) expresses strength and makes a comparison between the speaker and the members of parliament. All the gestures with emoticon catchment are associated with derogatory meaning and vitriol of *Them* (members of parliament).

#### 7-2-9 Reflection

Reflection catchment is related to gestures reflecting numeration. This includes counting with fingers (CNR) (type A) and writing uttered numbers (RNR) (type B). In group A, (I. 7, I. 12c, I. 17, I. 26a, I. 37, I. 45 (in extracts 7, 12, 17, 26, 37 and 45), two kinds of gestures are recognized in this catchment: number one with forefinger, indicating *Us* (the speaker) (I. 12c, I. 26a ) and reflecting plural numbers to indicate *Them* (I. 7, I. 17, I. 37) with negative other-presentation and *Others* (I. 45) with a defending position. In type B (I. 26b) the speaker inscribes the number he utters to emphasis the number of agents as members of parliament with derogatory meaning.

### 8- Conclusions



In the light of the findings in the interpretation and discussion of the data analysis of the present study, the following conclusions are derived:

- 1- The representation of the social actors is not merely constructed through a single linguistic reference, but through an integrative processing of correlations manipulated by the context model that constrains the construction of identity. It is the set of procedures cognitively processed with consideration of contextual properties of the speech event, involving lingua-imagistic correlation, constructing a growth point. The gesture and what it synchronizes have a role in constructing the representation of the social actor and have a role in categorizing the identity within a socio-cognitive frame of recognition. Gesture functions as a pragma-semantic property of discourse.. It is not the isomorphism between the shape of the gesture and the entity that is expressed by the gesture that specifies the imagery- language dialectic, but the set of interrelated schemas cognitively linked to the message content by the context model. Technically, no similarity is perceived between gestures and their correlative discourse chunks except in the case of simulation, but speakers cognitively relate between the two. Conceptual metaphor theory has a crucial role in explaining the way they correlate.
- 2- There are a set of referential strategies derived from the correlation between the gesture and speech. They include: indication, orientation, incarceration, submission, simulation, symmetry, measurement, relegation, emoticon and reflection.
- 3- Gestures can take the role of the linguistic expression in regard to the social actor. Gestures can have a pragmatic role in depicting the identity of the referent, what a referent does, how a referent acts, where a referent act, when a referent acts, and why a referent acts.
- 4- The study proposes eight types of function that gestures can achieve in a communicative interaction: descriptive, indicative, emphatic, complement-ary, detailing, suggestive, anticipatory and contradictive.
- 5- Gesture and speech correlation reflect a socio-cognitive perspective of language. Seeing that gestures recur with specific body part, such as right hand, or left hand, this embodies a physiological mapping that constrains gesture orientation and figuration. Gestural system of communication follows a physiological schematic trajectory that coincide with the thematic frame of discourse. So, three mental aspects meet to compose the thematically



biased catchment: linguistic schema, experimental (gestural) schema and physiological schema.

- 6- Communicative interaction involves a blending of two conceptual inputs: the first is linguistic while the other is gestural. The blending between them occurs as the context model links the two input spaces. Thus, the blending is not necessarily based on similarity between the inputs, but on the bridging that context model creates during online processing. Gestures follow the metaphoric expression of utterances rather than the metaphoric meaning. This shows that gestures and speech as material carrier correlate on the surface level of meaning.
- 7- Catchment analysis is not restricted to the description or the recurring features of gestures, because they are highly constrained by the context model of discourse, including the thematic meaning of discourse. So, imagery-language dialectic is constrained by the context model. Recurrent catchments of gestures, and their correlation to the thematic frame of discourse reflect a logical link between gestures and speech in an imagery-language dialectic. Catchment analysis of the recurring features shows that the speaker follows a lingua-physical-imagistic schema, formalized by a growth point.
- 8- The gesture and speech correlation affirms that social actors are of three axes: *Us*, *Them* and *Others*, i.e., a polarization of three aspects: praising of *Us*, derogating of *Them*, and defending of *Others*. Negative other presentation takes the loin's share among representations.

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#### Appendix A: Arabic Extracts with Translation

##### A- Social Actor: Hanan Al-Fatlawi

1- (1) منذ اليوم الأول لتشكيل الحكومة اعلنت اني سأكون معارضة. (M. 5: 40, I. 1)

T: *From the first day of forming the government, I declared that I will be an oppositionist.*

2- (2) حتى من السابق، انا ما كنت التزم بقرار كتلة اذا يمشي خلاف قناعاتي. (M. 6: 47, I. 2)

T: *Even in the past, I was not to commit myself to a bloc's resolution if it is contrary to my convictions.*

3- (3) هذه الفوارق بيننا و بين الآخرين. قريبين من جماهيرنا، نسمع منهم. (M. 8: 2, I. 3)

T: *These are the disparities between us and the others. We are so close to our people, and listen to them.*

4- (4) (نحن) شجعان بقول الحقيقة (M. 8: 6, I. 4).

T: *We are brave to say the truth.*

5- (5) لكن ما اضم رأسي تحت التراب و اجامل على حساب مصالح الناس. (M. 8: 16, I. 5 a & b)

T: *I do not hide my head in the soil and compliment at the expense of people's interests.*

6- (6) و استطعت اصل لأقصى بيوت في الريف. هذا يعني لست انا غلط (M. 9: 21, I. 6)



T: *I could reach the furthest houses in the rural area. This means that I am not wrong.*

7- (M. 11:19, I. 7) اولاً لم اكن وزيرة و لا وكيل وزير و لم يكن لدي اي صلاحيات، بالعكس (7)

T: *First, I was not a minister, nor a deputy minister and I did not have any authorities, the other way around.*

8- ليس هذا دوري. دور النائب، تعرفين ما هو دور النائب؟ النائب صوت الشعب. الناس الذي تحكيه، انا اكرر الذي (8) (M. 14: 39, I. 8 a & b) يحكوه، الناس الذي يريدوه، انا اقله.

T: *This is not my role. The role of the representative, you know what? The representative is the voice of the public. What the people say, I repeat what they say; I say what they want (me to say).*

9- (M. 15: 8, I. 9) بالتالي انا امامي خيارين: اما ان اكون رقم غير مرئي، لا لون و لا طعم، اما ان اكون رقم موجود يحسب له. (9)

T: *Hence, I have two choices: either to be unseen number, with no color and no taste, or to be present number, held accountable.*

10- (M. 23: 20, I. 10 a & b) النتيجة، كشفت كل الملفات (10)

T: *The result is that I have revealed all the files.*

11- اعطيني من سأل وزير النقل، اعطيني من سأل رئيس الوزراء بالطائرة الروسية. اعطيني من سأل بالطائرة (11) الالمانية. (M. 24: 13, I. 11)

T: *Show me who questioned the Minister of Petroleum, Show me who questioned the Prime Minister about the Russian airplane. Show me who questioned about the German airplane.*

12- ما في اليوم شكوى او اشكالية تثار من مواطن انا ما تبنيتها. استجواب، انا احد استجوابين. يعني مجلس النواب (12) بنصف كله و انا لوحدي بنصف. (M. 25: 8, I. 12 a, b & c)

T: *Today, no complaint or problem is raised by a citizen unless I adopt it. Interrogations, I make one of each two interrogations (i); I mean, the whole House of Representatives with a half (ii) , and I am alone (iii) with a half.*

13- انا صوتي واضح و منشور. صوتت ب "لا" و مسؤولة عنها و احكيها، و ما خانقة من احد. "لا، لا" خالص. (13) (M. 37: 10, I. 10)

T: *My sound is clear and disseminated. I voted "No", and I am responsible for this and say it plainly; I am not afraid of anyone. "No, no", that is it.*



14- انا ما عندي خلاف مطلق مع احد و لا عندي توافق مطلق مع احد. تمشي الامور صح تلقيني راضية على (14) (M. 43: 51, I. 14) الشخص، تمشي الامور غلط، تلقيني اول و احد يهوس ضده.

T: *I do not have utter dissidence with the person nor do I have utter agreement with the person. If things go well, you will find me satisfied with the person. If things go wrong, you will find me the first to make commotion against him.*

B- Social actor: Iraqi people

i- Inclusion

1- (M. 9:00, I. 15) ان اتوقع اني ارضي كل الناس بما فيهم الذين في قلوبهم مرض، معناها انا غلط. (15)

T: *If I expect that I can satisfy all the people, including those whose hearts are diseased, this means that I am wrong.*

2- (M. 9:11, I. 16) شوفي هذا كم قدر يصل لفئة، مدينة، اكثر من نصف طابعها ريفي، عشائري، مدينة فقيرة ما بها شيء. (16)

T: *You check, to what extent this (member) could reach a group, being more rural, tribal, poor city with no facilities.*

3- بالتالي الذي تريده الناس، الناس ما تريد كردستان تتصرف كأنها دولة مستقلة، الناس ما تريد كردستان تأخذ نفطنا و (17) نفتحها لها، الناس ما تريد من يوجب الطائفية، الناس ما تريد ساحات الاعتصام و الذل، الناس ما تريد هذه المسائل، الناس ما تريد من يظلمنا. (M. 14: 52, I. 17)

T: *Consequently, what people want, people do not want Kurdistan to behave as if they are independent country, people do not want Kurdistan to take our oil while their oil is for them, people do not want those who provoke sectarianism, people do not want the squares of sit-ins and lowness, people do not want these issues, people do not want those who persecute us.*

ii- Exclusion

4- تأسيس الحركة كان استجابة لحالة جماهيرية ولدتها حالة الاحباط من الاحزاب و الكتل السياسية الحالية و يمكن هذه (18) (M. 3: 28, I. 18 a & b) تلمسيها بسهولة في الشارع العراقي.

T: *The establishment of the movement was a reaction to a public state (of frustration) whereby people are frustrated from the present parties and political blocs. You can easily sense this in the Iraqi street.*

5- اليوم في حالة احباط من كل الاحزاب التي تصدت، بمقدار بنسب متفاوتة، من حركة، من حزب، من كتلة الى كتلة (19) (M. 3: 35, I. 19 a & b) اخرى.



T: *Today, there is a state of frustration from all the political parties who burdened responsibility, with proportions by varying degrees, from a movement, a party, from a bloc to another .*

C- Social actor: political parties, blocs, movements

ii. Inclusion

1- (20) (M. 5: 22, I. 20 a & b) كل الاحزاب السياسية عندها اخطاء.

T: *All political parties have committed mistakes.*

2- (21) (M. 5: 34, I. 21 a & b) اذا تسأليني رأيي، متابعتي مع اخواني في مجلس النواب، لا يوجد دولة قانون.

T: *If you ask me for my opinion, due to my follow up with my brothers in the House of Representatives, there is no State of Law.*

3- (22) دولة القانون في السابق كانت كتلة مترابطة موجودة، لها مواقف محددة، مواقف واضحة، نرفض، نقبل، نصوت، لا (22) .

T: *The State of Law was a real monolith (i), with specific situations, clear situations; we reject, agree, vote, do not vote, object, interrupt (ii).*

4- (23) (M. 6: 33, I. 23a & b) ما في شيء اسمه دولة قانون. في كتل، كتلة بدر، كتلة تنظيم العراق، كتلة مستقلون، كتلة حزب الدعوة (23)

T: *There is nothing called " State of Law ". There would be (i) blocs, (ii) Bader bloc, Iraq Organization bloc, Independent bloc, AL. Da'wa Party bloc.*

5- (24) نحكي عن قضية الاعتداء التركي مثلاً. تنقسم اللجنة الى ثلاث اطراف. التحالف الكردستاني ما يقبل واحد يزعل (24) (M. 29: 9, I. 24. a, b, c) تركيا. الاخوة في اتحاد القوى، يريدون يأخذون: "لا- نعم"، "لا- لا" بعضهم، التحالف الوطني....

T: *For example, we talk about the Turkish assault. The committee is divided into three (i) parties: the Kurdistan Alliance would not (ii) agree to displease Turkey. The brothers in the Union of Forces intend to take a position of "no-yes", "no-no" (iii). The National Alliance...*

6- (25) (M. 29: 45, I. 25 a & b) نفس الازمة. لجنة العلاقات مصغر للإشكالية الموجودة بين الكتل.

T: *The same crisis. The relations committee is a miniature for the issue among the blocs.*

7- (26) (M. 30: 11, I. 26 a & b) كتلة مكونة من ٩٠ و كتلة مكونة من ٦٠ و كتلة مكونة من ٣٥ و (26) ما يأتي واحد يحاسب كتلة مكونة من نفر و يترك كتلة مكونة من ٩٠. كتلة مكونة من ٣٣. اين مواقف هؤلاء.



T: *One can not hold accountable a bloc that consists of a person (i), and tolerate a bloc that consists of 90 (ii), a bloc that consists of 60, a bloc that consists of 53, and a bloc that consists of 33. Where are their situations?*

8- صامت) silent اما الآخرين حاسبي ابو التسعين، ابو الستين، ابو السبعين، ابو الثلاثين. لماذا لا يحكون . لماذا؟ (27) (M. 31: 4, I. 27 a & b) جاعليه )

T: *As for the others, hold accountable those with ninety, sixty, thirty. Why do not they talk. Why have they made it silent.*

D-Social Actor: senior officials

1- بعض النواب ينتمون لبعض الكتل، هو جزء من الحكومة و ينتقد الحكومة. هذه الازدواجية خطأ، غير موجودة في (28) (M. 5:54, I. 28 a & b). اي دولة في العالم.

T: *Some Representatives are member belong to some bloc; he is part of the government and criticize the government. This duality is wrong, not found in any state in the world.*

2- (29) (M. 7: 10, I. 29) مزدوجي الجنسية، عائلته بلندن، يداوم اسبوع هنا و انهى شهر بالخارج.

T: *Dual nationals, his family is in London; he works here for a week and goes abroad for a month.*

3- (30) (M. 7: 39, I. 30 a & b) ثلاثة ارباع تشكيلة حكومية هي ليست عراقية، هذا الشيء لا يقبله المواطن العراقي.

T: *Almost three quarters of the Cabinet are not Iraqi, and this is refused by the Iraqi citizens.*

4- (31) (M. 7:45, I. 31) كيف يمكن واحد يعيش معاناة الناس و عائلته متنعمة و برحاء تعيش في دول اخرى.

T: *How can one lives the sufferings of people and his family live in luxury in other countries.*

5- ما في اصلاحات و الدليل عندما كنت اقول الاصلاحات اكدوبة ما في فقط على الورق، كما تحكين، " تكرهيه و عندك (32) (M. 38: 14, I. 60) عداء معه".

T: *There have been no reforms, and the evidence for that was my saying that reforms are a mere lie, nothing, but writing on papers, and as you say: "You hate him, you have animosity against him.*

6- في غيري استلموا اكياس ملفات من ناس و رموها في البزول. نصبوا و ضحكوا على الناس. التالي، الناس كشفت (33) (M. 10: 35, I. 33 a & b) كذبه.

T: *Others, not me, received bags of files from people and threw them in the brooks. They deceived the people and made fun of them. Then people revealed his lie.*



7- (34) (M. 10: 43, I. 34). هؤلاء الذي يحكون لك هذا الحكي، واحدهم ما قدر يجلب له الفين صوت. (34)

T: *Those who tell you this speech, no one could get two thousand votes.*

8- (35) (M. 11: 1, I. 35). قياديين في حزب الدعوة، واحدهم ما جلب الف صوت لأن خلل بشخصه، خلل بأدائه، خلل بتواصله مع الناس. (35)

T: *Leaders in Al. Da'wa Party, no one could get a thousand votes because there is a blemish in his personality, a blemish in his performance, and a blemish in his communication with people.*

9- (36) الخلل في تواصله مع الناس. بدل من ان يعترف، و يحاول ان يصلح نفسه و يصلح خطأه و يرجع يعيد علاقته بناسه، (36) "حنان سوت كذا"، (M. 11: 9, I. 36 a & b) يجد مبررات،

T: *The defect is in his communication with people. Instead of his confession, trying to fix (i) himself, fix his faults, and reforms his relationship with his people, he finds justifications: "Hana (ii) has done such and such, Hana has done such and such".*

10- (37) في عندك ٣٠٠ نائب لا صوت و لا صورة. حباب مع كردستان، حباب مع متحدون، حباب مع التيار، حباب مع المجلس، حباب مع الدعوة، حباب مع الكل. لا تعرفيه، لا تعرفين اسمه، لا شفت طوله، لا سامعة صوته و لا له وجود (M. 13: 34, I. 37) بالشارع.

T: *You have 300 representatives with no voice and no image. Cute with Kurdistan, cute with The United, cute with The Taiyar, cute with The Council, cute with all. You do not know him, you do not know his name, you have not seen his height, have not heard his voice, and he has no existence in the street.*

11- (38) (M. 13: 52, I. 38) تريدني اكون من هذا النوع، ما مجبرة. انا لست واحد فارغ يبحث عن وظيفة و اتى لمجلس النواب.

T: *You want me to be of this kind, I am not obliged to be so. I am not somebody with free time, searching for a job, and came to the House of Representatives.*

12- (39) الآخرين يرفعون دعوى (ضدي) لأن تمسهم، لأن تتعارض مع مصالحهم، لأن تنتقديهم، ما يتحمل النقد لأن ما عنده (39) فكر ديمقراطي. (M. 14: 22, I. 39)

T: *The others bring an action (against me) because it affects them, because it goes against their interests, because you criticize them. He does not tolerate criticism because he lacks democratic ideology.*



13- (40) (M. 22: 44, I. 40 a & b) عددي لي انجازاتهم، بالله، و لازم ورقتك تصل من هنا الى الحائط، لان ٣٢٧ مقابل واحد.

T: *Count their achievements, for God sake, and your paper (ii) is supposed to extend from here to the wall, because we have 327 (representatives in opposition) to one.*

14- (41) (M. 22: 54, I. 41 a & b) من تجراً على استجواب وزير وزارة سيادية اسمها وزارة الدفاع؟

T: *Who dares to question a minister of a sovereign ministry called the Ministry of Defense?*

15- (42) (M. 22: 56, I. 42 a & b) تحرك على كل الكتل السياسية

T: *He worked on all the political blocs.*

16- (43) (M. 22: 58, I. 43 a & b) عنده امكانيات وزارة ما اوسعها و ما اكبرها.

T: *He has so extensive and so huge authorities of a ministry.*

17- (44) لا اقيمه كشخص لأنه ينبغي ان تكون عندي مجموعة وثائق و مجموعة تقارير حتى استند عليها حتى اقيم، لكن نقيم (44) (M. 26: 42, I. 44 a, b, c & d) كأداء وزارة.

T: *I do not assess him as a person because this requires a group of documents of reports to depend on for the purpose of assessing, but I assess him as ministry performance.*

18- (45) (M. 32: 22, I. 45) الاخوان في الكتل السنية، كثيراً يصير حديث معهم. يقولون نحن لا نستطيع ان نتواجه. كل الذي تقولونه صحيح. (45) (M. 32: 22, I. 45) ندرى انه يتمدد على الاراضي، ندرى يستولي على النفط، و ندرى بكذا و ندرى بكذا، بكلهن ندرى.

T: *The brothers in the Sunni blocs almost talk about it; they say "We are not able for the confrontation; all what you say is true. We know he is controlling our territories, we know that he is stealing the oil; we know about such and such; we know about these all.*

19- (46) (M. 44: 39, I. 46 a & b) النجيفي كان حاد متشنج اكثر من اللازم، بحيث خلق صدام مع كثير ناس و يشغل نفسه بأمر صغير. الجبوري (46) (M. 44: 39, I. 46 a & b) كونه قانوني، يتعامل مع القانون اكثر حرفية من النجيفي. ليس حاد و صدامي مثله.

T: *Al. Nijaiji was to some extent so quick tempered and tense that he made unnecessary confrontation with many people and he bothered about unimportant things. Al. Jiburi is not quick tempered and confrontational, because he is juristic and is more professional than Al. Nijaiji in dealing with law.*

20- (47) (M. 45: 27, I. 47) شركات الهاتف النقال نطلبهم من كم سنة صار. لماذا ساكتين عنهم؟ لماذا مجلس الوزراء يتخذ قرار يؤجل لهم تسديد (47) (M. 45: 27, I. 47) الاقساط المترتبة بدمتهم؟ لماذا؟ اسألي من هم الشركات و لمن مملوكة و انت تفهمين لماذا.



T: *Mobile phone companies owe us for some years. Why do they turn a blind eye to these companies? Why do the Council of Ministers decide to postpone paying the installments that they owe to the government? Why? Ask about the companies and who owns them and you will understand why.*

21- الوضع السياسي الداخلي العراقي، نفس الوجود، نفس الشخصيات، سيقفون بنفس التفكير، بنفس المنهج، بنفس (48) (M. 48: 24, I. 48) التعامل. ما راح تحل كثير من المشاكل.

T: *The internal Iraqi political status would be of the same faces, the same personae; they would remain with the same thinking, same policy, same way to deal with others. Many problems will not be solved.*

#### E- Social actor: The Kurds

1- تقولين لي مثلاً كردستان يأخذ أكثر من حقه و اسكت، انا ما اتيت في مجلس النواب حتى اسكت، ما اتيت حتى (49) (M. 14: 29, I. 49) يصفقون لي، ما اتيت حتى يرضى عني مسعود البرزاني.

T: *You tell me, for example, that Kurdistan take more than they deserve, and I keep silent! I have not come to the House of Representatives to keep silent. I have not come so that others would clap to me. I have not come so that Masood Barzani would be satisfied with me.*

2- اعطيني اي سنة عشنا ونام مع الاكراد، قبل ما تصير حنان الفتلاوي. ليس الآن من زمن المقبور (50) (M 15: 45, I. 50 a & b)

T: *Tell me, what year we lived in harmony with the Kurds, before (i) Hanan Al. Fatlawi's existence. Not now, that is from the time of the cursed (ii).*

3- اعطيني من سقوط النظام و الى الآن شيء ايجابي قدمه كردستان الى الدولة العراقية... اعطيني واحدة من السقوط و (51) (M. 33: 16, I. 51) لحد الآن. يأخذ، يأخذ، يأخذ.

T: *From the downfall of the regime till now, give me something positive that Kurdistan presented for the Iraqi State.... Give me one from the downfall till now. They take, take, take.*

4- المواطن يقول لك "أشبه حكومة الاقليم اشبه بالسرطان بالجسد العراقي". هذا السرطان اذا ما تستأصله، ما تطيب. (52) (M. 33: 21, I. 52)

T: *The citizen tells you: "I liken the Region Government (of Kurdistan) to the cancer in the Iraqi's body. If you do not take out this cancer, you would never get cured.*

#### F- Social actor: Al. Ibadi



1- (53) (M. 16: 3, I. 53) العبادي الذي فصل فصال، فصلوه فصال على ان يكون هو جيد و يحسن علاقته مع الكل

T: *Al. Ibadhi who was designed into a design; they designed him so that he would be good and improve his relation with all.*

2- اصلاحات على الفيسبوك كتبها حيدر العبادي. ما في على ارض الواقع. صار سنة و نصف. اين الاصلاحات. يكتب، (54) (M 34: 33, I. 54) يعرض صورته و يكتب على صفحته في الفيسبوك.

T: *Haider Al. Ibadhi wrote his reforms on the Facebook. Nothing is on ground. There has been a year and a half. Where are the reforms. He writes, posts his pictures, and writes on his page on Facebook.*

3- (55) (M. 35: 23, I. 55) هو ضحك علينا ام ضحك على الناس؟ وعود بالهواء؟

T: *Did he make fun of us, or did he make fun of the people? Promises in the air.*

4- (56) (M. 36: 30, I: 56) اي اصلاحات؟ مرة هو يعمل شيء و هم يعترضون عليه، و مرة هو ما عمل شيء حتى نقول ما ايدت

T: *What reforms? Once he does something and they object; once he does not do anything, so that we may say "she did not advocate".*

#### G- The social actor: the media

1- يعني ما نريد ان نتعامل مع مواطنينا بالسطحية، 'فلان بتصريحه اجج'. ليأتي يسلم نفظه و احرقوها لحنان، احرقوها (57) (M. 16: 28, I. 57) مثل ما احترق الكساسبة، احرقوها.

T: *That is, we do not want to deal with citizens superficially, "Mr. Such and such has kindled". Let him come and deliver his oil, and (you) burn Hanan, in the same way that Kasasba was burned, burn her.*

2- (58) (M. 21: 33, I. 58) هذه كلهن ننسهن. "ننسى و الله لك". لا تعيدن ما تسمعين من الآخرين. لا تعيديه.

T: *We forget all these. " We forget that you have". DO not repeat what you hear from others. Do not repeat.*

3- (59) (M. 24: 26, I. 59) آتي احاسبك كإعلامية وفق ما حدده لك دورك الاعلامي.

T: *I will hold you accountable, as a media professional, due to your media role.*

4- (60) (M. 28: 00, I. 60) تطلع لي بالأخبار بالعاجل "رئيس الوزراء يتلقى اتصالاً هاتفياً من اوغلوا، يسلم عليه و يردش معه".



T: I see in the breaking news: "the Prime Minister gets a long distance call from Oglu, saying hello and chats with him".

Appendix 2: Images of the Talk





12 b

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