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## A Critical Stylistic Analysis of Sectarianism in Newspaper Articles

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### ABSTRACT

After the decline of Saddam's regime, violence increased in Iraq, especially sectarian violence. The issue was reported in the media, including newspapers. Thus, this study achieves the concept of sectarianism in newspaper articles. The hallmark of the study focuses on how ideologically sectarianism is embedded in the text. Therefore, this study handles this concept throughout using the critical stylistic analysis. So, the ten tools by Jeffries (2010) are used. The aim of the study is describing the stylistic tools employed in the articles and identifying the most current stylistic tool the writer prefers to use. With the aid of critical stylistic tools, the researchers find out that Thomas L. Friedman wrote many articles concerning this concept in New York Times. This study includes "Obama's Iraq Inheritance" by Thomas Friedman in November 29, 2008 to be analyzed. It tackled Iraqi sectarianism when Obama became the President.

**Keywords:** Sectarianism, Racism, Critical stylistics, ideology , power, newspaper article

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### 1.1 Introduction

Critical stylistics is the portal that links language and text ideologically, (i.e.) how ideology operates in language. It gives a chance to the role of the writer\speaker to contrast ideological meaning. Therefore, critical stylistics provides the critical analysis of texts for extracting the underlying ideologies of the text (Kress 1985: 65, Jeffries 2010: 5-6).

Analyzing sectarian ideology in newspaper articles is not an easy task; thus most researchers engage subjective approaches to dissect this ideology. The present study grasps critical stylistics as an approach

to catch ideologies in newspaper articles objectively as it is based on a

set of functions or tools to be adopted in the analysis.

According to Avishai (2008:37), sectarianism is a confusion of politics with religion which for her, means that sectarianism is the employment of religion as a political tool by politicians and stated that sectarianism can be a kind of racism in the sense that some people view themselves as ideologically better than others; simultaneously it can lead to extremism when one group of people neither accepts nor compromises with the other. The key cause behind that is

the religious conflict in the region in addition to political, economic, and racial issues which play the basic role to rebirth sectarianism recently (Robinson et al, 2018:9).

Trofimov (2015:3) dissected that the significance of impact of sectarian tools is manipulated in that struggle because people will act or fight when it is said that your sect is no more under threat. Dealing with sectarianism as an obstacle towards national integration is the realm of taboos. So, some social sociologists tend to downplay the importance of sectarianism in their work. Sluglett and Farouk-Sluglett rejected the notion of an inter-communal, Sunni-Shiite conflict as a driving force of political life in modern Iraq (1978:79). Precisely, this study tries to answer the following questions:

1. What is (are) the stylistic tool(s) used in the selected articles?
2. What stylistic tools the writer prefers to use?

### 1.2. The Aims of the Study

This study aims at:

1. Describing the stylistic tools employed in the articles.
2. Identifying the most current stylistic tool the writer prefers to use.

### 1.3 Hypotheses

In relation to the aims mentioned above, it is hypothesized that:

1. Sectarianism is applied through a variety of stylistic tools.
2. The most dominant categories of stylistic tools are naming and describing and prioritizing which are employed by the writer in the articles.

## 2 Background

### 2.1 Sectarianism

Hoad (1996: 426) uncovers that sectarianism was related to sect and religion. Sect related to Church. So, it was important to know how they were different. Turner (2006:64) identifies four characteristics of a church: (1) a professional priesthood; (2) claims to universal domination, such as the elimination of ethnic or national barriers; (3) the rationalization of doctrine and rites; and (4) compulsory membership by birth, all of whom (whether believers or not) are subject to the church's charisma and discipline. Distinctive to a church is the separation of charisma from the person and its linkage instead to the institutional office (hierocracy), an office charisma (or grace) of which the church is the universal expression and trustee.

In the sociology of religion, this term (sectarianism) is used in a neutral fashion to denote the qualities of the sect form of religious organization. More commonly it is used to describe patterns of discrimination, dislike and conflict based on religious differences (Bruce and Yearley, 2006:293).

### 2.2 Sectarianism and Racism

Brewer (1992) tackles the two points (racism and sectarianism) by stating that the problem of racism is easier to comprehend because racism is ubiquitous and universal. Its status as a problem is also more easily recognizable because of the visibility of the social markers used to define group boundaries. Among analysts, greater effort has gone into describing the features of racism and explaining its origins. In contrast, sectarianism is more nebulous. Its social markers are more opaque and less deterministic, and are therefore much more context-

bound to the beliefs of the people involved (Brewer 1992:352).

Otherwise, sectarianism refers to the determination of actions, attitudes and practices by beliefs about religious difference, which results in their being invoked as the boundary marker to represent social stratification and conflict (Ibid:358-9).

### 2.3 Critical Stylistics

The study of female body in the dominant discourses by Jeffries (2007) led to uncover the term of "Critical Stylistics"(CS henceforth), when she tried to expose how language can constraint and prevail women in their lives (Tabbert, 2016:37). Jeffries (2007:15) explains that this approach tackled how the ideology of the creator can affect the text. In other word, all texts present ideologies (as propositions, assumptions or implications), so, it is a new way for interpreting text within ideologies and power (Ibid.).

CS combines characteristics of both critical discourse analysis (henceforth CDA) and stylistics to reveal how the writers reflect their ideologies and concepts in writing; therefore, CS tries to chain CDA and stylistics and fill the gap between them, when language is engaged in social relations of power and domination, which are non-obvious (Coffey ,2013: 30).

In that case, stylistics provides a list of tools, that are projected to be more comprehensive than any other account in the available body of work in critical discourse analysis, even though it is not necessarily totally complete. These tools, which are called 'textual conceptual functions', set the objective of reflecting the implicit ideologies created by the linguistic choices that the text producer makes. They outfit a

developed and more thorough system of methods, which critical discourse analysis lacks (Jeffries, 2010: 15-16).

## 3. Methodology

### 3.1 The Adopted Model

The present study is a critical stylistic analysis relying on adopting the textual conceptual model of Jeffries (2010). This model consists of ten tools (naming and describing, representing actions/events/states, equating and contrasting, exemplifying and enumerating, prioritizing, implying and assuming, negating, hypothesizing, presenting other's speech and thoughts, and representing time, space and society). These are known as critical stylistic tools.

### 3.2 Textual Conceptual Model

At the core of critical stylistics, there lies the notion that there is a level of meaning which sits somewhere between the systematic meaning and the contextual meaning of language. In other words, they represent Saussure's 'langue' and 'parole.' Within the level of contextual meaning, the text (or utterance) will employ language resources to show a certain view of the real-world or the fictional world in literature. It is this level of meaning that concerns the analysts to discover what the texts are doing in presenting the world. Here comes the role of textual conceptual functions that help to uncover the various types of meanings created by a certain type of texts (Jeffries, 2014:214)

To sum up, Jeffries states that textual conceptual functions with their tools might not be comprehensive, but they present a coherent model. Such a model is not restricted to these tools; tools of this kind can be added with keeping the basic model.

### 3.3 Critical Stylistic Tools

#### 3.3.1 Naming and Describing

This includes the choice of certain nouns among others available in the language to refer to an entity or a person, the package of more information into the noun groups (i.e., modification), and nominalization (i.e., the process in which verbal processes are transformed into nominals). These tools have potential ideological consequences in that they help indicate the attitude and the ideological evaluation of their users: the choice of nouns, for example, indicates the text producer's opinion towards the referent, while the parceling up of information by noun groups and nominalization makes certain information more likely to be assumed and less susceptible to debate (Jeffries, 2016:12).

#### 3.3.2 Representing Actions/Events/States

This textual- conceptual function represents the selection of transitivity. It shows the semantic function of a noun phrase concerning verbal elements. It reveals how a speaker or a writer expresses the situation according to actions, events, or states. In such a way, it aims to show who shoulders the responsibility of the resulted action (Ibid.:164).

#### 3.3.3 Equating and Contrasting

This tool refers to the use of similarity construction as it is represented by equating and opposition construction which is represented by contrasting. Both of equating and contrasting have certain syntactic triggers or linguistic realizations that identify them. However, in each case, these triggers are not definite ones and new triggers can be added (Jeffries, 2010:51).

#### 3.3.4 Implying and Assuming

Such tools involve presuppositions which are assumptions built into the text to build 'consensual' reality. These involve definite noun phrases which generate existential presuppositions; change of state verbs, factitive verbs, iterative, and comparatives to trigger logical presuppositions. Moreover, pragmatic tools include rhetorical questions, deictic and other space builders such as inclusive pronouns (Jeffries, 2016:153).

#### 3.3.5 Hypothesizing

Jeffries (2010:14-5) adds that modality selection is one way of detecting ideologies in a text by dealing with the hypothetical situations that modality presents. She admits that modality is one of the main functional systems used by Halliday (1985) in his description of language and it has been utilized in critical approaches intensively (Ibid.). In other words, Modality is excited through different features in the texts (modal auxiliaries, lexical verbs, modal adverbs or adjectives, conditional structures etc.) (Ibid.:118).

#### 3.3.6 Prioritizing

This tool includes devices through which the text producer can prioritize or downplay the content of utterances through passivation, clefting, and the like (Jeffries, 2010:88).

#### 3.3.7 Exemplifying and Enumerating

Exemplifying and enumerating are very closed and hard to differentiate. Therefore, the readers need to invoke "pragmatic inferencing" to identify them. The main difference between them is that when exemplifying presents in a text, the list is indicative, while with enumerating, the list in a text is comprehensive (Jeffries, 2016:164).

### 3. 3.8 Negating

Negating is the way of building non-existent worlds (specifically narrative) to promote and enhance an ideology, like fearing, desiring, or believing, for a reader. It evokes positive and negative reality (Jeffries, 2016:165).

### 3. 3.9 Representing Time, Space and Society

It shows how the text organizes its deictic center and draws the reader's attention towards that deictic center. In that way, a reader or hearer takes a view situation from within the text, and so they become more sensitive to textual ideology (Ibid.:166).

### 3. 3.10 Space, Time and Social Presentation

This tool of analysis deals with how the text producers construct the world in space, time and society dimensions and these are known as "text world theory". To access such dimensions, Jeffries relies on the model of deixis. The importance of deixis lies in the information that it yields a particular interpretation of a particular utterance in a particular context of a situation, on the contrary, the lack of this information yields misinterpretation (Abdul-Majeed, 2016:page). The potential behind deictic expressions is to highlight a certain time, place, and social circumstance. The speaker of a certain text in a certain time and place is presumed to be at the deictic center. The English language has the following main categories of deictic expressions:

1-Deictic of place which is expressed by the use of adverbs such as here and there; demonstrative such as this, that, those, and these, prepositional structures such as in front of, opposite to, etc.

2-Deictic of time which is expressed by adverbs now and then, verb tenses, demonstrative, adverbials later, earlier, etc.

3. Deictic of social which is expressed by title (Mr., DR.), and address forms (first name, nicknames, formal names).

### 3. 4 Methodological Procedures

This study applies the critical stylistic tools by Jeffries(2010) to invoke sectarianism in Iraq during the presence of U.S. troops. The following list illustrates:

1. Selecting the article "Obama's Iraq Inheritance" by Thomas L. Friedman in November 29, 2008.
2. The whole article will be analyzed according to the ten tools.
3. Uncovering the ideology behind using each tool.

### 4 Data Analysis

#### 4.1 Naming and Describing

After witnessing the victory of a Muslim leader, Obama is the president of the United States. Therefore, Iraq and its administration is one of his duties. The title of the article contains the noun "*Inheritance*" meaning that Iraq belongs to America and Obama can do his best to lead the U.S troops there.

Iraq is named by the nouns as "*government*", "*space*", and "*parliament*". Sunnis are also presented by the noun phrases "*the Sunni lawmaker*", "*Mithal al-Alusi*", and "*Iraqi Sunnis*". Shiites and Kurds are called by the proper noun "*Shiites*" and "*Kurds*". While the conflict is named by three nouns as "*Inheritance*", "*story*", and "*crime*". As well as, it is



presented by noun phrases as "visiting Israel", "press freedom", "freedom to travel", "independent judiciaries", "civil war", "social contract", and "a

different problem". The following table explains how naming choice is done in the article:

**Table (1) Naming and Triggers**

Force	Name	Triggers
Iraq	stable democratizing government Iraq, parliament the Iraqi geopolitical space the Iraqi political space	noun phrase noun noun phrase noun phrase
Sunnis	the Sunni lawmaker, Iraqi Sunnis Mithal al-Alusi Sunnis	noun phrase proper noun noun
Shiites	Shiites Iraqi Shiites	noun noun phrase
Kurds	Kurds	noun
Conflict	Inheritance, a story, crime visiting Israel press freedom, freedom to travel independent judiciaries withdrawal of American troops Shiite-Sunni civil war, social contract a different problem, an alleged crime	noun noun phrase noun phrase noun phrase noun phrase noun phrase noun phrase noun phrase

Metaphorically, the noun "inheritance" is used to describe Iraq as if Iraq is a thing that belongs to America not as an independent country. Also, the noun "a story" represents the picture of the Iraqi conflict, how parliaments see travelling to Israel at 2008? What is the new Iraqi constitution of travelling? Furthermore, adjectives used in the article as "democratizing", "geopolitical", and "political" all depict the properties of Iraq.

### **-Ideology and Power**

Using the noun "occupation" leads to use the noun "Inheritance". In this article, the writer insists on treating Iraq as a war trophy. In other words, Iraq belongs to America and under its control. Obama faces this inheritance differently because America lost too much in Iraq and the time for leaving. From other phase, the noun "

*Inheritance*" expresses the reality of how Iraq is. The inheritance symbolizes the heavy thing, the burden. The writer points out that Iraq carries a lot of troubles and difficulties for America, and Obama must act smart to reduce America's loss.

Furthermore, the adjectives that are used to describe Iraq indicate how the inheritance is. Using adjectives is to highlight the characteristics of Iraq improving that the author displays his hope of improving the situation in Iraq. In other words, Iraq can build a democratic state and compatible with all sects Shiites, Sunnis and Kurds.

### **4.2 Representing Action, Event, and States**

Since the article deals mainly with the conflict in Iraq when Obama became the President, the above analysis demonstrates that all proper nouns and noun phrases function as objects. In short, the article signposts

the outcomes of the Iraq war and what is the current state of Iraq, i.e. in 2008.

Concerning transitivity, it is observed through the verb voice and process types. Consequently, the conflict is obtained by the existential verb "is", the verbal verb "told", and material action supervision verbs "don't see", "tilt". While relational verbs like: "has", "become", and "is"

describe Iraq. Material action intention verbs term Iraqi politics positively, i.e., developments occurring in Iraq, such as freedom of the press, and negatively, i.e., the internal conflict between Iraq's sects in order to drive out the occupation forces, like "stroke", "committed", "promote", "caught", and "provoke". The following table clarifies what is mentioned above:

**Table (2) Transitivity and Verb Voice**

Process type	Active verb voice	Passive verb voice
Material action intention	strip had committed try to stroke can keep can write promote provoke caught ran have brought can take have to begin	be prosecuted delivered was dominated
Material action supervision	don't see tilt	
Relational possessive	has is stand	
Relational intensive	is may be become could become turn	
Verbalization	told	
Existential	is	

### **-Ideology and power**

Starting with the existential, verbal, and material verbs, they indicate that the writer exhibits his opinion concerning Iraq mainly in 2008 when America had started to leave. Then, he pushes that idea throughout the verb "don't see". In short, he describes the conflict by delivering the existential process as in "*Here's a story you don't*

*see very often*", i.e., the reality of press, constitution, and freedom there.

To justify the presence of the American troops in Iraq and the extent of their positive impact on Iraq as people and government, the writer uses material verbs to pronounce the extent to which he hopes that Iraq is able to

improve its situation and build a democratic government that embraces all components. Therefore, he places the responsibility for the bad situations that Iraq is experiencing in 2008 under the responsibility of the Iraqis themselves, not US forces. At the time, U.S troops had saved Iraq from the era of injustice and tyranny.

### 4.3 Equating and Opposition

Equating is another tool that used by Jeffries (2010), so it is indicated here by comparing the "2011 withdrawal of American troops" with "Al Qaeda". It means that both America and Al Qaeda have changed their direction and will leave Iraq.

Whilst, opposition is manipulated at the following:

a) *Intellectuals and parliamentarian.*

The article delivers a comparison between who are with Al-Alusi? And who are against him? In other words, there is a comparison between "intellectuals" and "parliamentarian".

b) *A 1950s-era law and Iraq's new Constitution.*

Travelling to Israel by the lawmaker was forbidden. This enhances that the improving of freedom in the Iraqi constitution between now and past. It is best for building a democratic and independent government.

c) *Iraq is a geopolitical space.*

The article merges between the power of Iraq before and after 2003. It was represented by the Baath Party which practiced the most brutal sanctions against the Shiites. While the occupation of Iraq after 2003, Iraq seems to possess the basics of freedom (freedom of opinion, freedom of life, religion and sect).

d) *He has to avoid giving Iraqi leaders the feeling that Bush did.*

The way of directing Iraq by Obama should be different from that of bush to minimize the loss of U.S troops in Iraq. No benefit of the occupation of Iraq.

### -Ideology and Power

It is noticeable that in this article, the writer talks positively towards Iraq. It is striking that the writer puts the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Iraq on one hand of the scale and al-Qaeda and the change of its orientations towards India on the other. This means that Iraq can rebuild an independent democratic government.

Four stations of oppositions are presented by the writer to emphasize the extent of the difference that would enhance the building of a different future for Iraq. The writer takes the advantage of the points of differences to show the positive side of what is happening in Iraq. Starting with the story of "visiting Israel", the author compares between the parliamentarian who refused Al-Alusi's visit to Israel and the intellectuals who supported Al-Alusi. This contradiction shows that freedom of expression has begun to appear between the authority and the publics.

This is connected with applying the new constitution of Iraq concerning the free travelling. The new one mirrors to the freedom of travelling of lawmakers and improving the constitution that fits the multi-sects country like Iraq. The writer mentions this comparison to show America's investigation in Iraq. In other words, America liberated Iraq from the shackles of Baathism to freedom and democracy. This is what America hopes.



What is mentioned above is enhanced by handling Iraq after and before 2003. The writer announces the picture of violence and tyranny against Shiites by the Ba'ath. Whilst after 2003, Iraq is witnessing a new era full of freedom, democracy and pluralism in everything, even pluralism in authority and politics.

Finally, the writer insists on comparing between the American presidents Bush and Obama. Bush gave Iraqis more freedom to sort the politics. Obama should not do like this to save U.S. troops losses. The writer

directs Obama thoughts to be smarter than Bush.

#### 4.4 Enumerating

Enumerating is presented mainly with two-part list, specially describing the reality of conflict in Iraq during 2008, like: "*the Sunni lawmaker, Mithal al-Alusi*", and "*committed and told*". There is only use of three-part list "*Kurds, Sunnis and Shiites*" that fits the number of Iraqi sects. The following table mirrors the multi-part lists used:

**Table (3) Multi-part lists**

Multi-part list	Words
Two-part list	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-the Sunni lawmaker, Mithal al-Alusi</li> <li>-committed and told</li> <li>-Kurdish and Arab</li> <li>-courage and press freedom</li> <li>-Chief Justice Medhat al-Mahmoud</li> <li>-Abdul-Sattar Bayrkdar, spokesman for the court</li> <li>-the expenses of the court and the defense counsel</li> <li>-politics and rule of law</li> <li>-consensual politics and independent judiciaries</li> <li>-write and live</li> <li>-execution and unrelenting</li> <li>-Iraqis and Americans</li> <li>-surge and backlash</li> <li>-stable democratic government</li> <li>-Iraqi political space</li> <li>-Iraqi newspaper Al-Umma al-Iraqiyya</li> </ul>
Three-part list	-Kurds, Sunnis and Shiites

#### -Ideology and Power

Since the basic function of enumerating is to elucidate the topic and the writer not sure and certain that Iraq will be improved after withdrawal of American troops, He insists on using the two-part list for exhibiting what he hopes. In other words, the writer catches that it is difficult to read the Iraqi scene, so he does not give many details about the reality of Iraq

because the prediction for the Iraqi future is unclear. The only exception is the three-part list "*Kurds, Sunnis and Shiites*". This impacts on the reader that Iraqis should live together, i.e., all the Iraqi sects must live under the ages of democratic government, otherwise chaos will prevail.

#### 4.5 Prioritizing

Prioritizing is another tool used by Jeffries (2010) to analyze texts. The

article exhibits mostly sentences with active voice and less with passive as mentioned in table (2). Whilst, subordination is handled here to function mainly as adjectival, twice as

object and complement and six times as adverbial. The following table mirrors subordination clauses used in the article:

**Table (4) Subordination**

Subordinate clause	Function
you don't see very often	adjectival
that it had no right	object
where independent judges would tell the government	adverbial
that although a 1950s-era law made traveling to Israel	object
it's reasonable	complement
that a decent outcome may still be possible	complement
which I believe is one reason	adverbial
those brave warriors who specialize in killing women	adjectival
where Kurds, Sunnis and Shiites	adjectival
that for the last three decades	adjectival
which did so at the cost	adjectival
that murdered tens of thousands of its own people	adjectival
that Barack Obama ran against	adjectival
because the current Constitution	adverbial
because the occupation has gone on too long	adverbial
because we have now committed to do so	adverbial
that Obama is inheriting	adjectival
where we have to begin	adverb
that Bush did	adjectival
that he'll wait forever	adverbial
that he is leaving tomorrow	complement
that decent Iraq take root	complement

### **-Ideology and Power**

Basically, the writer insists on use complexity at the level of the sentence and the element of the sentence. Subordination is displayed here in this article to mix between the main idea of how Iraq can be improved with justification throughout subordination. The writer manipulates the sentences and the method of forming ideas by placing more than one content in a sentence to convince the reader with the ideas he is trying to put forward.

### **4.6 Implying and Assuming**

Implying and assuming relate to the additional meaning of the sentence, the

article carries sentences that reflect additional meaning as the following:

#### *e) Obama's Iraq Inheritance*

Assuming is that American occupied Iraq. Then, it is implied that Iraq is a country that belongs to America.

#### *f) developing an independent judiciary is good news.*

This implies that the judiciary is not fair.

#### *g) If Iraq can keep improving - still uncertain - and become a place where Kurds, Sunnis and Shiites can write their own social contract and live*

*together with a modicum of stability.*

(Still uncertain) implies that Iraq is not improved till now.

*h) a reasonably stable democratizing government, though no doubt corrupt in places, can take root in the Iraqi political space.*

This implies that the government is not democratic and filled with corruption.

*i) The occupation has gone on too long.*

This assumes that there is occupation in Iraq and implied that now no need for this occupation.

### **-Ideology and Power**

Implying and Assuming are used to pass the real lined situation of Iraq in 2008. Therefore, the writer manipulates the word "*inheritance*" in the title to show that Iraq, as a country, belongs to America and the time for the new President (Obama) to catch it differently. While the phrase "*good news*" hints that the writer deliver his hope that Iraq would improve nearly. This impacts on the reader apparently that Iraq has improved, developed, and there is hope for building a democratic government in the shadow of the presence of the American troops. The writer craves to attribute good things to America. This means that America was preferred over the Iraqi people because it freed them from the control of Saddam regime. But Iraq maybe can live safely without sectarianism, as the writer's wish. Another evidence is the

phrase "*still uncertain*"; the writer apparently is willful to describe Iraq as a country can be independent and rebuild a democratic government by itself, then gives a hint that it may be impossible, i.e., "*still uncertain*". The writer is fond of putting sticks in the wheel. The same thing is with the words "*democratic*" and "*corrupt*".

Finally, the writer shifts to advise the new President Obama. The writer evaluates the occupation as if it has no value and it is the time for leaving. This impact on the reader that the role of U.S. troops is ended because now Iraq can do the best by itself, i.e., the writer deludes the reader that Iraq does not need the help of the American troops. At the same time, the withdrawal of American troops is caused by reducing the loss of the American army, since there is no benefit in contracting with a government that cannot manage itself.

### **4. 7 Hypothesizing through Modal Choices**

Modal choices links between the speaker's meaning and reality. So, the article matches probability, ability, and inability with Iraq improving. In other words, the Iraqi conflict between its sects is explained through using modal choices, like: "*may still be*", "*can't imagine*", and "*could not prosecute*". While the role of U.S. troops in Iraq and Obama thoughts are presented by the dynamic "*will*" to assert wishing. The following table lists all the modal choices:

**Table (5) Modal Choices**

Modal verb	Type	Meaning
may still be	epistemic	probability
may be	epistemic	probability
can't imagine	dynamic	inability
can keep	dynamic	ability

can write	dynamic	ability
can take	dynamic	ability
can pull	dynamic	ability
will play	dynamic	wishing
could be	dynamic	ability
could not prosecute	dynamic	inability
could become	dynamic	ability
could not only end	dynamic	inability
has to avoid	deontic	obligation
have to begin	deontic	obligation
would do	epistemic	hypothetical possibility
would tell	epistemic	hypothetical possibility
would defend	epistemic	hypothetical possibility

### -Ideology and Power

This article is colored by the modal verbs with different uses since the writer tries to mix between his wishes and reality. The writer intends to show the good side of Iraqi government, despite the sectarian conflicts that are taking place there. But these conflicts are translated through the use of modal verbs to reflect the reality of the existing conflict in Iraq and its impact on building a true democracy. The writer tends to use these verbs to lessen the negative impact that exists within the sectarian conflict in a more accepting way as *"it may be developing an independent judiciary"*.

Reversely, he mentions Obama and his wishing to be smarter than Bush, so he uses the modal "will" for

wishing to change, wishing for improving U.S. troops in Iraq to reduce losses.

### 4.8 Negation

Focusing on the positive side of Iraqi government under occupation needs some critical notes. Therefore, the article contains critical points that are found throughout negation. There are two types morphological and lexis. Iraq as a government is criticized by the morphological negation fourteen times, five times as "an adjective" and nine time as "an adverb". U.S. troops and the conflict in Iraq are handled with lexical negation eight times, once as "an adjective", twice as "noun", and six times as "verb". The following table manipulates negation:

**Table (6) Negation**

Negation	Type	Form
is not	morphology	adverb
could not	morphology	adverb
does not	morphology	adverb
has not	morphology	adverb
not suggesting	morphology	adverb
don't	morphology	adverb
no right	morphology	adverb
any	morphology	adverb
don't	morphology	adverb
uncertain	morphology	adjective
illegal	morphology	adjective

unconstitutional	morphology	adjective
unrelenting	morphology	adjective
defenseless	morphology	adjective
violence	lexis	noun
failed	lexis	verb
defeated	lexis	verb
withdrawal	lexis	noun
lack	lexis	verb
prevent	lexis	verb
back off	lexis	verb
punishable	lexis	adjective

### -Ideology and Power

The writer uses morphological negation directly to criticize the negative actions due to the conflict in Iraq, for example, he uses "no right" to enhance the conflict between the government and the new Iraqi constitution. While he invokes the lexical negation to focus on the result of the action, i.e., the result of conflict is described by lexical negation as "lack", and "back off". He puts this type to reduce the impact of bad image of the reality of Iraq reality on the reader.

### 4.9 Presenting Other's speech

Another tool used by Jeffries (2010) is using other's speech. There are three places which contain the other's speeches. The first is the speech of "*the Iraqi newspaper Al-Umma al-Iraqiyya*" accompanied by the verb "*carried*". The second is the speech of "*Chief Justice Medhat al-Mahmoud*" by the verb "*vacated*". The last is of "*Abdul-Sattar Bayrkdar*" with the verb "*told*". The following table lists them:

**Table (7) Other's speech**

Person	Verb
the Iraqi newspaper Al-Umma al-Iraqiyya	carried
Chief Justice Medhat al-Mahmoud	vacated
Abdul-Sattar Bayrkdar	told

### -Ideology and Power

To add a touch of truth or proof of evidence to what the writer claims, the writer intended to use three speeches indirectly to prove and clarify the sectarian conflict that exists in Iraq. The second and the third ones indicate the conflict between the visiting Israel and the new Iraqi constitution. While the first one shows the positive side of the Iraqi improvement under the occupation which is that the intellectuals defense free visiting, i.e.,

there is a hope to have a freedom for press.

### 4. 10 Presenting Time, Space, and Society

Many deixis mentioned here are straightforward except "*geopolitical space*" and "*democratizing government*" that refer to Iraq. And "President Bush", "Bush", "Barack Obama", and "Obama" reflect the President. Also, "*the Sunni lawmaker, Mithal al-Alusi*" catches the reference of Sunnis and "tomorrow" to near



future. The following table enhances what is mentioned above:

**Table (8) Deixis**

Deixis	Type	Referent
geopolitical space democratizing government	place	Iraq
President Bush Bush Barack Obama Obama	social	The President
the Sunni lawmaker, Mithal al-Alusi	social	Sunnis
tomorrow	time	future

### **-Ideology and power**

The writer used place deixis to refer to Iraq to insist on the feature of Iraq as a focal point for the Middle East and its impact on neighboring regions. While social deixis invoke that the writer at the beginning used the title "president" to name Bush officially. Then he mentioned "Bush" and "Obama" with zero title to give himself a power to advise them. This indicates that the writer has an authority to do so, and then he would impact on the reader to believe what he wrote.

### **5.1 Discussion and Conclusions**

The analysis exposes that the writer used the ten tools in this article to convey the ideology of sectarianism in Iraq during the American presence in Iraq (2003-2009). It is noticeable that the writer tended to use naming, enumerating (the two-part lists), prioritizing (active voice and subordination), modal verbs, and negation (morphological and lexical) rather than the rest.

The writer dealt with the issue of sectarian conflict in Iraq, as Obama took over the presidency of America. As if the writer wanted to hold Obama responsible for changing the situation

in Iraq and limiting the loss of American troops in Iraq because sectarianism did not benefit America; that is clear when the writer said that *"I'm sure that Obama, whatever he said during the campaign, will play this smart."* The use of the adjective *"smart"* indicates that the writer gave himself the power to advise the president.

On the other phase, the writer justified the withdrawal of American troops throughout displaying that Iraq could built a democratic government and Shiites, Sunnis, and Kurds can live together, i.e., there is stability and security in Iraq because of the presence of U.S. troops. Therefore, the writer used modal verbs to mirror this point as *"Kurds, Sunnis and Shiites can write their own social contract and live together with a modicum of stability"*.

Furthermore, sectarianism in Iraq during the presence of U.S. troops and how the writer evaluated that presence and their loss are delivered by naming, active voice, subordination, negation, modal verbs, deixis, other's speech, assuming and implying, three-part lists, and contrasting.

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