

The Investigation of Political Ideologies in the UN Resolutions about the Syrian Civil War: A Systemic Functional Analysis on the Basis of Argumentation Theories

Taher Ben Khalifa

University of Sfax, Faculty of Letters and Humanities, Department of English
Sfax, Tunisia

E-mail: taherbenkhlifa@yahoo.fr

Abstract

The systemic functional study of language is open to a multiplicity of approaches and theoretical frameworks among which Discourse Analysis (DA) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Being an applied linguistic theory, SFL becomes connected to different theories and disciplines that are devoted to the investigation of different topics related to the study of the discursive practices of language. The study of discourse, as a social practice, from a systemic functional perspective can be related to other forms of social theories such as argumentation theories. This article will focus on the analysis and evaluation of argument logical structure together with its linguistic structure in the UN resolutions about the Syrian civil war using the SFL theory and the CDA approach with reference to (Fairclough, Isabella and Norman Fairclough 2010, 2011a, 2011b, 2012) and (Matthiessen, 2014). This systemic functional analysis of the arguments developed in the texts to be under focus is meant to study the political ideologies and the networks of power relations that are transmitted through the discursive use of language, as a whole social system of communication that can be used to serve different social functions such as convincing and conflict resolution in the divided groups or societies. The obtained results showed that both logical and linguistic structures of the analyzed political argument work to serve communicative agents' thoughts, choices and future plans.

Keywords: Systemic Functional linguistics (SFL), Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), Argumentation Theories, Political Ideologies, Power Relations and Applied linguistics.

Introduction

The concerns that Halliday and his colleagues had led to the development of SFL, as an applied theory, and the problems they were concerned with are ours like power and domination, but they become at the global scale (Matthiessen, 2014). For SFL to be able to update the different problems related to the social practice of language it would be open to other approaches (Davies, 2014). Fairclough's framework in the CDA approach is based on the use of Halliday's SFL theories (Fairclough, 1989). With the adoption of the view of language, as a social practice, Fairclough and Fairclough introduced new social theories to the CDA approach like argumentation theories to broaden its analytical scope. Using this amalgamation of CDA and argumentation theories, they dealt critically with argument logical structure analysis and evaluation at the level of political discourse (Fairclough, and Fairclough, 2012).

Argumentation analysis is used in Fairclough and Fairclough (2012) to study the structure of the political argument and the role of practical reasoning in producing political claims for actions that are able to find solutions to the economic crisis in Britain. This is done under the parameters of CDA aiming to bring a radical social change (Van Dijk, 1993) through the use of a diversity of approaches (Weiss & Wodak, 2003). The study of human reasoning is also one of the focal points in the study of argumentation strategies in human communications, especially the political ones in order to reveal the role of the reasoning process to improve knowledge and make better decisions (Mercier and Sperber, 2011). The case of conflict resolution related to the Syrian matter requires careful use of reason and argument that are required to convince and bring changes at the social and political levels towards cease-fire and peace establishment.

The concept of argumentation refers to the process by which arguments are constructed, evaluated and exchanged (Leven and Palau, 2009). In this article, arguments will be analyzed to unlock ideological loads and power relations in political discourse where there are claims for actions to take place as solutions for the existing matter, the Syrian civil war. This study needs a critical stance for the sake of a logical understanding of the processes of thinking and reasoning leading to the formulation of the arguments existing in the texts of the resolutions to be under study. This critical stance is framed in the CDA approach which is interested in the critical study of language (Locke, 2004; Van Dijk, 1993, 1995 and Wodak, 2000).

SFL theories has proved to be applicable in the field of discourse analysis (DA) and critical discourse analysis (CDA) where it is used as an approach to the study of language linked to that of critical linguistics (Matthiessen, 2014). The SFL theories were used in the study of ideologies and power relations that are linked to the discursive use of language, as a social practice, focusing on the study of the three meta-functions of language upon which SFL theories are based (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004). These three meta-functions are useful to determine the existing power relations in the practical use of language and to unveil the hidden ideological loads through the investigation of the clause structure (Haig, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013).

In the present study, an amalgamation of SFL theories, argumentation theories and the CDA approach will be used to study the issues of ideologies and power relations related to the political language of the UN manifested in the four texts of the UN resolutions concerning the Syrian civil matter. Here, a clear focus will be on the investigation of the clause structure in comparison with the argument logical structure to build a new theoretical framework in which the clause, as the unit of linguistic and meaning construction, will be analyzed to reveal the

on-going argumentative strategies on the basis of the SFL meta-functions and lexicogrammar. The combination between SFL theories and argumentation theories carried in this study will be on the basis of a critical view of language manifested in the use of the CDA approach, as multi-disciplinary framework to the study of language. This triangulation of the SFL theories, the argumentation theories and the CDA approach will be illustrated with an analyzed example taken from the texts to be under investigation.

1. Text, context and circumstances

Matthiessen (2014) developed a new theoretical framework, which he called applied discourse analysis (ADA). In this applicable perspective to the study of language, he referred to the three parameters of context introduced in the SFL theories (Halliday, 1978 and Martin, 1992). These parameters are the field (what is going on in context, the nature of the activity), the tenor (who are taking part in this activity and the nature of their roles and relationships) and the mode (what role is played by language, and by other semiotic systems, in context). The use of these contextual parameters in the examination of what Fairclough, Isabella and Norman Fairclough (2012) called the circumstances, in which the process of argumentation takes place is meant to show the link between language, context and participants. Understanding the context, as the circumstances of language production and use (Findlay, 1998 and Brown and Yule, 1983), gives a clear connection between what is going on in the real socio-political context and the reasoning process of the leaders to bring changes. The circumstance premise, in the argumentation analysis, refers to the agent's context of action: natural, political and social facts. The triangulation of the circumstances with the three parameters of contextual analysis provided in the SFL theories can be helpful in that it will give us an in-depth understanding of the circumstances leading to the formulation of the UN resolutions about the Syrian civil matter. This triangulation will be goal oriented in that it will link together the nature of what is going on as political activity (the field), the declaration of the resolutions, the members who are taking part in the reasoning and argumentation processes to understand the nature of the relationships among them and the ideologies they serve (the tenor) and the role played by language via the use of the syntactic structure and the semantic choices (mode). The diagram of circumstance premise analysis becomes as follows.

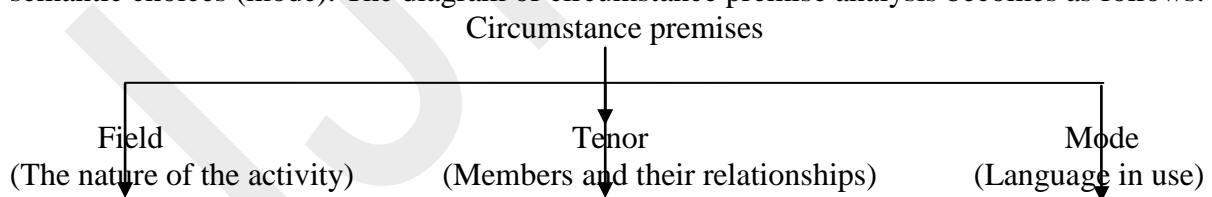


Figure one: The circumstance premises analysis.

The combination of all these three parameters of context under the notion of circumstances premises analysis leads to the formulation of a well established framework of contextual analysis that is able to make obvious the relationships between the parties taking part in the production of claims for actions. The relations of power and domination are at the heart of critical discourse analysis, as the critical study of language, focusing on the revelation of all forms of social injustice and inequality (Van Dijk, 1993, 2001). The study of the ideological loads carried in the discursive practices of language as well, is a focal point for discussion in the present research project. Thus, the analysis of the circumstance premises on the basis of

the SFL parameters of context – field, tenor, and mode – facilitates the way of our critical investigation of political ideologies. Ideologies are the fundamental beliefs of a group of people (Van Dijk, 2000) expressed through language. Indeed, the agent's access to discourse gives it the power to reign over the others (Van Dijk, 1995) and to manipulate them (Van Dijk, 2006) through its implicit ideological messages.

When we speak about the circumstantial analysis of the environment in which the text is produced, we build towards a well planned critical study of the produced arguments focusing on the clause, as a unit of analysis, and the lexical choices to build a comprehensive understanding of what is going on. Van Dijk (2008) affirms that critical analysts should pay attention not only to the syntactic structure of text and talk, but also to its context due to the ideology it defends.

2. Clause and argument structure

While using language, people tend to extend their arguments outwards by combining or complexing clauses (Tam, 2013). In other words, the process of argumentation is based on the use of clauses that form the linguistic structure of the delivered speech, which represents a running on argument aiming to serve a given socio-political goal. In this section, the structure of the clause and that of the argument are under investigation to show how the clause and clause complex in the texts of the UN resolutions about the Syrian matter serves the on-going political argument. The relationship between the argument structure and the grammatical structure show the complementarities of both the role of the argument and that of grammar in the (re)construction of meaning in relation with the lexical choices made by the agents (Goldberg, 1995). This will be in relation with the general objective of the study, which is concerned with the manifestation of ideology and power relations in the texts under study.

It is important to understand the internal structure of the developed argument in the study of the manifestation of ideologies in the texts of the UN resolutions about the Syrian civil matter in that it allows us to decide what believes we should have (Warren, 2010) and that is very important in the study of the existing ideologies, as sets of believes (Van Dijk, 2000) manifested in the politicians' made-decisions. The correlation between meaning and structure at the level of argument analysis is required (Casenhiser, Goldberg and Sethuraman, 2004) in that it links the lexical choices made by the agent's practical use of language and the selected linguistic structure used to link the selected terms in meaningful statements manifested in the clause and clause complex structure.

The clause structure, as a segment of meaning and linguistic structure, encapsulates the beliefs and the opinions that the users of language want to convey to their interlocutors. To understand these beliefs, discourse analysts require further steps embodied in the examination of the clause structure in relation with the semantic choices made by the producers of language to reach the most appropriate comprehension of the on-going argument.

In the SFL theories, the clause serves three meta-functions: the ideational, the interpersonal and the textual. The author's linguistic and functional choices are the result of the existing social circumstances that have influences on the agent's perceptions (Halliday, 1973). This means that discourse analysts should pay attention to these choices at the level of the critical study of the practical use of language. Here, language use is related to the study of the on-going use of practical arguments based on the use of logic and practical reasoning process to build a coherent argument that is of great value and able to convince the interlocutors.

The interpersonal meta-function is related to the way language negotiates social roles between language and social users of it, the participants. The textual meta-function is related to the way language is organized to scaffold levels of comprehension. The ideational meta-function is concerned with the way human experiences are constructed through language. All these three meta-functions occurs simultaneously giving language the property of being multi-functional.

The ideational meta-function is used in text and discourse analysis to study the relations of power between the participants taking part in the practical use of language. In this study, the examination of power relations from an SFL perspective is addressed to an in-depth analysis of the on-going practical argument. The textual meta-function is meant to reveal coherence at the level of the texts of the resolutions. Coherence at the level of argumentation analysis is referred to as argument evaluation on the basis of logic. The interpersonal meta-function serves to examine the existing ideologies in the texts. Understanding the existing ideologies may lead to an in-depth analysis of the manifestation of the ideological loads at the level of practical argumentation that is carried at the level of clause structure.

With reference to the model of circumstance premises analysis, Halliday refers to two types of context (Locke, 2004): the context of culture denoting the broader institutional and cultural environment and that of situation rendered the idea of meta-functions to Halliday (Halliday, 1978) referring to the social context of the text as exchange. In this context of situation, meta-functions can be parallel to grammatical categories of context like: Ideational Transitivity Field, Interpersonal Mood Tenor and Textual Theme Mode.

This clause structure serves, in parallel with the mentioned meta-functions, an argumentative process in which the users of language tend to argue and extend their arguments through the use of clause and clause complex structures. The structure of the argument and that of practical reasoning is under investigation in this section to show their roles in the construction of ideology in political discourse on the basis of a functional view of language aiming to build a critical study of the existing power relations and to bring a change at the level of the existing conflict in Syria.

The argument, as a running on construction of clause-combination, is fragmented into five complementary segments: the claim (what to do/ the solution), the circumstances (the context and the environment that leads to the formulation of the developed argument/ the problem), the goal (the objectives and the aims behind any claim for action), the values (the need and the adequacy of what is to be done) and the means-goals (refers to the means used to realize the goals) (Fairclough and Fairclough, 2012).

Using the extract analyzed in (Fairclough, 2000), Fairclough and Fairclough (2012) gave examples of the argument structure to make obvious the different segments of practical argument, as a whole unit of meaning and thoughts used to convince and persuade. A claim like “we must act now” can be decomposed into theme/rheme structure in the textual meta-function as follows:

1. we must act now
 Theme rheme

It can be also fragmented into mood/residue structure in the interpersonal meta-function as follows:

- | | | |
|----|---------|---------|
| 2. | we must | act now |
| | Mood | residue |

In the ideational meta-function the claim (clause) can be fragmented into actor and process as follows:

- | | | | |
|----|-------|-----------------------|-----------------|
| 3. | we | must act | now |
| | Actor | process
(Material) | adjunct of time |

This is an example of claim analysis, as a segment of argument analysis, using the SFL meta-functions. If we continue the analysis of the remaining constituents of the argument construction, we will notice a kind of continuation at the level of clause combination and complexing. This may pave the way for a brief conclusion leading to the close connection between the SFL structure of the clause and the structure of practical argument at the level of the argumentation analysis of discourse and language use. The notion of Argument, with reference to this explained example, is broader than that of a clause and clause complex. Thus, an argument covers a successive use of clauses to formulate its whole structure that is formed of complementary constituents stated above.

3. SFL coherence and argument evaluation

The term coherence is referred to in the Oxford English dictionary as the situation in which all the parts of something fit together well. The term evaluation, in the same dictionary, refers to the process of assessing the value or the quality of that thing. In this section of the study, the term coherence is meant to refer to the fitness of the different clauses that form the different parts of the argument together to produce a coherent and well established logical statement able to convince and change. Being a coherent argument gives this logical statement the value of being of high quality.

Quality and value are required at the level of logic and reason to produce a coherent argument where all the different constituents of the internal structure of this statement show a kind of logical connection able to attract the cognitive attention of the receiver for the sake of persuasion and the needs for changes in the cases of social and political troubles like that of civil war. Indeed, the text of problem-solution is based on the use of argumentative composition (Alarcon et al, 2011). Thus, producing a logical argument of high value means building logical statement in which the combined clauses are coherently arranged on the basis of logic and strategies of coherence.

When we say an argument is coherent, it means that all the elements of the internal structure of an argument fit together to form a complete thought of practical argumentation. In other words, the (+ coherent) value is one of the positive features an argument can take during the process of argument evaluation. Here, the term evaluation can be an umbrella term under which the term coherence is categorized as a positive value of a strong and persuasive

argument based on the use of practical reasoning. A coherent argument is required to transmit the beliefs and thoughts in a smooth way to the hearer and it represents the logical power that the speakers possess to control the target audiences.

In parallel with the traditions of CDA, Fairclough and Fairclough (2012) provide a method for argument evaluation to examine the validity of claims and premise. It is based on logic and refers to rational persuasiveness to resolve conflicts. Here, persuasiveness and argument value and quality is based on logic and the coherence between the different parts constituting the argument developed to stop the on-going civil matter that torn the lives of millions of citizens in Syria. My study and evaluation of the political argument developed in the texts of the resolution is based on the SFL coherence. Coherence at the level of practical argumentation and the high quality of building a logical statement reflects the cognitive power of the speaker that is needed to create a sort of homogeneity required to serve the rational transmission of the political ideologies.

The concept of grammatical coherence was of great concern to the founding fathers of SFL and it was used as a framework for the analysis of essays (Halliday and Hasan, 1976). The cohesive devices used to discuss the issue of grammatical coherence at the level of text are conjunctions, references and substitutions among others. In this article, the study will look at the importance of the investigation of cohesive devices in the smooth and logical transition at the level of thoughts and ideologies. Thus, the feature (+coherent) in the process of argument analysis and evaluation is significant in the study of the manifestation of ideologies in the texts of the resolutions. Lexical coherence, as the choice of the relevant terms that are used to serve the central matter of the text, is of great value like that of grammatical coherence in the analysis of discourse (Halliday and Hasan, 1985). This lexical coherence is important at the level of text judgment (Parsons, 1991 and Castro, 2004), which is the judgment of practical argumentation.

At the level of meaning researchers reached the findings that coherence is required for meaning construction aiming to make the process of understanding easier (Palmer, 1999). In this study, lexical coherence is worth investigation in that the study of the lexical choices and their fitness together may reveal the rationale behind the selection of these lexical items to serve given ideological goals. As we explained above the term argument is broader than that of clause, a text is also broader in scope than argument for the simple reason a text may encompass one or more arguments depending on the issues to be discussed. Thus, coherence at the level of arguments may serve as a standard for textuality.

The emerging homogeneity at the level of the discourse of some organizations is important, in that, it gives an apparent unity that makes the public feel the power of that organization even if there is a hidden split or internal division at the level of the decisions to be taken. This apparent homogeneity gives the group the power to act and to influence the others for the sake of persuasion. In the same direction, unity at the level of the logical organization of the thoughts constituting the argument is required, in that, it reflects the mental power that the decision makers have on the social and political decisions of the conflicting nations. This mental power is reflected at the level of the established coherence among the different constituents of the produced argument, as a logical statement that gets it's (+value) and

(+quality) characteristics from the fitness of its different parts to establish unity, which is the sign of power.

4. Examples analysis

For a theory to be valid and trust worthy, it should be illustrated with real examples analyzed on the basis of the principles of the above established theoretical framework. Theory and practice should work hand in hand for the sake of building a theoretical approach that is able to be applied in the examination of real problems. The applicability of a theory is a property needed for the utility and the adequacy of the theoretical tools, in that, every theory is designed to be applied to solve such a problem related to real social matters. So, instead of continue theorizing about the triangulation of SFL theories, critical discourse analysis and argumentation theories, I will focus on the examination of a real example taken from the texts of the selected resolutions.

The observation that have led to the production of the present research is based on a close reading of the four UN resolutions about the Syrian Civil war: resolution 2042 in the 14th of April 2012 used to set UN observer force in Syria, resolution 2043, in the 21st of April 2012 to establish the UN supervision mission in Syria, resolution 2059 in the 20th of July 2012 to renew the mandate of Syrian supervision mission for 30 days and resolution 2118 in the 27th of September 2013 for the elimination of the Syrian chemical weapons. However, the example I will use to illustrate the utility of the framework I established before in the theoretical section will be taken from resolution 2059. Practical analysis will be restricted to one example because the analysis of more examples will be space and time consuming. These concrete realities make of the detailed analysis of one example sufficient to prove the adequacy of theoretical assumptions of this article.

4.1.Contextual analysis

The circumstantial analysis of these resolutions based on the SFL framework of analysis and argument circumstance premises analysis shows that the general context of culture is related to that of the cultural context of political dictatorship that has led to a social up-rising known as the Syrian revolution in connection with the Arab broader cultural context known as the Arab spring. This reveals a radical change at the level of the cultural context from the existing environment of political dictatorship towards that of democracy and freedom of choice to participate in the socio-political life, which is the desired context to be lived in the aftermath of these revolutions. However, this public desire for change is not yet achieved due to the intervention of foreign political thoughts who are devoted to serve their interests in the region, especially Russia, China and Iran in the one part and USA, UK and France in the other part. The plans each of these political powers made for the resolution of the Syrian conflict is stick to the future of the Syrian state and its impacts on their interest and the interests of their allies. For instance, USA, UK and France interfere not only for the sake of their self interests but also for sake of the interests of their Jewish allies and the prevention of their Zionist plan in the region, what they call the new Middle East.

Thus, the analysis of the cultural context proves that the peaceful demonstrations that have started in 2011 by people who want freedom and prosperity have been commercialized to serve the foreign powers` political interests. This means that UNSC members – UK, USA,

France, Russia and China – did not stick to their noble and international mission and they moved away to benefit from the existing cultural context regardless of the human disaster in Syrian. They interfered to achieve these self interests under the umbrella term of Human rights and the slogans they rose to justify their policies. This cultural context is crucial for a better understanding of the context of situation.

The context of situation is based on the analysis of the parameters of the SFL framework, which are: first, the field refers to the on-going civil war and political split at the level of the Syrian political landscape on the one hand. And the intervention of the foreign forces in the Syrian affairs on the other hand. In addition, the field encompasses the intervention of the UN as an inter-governmental organization of which the individual states like USA, UK, France, Russia and China who interfere in Syrian are members. Second, the tenor refers to the Syrian government and the Syrian opposition (Syrian revolutionists), as two conflicting groups, in the one part, and the UN, as a world organization aiming to resolve the existing conflict and get back the ruined state of peace through its decision-making, in the other part. Finally, the mode denotes the role to be played by the UN resolutions to cease-fire and get back social order. This is achieved through language use based on the developed argumentative strategies.

The use of these parameters to analyze the context of situation entails putting under focus the interconnection between event, political relations, and political decisions (language). Indeed, what is going on in the Syrian context (events) is deeply affected by Syria's diplomatic relations. And the intervention of foreign politics is determined by the ideology of self interests. This means that the intervention of foreign politics in Syria is not determined by the well being and the integrity of the Syrian republic however by the interests of such world powers like UK, USA, France, China, Russia and Iran. These political ideologies of self interests and the interests of the allies will have their impact on the decision making at the level of the UNSC. In fact, this makes of the decision making process at the center of power struggles among the state members where each of which defend its proposal for a solution that serves its interests in the region. The political struggle over interests may affect the role UN plays in Syria manifested in its condemnation of what is going on there. This kind of results will be proved in the following section that is devoted to textual analysis.

In brief, the critical investigation of both the context of culture and that of situation shows that the Syrian matter is at the cross roads of political interactions. In the light of these interactions, political ideologies are central and they monitor the power in the Syrian political landscape in the way that serves their interests.

4.2. Textual analysis

This section is devoted to the analysis of a concrete example taken from the texts of the UNSC resolutions described before. After a close reading in the texts of these resolutions, we noticed that the UNSC's arguments concerning the Syrian civil war are formulated in several ways aiming to explain the main argument on what to be done in Syria in the different circumstances that have led to the adoption of each resolution. Putting into consideration the various formulations of the UNSC arguments, the determination and analysis of the main constituents of this political argument will be based on the use of one single formulation. The formula to be under investigation encompasses the main elements necessary for the critique of

these political arguments. However, we might resort to the other formulations in case we need further explanations.

a. Argument logical structure analysis and evaluation

This example is taken from resolution 2059 through which the UNSC develop its argument to justify the need for the renewal of the UN supervision mission in Syria for thirty days. The components of this political argument are reconstructed and analyzed as follows:

Claim: [The Security Council] decides to renew the mandate of the UNSMIS for a final period of 30 days.

Circumstances: [The Security Council]... taking into consideration the Secretary-General's recommendations to configure the mission, and taking into consideration the operational implications of the increasingly dangerous security situation in Syria.

Value: [The Security Council] Commending the efforts of the United Nations Supervision Mission (UNSMIS). [...] calls upon all parties to assure the safety of UNSMIS personnel without prejudice to its freedom of movement and access, and stresses that primary responsibility in this regard lies with the Syrian authorities.

Goal: [The Security Council] Requests the Secretary-General to report to the council on the implementation of this resolution within 15 days

Means-goal: Only the event that the Secretary-General reports and the security council confirms the cessation of the use of heavy weapons and a reduction in the level of violence by all sides sufficient to allow UNSMIS to implement its mandate.

The claim UNSC produced for the renewal of the UN supervision mission in Syria benefits from the description of the circumstances standing behind the adoption of this resolution. These are manifested in the dangerous security situation in Syria which is legally justified by the recommendations of the Secretary-General. This means that the description of the circumstances is based on the reports of an authoritative witness. In addition, the evaluation of the UN mission in Syria in the value premise stresses the need for the renewal of this mission for a 30 days mandate due to its success and the positive results it contributed to in the reduction of violence in the Syrian context.

The Security Council declares that only the cessation of the use of heavy weapons and the reduction of violence by all sides is sufficient to allow the UN to implement its mandate, which is the goal standing behind the renewal of the UN supervision mission in Syria. Thus, the implementation of the UNSMIS has only one means to be achieved, which is the reduction of all sorts of violence and by all the conflicting sides. In addition, this argument ends by a concluding sentence consisting of a new claim manifested in the declaration of the UN's continual supervision of the Syrian matter.

Here, we notice that all the parts of the main argument work together to justify the UN action of renewing supervision mission in Syria. In fact, the circumstances of danger are good reasons for the renewal of the UN mission that is stressed by the value premise commending

on the success of the UN first mission. So, the positive results of the first mission and the increase of violence work hand in hand to logically prove the need for a new successful mission. The goal standing behind the renewal of UN mandate lies in more authoritative role of UN mission in Syria where the Secretary-General is requested to report on the implementation of this resolution. Moreover, the only means-goal that is required to achieve the implementation of this resolution and allow the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council for a new successful mandate is the cessation of violence on the part of both government and opposition. However, more emphasis is put on the role of the government to adhere to the UN calls for cease-fire. Thus, to achieve the goal of this resolution the UN members produced a logical argument where all parts fit together for the success of this new mandate. The fitness of all these logical constituents in one logical statement will be at the heart of the critical evaluation of this political argument against any ideological biases.

As far as argument evaluation is concerned, the different components constituting this argument will be evaluated on the basis of practical reasoning that is based on the use of critical questions.

First, the context is described on the basis of the Secretary-General's recommendations. So, is it described in a rationally acceptable way? The SC's account of the situation tells us that it is an increasingly dangerous situation. In other words, this situation is characterized by the continuous increase of danger and violence. The use of the adverb "increasingly" reflects the wise description of the context where the used diction is logically selected to serve the rhetorical goals of the argument. This proves that the circumstances are described in a way that serves only the claim for action to be adopted. As well the circumstances are not described in such a dialectical way however they are depicted on the view of the UN Secretary-General's recommendations. Indeed, what is going on in the Syrian socio-cultural context is reported in the way that enables the UNCS members to legitimate the renewal of their mandate. This shows that political agents resort to the description of the circumstances on the basis of their thoughts and their desired goals to legalize what they want of it to be publically legal. To sum up, the circumstances are not described in such a dialectical way, however in the way that best justify their opinions and plans manifested in the renewal of the UN supervision mission.

Second, the goal premise can also be defeated. This goal consists in the implementation of the UN supervision mission and the role of the UN Secretary-General to report on the success of this new mandate. In fact, this goal seems to be non-specified in that it does not predict the situation of the implementation of the UN decision of cease-fire and the continuity of the state of cease-fire in the aftermath of the UN mission. Thus, the description of the goal premise is not a precise description and it is not the one that can lead to the peaceful resolution of the increasingly dangerous situation. The vagueness of the stated goal shows also that it is described in the way that serves the UN short term goal for the justification of the renewal of the mission and not a long term-resolution of the Syrian civil war. Moreover, this goal does not serve the UN world mission of a well detailed plan of a long term cease-fire and it represents just a goal to manipulate public opinions and make of their new mission based on a logical aim which, in fact, serves only their rhetorical claim and not the well being of the Syrians.

Third, the value premise does not stress the well being of the Syrians that should be normally the first value to be stated while declaring the claim for a new mission. However, the values stressed are related to what the UN achieved in the previous mission to justify and legitimize the need for the renewal of this mission there. The safety of the UN personnel, their freedom of movement and access are stressed values in that they are required for the success of the new mission in Syria. Thus, what this political argument stresses as values is related to the UN and its role in the in the control of the state of danger that is said to be in a continual increase. Highlighting the values of UN and its personal is ideologically monitored to legalize the UN's new mandate in Syria and justify the important role this organization plays in the control of violence there. In brief, the value premise is defined in the way that serves the claim of the argument and it can be at the heart of ideological biases while relating it to what is going on in Syria and the criticized failure of UN to protect Syrian civilians (Adams, 2015).

Finally, the means-goal is determined by a restrictive structure introduced by the adverb "only". This structure is used to restrict the means that are needed for the success of the UN's new mandate to the reduction of violence by the Syrian conflicting parties and the confirmation of the UNSC to cease-fire on the basis of its Secretary-General's reports. This restriction is meant to prove that the only solution for the increasing state of threat and danger lies in the use of this means and not others. However, this seems to be in contradiction with what is going on in the real socio-cultural context that needs more than the described means to reduce violence in the country. For instance, there can be other good means for the reduction of danger in Syria that this argument denied to stress the sufficiency of the stated means. This means that the means-goal premise of this political argument is not determined by the requirements of the real socio-political context, whereas it is determined by the will of the UN political agents to justify their claim for the renewal of the UN mandate in Syria. To sum up, the means-goal premise fits with the other components of the argument to support the main political claim for action.

As a conclusion, the different components of this political argument serve to support the main claim for action, the renewal of the UN mandate in Syria. The elements like circumstance premise, goal premise, value premise and means goal are not determined by the real social context of the Syrian civil war, however, these are described in the way that serves the political agents' plans, thoughts, imaginaries and anticipations manifested at the level of the main claim for action. For instance, they resort to the restriction of the means that can achieve the non-specific goal they described on the basis of their political views instead there can be other means that are more effective to achieve the reduction of violence. The fitness of the argument logical constructions to serve the main claim will be explored deeply with the investigation of the argument linguistic structure in the following section.

b. Argument linguistic structure analysis and evaluation

This section consists to explore the syntactic and semantic features of the different components of the political argument developed in the UNSC resolution 2059. This critical investigation of the argument linguistic features is meant to show how both logical and syntactic structures work together to serve politicians' thoughts and future plans of actions while arguing concerning what to do to reduce the increasing state of violence in Syria.

Let's take the main claim for action developed in this resolution and analyze its syntactic and semantic features.

[The Security Council] decides to renew the mandate of the UNSMIS for a final period of 30 days.

At the syntactic level, this claim consists of two successive verbs, decide and renew, denoting two different types of processes. While the first verb is finite and denotes a verbal process of saying used to introduce the main claim for action produced by the acting agent (the Security Council), the second verb is non-finite and denotes a material process that represents the main action to be done in response to the increasing situation of violence in Syria. This action is manifested in the renewal of the mandate of the UNSMIS. In addition to the material and verbal processes, the SC's claim for action contains also an adjunct of time that restricts the duration of the claimed renewal of the UN mandate to thirty days. At the semantic level, the use of lexical items like "renew" is very telling to show the wise reference to the UN's first mandate in Syria that is described as a successful mission at the level of the value premise of the main argument. The term final is also worth exploring in that it indicates the order of this mandate as a final one which may be used to stress its importance at the level of the good results it should add to the above successful mission that is implicitly declared to be the logical cause standing behind the renewal of UNSMIS. In brief, both the syntactic structure and the semantics futures of the linguistic clause used at the level of the main claim for action work hand in hand to serve the claim's logical function manifested in the proclamation of the action that should be done in reaction to these circumstances of danger.

This claim for action is immediately followed by the description of the circumstances leading to its formulation. Let's take the circumstance premise described in this resolution and analyze its syntactic and semantic features.

... taking into consideration the Secretary-General's recommendations to configure the mission, and taking into consideration the operational implications of the increasingly dangerous security situation in Syria.

Syntactically speaking, the clauses that are used in the description of the circumstances of the adoption of this UNSC resolution are introduced by the expression "taking into consideration". The repetition of this expression twice is used to prove that the main claim for action comes as a result of the following described context to make a kind of logical connection between the existing circumstances they described and the claim they produced to legitimize the renewal of UNSMIS. In addition, the use of the to-infinitive clause – to configure the mission – proves that the absence of the subject of this linguistic clause is an embodiment of the Syrians violent context where the situation becomes opaque and the future of this increasing violence is vague what entails an immediate renew of the UN mandate. In the same way, the use of nominalization like "recommendations" and "implications" proves also that the results of this increasingly dangerous security situation are manifested in the vagueness of the agents of these constructions what makes of this gloomy context of uncertainty a good reason to legalize what they want to be legal through the use of these agent-less constructions.

Semantically speaking, the selection of items like the noun *consideration* (two occurrences) is meant to attract the reader's attention and make of him/her fully engaged not only with description of these circumstances, but with their dangerous impacts on the Syrian and world peace. This kind of attraction may be used to manipulate the reader by highlighting the context and make of the claim for action only a compulsory result of the unbearable security situation. This makes politicians' job to convince their public that what they planned to do is the right choice for the current security situation an easy one. Moreover, the use of adjectives like "operational" and "dangerous" reflects a sort of amplification in the description of the circumstances to make of the main claim benefit from this exaggerated image of the current context. In the same way, the use of the adverb "increasingly" in the description of the Syrian security situation shows an intensification of the image of the existing danger to make of the claim for an indispensable solution to prevent the threat this state of increasing violence may cause on the peace and well-being of the humanity.

In brief, both the syntactic structure and the semantic features of the circumstance premise of this political argument fit together to serve the main logical function of this segment. The selection of these linguistic devices shows that the circumstances are described in the way that serves to support the main claim for action and make of it the best solution they should adopt among the various range of alternatives.

In addition to the circumstances, the claim for action is supported by several values that makes of it worth adoption to reduce violence in the Syrian context. So, let's take the value premises described in this resolution and analyze their syntactic and semantic features.

(1) ... *commending the efforts of the United Nations Supervision Mission (UNSMIS).*

(2) ... *calls upon all parties to assure the safety of UNSMIS personnel without prejudice to its freedom of movement and access, and stresses that primary responsibility in this regard lies with the Syrian authorities.*

The value in example (1) represents a praise of the UN success during its first supervision mission in Syria. This self praise is introduced through a non-finite ing clause to stress the efforts UN personnel made and the good results they achieved regardless of the difficulties they faced there. This ing form is suffixed to a verbal process may be to make of the UN declaration of the value of the previous mission attract the reader's attention for a long time memory that can affect his/her opinion towards what is claimed in the present resolution. This sort of linguistic constructions may change the reader's view to be convinced that the renewal of the UNSMIS is the right political choice in the present situation of danger. And what makes of this choice worth defending is the value of the previous mission. Moreover, the semantic choices of words manifested in the use of items like the "ing participle" *commending* and the plural noun *efforts* stresses the great value the UNSMIS achieved what makes of its renewal a reasonable solution that should be adopted to overcome the unpredictable results of security situation described at the level of circumstance premise.

The value in example (2) represents a call for the security of the UN personnel, their freedom of movement and access. This call is introduced by a verbal process expressed through the verb of saying *calls*. In addition, the employment of other two verbal processes in the same

value premise expressed through the use of both verbs of saying *assures* and *stress* is meant to put more emphasis on this value due to its importance in the success of this new mandate like its precedent. Hand in hand with these syntactic constructions, the semantic choices shows also a great emphasis upon this value premise giving more responsibility to the Syrian government. The use of nouns like *safety*, *freedom*, *access* and *responsibility* prove the importance of this value premise in supporting the materialization of the main claim for action. In the same way, the selection of verbs, as lexical items, also reveals a great emphasis on the notions of values expressed by the stated nouns (*safety*, *freedom*, *access* and *responsibility*). Thus, the selected verbs work to stress the values that are named through the selected nouns. Ranging from different categories (verbs and nouns), the semantic choices serves the same goal manifested in highlighting the importance of the stated values in the success of the new mandate.

In brief, the critical examination of the semantic and syntactic choices used at the level of this value premise proves that these are selected in the way that best serve the validity of the main claim. In other words, the linguistic structure of the value premise fits with its logical function to make the main claim benefit from the described values.

The description of the circumstances and the determination of the main values are wisely explored by the UN political agents to support the main claim for action and make of it adequate to achieve the goals lying behind the renewal of this mandate. So, let's take the Goal premises described in this resolution and analyze its syntactic and semantic features.

... *Requests the Secretary-General to report to the council on the implementation of this resolution within 15 days*

At the syntactic level, this goal premise is described through the use of two verbal processes expressed by both verbs of saying *request* and *report*. This syntactic structure stresses the important role the UN Secretary-General plays in this new mandate to report on the implementation of the resolution. In fact, this explicit goal is meant to serve for the materialization of an implicit long term goal manifested in the reduction of danger and violence in Syria. Indeed, the fruits of the important role the Secretary-General will play in the control of the increasing violence will not be achieved out of the renewal of the UNSMIS for a period of 30 days. This shows a strong link between the goal premise and the main claim. In fact, the goal is designed to complete the other components of the argument and make of the claim for the renewal of the UNSMIS in Syria a logical choice to be adopted for the resolution of the ongoing increase of violence. In the same way, the semantic choices used at the level of this goal premise like the verbs *request* and *report* and the noun *implementation* prove the importance of the new mandate to maintain the Syrian war under control. This means that the renewal of the UN control in Syria and its reports concerning the implementation of the UN resolutions to reduce the increasing degree of violence is an important step towards the realization of cease-fire; however, this can be materialized in the realm of the main claim.

To sum up, both the syntactic constructions and the semantic choices play an important role in shaping the goal premise in the way that supports the adoption of the main claim. This proves

that the linguistic features of the goal premise do serve its logical function to fit with the other parts of the main argument.

This goal will be achieved via the adoption of the means that this political argument explicitly depicts to its readers. This means is expressed at the level of the means-goal premise. So, this makes of the critical investigation of the linguistic structure of this premise of crucial significance to show its role in making of premise fits with the whole structure of the argument. This linguistic analysis and evaluation will be carried as follows:

... Only the event that the Secretary-General reports and the security council confirms the cessation of the use of heavy weapons and a reduction in the level of violence by all sides sufficient to allow UNSMIS to implement its mandate.

This goal premise is initiated by the adverb *only* to restrict the means required for the materialization of the UNSMIS's goal to what is described after this adverb of restriction. This means is described through the use of verbal processes introduced by the verbs *report* and *confirm* and the use of nominalization like *cessation* and *reduction*. This shows that the acts of *reporting* and *confirming* are the required tools to materialize the phenomena expressed via the use of nominalization. In fact, the uniqueness of this means for the realization of the above stated goal becomes of great emphasis with the use of the adjective *sufficient*. This adjective gives more credibility to the restriction stated at the beginning of the premise. These linguistic features prove that the both syntactic constructions and semantic choices are explored by the UN political agents to deny the existence of a better means for the realization of the above stated goal than the one they described. Thus, the restrictive structure – in combination with the other linguistic tools – plays a manipulative role to control the reader's reasoning process and makes of him/her adopt the means they designed to serve the main claim for action and the desired aim they précised at the level of the goal premise.

Briefly, the syntactic and semantic choices the UN political agents use are goal oriented in that they serve to fit with their beliefs and their main claim for the renewal of UNSMIS. This linguistic structure serves to strengthen the role played by the premise's logical structure what makes of them two complementary constructions of the same premise. So, this prove that both structures can be monitored by the speakers in the way that best serves their choices and enable them to maintain mind control over their interlocutors to convince them by the adequacy and the sufficiency of the selected means to achieve the desired goal they described on the basis of the requirements of their main claim.

Conclusion

The analysis of both logical and linguistic structures prove that the linguistic content of all premises of the resolution 2059 works to serve the logical choices the UN political agents made at the level of the main argument. Indeed, this analysis proves also that the linguistic choices and the logical constructions of the different parts of the argument work hand in hand to support the claim for the renewal of the UNSMIS in Syria. This means that the beliefs and ideologies standing behind the logical construction of the different parts of this political argument can be decoded also through the analysis of its linguistic structure. In addition, the analysis of the context of culture and that of situation proved that what started as a peaceful

protest in 2011 in Syrian is changed towards an armed struggle over political interests. This makes of the Syrian context at the cross roads of political interventions where power and political ideologies play an important role in shaping the suggested plans for resolution.

The triangulation of SFL theories, argumentation theories (AT) and the CDA approach in one theoretical framework in discourse and text analysis is proved to be fruitful to study such matters related to the practical use of language like that of power relations and ideologies at the level of people's use of language to serve different political and social matters. The investigation of the argument linguistic structure from an SFL perspective show the complementarities between the running on mental thoughts and the linguistic structure of the statements used to code the agent's messages. With relation to this combination between the argument, as the product of a mental activity, and the SFL applied theories, as a means to explain what is going on in this process of practical reasoning, the CDA framework is required for the critique of the relationship between the processes of reasoning, arguing and its manifestation at the level of the linguistic structure of the argument.

After being developed, as a theoretical framework for analysis to show the compatibility between the different theories that are triangulated to form this framework, this approach is tested by the analysis of a concrete example from the text of the UN resolution 2059. In this study, I didn't give much space for the analysis of more examples because of the limited scope of the study to be presentable in the provided horary. But it will be open for future researches.

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