A multimodal study of the visual features in David Cameron’s apology for Bloody Sunday

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Abstract
This paper examines the visual features of the apology given by the previous British prime minister David Cameron (2010) for Bloody Sunday which took place in 1972. Cameron delivered his apology in the House of Commons in the presence of the members and the Speaker of the House of Commons. This apology was analysed according to Kress and van Leeuwen’s proposed analytical framework for multimodal analysis. The main focus of this study is on the gaze and gestures made by Cameron and which are significant in the meaning-making process. The gaze and the gestures could give the feeling of inferiority to the addressee or it could give the feelings of regret, remorse or shame or other meanings that the speaker wants to deliver. The video of Cameron’s apology was found on YouTube. The analysis of this apology should help other researchers to get a better understanding of the interpretation of the visual features that can be used by political leaders in delivering an apology. The analysis and the findings of this study can be used for further research by showing the researchers how multimodal analysis can be applied not only on political apologies but also on political speeches in general.

Keywords
Multimodal analysis, apologies, politics, gaze, gestures, visual features
1. Introduction

This paper analyses the visual features in the apology of the British prime minister David Cameron for Bloody Sunday which took place in 1972 (2010) according to the multimodal analytical framework proposed by Kress and van Leeuwen (2006). The medium is the YouTube video and the mode is multimodal. In the case of Cameron’s apology, some of the videos on YouTube did not bring the whole apology as there was a documentary being shown on TV at the same time Cameron was giving the apology. To solve this problem, other videos were selected about the same apology and was able to find a YouTube video which shows Cameron throughout the whole apology without showing a documentary at the same time. Multimodality is the best approach to look at this video as the visual features as the gaze and the gestures have a direct relation to the meaning the speaker is trying to convey. Moreover, the transcript of this apology was found on http://www.bbc.com/news/10322295. However, certain parts are edited as they are not compatible with the real speech. Cameron used certain features as gestures, gaze beside the language to give a meaning. By analysing these features, I can have a more wholistic picture and a better understanding of the meaning intended. Thus, the multimodal approach will be used to understand the meanings the speaker is trying to make.

Every speaker uses certain resources in the meaning-making process. The modes focused on in analysing the video of this apology are the gestures and the eye gaze. I have chosen these multiple modalities as they are the most relevant when it comes to analysing this video of Cameron’s apology. In this video, the interaction is between the speaker and the audience including those who are attending the apology delivery and those whom the apology is given to in the first place. Therefore, I looked at how combining these modes together can help in making a meaning which connects those who are interacting. Finally, it is important to state that the maker of the meaning in this video is the political leader himself; David Cameron. He is designing his speech in a way which will have good effect, bad effect or no effect on the audience.

2. Analytical framework:

Kress and van Leeuwen explain that “when we speak, we articulate our message not just with words, but through a complex interplay of speech-sound, of rhythm, of intonation; accompanied by facial expression, gesture and posture.” (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1998: 186). They took the three metafunctions that were proposed by Michael Halliday in his social semiotic theory and applied them in their analytical framework of analysing images. These three metafunctions are the ideational, the interpersonal and the textual metafunctions. Their main purpose was to realize these ideational, interpersonal and textual resources and to reshape the semiotic outline in what they call “the visual mode”. First, they defined the ideational metafunction “as the ability of semiotic systems to represent objects and
their relations in a world outside the representational system or in the
semiotic systems of a culture.” (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006: 47). Lately,
they used the term “participants” instead of “objects” or “elements”. They
explain more what they mean by the ideational metafunction or the
ideological metafunction by arguing that “visual structures do not simply
reproduce the structures of ‘reality’. On the contrary, they produce images
of reality which are bound up with the interests of the social institutions
within which the images are produced, circulated and read. They are
ideological. Visual structures are never merely formal: they have a deeply
important semantic dimension.” (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006: 47). In other
words, an image does not necessarily present reality but rather it can
represent a certain ideology intended by those who published the image
within a certain context. There is a meaning that is behind the image and by
which it aims to deliver. The gestures made by the speakers for example
have a meaning which they intend to deliver to the audience. Hence,
ideational metafunction can be defined as the different ways of representing
the interpersonal relations which will be explained further in the coming
paragraph.

Second, Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) spoke about “the
interpersonal metafunction”. It mainly focuses on “the interaction between
the producer and the viewer of the image.” (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006:
114). They also stated that “images (and other kinds of visual) involve two
kinds of participants, represented participants (the people, the places and
things depicted in images) and interactive participants (the people who
communicate with each other through images, the producers and viewers of
images)” (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006: 114). Moreover, they spoke about
three different kinds of relations. The first relation is that which is between
the represented participants. This kind of relation is not found in the video
studied in this paper. The second kind of relation is that which is between
the interactive and the represented participants. Also, this kind of relation is
not relevant to the context of the apology. The third kind of relation,
however, which is between the interactive participants themselves is the
main focus in this apology. They define this relation as “the things
interactive participants do to or for each other through images.” (Kress &
van Leeuwen, 2006: 114). For example, in Cameron’s apology, the
interactive participants could be Cameron or the British government on one
hand and the families of the victims of Bloody Sunday or the Irish people in
general on the other hand. Hence, the producer of the image is Cameron and
the viewers are the families or the Irish people in general. Finally, Kress and
van Leeuwen sum up the function of interactive participants by suggesting
that they are “real people who produce and make sense of images in the
context of social institutions which, to different degrees and in different ways, regulate what may be ‘said’ with images, how it should be said, and how it should be interpreted.” (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006: 114).

Third, Kress & van Leeuwen spoke about the textual metafunction or in other words, the function of the text accompanying other modes. When they spoke about the textual metafunction, they meant the written text which appears in the image or the video. In the case of Cameron’s apology, there is no text written in the video itself. It is delivered by the speaker.

3. Transcribing apologies:

This section is a report of the gaze and gestures which are related to the meaning the speaker is trying to make while delivering the apology. In these videos, they are trying to give a message which is apologising to a group of people and during this process, they combine the different modes that were mentioned before to help achieve the purpose for which they designed their speech. However, to put these modes on paper, I will have to transcribe them. For the analysis of the eye gaze, I used Goodwin’s (1986) proposed transcription for the gaze. Describing the relevant gestures will be written between brackets under the words uttered during the performance of the gesture. Bolden and Hepburn (2017) state that “no transcription of visible conduct, however detailed, will amount to a complete record of a video-recorded interaction.” (Bolden & Hepburn, 2017: 101). This is very important to highlight as the study offers a transcription of what is relevant to serve the meaning the speaker is trying to deliver or make but no complete or full record of the data can be transcribed. Goodwin (1986) draws a line to indicate that the gaze is directed towards another person. However, in Cameron’s apology, the line above the text indicates that his gaze is at the papers from which he is reading his apology or to indicate that the gaze is at the camera which stands for the viewers or the audience. The English commas above the text indicate that the speaker is looking at the audience. The Arabic commas above the text indicate that the speaker is looking at a specific addressee as the Speaker of the House of Commons.

3.1 Transcription conventions in David Cameron’s apology:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line above text</th>
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<tr>
<td>English commas above</td>
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<td>Arabic commas above</td>
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(Table mine, N. A.)
3.2 Gaze and gestures in Cameron’s apology:

First, I would like to describe the context of the apology given by David Cameron which can be accessed at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5e3VxZwjQ7g link on YouTube. He gave his apology for Bloody Sunday in the House of Commons. The members of the House of Commons are sitting behind him and in front of him and the Speaker of the House of Commons is sitting on the left side of Cameron at a higher position. Cameron is talking to many listeners and he is reading from papers in a formal occasion. Before analysing the significant gazes and gestures in Cameron’s apology, I would like to highlight a quote by Kress and van Leeuwen in which they said that “the participant’s gaze (and the gesture, if present) demands something from the viewer, demands that the viewer enter into some kind of imaginary relation with him or her” (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006: 118). In other words, the gaze could sometimes be directed to demand something from the other person or from the audience or it could be what Goodwin has called “gestural appreciation.”

The eye gaze can have a great effect on demanding support and preparing the audience for what will be said next. In line 1, Cameron withdraws his gaze by the end of saying “patriotic” from the papers to the audience. The moment he is gazing at the audience is accompanied by silence. This silence serves to give the feelings of patriotism accompanied by feelings of sadness. It is preparing the audience for something that will come that hurts him regarding his country. In line 2, he gazes again towards the audience and this gaze lasts as he says “who I believe to be the finest in the world”. Cameron is trying to get the audience involved in his speech and to give them feelings of patriotism by describing the British army as “the finest in the world” and the gaze here is an invitation to the audience to agree with him. The effect of that was immediate as there was a cheer in the House of Commons after saying that while gazing towards them. In figure 1 (see appendix), Cameron directs his gaze towards the audience and raises his eyebrows when he says “there is no doubt”. He is emphasizing on the clarity of the report and that the findings cannot be suspected by any means. His gaze towards the audience here serves to get them in the image as if he is answering the question that may arise in their heads about whether this report is sincere or there is some sort of doubt that may taint it. It is important to mention here what Majorie Harness Goodwin and Charles Goodwin (1986) stated about gaze when they said that “not all gaze withdrawal, however, indicates that a word search is happening; many other types of involvement can be indicated by gaze aversion – for example, gestural appreciation of the talk in progress” (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1980: 57). To elaborate more what is meant by a word search, Goodwin states that
“One way in which speaker may indicate the beginning of a word search is by withdrawing gaze from recipient. During the looking away speaker adopts a gesture which is recognizable in our culture as a thinking face, a gesture which embodies the activity of trying to remember a word” (Goodwin, 1983: 130). Some of the gazes made by Cameron serve to signalise respect to the audience and to get them involved in his speech. However, other gazes give a certain meaning especially when they are accompanied by silence or certain gestures.

Sometimes, the gaze is used to stress or emphasize something or to express emotions. In line 7, Cameron directs his gaze towards the audience when he says “unjustified and unjustifiable” to demand acceptance from the audience that the events of Bloody Sunday are not and cannot be justified. In figure 2 (see appendix), Cameron also raises his eyebrows when he says “unjustified” and “unjustifiable”. The raising of the eyebrows highlights the feelings of puzzlement or surprise regarding the findings of Lord Saville’s report. His gaze then moves between the audience when he says “it was wrong” to get them involved. By the end of saying “wrong”, he purses his lips together as it is shown in figure 3 (see appendix) to show his feelings of shame and regret for what happened.

The start of Cameron’s gaze in line 9 marks the beginning of a description of the situation of some of the victims. He shifts his gaze to the audience when he describes that those who were killed or injured were “going to the assistance of others”. It is as if he is describing them to the audience to draw their sympathy towards what happened on Bloody Sunday and to give a picture of how bloody the situation was. Cameron then lowers his eyelids and directs his gaze back to the papers when he says “who were dying” in line 10 to give a feeling of sadness. In lines 11 and 12, he directs his gaze towards the audience when he describes that one of those who were shot was “crawling away”. This gaze is a continuation to the previous one. It is as if Cameron is building an image in the head of the audience of how terrible the situation is. First, he gazes when he describes that some of them were going to the assistance of others and second, when he describes a person who was crawling away. Cameron is invoking the feelings of sympathy and remorse towards what happened by inviting the audience through his gaze to imagine the scene. He averts his gaze again in line 11 towards the audience and he settles his gaze on them when he describes another victim by saying “when he was lying mortally wounded”. Again, he seems to be inviting the members of the House of Commons to visualise of the brutality of the scene and to understand why what happened deserves a formal apology.

Moreover, in line 13, Cameron shifts his gaze to the audience when he talks about the father who was injured. He directs his gaze towards them when he says “after going to attend to his son”. Again, it serves the same purpose as mentioned before to describe the victims of Bloody Sunday and to
A multimodal study of the visual features in David Cameron’s apology for Bloody Sunday

Nermen Hamed Ahmed

show how unjustifiable it was. He is trying to get the audience involved by his gaze to share his feelings of sympathy and remorse.

After Cameron explains the findings of the report, he switches his speech to the Speaker of the House of Commons. In line 14, Cameron shifts his gaze towards the Speaker of the House of Commons sitting on his left in a higher position when he says “to read”. He is trying to get him involved in these shocking conclusions of Lord Saville’s report. In line 15, he directs his gaze towards the Speaker of the House of Commons again when he says “to say”. This gaze towards the Speaker of the House of Commons stresses the fact that reading and saying such findings are really hard and shocking for Cameron. Although Cameron continues to direct his words to the Speaker of the House of Commons, he shifts his gaze towards the audience and the gaze lasts when he says “the British army by defending the indefensible”. This gaze invites the audience to agree with him and to support him in that neither the Speaker of the House of Commons nor any of them would defend the British army for doing something wrong.

Similarly, in line 15, he directs his gaze towards the audience when he says “by hiding from the truth”. Cameron wants to emphasize that the truth about what happened on Bloody Sunday shouldn’t be hidden and he assumes by his gaze that they support him in that. In line 20, Cameron directs his gaze towards the Speaker of the House of Commons sitting on his left to stress again his purpose for giving this apology and that the events of Bloody Sunday are what made him deliver such speech. Finally, Cameron wants to show through his gaze and gestures in this part of his speech that what happened is not prone to any justification or excuses.

It can also be said that an eye gaze could serve to answer a question going in the head of the addressee. In line 21, Cameron directs his gaze towards the audience when he says “some people” to involve the audience as some of them might be from those people who wonder why he would give an apology after 40 years from the event. The next gaze starts in line 21 when he says “a prime minister needs to issue an apology”. He gazes towards the audience in case they were wondering why he as a prime minister is giving an apology after 40 years from Bloody Sunday.

Additional gestures could be used along with the gaze to stress on something intended by the speaker. Cameron’s gaze towards the audience in line 24 is accompanied by four beats on the table in front of him by his right hand. The first beat occurs when he says “what happened”, the second beat occurs when he says “never”, the third beat takes place when he says “ever” and the fourth beat occurs when he says “have happened”. The first two beats are accompanied by Cameron’s gaze towards the audience and the other two beats while he is reading from the papers. These beats serve to lay
more stress on the fact that the shooting that took place on Bloody Sunday is absolutely wrong. In lines 25 and 26, he directs his gaze towards the members of the House of Commons when he says “the hurt of that day and with a lifetime.” Cameron is trying to draw sympathy with the hurt of the families of those who were killed and that their loss is a lifetime loss. This gaze serves to tackle the emotions of those attending and also to tackle the emotions of the families of those victims who are watching the apology.

Finally, in lines 26 and 27, Cameron makes four beats by his right hand on the table in front of him. The fist beat occurs when he says “the government”, the second beat occurs when he says “is”, the third beat takes place when he says “ultimately” and the fourth beat occurs when he says “responsible”. These beats serve to show the complete responsibility of the government for what happened on this day. Also, in line 27, he directs his gaze towards the audience when he says “for that on behalf of the government” and when he says “on behalf of our country I am deeply sorry”. The purpose of the eye gaze here is to show feelings of responsibility and regret. It also makes the audience involved in sharing his feelings as they must be feeling sorry like him and for that, he apologizes on behalf of them and the whole country.

Moreover, gestures could give an idea about the context, background and the reason for using these gestures. This is what Mendoza- Denton and Jannedy clarified when they said that “contextual information about the political situation is transmitted through gesture” (Mendoza- Denton & Jannedy, 2011: 266). In line 31, Cameron makes a beat with his right hand on the desk when he says the word “conspiracy”. He is denying the presence of a conspiracy possibility behind the events of Bloody Sunday. He wants to stress that there is no conspiracy which decides the findings of this report. Before this beat, he raised his gaze from the papers and directed it to the audience in lines 30 and 31. In line 30, he directs his gaze to the audience when he says “clear in some of its other findings”. This gaze is a preparation for the audience. After explaining and clarifying the fact that the victims who were killed were unarmed and after clarifying that the events of Bloody Sunday were unjustifiable, he will now talk about the absence of a conspiracy which involves the British government or the British army. He also shifts his gaze from the papers to the audience and settles his gaze on them in lines 30 and 31 when he says “those looking for premeditation” and when he says “a plan” and when he says “those even looking for”. The gaze here serves to address those people who believe that there is some kind of conspiracy and he answers them by his gaze in line 32 when he says “they will not find it”. The gazes in line 30 and 31 is an address to this group of people who believe in conspiracy and their thoughts while the gaze in line 32 is an answer to their thoughts. In line 32, Cameron makes two beats when he says “senior politicians or senior members” to stress and emphasize that none of them is involved in these events. He also directs his gaze to the
A multimodal study of the visual features in David Cameron’s apology for Bloody Sunday

Nermén Hamed Ahmed

audience when he says “the events of Bloody Sunday” in line 33 and when he says “neither” in line 35 and “the use of unjustified lethal” in lines 35 and 36. Cameron is explaining that there was no use of unjustified lethal force from the side of the army or the British government on Bloody Sunday. The gazes in lines 33, 35 and 36 are clarifying what was said before about the absence of a conspiracy regarding the events of Bloody Sunday. They are extra evidence to support his previous claim. The gestures of Cameron and his directness of gaze towards the audience when he says certain units of talk support what Kress has said about modes and that gaze and gestures are interwoven and together they can make a meaning along with the mode of spoken language.

To demonstrate more about the function of gaze and gestures in Cameron’s speech, it has to be mentioned that Cameron organizes his speech with the gaze and the gestures in a way which aims to deliver a message. This was explained by Goodwin and Goodwin when they suggested that “the visual phenomena the speaker makes accessible to the recipient through the way in which he organizes gaze and gesture” (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1986: 64). For instance, in line 35, he directs his gaze to the audience when he says the word “justifying”. Cameron is trying to defend himself in case any one may think that his narration of the previous events that triggered Bloody Sunday events is some kind of justifying. He explains by his gaze that he is just narrating and explaining what happened previously to Bloody Sunday. This is supported by his two beats in line 38 when he says “should” and “background”. He makes a beat when he says “should” to explain that it is crucial to state the crimes that were committed against the British army and which was the spark that started the fire of Bloody Sunday. He makes another beat when he says “background” accompanied by a gaze towards the audience. Again, Cameron is demanding from the audience an involvement in the background events which included crimes against the British army. He also wants to highlight the fact that there are actions that preceded Bloody Sunday and which led in one way or another to the troubles or the insecure situation in Northern Ireland. In line 41, he directs his gaze to the audience when he says “officers killed in the city” to appeal to the emotions of the audience and to explain why these background events deserve to be mentioned. In lines 43 and 44, he also directs his gaze to the audience when he says “with nearly 500 people” to stress on the large number of people who were killed by whom Cameron called “terrorists” later in the apology. He also wants to put the audience in the scene by showing how bloody this year, 1972, was that nearly 500 people were killed. This was the same year in which the events of Bloody Sunday took place later.
Furthermore, the gestures, the eye gaze and the body movements give an indication of not only the incidents that happened in the past for which Cameron is giving the apology but also for the feelings intended to be delivered to the audience at the moment of giving the apology. This is what Goodwin and Goodwin explain when they say that “such visual phenomena make available not simply what happened in the past but what is happening at the moment” (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1986: 60). In line 45, Cameron shakes his head in a stressful and emphatic way when he says “also” to indicate that he is going to say a very important addition which is that the service of the British army in Northern Ireland can’t be minimized to the events of Bloody Sunday as they have served in other ways as he explains in line 48. Moreover, it is to be noted that when he says “British” in lines 46 and 47 he directs his gaze to the audience and in the second time his gaze extends as he says “British military”. Again, Cameron is reminding the members of the House and the people of Northern Ireland that the British military has served in Northern Ireland effectively. This is supported even more by his gaze in line 48 as he directs his gaze to the audience when he mentions the number of those who served in Northern Ireland and who were over 250 thousand people. A question may arise inside the audience in the House or who are watching his apology outside the House about why this number of British soldiers served there. Cameron answers them by his gaze in lines 49 and 50 when he says “enormous”, “democracy and the rule of law” and in line 51 when he says “peaceful politics”. The gaze accompanied by these words to the audience can be considered as a gentle reminder of why over 250 thousand people were serving in Northern Ireland. To stress more the fact that not all the British soldiers are to be taken by the killings that some of them have committed on Bloody Sunday, he starts to talk about the sacrifices that the British army has done there by directing his gaze and using certain gestures while saying specific units of talk. For instance, in line 52, he directs his gaze again to the audience when he says “thousand members, a thousand” and when he says “forces lost their lives”. This gaze here serves to get the audience emotional towards the British members of the security forces who lost their lives to maintain the democracy and the rule of law in Northern Ireland. At the beginning of the apology, Cameron used his gaze and gestures to provoke the emotions of the audience towards the victims of Bloody Sunday. Now, in this part of his apology, he uses his gaze direction and gestures to direct the emotions of the audience towards the soldiers of the British army who were killed in Northern Ireland during their service there. This can be seen in line 53 when his gaze towards the audience is accompanied by two beats on the desk. This combination of the gaze and the beats here serves to stress that no peace could have been maintained in Northern Ireland without the work of the British soldiers there. His gaze is still settled on the audience when he says “the peace process would not have happened” in line 53.
On the other hand, in line 54, there could be an avoidance of gaze by Cameron when he says “and I doubt that they made” referring to the mistakes that the British army could have made. This avoidance of gaze can be considered an avoidance of clash or unwanted reactions that may arise from the audience when he creates an angelic picture of the British army who served in Northern Ireland as he says “and I doubt that they made” referring to the idea that no mistakes were made on the side of the British soldiers who have served in Northern Ireland. Moreover, in line 55, there is a gaze directed towards the audience when he says “the immense” and when he says “to those who served”. By gazing towards the audience, Cameron is getting the customers to agree with him that all of them have extremely great gratitude to those who have served. Finally, this employment of gaze and gestures by Cameron can have the function of calming down the families of the victims of Bloody Sunday and the people of Northern Ireland in general who may be outraged even after going that far in delivering his apology by getting them emotional towards the British soldiers who have served in Northern Ireland.

Besides the function of the previous gazes and gestures in Cameron’s speech, they can also have the function of deciding the stance of the speaker from the events he is apologizing for. Mendoza-Denton and Jannedy put it clearly when they say “gestures play an important role for the naturalness of speech and for cuing speaker stance” (Mendoza-Denton & Jannedy, 2011: 291-292). In line 57, Cameron starts his speech by directing his speech and gaze towards the speaker of the House of commons and later on in the same line, he shifts his gaze to the audience. Cameron makes three beats with his hand on the desk when he says “a state should hold” to stress on the fact that they as a state should confess their mistakes in order to move on. In line 59, he directs his gaze towards the audience when he says “judge ourselves against the highest” and when he says “openness and frankness”. The gaze here is to get the attention of the audience and the British people that they should hold themselves accountable by admitting their mistakes and by judging themselves against the highest standards to be better and to avoid the mistakes that were made in the past. Also, he directs his gaze towards the audience when he says “openness and frankness” to stress the fact that they must be open and frank about the past mistakes and not to escape from them but rather try not to repeat them.

In line 60, Cameron shakes his head while gazing towards the audience when he says “however painful” to highlight that they should be frank about the past even if it is painful and that not because it is painful that it is to be disregarded. In the same line, he makes a beat on the desk when he says “weaker” while he is directing his gaze towards the audience. Cameron
wants to stress on the idea that the confessing of these painful past events do not make the British people or government weaker by any means. He makes a beat again on the desk when he says “stronger” to confirm the contrast of the weakness which results from the confessions of the past. These two beats are accompanied by a gaze directed towards the audience to involve them in what he is saying. In line 65, he nods his head when he says “can never” to confirm that there is no way to justify the bloody events that took place on Bloody Sunday and that he is not trying by any means to lessen the brutality of such events. He directs his gaze to the audience when he says “justified” to gain their acceptance and their alignment of not accepting or justifying the events of Bloody Sunday. In line 66, he makes a beat with his hand when he says “and no” to show that he as a prime minister will never equalize between those who defend democracy and those who fight democracy.

4. Conclusion:

Finally, the present study has shown that an apology can be offered to demand an acceptance from the target audience. Cameron’s apology included several gazes and gestures which enriched the meaning intended to be delivered to the audience. He raises his eyebrows, shakes his head, purses his lips together and makes several beats on the table while saying certain words to express sometimes his feelings of shame or regret and sometime to stress on certain points in his speech. He also shifts his gaze a lot between the papers and the audience to show that he is uncomfortable with what he has known about Bloody Sunday events and with the results of this report. His gestures are accompanied by a direct gaze towards the audience and other times by avoiding eye contact with the audience. These visual features do not have only one function throughout the whole apology but they have different functions related to the words he is saying. This apology has been approached from a multimodal perspective focusing on the visual features. Further research could be done on it using different approaches of linguistics to enhance more the results found in this paper.
A multimodal study of the visual features in David Cameron’s apology for Bloody Sunday

Nermen Hamed Ahmed

References:
Cameron, D. (2010, June). David Cameron’s apology for Bloody Sunday. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5e3VxZwjQ7g
- 281 -
Extract 1:

1. PM: I am deeply patriotic I never want to believe anything bad about our country

2. I never want to call into question the behavior of our soldiers and our army who I

3. believe to be the finest in the world

(Purses lips together)

4. And I have seen for myself the very difficult and dangerous circumstances in

5. which we ask our soldiers to serve but the conclusions of this report are absolutely

6. clear there is no doubt there is nothing equivocal there are no ambiguities

((raises his eyebrows))

7. what happened on Bloody Sunday was both unjustified and unjustifiable

((raises his eyebrows))

8. it was wrong
A multimodal study of the visual features in David Cameron’s apology for Bloody Sunday

Figure 1: Cameron raises his eyebrows when he says “there is no doubt”
Figure 2: Cameron raises his eyebrows when he says “unjustified” then goes to the rest position and raises his eyebrows again when he says “unjustifiable”

Figure 3: Cameron purses his lips together
A multimodal study of the visual features in David Cameron’s apology for Bloody Sunday

Extract 2:

9. **PM:** Lord Saville says that some of those killed or injured were clearly fleeing or going to the assistance of others who were dying the report refers to one person who was shot while crawling away from the soldiers another was shot in all probability when he was lying mortally wounded on the gound and the report refers to the father who was shot while attending to his son

Extract 3:

14. **PM:** Mr speaker these are shocking conclusions to read and shocking words to have to say but Mr speaker you do not defend the british army by defending the indefensible we do not honour all those who have served with such distinction in keeping the peace and upholding the rule of law in northern ireland by hiding from the truth there is no point in trying to soften or equivocate what is in this report it is clear from the tribunal’s authoritative conclusions that the events of Bloody Sunday were in no way justified

- 285 -
Extract 4:

21. **PM:** I know that some people wonder whether nearly 40 years on from an event a prime minister needs to issue an apology for someone of my generation bloody Sunday, and the early 1970s are something we feel we have learnt about rather than lived through but what happened should never ever have happened the families of those who died should not have had to live with the pain and the hurt of that day and with a lifetime of loss some members of our armed forces acted wrongly the government is ultimately responsible for the conduct of the armed forces and for that on behalf of the government indeed on behalf of our country I am deeply sorry.

Extract 5:

29. **PM:** Mr. Speaker just as this report is clear that the actions of that day were unjustifiable so too is it clear in some of its other findings. Those looking for premeditation

- 286 -
A multimodal study of the visual features in David Cameron’s apology for Bloody Sunday

31. those looking for a plan those even looking for a conspiracy involving

32. senior politicians or senior members of the armed forces they will not find it in this

33. report. Indeed, Lord Saville finds no evidence that the events of Bloody Sunday

34. were premeditated. He concludes that the United Kingdom and Northern Ireland

35. governments and the army neither tolerated nor encouraged the use of unjustified lethal force.

37. PM: Mr. Speaker while in no way justifying the events of January the 30th 1972 we

38. should acknowledge the background to the events of Bloody Sunday. Since 1969, the security situation in Northern Ireland have been declining significantly. Three

39. days before Bloody Sunday two RUC officers, one a catholic were shot by the IRA
in Londonderry. The first police officers killed in the city during the trouble. A

third of the city of Derry has become a no-go area for the RUC and the army and in

the end 1972 was to prove Northern Ireland’s bloodiest year by far with nearly 500

people killed.

Extract 7:

PM: And let us also remember Bloody Sunday is not the defining story of the service the ((shakes his head))

British army gave in Northern Ireland from 1969 to 2007. This was known as

operation banner the longest continuing operation of British military history spanning over 38 years and in which over 250 thousand people served. Our armed forces displayed enormous courage and professionalism in upholding democracy and the rule of law in Northern Ireland. Acting in support of the police they played a major part in setting the conditions and made peaceful politics possible and over a thousand members, a thousand members of the security forces lost their lives to that
cause. Without their work, the peace process would not have happened. Of course, ((two beats))

some mistakes and I doubt that they made but lessons were also learned and once
again I put on record the immense gratitude we all have to those who served in

Northern Ireland.

Extract 8:

PM: Mr. Speaker this report and inquiry itself demonstrate how a state should hold itself ((three beats))

to account and how we should be determined at all times no matter how difficult to

judge ourselves against the highest standards. Openness and frankness about the

past however painful, they do not make us weaker they make us stronger. That’s

((shakes his head)) ((beat)) ((beat))

one of the things that differentiates us from the terrorists. We should never forget

that over three thousand five hundred people for every community lost their lives in

Northern Ireland. The overwhelming majority killed by terrorists. There were many
63. terrible atrocities. Politically motivated violence was never justified whichever side

64. it came from and it can never be justified by those criminal gangs that today want to

   ((nodding his head in a stressful way))

65. drag Northern Ireland back to its bitter and bloody past and no government I lead

   ((beat))

66. will ever put those who fight to defend democracy on an equal footing with those

67. who continue to seek to destroy it.