

**A Critical Discourse Study of Decision Making during the Drafting  
Process of UNSC Resolutions: Textual Travels and  
Recontextualization of the Representation of the Syrian Conflict**

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## TABLE OF CONTENT

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.....	I
LIST OF TABLES .....	V
LIST OF FIGURES.....	VII
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS .....	IX
<b>I. INTRODUCTION .....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>II. UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL: ITS STRUCTURE, VOTING SYSTEM, RESOLUTIONS AND DRAFTING PROCESS .....</b>	<b>9</b>
II.1. INTRODUCTION.....	9
II.2. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF UNITED NATIONS .....	9
II.2.1. <i>The General Assembly</i> .....	10
II.2.2. <i>The International Court of Justice</i> .....	10
II.2.3. <i>The Secretary General</i> .....	11
II.2.4. <i>The Security Council</i> .....	11
II.3. THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL: CRITICISM .....	12
II.3.1. <i>The SC Structure and Voting System</i> .....	12
II.3.2. <i>The SC Powers and Practices</i> .....	14
II.3.2.1. UNSC Powers: Implied and Legislative .....	14
II.3.2.2. The SC Practices .....	16
II.4. UNSC RESOLUTIONS .....	17
II.4.1. <i>Layout, Style and Graphological Features of UNSC Resolutions</i> .....	17
II.4.2. <i>The Language of The UNSC Resolutions</i> .....	20
II.5. DRAFTING PROCESS.....	22
II.5.1. <i>Provisional Rules of Procedure of the Security Council</i> .....	22
II.5.2. <i>The Stages of The Drafting Process</i> .....	23
II.5.3. <i>The Importance of The Drafting Process to The Interpretation of SC Resolutions</i> .....	27
<b>III. THE SYRIAN CONFLICT AS A CASE STUDY: THE POLITICAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND .....</b>	<b>29</b>
III.1. INTRODUCTION.....	29
III.2. FROM PEACEFUL DEMONSTRATIONS TO THE SYRIAN CONFLICT AND THE INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE TO IT.....	29
III.2.1. <i>The First Year 2011: From ‘Passive Reaction’ to Heated Discussions in The Council in The Coming Years</i> .....	30
III.2.2. <i>The Second Year 2012: Three Adopted Resolutions and Actions Taken Outside The Council</i> .....	33
III.3. SCHISM WITHIN THE UNSC ON THE SYRIAN CASE .....	36
III.3.1. <i>Assigning Responsibility for Committing Atrocities and Implementing a Ceasefire</i> .....	37
III.3.2. <i>The Involvement of International and Regional Actors in The Syrian Case</i> .....	38
III.4. CONCLUSION.....	39
<b>IV. DISCOURSE STUDIES ON UNESCO AND UNSC RESOLUTIONS.....</b>	<b>40</b>
IV.1. INTRODUCTION.....	40
IV.2. DESCRIPTION OF PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON THE DISCOURSE OF THE UN .....	40
IV.2.1. <i>Dontcheva-Navratilova’s Analysis of UNESCO Resolutions</i> .....	41
IV.2.1.1. Syntactic Patterns in Adverbial Structures.....	42
IV.2.1.2. Clause Patterns and Verb Complementation.....	42
IV.2.2. <i>Gruenberg’s Hierarchical Classification System of Wording in UNSC Resolutions</i> .....	49
IV.2.2.1. The Number of Resolutions for Each Country and The Role of Veto Power .....	50
IV.2.2.2. Word Choices with Different Countries Committing a Similar Issue.....	50

TABLE OF CONTENT

IV.2.3.	<i>Scotto di Carlo’s Critical Discourse Analysis of UNSC Resolutions</i> .....	54
IV.2.3.1.	Intensification and Mitigation Strategies.....	55
IV.2.3.2.	Vagueness in UNSC Resolutions.....	58
IV.2.3.3.	A Linguistic Comparative Analysis of SC Final Resolution and The Official US Public Law with Their Drafts in The Case of Iraq.....	63
IV.3.	NEW SPACE OF RESEARCH: DECISION-MAKING IN THE UNSC THROUGH AN ANALYSIS OF THE DRAFTING PROCESS.....	68
IV.3.1.	<i>The Historical and Political Context</i> .....	68
IV.3.2.	<i>Ideology in The Council</i> .....	68
IV.3.3.	<i>Textual Travels, Recontextualization, Veto</i> .....	70
IV.4.	CONCLUSION.....	71
<b>V.</b>	<b>THEORETICAL BACKGROUND</b> .....	<b>72</b>
V.1.	INTRODUCTION.....	72
V.2.	A CRITICAL DISCOURSE STUDY OF THE PROCESS OF DRAFTING RESOLUTIONS VIA AN ELABORATION OF THE DISCOURSE HISTORICAL APPROACH.....	72
V.2.1.	<i>CDA: Critical, Context, Ideology and Power</i> .....	72
V.2.2.	<i>The Discourse Historical Approach</i> .....	74
V.3.	THE ORIGINS OF THE CONCEPT TEXTUAL TRAVELS.....	75
V.3.1.	<i>Textual Travels in The Drafting Process of Resolutions?</i> .....	77
V.3.2.	<i>Recontextualization</i> .....	78
V.3.3.	<i>A Socio-Cognitive Approach to the Concept of Ideology</i> .....	80
V.3.4.	<i>Politeness as a Tool for Decision Making in Politics and Diplomacy</i> .....	83
V.4.	AN EXTENSION OF THE DISCOURSE HISTORICAL APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF THE DRAFTING PROCESS OF UNSC RESOLUTIONS.....	87
V.5.	CONCLUSION.....	89
<b>VI.</b>	<b>A ‘GRAMMAR OF RECONTEXTUALIZATION’ FOR A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE PROCESS OF DRAFTING UNSC RESOLUTIONS</b> .....	<b>91</b>
VI.1.	INTRODUCTION.....	91
VI.2.	BASIC TRANSFORMATIONS.....	92
VI.3.	AN ADAPTATION OF VAN LEEUWEN’S SOCIAL ACTORS NETWORK.....	94
VI.3.1.	<i>Exclusion and Inclusion of Social Actors</i> .....	94
VI.3.2.	<i>The Sociological Sub-categories of Inclusion</i> .....	98
VI.3.3.	<i>Social Actors Groupings and Categories</i> .....	107
VI.4.	A GRAMMAR OF (RE)CONCEPTUALIZATION FOR THE ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL ACTIONS AND SOCIAL ACTORS: CONSTRUAL OPERATIONS.....	111
VI.4.1.	<i>Schematization</i> .....	111
VI.4.1.1.	ACTION, FORCE and MOTION Schemas.....	112
VI.4.1.2.	Realization of Image Schemas.....	117
VI.4.1.3.	Vague Nominals as Empty Vessels.....	121
VI.4.2.	<i>Profiling and Focus</i> .....	122
VI.4.2.1.	Profiling.....	123
VI.4.2.2.	Focus.....	125
VI.5.	RECONTEXTUALIZATION GRAMMMAR FOR THE ANALYSIS OF SECURITY COUNCIL’S REACTION.....	127
VI.6.	CONCLUSION.....	130
<b>VII.</b>	<b>THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY</b> .....	<b>132</b>
VII.1.	INTRODUCTION.....	132
VII.2.	DESCRIPTION OF THE CORPUS AND DATA COLLECTION.....	132
VII.3.	HANDLING OF THE DATA AND SEARCH TOOLS.....	134

<b>VIII.</b>	<b>THE REPRESENTATIONS OF SOCIAL ACTORS .....</b>	<b>138</b>
VIII.1.	INTRODUCTION .....	138
VIII.2.	THE GROUPINGS AND CATEGORIZATION OF SOCIAL ACTORS .....	138
VIII.3.	RECONTEXTUALIZATION OF THE REPRESENTATIONS OF SOCIAL ACTORS CATEGORIZED AS AGGRESSORS AND VICTIMS ...	141
VIII.3.1.	<i>Patterns of Inclusion and Exclusion of The Groups of Social Actors .....</i>	<i>141</i>
VIII.3.2.	<i>Inclusion, Exclusion, and Suppression of Supplier of Weapons, Syrian Opposition, Extremists and Armed Groups During The Drafting Process .....</i>	<i>142</i>
VIII.3.3.	<i>The Inclusion of Vague Social Actors.....</i>	<i>148</i>
VIII.4.	CONCLUSION.....	162
<b>IX.</b>	<b>THE REPRESENTATION OF SYRIAN AUTHORITIES DURING THE DRAFTING PROCESS .....</b>	<b>163</b>
IX.1.	INTRODUCTION .....	163
IX.2.	INCLUSION AND BACKGROUNDING OF SYRIAN AUTHORITIES .....	163
IX.3.	INCLUSION OF SYRIAN AUTHORITIES AND ITS REFERENTIAL SCOPE.....	165
IX.3.1.	<i>Personalized Representation.....</i>	<i>166</i>
IX.3.1.1.	Those Responsible for, Host States, Syrian Judicial Committee and The President .....	168
IX.3.1.2.	The Government of Syria, The Syrian Government and Security Forces .....	174
IX.3.1.3.	The Syrian-led .....	179
IX.3.1.4.	Anaphoric Reference as Representational Choice .....	181
IX.3.1.5.	Syrian Authorities and Syrian Government.....	187
IX.3.2.	<i>Impersonalized Representation .....</i>	<i>190</i>
IX.3.2.1.	Violence, The Impact of Violence, Addressing The Legitimate Aspirations and Concerns of The Population .....	193
IX.3.2.2.	Reforms, Measures .....	194
IX.3.2.3.	The Risks, The Situation in Syria, an Aggravation of The Situation .....	196
IX.3.2.4.	To Syria.....	198
IX.3.2.5.	The High Security Court, State Institutions .....	202
IX.4.	BACKGROUNDING OF SYRIAN AUTHORITIES AND VAGUE SOCIAL ACTORS .....	205
IX.4.1.	<i>The Realizations of Backgrounding of Syrian Authorities and Vague Social Actors.....</i>	<i>207</i>
IX.4.2.	<i>Backgrounding and Vagueness.....</i>	<i>209</i>
IX.5.	CONCLUSION.....	210
<b>X.</b>	<b>THE REPRESENTATION OF SYRIAN PEOPLE DURING THE DRAFTING PROCESS.....</b>	<b>211</b>
X.1.	INTRODUCTION .....	211
X.2.	INCLUSION OF SYRIAN PEOPLE .....	211
X.3.	PERSONALIZATION.....	213
X.3.1.	<i>Functionalization.....</i>	<i>215</i>
X.3.2.	<i>Classification .....</i>	<i>229</i>
X.3.3.	<i>Unspecific Collectivization.....</i>	<i>236</i>
X.3.4.	<i>Genericization .....</i>	<i>243</i>
X.3.5.	<i>Physical Identification and Relational Identification.....</i>	<i>246</i>
X.4.	IMPERSONALIZATION .....	248
X.5.	BACKGROUNDING OF THE GROUP SYRIAN PEOPLE .....	252
X.6.	CONCLUSION.....	255
<b>XI.</b>	<b>THE REPRESENTATION OF THE CONFLICT AND THE REACTION OF THE SC.....</b>	<b>257</b>
XI.1.	INTRODUCTION .....	257
XI.2.	THE REPRESENTATION OF THE CONFLICT.....	257
XI.2.1.	<i>Action Schemas.....</i>	<i>259</i>
XI.2.1.1.	Textual Travels of Action Schemas.....	261
XI.2.1.2.	Profiling of Participants in Action Schemas.....	265
XI.2.1.3.	Focus in Action Schemas .....	270

TABLE OF CONTENT

---

XI.2.2.	<i>Force Schemas</i> .....	275
XI.2.3.	<i>Motion Schemas</i> .....	280
XI.3.	THE REACTION OF THE SC: DIRECTIVES IN THE DRAFTING PROCESS .....	287
XI.4.	CONCLUSION.....	293
<b>XII.</b>	<b>CONCLUSION</b> .....	<b>294</b>
<b>REFERENCES</b>	.....	<b>301</b>
<b>APPENDIX</b>	.....	<b>308</b>



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**LIST OF TABLES**

<b>TABLE 1: CLASSIFICATION OF DRAFTS ACCORDING TO THE PHASES OF THE PROCESS OF DRAFTING RESOLUTIONS IN UNSC</b> .....	25
<b>TABLE 2: SEMANTIC ANALYSIS OF DIRECTIVE VERBS THAT ARE FOUND IN HER MATERIAL (DONTCHEVA-NAVRATILOVA, 2005, P. 17)</b> .....	47
<b>TABLE 3: SEMANTIC ANALYSIS OF THE EXPRESSIVE VERBS FOUND IN HER MATERIAL (DONTCHEVA-NAVRATILOVA 2005, P. 21)</b> .....	48
<b>TABLE 4: THE HIERARCHICAL CLASSIFICATION OF EMOTIVE, INSTRUCTIVE AND MODIFYING WORDS</b> .....	52
<b>TABLE 5: TWO TYPES OF INSTRUCTIVE WORDS AS OPERATIVE PHRASES EXPRESSING ACTIONS TO BE TAKEN BY THE SC OR INSTRUCTING A SUBJECT TO PERFORM AN ACTION REQUIRED BY THE SC</b> .....	55
<b>TABLE 6: PREAMBULATORY PHRASES EXPRESSING NEGATIVE, POSITIVE, ASSERTIVE INSTITUTIONAL FEELINGS AND EMPHASIS IN SCRIRAQ 1 AND SCRIRAN 1 (SCOTTO DI CARLO, 2013)</b> .....	57
<b>TABLE 7: ROOT AND EPISTEMIC MEANINGS OF THE MAIN ENGLISH MODALS, ADAPTED FROM JENKINS (1972) IN SCOTTO DI CARLO (2013, P. 92)</b> .....	59
<b>TABLE 8: FIELD'S 2005 CLASSIFICATION OF ADJECTIVES (SCOTTO DI CARLO, 2013, P. 44)</b> .....	61
<b>TABLE 9: CLASSIFICATION OF THE DIRECTIVES USED IN THE SYRIAN CORPUS ACCORDING TO THEIR FORCE OF IMPOSITION</b> .....	129
<b>TABLE 10: THE SYRIAN CORPUS</b> .....	133
<b>TABLE 11: THE TRANSFORMATIONS MADE FROM ONE DRAFT TO ANOTHER USING THE 'COMPARE' TOOL</b> .....	137
<b>TABLE 12: THE REFERENTIAL EXPRESSIONS USED TO REFER TO EACH GROUP OF SOCIAL ACTORS</b> .....	139
<b>TABLE 13: THE REFERENTIAL EXPRESSIONS USED TO REFER TO EACH GROUP OF SOCIAL ACTORS</b> .....	141
<b>TABLE 14: SUPPRESSION OF THE GROUP OF SUPPLIER OF WEAPONS IN FREQUENCIES PTHW</b> .....	143
<b>TABLE 15: INCLUSION OF SYRIAN OPPOSITION IN FREQUENCIES PTHW</b> .....	143
<b>TABLE 16: NUMBER OF HITS OF INCLUSION AND SUPPRESSION OF EXTREMISTS</b> .....	145
<b>TABLE 17: NUMBER OF HITS OF INCLUSION OF ARMED GROUPS</b> .....	146
<b>TABLE 18: TEXTUAL TRAVELS OF THE REFERENTIAL EXPRESSIONS USED IN THE PERSONALIZED REPRESENTATIONS OF VAGUE SOCIAL ACTORS</b> .....	149
<b>TABLE 19: INCLUSION AND BACKGROUNDING OF VAGUE SOCIAL ACTORS IN FREQUENCIES PTHW</b> .....	149
<b>TABLE 20: INCLUSION OF THE TERM PARTIES IN FREQUENCIES PTHW</b> .....	154
<b>TABLE 21: INCLUSION AND BACKGROUNDING OF SYRIAN AUTHORITIES IN FREQUENCIES PTHW</b> .....	163
<b>TABLE 22: INCLUSION OF THE GROUP SYRIAN AUTHORITIES AND THEIR REFERENTIAL SCOPE IN FPTHW</b> .....	165
<b>TABLE 23: TEXTUAL TRAVELS OF THE REFERENTIAL EXPRESSIONS USED IN THE PERSONALIZED REPRESENTATIONS OF SYRIAN AUTHORITIES</b> .....	169
<b>TABLE 24: ANAPHORIC REFERENCE USED TO REFER TO SYRIAN AUTHORITIES IN FPTHW</b> .....	181
<b>TABLE 25: INCLUSION OF SYRIAN AUTHORITIES IN FPTHW</b> .....	182
<b>TABLE 26: PRESENCE OF THE EXPRESSIONS SYRIAN AUTHORITIES AND SYRIAN GOVERNMENT IN FPTHW</b> .....	187
<b>TABLE 27: IMPERSONALIZED REPRESENTATION OF THE GROUP SYRIAN AUTHORITIES IN FPTHW</b> .....	191
<b>TABLE 28: TEXTUAL TRAVELS OF THE REFERENTIAL EXPRESSIONS USED IN THE IMPERSONALIZED REPRESENTATIONS OF SYRIAN AUTHORITIES</b> .....	192

<b>TABLE 29: BACKGROUNDING OF SYRIAN AUTHORITIES AND VAGUE SOCIAL ACTORS IN FREQUENCIES PTHW</b> .....	206
<b>TABLE 30: INCLUSION OF SYRIAN PEOPLE IN FREQUENCIES PTHW</b> .....	211
<b>TABLE 31: INCLUSION OF THE GROUP SYRIAN PEOPLE AND THEIR REFERENTIAL SCOPE</b> .....	212
<b>TABLE 32: THE REALIZATIONS OF THE GROUP SYRIAN PEOPLE</b> .....	213
<b>TABLE 33: VAGUENESS IN THE REPRESENTATIONS OF THE GROUP SYRIAN PEOPLE</b> .....	214
<b>TABLE 34: THE TRAVEL OF THE LEXICAL TERMS REALIZING FUNCTIONALIZATION</b> .....	216
<b>TABLE 35: THE TRAVEL OF THE LEXICAL TERMS REALIZING CLASSIFICATION</b> .....	229
<b>TABLE 36: THE TRAVEL OF THE LEXICAL TERMS REALIZING UNSPECIFIC COLLECTIVIZATION</b> ..	236
<b>TABLE 37: UNSPECIFIC COLLECTIVIZATION IN COMPARISON WITH FUNCTIONALIZATION AND CLASSIFICATION</b> .....	236
<b>TABLE 38: THE TRAVEL OF THE LEXICAL TERMS REALIZING GENERICIZATION</b> .....	244
<b>TABLE 39: THE TRAVEL OF THE LEXICAL TERMS REALIZING RELATIONAL IDENTIFICATION</b> .....	247
<b>TABLE 40: IMPERSONLIZATION DURING THE DRAFTING PROCESS</b> .....	248
<b>TABLE 41: TEXTUAL TRAVELS OF LEXICAL TERMS REALIZING IMPERSONALIZATION</b> .....	249
<b>TABLE 42: THE INCLUSION AND BACKGROUNDING OF THE GROUP SYRIAN PEOPLE IN FREQUENCIES PTHW</b> .....	253
<b>TABLE 43: THE CONCEPTUALIZATION OF THE CONFLICT AND SOCIAL (RE)ACTIONS</b> .....	258
<b>TABLE 44: THE PRESENCE OF VAGUE EXPRESSIONS DURING THE DRAFTING PROCESS</b> .....	260
<b>TABLE 45: THE TEXTUAL TRAVELS OF EXPRESSIONS THAT INVOKE ACTION SCHEMAS</b> .....	261
<b>TABLE 46: PROFILING OF PARTICIPANTS IN THE ACTION SCHEMAS</b> .....	265
<b>TABLE 47: PARTICIPANTS OF ACTION SCHEMAS IN FOCUS</b> .....	270
<b>TABLE 48: FORCE SCHEMAS IN THE DRAFTING PROCESS</b> .....	275
<b>TABLE 49: THE CONCEPTUALIZATION OF EVENTS IN TERMS OF THE FORCE DYNAMIC PATTERN CAUSATION OF REST</b> .....	277
<b>TABLE 50: TEXTUAL TRAVELS OF THE LEXICAL TERMS INVOKING THE FORCE DYNAMIC PATTERN CAUSATION OF REST</b> .....	277
<b>TABLE 51: THREE SCHEMAS IN THE DRAFTING PROCESS</b> .....	280
<b>TABLE 52: THE TEXTUAL TRAVELS OF THE LEXICAL ITEMS THAT INVOKE MOTION SCHEMAS</b> .....	281
<b>TABLE 53: DIRECTIVES IN THE DRAFTING PROCESS</b> .....	287
<b>TABLE 54: TEXTUAL TRAVELS OF DIRECTIVES DURING THE DRAFTING PROCESS</b> .....	288

## LIST OF FIGURES

<b>FIGURE 1: THE LAYOUT, PREAMBLE AND OPERATIVE SECTIONS OF RESOLUTIONS (IT IS TAKEN FROM RESI, S/RES/2042, WHICH IS PART OF THE SYRIAN CORPUS) .....</b>	<b>18</b>
<b>FIGURE 2: THE ANNEX IN S/RES/2042 (2012) (RESI FROM THE SYRIAN CORPUS) .....</b>	<b>20</b>
<b>FIGURE 3: THE THREE STAGES THAT A DRAFT CAN GO THROUGH DURING THE DRAFTING PROCESS IN THE UNSC.....</b>	<b>23</b>
<b>FIGURE 4: THE USE OF CONDEMN BY THE SC TO DENOUNCE THE ACTIONS OF THE COUNTRIES (GRUENBERG, 2009, P. 502) .....</b>	<b>53</b>
<b>FIGURE 5: THE THREE LAYERS OF SOCIO-COGNITIVE SYSTEM OF IDEOLOGY (VAN DIJK, 2013) ADAPTED TO THE NOTION OF IDEOLOGICAL TRAVEL IN THE DRAFTING PROCESS OF UNSC RESOLUTIONS .....</b>	<b>82</b>
<b>FIGURE 6: MAIN SOCIOLOGICAL CATEGORIES FOR EXCLUSION AND INCLUSION OF SOCIAL ACTORS (TAKEN FROM VAN LEEUWEN'S SOCIAL ACTORS NETWORK).....</b>	<b>97</b>
<b>FIGURE 7: MAIN SOCIOLOGICAL CATEGORIES FOR INCLUSION OF SOCIAL ACTORS (TAKEN FROM VAN LEEUWEN'S SOCIAL ACTORS NETWORK) .....</b>	<b>98</b>
<b>FIGURE 8: SOCIOLOGICAL CATEGORIES FOR PERSONALIZATION (TAKEN FROM VAN LEEUWEN'S SOCIAL ACTORS NETWORK) .....</b>	<b>99</b>
<b>FIGURE 9: SOCIOLOGICAL CATEGORIES FOR CATEGORIZATION (ADAPTED FROM VAN LEEUWEN'S SOCIAL ACTORS NETWORK.....</b>	<b>101</b>
<b>FIGURE 10: SOCIOLOGICAL CATEGORIES FOR SPECIFICATION (ADAPTED FROM VAN LEEUWEN'S SOCIAL ACTORS NETWORK) .....</b>	<b>103</b>
<b>FIGURE 11: SOCIOLOGICAL CATEGORIES FOR GENERICIZATION (ADAPTED FROM VAN LEEUWEN'S SOCIAL ACTORS NETWORK) .....</b>	<b>103</b>
<b>FIGURE 12: SOCIOLOGICAL CATEGORIES FOR IMPERSONALIZATION (ADAPTED FROM VAN LEEUWEN'S SOCIAL ACTORS NETWORK).....</b>	<b>105</b>
<b>FIGURE 14: GROUPINGS OF SOCIAL ACTORS IN THE MATERIAL UNDER SCRUTINY.....</b>	<b>107</b>
<b>FIGURE 13: THE ADAPTATION OF THE SOCIAL ACTORS NETWORK PROPOSED BY VAN LEEUWEN (2008) TO THE PRESENT STUDY .....</b>	<b>108</b>
<b>FIGURE 15: THE VIOLENT EVENT CONCEPTUALIZED IN TERMS OF ACTION SCHEMA .....</b>	<b>113</b>
<b>FIGURE 16: THE BASIC FORCE-DYNAMIC PATTERNS* (ADAPTED FROM TALMY, 2000, P. 415) .....</b>	<b>115</b>
<b>FIGURE 17: SHIFTING FORCE-DYNAMIC PATTERNS (ADAPTED FROM TALMY, 2000, P. 418)* .....</b>	<b>116</b>
<b>FIGURE 18: THE VIOLENT EVENT CONCEPTUALIZED IN TERMS OF MOTION SCHEMA .....</b>	<b>117</b>
<b>FIGURE 19: NOMINAL FORMS AS SEMANTIC HYBRIDS (HALLIDAY, 2010, P. 22) .....</b>	<b>118</b>
<b>FIGURE 20: A GRAMMAR OR (RE)CONCEPTUALIZATION OF SOCIAL ACTORS' ACTIONS.....</b>	<b>122</b>
<b>FIGURE 21: PARTIAL PROFILE OF THE PATIENT AND RESULTANT STATE IN AN ACTION SCHEMA .....</b>	<b>124</b>
<b>FIGURE 22*: FOCUS OF TWO CATEGORIES OF THE DOMINION PEOPLE .....</b>	<b>126</b>
<b>FIGURE 23*: FOCUS OF THE WHOLE ENTITY .....</b>	<b>126</b>
<b>FIGURE 24: THE LINGUISTIC DEVICES THAT CAN BE USED TO PRESENT THE REACTION OF THE SC .....</b>	<b>129</b>
<b>FIGURE 25: THE ELEMENTS THAT ARE ANALYSED DURING THE TEXTUAL TRAVELS OF DRAFTS ...</b>	<b>130</b>
<b>FIGURE 26: THE CONCORDANCE HITS OF THE VERB DEMANDS IN THE MATERIAL .....</b>	<b>134</b>
<b>FIGURE 27: A COMPARISON OF SD01 WITH SD02V USING THE 'COMPARE' TOOL AVAILABLE IN MICROSOFT WORD (THE TRANSFORMATIONS IN SD02V IN COMPARISON WITH ITS PRECEDING DRAFT, SD01) .....</b>	<b>136</b>
<b>FIGURE 28: CLASSIFICATION OF THE GROUPS OF SOCIAL ACTORS INTO THREE MAIN CATEGORIES .....</b>	<b>140</b>

<b>FIGURE 29: THE PATTERNS OF INCLUSION AND BACKGROUNDING OF THE GROUP VAGUE SOCIAL ACTORS .....</b>	<b>150</b>
<b>FIGURE 30: THE PATTERN OF INCLUSION FOR THE TERM PARTIES .....</b>	<b>155</b>
<b>FIGURE 31: THE PATTERNS OF INCLUSION AND BACKGROUNDING OF THE GROUP SYRIAN AUTHORITIES .....</b>	<b>164</b>
<b>FIGURE 32: THE PATTERNS OF PERSONALIZATION AND IMPERSONALIZATION FOR THE GROUP SYRIAN AUTHORITIES .....</b>	<b>165</b>
<b>FIGURE 33: THE BACKGROUNDING PATTERNS OF SYRIAN AUTHORITIES AND VAGUE SOCIAL ACTORS .....</b>	<b>206</b>
<b>FIGURE 34: THE REALIZATIONS OF BACKGROUNDING OF THE GROUP OF SYRIAN AUTHORITIES .....</b>	<b>208</b>
<b>FIGURE 35: THE REALIZATIONS OF BACKGROUNDING OF THE GROUP OF VAGUE SOCIAL ACTORS .....</b>	<b>208</b>
<b>FIGURE 36: THE INCLUSION PATTERN OF SYRIAN PEOPLE IN FREQUENCIES PTHW .....</b>	<b>212</b>
<b>FIGURE 37: PERSONALIZATION AND IMPERSONALIZATION PATTERNS OF SYRIAN PEOPLE.....</b>	<b>212</b>
<b>FIGURE 38: DETERMINATION AND INDETERMINATION PATTERNS OF SYRIAN PEOPLE.....</b>	<b>215</b>
<b>FIGURE 39: THE INCLUSION AND BACKGROUNDING PATTERNS OF THE SYRIAN PEOPLE.....</b>	<b>253</b>
<b>FIGURE 40: THE REALIZATIONS OF THE BACKGROUNDING OF SYRIAN PEOPLE .....</b>	<b>254</b>
<b>FIGURE 41: THE PATTERNS OF THE IMAGE SCHEMATIC CONCEPTUALIZATION OF THE CONFLICT AND SOCIAL (RE)ACTIONS DURING THE DRAFTING PROCESS.....</b>	<b>258</b>
<b>FIGURE 42: ASYMMETRICAL ACTION SCHEMAS .....</b>	<b>259</b>
<b>FIGURE 43: ACTION SCHEMAS IN THE DRAFTING PROCESS .....</b>	<b>260</b>
<b>FIGURE 44: PROFILING PATTERNS OF THE PARTICIPANTS.....</b>	<b>266</b>
<b>FIGURE 45: PROFILING OF AGENT AND PATIENT IN THE ASYMMETRICAL ACTION SCHEMAS .....</b>	<b>266</b>
<b>FIGURE 46: BACKGROUNDING OF THE PATIENT AND PROFILING ONLY THE AGENT .....</b>	<b>268</b>
<b>FIGURE 47: PROFILING OF THE PATIENT AND RESULTANT STATE .....</b>	<b>269</b>
<b>FIGURE 48: INTRINSIC METONYMY OF THE ENTITY .....</b>	<b>271</b>
<b>FIGURE 49: FOCUS OF THE WHOLE ENTITY .....</b>	<b>271</b>
<b>FIGURE 50: INTRINSIC METONYMY OF THE ACTION.....</b>	<b>273</b>
<b>FIGURE 51: INTRINSIC METONYMY OF THE ACTION.....</b>	<b>273</b>
<b>FIGURE 52: PATTERN OF FORCE SCHEMAS IN THE DRAFTING PROCESS .....</b>	<b>275</b>
<b>FIGURE 53: FORCE SCHEMAS INVOKING CONCEPTUALIZATIONS FOR ACTIONS AND REACTIONS ..</b>	<b>276</b>
<b>FIGURE 54: CAUSATION OF REST (BLOCKING CONCEPT) .....</b>	<b>276</b>
<b>FIGURE 55: PROFILING OF THE ANTAGONIST IN THE PATTERN OF CAUSATION OF REST.....</b>	<b>278</b>
<b>FIGURE 56: PATTERNS OF THREE SCHEMAS IN THE DRAFTING PROCESS .....</b>	<b>281</b>
<b>FIGURE 57: FLEEING .....</b>	<b>282</b>
<b>FIGURE 58: RETURNING THEM TO THEIR HOME .....</b>	<b>282</b>
<b>FIGURE 59: MOTION SCHEMA.....</b>	<b>284</b>
<b>FIGURE 60: THE ENTRY OF EQUIPMENT.....</b>	<b>285</b>
<b>FIGURE 61: THE PATTERNS OF DIRECTIVES IN THE DRAFTING PROCESS.....</b>	<b>288</b>

## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

Security Council. SC

United Nations. UN

United Nations Security Council. UNSC

General Assembly. GA

International Court of Justice. ICJ

Secretary General. SG

Five permanent member states. P5

UNSECO. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

United States of America. USA

United Kingdom of Great Britain. UK

India, Brazil, and South Africa. IBSA

The Discourse Historical approach. DHA

Agonist. Ago

Antagonist. Ant

## INTRODUCTION

Since its establishment, United Nations Security Council (UNSC) practices have been often criticized for deviating from the council's main principle which is based on the norm of maintaining international peace and security to fulfil certain interests and strategies.

Quite recently, attention has been paid to studying UNSC practices by analysing the language that is used in its resolutions to show such a deviation. Gruenberg (2009) claims that the SC fails to treat countries equally and objectively, specifically Israel and South Africa in comparison with the other nations. This disparate treatment of countries by the SC is revealed by studying: the number of resolutions issued to direct each country, the role of veto power during and after the Cold War and the word choices used with different countries that committed a similar issue. For example, Gruenberg (2009) shows how South Africa was *condemned* by the SC “[...] more often than every other Entity [i.e., country] combined, including Israel” (p. 502). His analysis also reveals how the SC did not use a uniform vocabulary when representing factually similar conflicts (the strong word *massacre* is only used to describe the Hebron incident).

In her study of UNSC resolutions, Scotto di Carlo (2013) shows how vague language can be used as a political strategy to fulfil particular objectives. For example, she shows that vague expressions, such as the modal adjective *necessary*, can be problematic in UNSC resolutions since they can be interpreted differently. Moreover, she reveals how drafters intentionally opted for much vaguer language and all-inclusive expressions (such as *all those in need*) in a UNSC resolution and an American legislation in comparison with their drafts. She considers this behaviour as a political strategy that led to an expansive interpretation of the final versions of the documents.

However, the reasons why drafters opt for a particular formulation when issuing resolutions and the way how they agree on it is not researched. For a better understanding of these variables, it is necessary to study the drafting process of resolutions during which the final texts are shaped and formulated. Indeed, Wood (1998) argues that “the drafting process [of the UNSC resolutions] is not so different from most international negotiations, but it **has implications for interpretation**” (p.81; emphasis added). Since most of the negotiations in the council often take place in corridors between diplomats (p. 94) and, then, are not publicly accessible, the available drafts of the resolutions can be one way to study how UNSC members negotiate their views and take decisions.

The assumption of deviating from the norm might be caused by the ideological split that exists between the Western powers and the emerging countries in the UN (Thérien, 2015). More importantly, these ideological differences can also be present among the five permanent members (P5) of the UNSC, and they become apparent during the drafting processes of the resolutions (Eitel, 2000). This ideological divergence can lead to an ideological struggle in the council. Indeed, every member state or a group of them may strive to implement its views through a representation of the issue under question. Such a split and struggle become obvious when a draft resolution is vetoed by one of the five permanent member states as a rejection of its formulation. As Wenden (2005) states “[...] discourse can also be the focus of struggle, i.e., a struggle for the power of representation” (p. 89). This suggests that when different interests and an ideological struggle exist in the council, the representation that is adopted in a draft can be very significant to reach an agreement.

Consequently, this interplay of ideologies and powers (i.e., the power of using the veto) can be considered to characterize the drafting process of UNSC resolutions. The concept of ideology has been very little researched in international relations as it is “a classical topic of political science” (Thérien, 2015, p. 225). Thérien (2015) argues that this concept is very significant “to perceive the UN’s multifarious activities as interrelated parts of a coherent, albeit contested, political project” (p.225). Notions of ideology, power, discourse, and text have been widely analysed in many critical discourse studies. Reisigl and Wodak (2001) argue that researchers of CDA must “aim at – making opaque **structures of power relations** and **ideologies** manifest” (p.64; emphasis added). Exploring the aforementioned notions in UNSC resolutions and their drafts from a discourse analytical approach can be expected to be fruitful since ideologies are very likely to be articulated in the discourse of powerful speakers/institutions (Hart, 2014b).

The drafting process of UNSC resolutions is then a new research field to explore how an ideological struggle in the council can be handled from a legal and diplomatic angle (the UNSC machinery i.e., the use of veto) and mainly from a linguistic perspective (i.e., how the representations in drafts are (re)formulated to reach consensus). The present study aims to testify two assumptions: (1) member states use language to impose their attitudes and views but (2) they may also opt for vague and mitigated representations to avoid the use of veto and reach consensus.

The research is then based on two main objectives. It is interested in studying how the Syrian conflict is represented in the eleven drafts proposed in the Security Council (SC) and in the first

two adopted resolutions during 2011 and 2012. In other words, it aims at revealing similarities and differences between these 13 representations of the conflict. Moreover, the study explores how member states narrow down their ideological differences, especially that two drafts are vetoed, to agree on one representation about the Syrian conflict and how language plays a key role in achieving these aims.

To show ‘what happens’ to the representations in drafts, I adopt the notion of ‘textual travels’ which is based on the process of recontextualization (Heffer, Rock & Conley, 2013) i.e., what is modified in, added to or deleted from every representation in relation to its preceding and subsequent ones.

Briefly, what is particularly interesting about this work is that it addresses the textual travels and ideological struggle that tend to remain hidden when only analyzing the final resolutions. The textual travels of drafts can be conceptualized, in this work, in terms of a Journey metaphor which evokes three main components: paths (drafting process), vehicles (drafts) and obstacles (veto, ideological struggle). During their travel, these drafts can take different or similar drafting paths (whether it is a long or short drafting process). Drafts can sometimes be hindered by legal and political obstacles (i.e., the use of the veto and the presence of different ideologies). More importantly, these vehicles can witness some changes as draftsmen may introduce some modifications to their content by employing different linguistic devices (e.g., ACTION vs. MOTION schema to conceptualize actions). Such changes might lead to divergent representations of the same conflict. As a matter of fact, the drafting process of the first resolution concerning the Syrian conflict not only took one year but also included two vetoes that were used by Russia and China and is composed of eleven drafts whose representations of the conflict often differ from each other.

The most elaborated framework in CDA that deals with ideology in discourse (Hart, 2014b, p.108) is the socio-cognitive approach by Van Dijk (2013). He argues that ideological beliefs are normally based on norms and values which “[...] may be applied in different ways by members of different groups, depending on their goals and interests” (p. 177). In the same vein, Thérien (2015) states that a political actor would defend a certain ideology to ‘reshape’ the world reality according to his beliefs (p. 225). According to Van Dijk (2013), to adequately study the concept of ideology, the latter should be dealt with in its three layers: “**the general ideology** itself, **a set of variable ideological attitudes**, also shared by social groups, and finally **personally variable**



**mental models** representing individual experiences at the basis of personal discourse and other practices” (p. 180; emphasis added).

These three ideological levels are also adapted to the machinery of the UNSC in this thesis. The first layer is the very general norm of the council - to maintain international peace and security - which should be embodied by the SC in its practices. It is interesting to see how the general ideology is reproduced by different groups and individuals. The second and third layers of this socio-cognitive system of ideologies are supposed to be present in the drafting process. When drafts are proposed by a group of member states or when a resolution is issued by the SC (i.e., all member states), it can be said that these groups share ‘a set of variable ideological attitudes’ that manifest through their representation of a given conflict<sup>1</sup>. On the other hand, an individual member state can verbalize its own attitudes (mental models) in its drafts, which represent its personal discourse, and propose them to the council.

Among the approaches of CDA, the Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) (Wodak, 2001; Reisigl and Wodak, 2001) lends itself easily as the theoretical qualitative framework to this study. It is seen as a group of approaches that are based on interdisciplinarity and takes into consideration the three different aspects of language use in context: the social, political and historical ones (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001). Therefore, this approach is useful to understand the content and the discursive strategies deployed in drafts and resolutions in relation to the political and historical contexts. To make this approach suit the aforementioned aim of the current study – i.e., examining ideologies in the UNSC – the extension proposed by Lawton (2013) to the DHA is adopted in this work. The macro-strategies by Chilton (2004) *(de)legitimization*, *(mis)representation*, and *coercion* are incorporated in the DHA. The latter are seen in this work as instantiations of certain ideologies. As a matter of fact, the analysis of positive *self-presentation* and *negative other-presentation* or the construction of *in-group* and *out-group* which are highlighted in the socio-cognitive approach (Van Dijk, 2013) are also evoked by the aforementioned macro-strategies.

Texts that deal with conflicts such as UNSC resolutions are supposed to include a certain representation of the event: time, place, actors, relationships etc. For example, a range of actors like the one who is committing violence, the victims and often a third party that tends to solve

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<sup>1</sup> It should be noted that the ideological attitudes shared by member states of the SC can vary according to the conflict that is discussed. In other words, UNSC resolutions about the Syrian conflict might be based on ideological views shared by all members of the SC that differ from the ones that were shared by the same members when issuing resolutions about the Libyan conflict.

the issue are present. What is particularly interesting is not only who is represented as an aggressor or a victim but also who is more present in the discourse than others and in what way he is referred to. Baker (2008, p. 162) states that “certain actors may be foregrounded or referred to often, at the expense of backgrounding or not referring at all to others”. Consequently, the focus of texts that deal with conflicts can be affected by the presence and the absence of the different types of actors. An analysis of the representations of social actors and their actions in drafts and resolutions is useful to reveal the point of view of UNSC members and their shared or personal ideological attitudes concerning the conflict.

Three major elements of the representations are then analysed: (1) social actors that are involved in the conflict, (2) their actions (3) and the reaction of the SC. Several linguistic tools and frameworks from different fields are integrated in the current study to investigate the aforementioned parameters.

To study how social actors are represented in texts, an adaptation of the Social Actors Network proposed by Van Leeuwen (2008) is used as it provides different representational choices to refer to social actors. For example, it can be used to determine whether they are nominated through specific (i.e., determined referential expressions) or general/vague terms (i.e., indetermined referential expressions). It also includes a “grammar” of recontextualization (deletion, addition, rearrangement, and substitution) which is useful to show the different transformations that are made to the representation of the conflict during the drafting process.

To further show how social actors as well as their actions are (re)conceptualized, the construal operations of schematization, profiling and focus from Cognitive Grammar are also employed. These conceptual operations which make up a ‘Grammar of (re)conceptualization’ in the present study are apt tools to conduct critical discourse studies since they “serve to constitute our understanding and experience of phenomena in the world” (Hart, 2014b, p. 110). Moreover, they “can also, in certain discursive contexts, be seen to function ideologically by bringing into effect different types of discursive strategy” (p. 110).

The representation of the reaction of the SC is examined by studying the usage of directives that are often used in UNSC resolutions to address the participants (mainly the aggressor and the UN team). To measure the reaction of the SC (i.e., what degree of force is used when addressing the aggressor), directives are categorized into three groups in terms of their force of imposition (i.e., weak-middle-strong) according to the semantic analysis proposed by Vanderveken (1990a) and the classification suggested by Dontcheva-Navratilova (2009). The analysis of this type of

performative verbs (i.e., directives) is important to the study of the ideological layers since Stubbs (1996) states that “no terms are neutral. Choice of words expresses an ideological position” (as cited in Baker, 2006, p. 47).

All the aforementioned tools provide ‘Grammars’ of recontextualization or (re)conceptualization to examine the three elements of representations. More importantly, they are supposed to reveal how intensification and mitigation strategies (that are part of the DHA) are employed by drafters when representing the conflict. Employing these ‘Grammars’ in the analysis of the textual travels of drafts would show to what extent they differ from each other as well as from the final resolution.

This thesis is based on the assumption that the SC may deviate from its norms and principles in order to reach agreement. The language used by the SC in drafts and resolutions is supposed to reflect such a deviation. In other words, the current study attempts to test the following hypothesis: when there is an ideological struggle, drastic and ideological words or representations in drafts (e.g., *the SC demands*) change into being indirect and less forceful in resolutions (e.g., *the SC calls for*) in order to reach a consensus and take corporate decisions.

In order to test the aforementioned assumptions and reveal the interplay between power, ideology and language and their effects on the formation of the final resolution, a critical discourse study of the drafting process of UNSC resolutions is required. One of the systemized approaches in CDA is the Discourse Historical Approach by Reisigl and Wodak (2001) which is employed in this study with some necessary modifications to cover all aspects and fit the needs of this investigation.

To carry out this investigation, the case of the Syrian conflict is chosen as it provides an ideal set of data for the following reasons. The resolutions about this conflict handle the violent escalations that have resulted from the revolutionary demonstrations which took place at the beginning of 2011. This conflict received great attention from the SC by drafting several resolutions; more importantly, the drafting process of the first two Syrian resolutions was long since various drafts were proposed, and two official drafts were vetoed by Russia and China. The SC needed almost one year to issue the first resolution concerning the Syrian conflict. It is then obvious that the drafting process of the first two resolutions was characterized by an ideological struggle between the member states. Therefore, it is the aim of this study to tackle these different international agendas and show how ideologies manifest and differ in the linguistic substance of the SC discourse.

The analysis of the UNSC discourse is based on quantitative as well as qualitative methods. The former is carried out by using the concordance toolkit of *AntConc 3.4.4.* Moreover, a manual search is also performed to detect all the similarities and differences in the representations in the data.

This study is composed of twelve chapters: After the introduction, the second, third and fourth chapters introduce the theoretical and historical background of the UNSC as well as the Syrian conflict. The three subsequent chapters deal with the linguistic frameworks and methodology. The analysis starts from the eighth chapter and ends in the eleventh chapter. The twelfth chapter provides the conclusion for this study.

The second chapter provides a brief theoretical and historical background about the United Nations in general and UNSC in particular. It includes a detailed description about the latter's structure, voting system and powers. It also presents a linguistic and stylistic review of the resolutions as legal texts (i.e., their layout and graphological features as well as the language used in them). Moreover, this part introduces the drafting process of UNSC resolutions and focuses on the importance of analyzing drafts. The third chapter deals with the Syrian conflict. It includes a political and historical background about the case study as well as an overview of the international response to it.

The theoretical part comes to an end in the fourth chapter which presents three major linguistic studies that are carried out about the UN(SC) discourse. The last part of the chapter describes my contribution to this field by introducing the drafting process as a new research space which can be analysed through a variety of frameworks and linguistic devices that have not been applied to this genre.

The fifth chapter introduces the theoretical part for the present study. Being designed as a critical discourse study about the process of producing UNSC resolutions, this chapter starts with a brief overview about Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and a description of the Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001). It also provides an explanation of the notions 'textual travels' and 'recontextualization' in relation to the drafting process. Moreover, it includes an overview about the socio-cognitive approach by Van Dijk (1998, 2013) and a demonstration about how *ideology* can be (re)produced during the drafting process of UNSC resolutions. It also shows how Politeness strategies can be one of the major means that help member states to either impose their attitudes or mitigate their conflicting views and reach

consensus. The chapter ends with a general overview about the adaptations that are made to the DHA.

In the sixth chapter, Grammars of recontextualization and (re)conceptualization are developed for an investigation of the travels of representations from one draft to another. The subsequent chapter is devoted to the description of the methodology and the corpus. The different quantitative methods and procedures used in the study and how the corpus is handled are dealt with in depth.

Finally, the analyses are presented in four chapters. It starts with the eighth chapter that examines the representation of social actors in general in the material. Then, the representations of the group Syrian Authorities and Syrian People are investigated in two subsequent chapters. The conceptualization of the violent actions of social actors that are involved in the conflict, and the reaction of the SC are analysed in the eleventh chapter.

A conclusion summarizing all findings is given which indicates that the drafting process of the resolutions concerning the Syrian conflict is characterized by different representations which are mitigated through recontextualization during their travel from one draft to another.

## **UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL: ITS STRUCTURE, VOTING SYSTEM, RESOLUTIONS AND DRAFTING PROCESS**

### **II.1. Introduction**

This chapter deals with four major parts. At the outset, it presents an overview of the United Nations and its organs. The second part handles the criticism concerning the structure and voting system of the UNSC. It is also extended to offer an overview of the powers given to the council to perform its duties. Since the corpus of this study is a sum of resolutions and drafts generated by the members of the SC, the third part of this chapter provides a detailed description of the layout, style and graphological features of UNSC resolutions. The final part deals with the drafting process and lists the major factors that might have an impact on the formulation of the adopted resolutions.

### **II.2. The Establishment of United Nations**

**“At the international level, all states — strong and weak, big and small — need a framework of fair rules, which each can be confident that others will obey. Fortunately, such a framework exists. This is one of our organization’s proudest achievements” (Kofi Annan, 21 September 2004<sup>2</sup>).**

The United Nations was established as the Second World War came to an end to prevent war and secure international peace and security by promoting universal values as well as economic and social cooperation between nations (Thérien, 2015; Conforti, 2005; Wells, 2005). However, the idea of creating this new world organization was conceived years before. On August 14, 1941, the eight point Atlantic Charter issued by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Winston Churchill included an urgent call to bring peace to all nations. This aspiration was further developed and formed in subsequent meetings. The UN Declaration was the first concrete plan for the establishment of this new world organization which was signed by 26 nations on January 1, 1942. After various summit conferences, the UN idea was reaffirmed, and the UN charter was officially confirmed in October 24, 1945 (Wells, 2005).

The UN went into force in 1945 after issuing the Charter which sets the rules that guide the organization as well as its structure and functions. Since 1973, the UN has six official languages: Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian, and Spanish<sup>3</sup>. This world organization is composed of four main organs: the General Assembly (GA), the International Court of Justice (ICJ) the

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<sup>2</sup> <https://www.un.org/sg/en/content/sg/statement/2004-09-21/secretary-generals-address-general-assembly> (Last accessed: 03 October 2018)

<sup>3</sup> Arabic was added in 1973.

Secretary General (SG), and the Security Council (SC). Even though all of them perform significant tasks in the functioning of the UN, the powers vested by the Charter in the foregoing organs are not the same.

### **II.2.1. The General Assembly**

As of 2016, the General Assembly is composed of 193 nations and each country has one vote. The voting procedure depends on matters discussed: for serious decisions about peace and security or the admission of new members etc.<sup>4</sup>, a two-thirds majority is needed whereas a simple majority is enough for other questions such as determining the additional categories of questions that should be decided by a two-thirds majority<sup>5</sup>. This organ is “[...] the main deliberative, policymaking and representative organ of the UN”<sup>6</sup>. Moreover, GA resolutions have a moral function as they “indicate the consensus of nations as to what ought and ought not be done” (Wells, 2005, p.20). However, its resolutions are seen as ‘mere recommendations’ which do not hold a binding force/power<sup>7</sup>. In other words, neither disobeying the measures taken by the GA nor flouting its resolutions are seen as a breach of UN law (Wells, 2005).

### **II.2.2. The International Court of Justice**

The International Court is made up of 15 members: ten non-permanent members, who are elected by the GA and the SC for a nine-year term, and the five permanent members of the SC (US, UK, China, France, and Russia), who do not enjoy the right of veto in the Court (Wells, 2005, p. 26) unlike in the SC. The ICJ has two main tasks: to settle legal disputes proposed by member states and provide advice and recommendations on legal matters even in case the involved state does not approve (Wells, 2005). Wells (2005) states that as the UN was established, it had neither an army nor “the power of the purse” (p. 16); but it has “an International Court from which nations could, at their pleasure, claim immunity” (p. 16). Moreover, in its Article 94.1, the Charter mentions that all member states commit themselves to

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<sup>4</sup> Issues that need a two-thirds majority to be passed are: “recommendations with respect to the maintenance of international peace and security, the election of the non-permanent members of the Security Council, the election of the members of the Economic and Social Council, the election of members of the Trusteeship Council in accordance with paragraph 1 c of Article 86 of the Charter, the admission of new Members to the United Nations, the suspension of the rights and privileges of membership, the expulsion of Members, questions relating to the operation of the trusteeship system, and budgetary questions” (Rule 83, Article 18 of the Charter). <http://www.un.org/en/ga/about/ropga/plenary.shtml> (Last accessed 03 October 2018)

<sup>5</sup> <http://www.un.org/en/ga/about/ropga/plenary.shtml> (Last accessed 03 October 2018)

<sup>6</sup> <http://www.un.org/en/ga/about/> (Last accessed 03 October 2018)

<sup>7</sup> GA decisions are powerful only when they deal with organizational matters of the UN such as the budget, admission of members etc. (Öberg, 2006).

abide by the decision of the ICJ. However, various Court's judgements against certain states have been totally ignored and hence violated without facing any sanctions (p. 27-28). A case in point was between Nicaragua vs. US in 1984<sup>8</sup>. Though the latter was found guilty, it did not comply with the Court judgment as President Reagen had put an end to the agreement by which the US was compelled to abide by the ICJ decisions in 1982 (p.27). The Soviet Union also rejected the judgement of ICL when their overdue payment of peacekeeping operations was demanded (p. 27).

### **II.2.3.The Secretary General**

The Secretary General is called in the Charter the "chief administrative officer"<sup>9</sup> of the UN who should act accordingly and help the other organs to fulfil the purpose of the organization. Moreover, the Charter gives him the power to introduce to the SC any matter that he considers to be a threat to international peace and security<sup>10</sup>. More importantly, the SG plays a significant role, and he is considered by Eitel (2000) as the sixth permanent member of the SC. His influence on the council's decisions is exerted through his reports which provide not only a description of the situation but also an observation about how the matter should be dealt with. Therefore, Eitel (2000) argues that "the Secretary-General not only sets the stage for the Council's discussion, but even foreshadows its decisions, for, exceptions aside, the Council likes to follow the — neutral — Secretary-General's recommendations even if he has no vote" (p. 58).

### **II.2.4.The Security Council**

The SC is the highest body in the UN because of the powers conferred to it in the Charter. The primary responsibility of the council is the maintenance of international peace and security. To be able to comply with this obligation, the Charter entrusts the SC with the powers to act on the behalf of the UN members. That is why the council "[...] possesses decisional power in the 'operational' realm of international peace and security" (Öberg, 2006, p. 883). In addition, the council's decisions, once they are taken, can play a major role in the process of resolving an international dispute thanks to their binding character. In other words, nations feel compelled to abide by the measures introduced in SC resolutions for ignoring or disobeying them means a

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<sup>8</sup> In 1983, Nicaragua submitted its case to the World Court accusing the US of mining its harbour and helping in the attempt to overthrow the government (Wells, 2005, p. 27).

<sup>9</sup> Article 97, Chapter XV. It should be noted that any article that is cited without any further explanation or reference comes from the UN Charter.

<sup>10</sup> Article 99, Chapter XV.



violation of UN rules and principles<sup>11</sup>. Yet, the structure and voting system of the SC have been widely criticized for their lack of democracy (Eitel, 2000; Wells, 2005; Okhovat, 2012; Scotto di Carlo, 2013).

Overall, the present section shows how it can be argued that the machinery of the UN is not based on the concept of equality and fairness since apart from the SC, all the other organs lack the power to take and impose binding operational decisions on matters of international peace and security. As a matter of fact, when the idea of the UN was conceived, the great powers gave themselves the right to use the veto in the SC in order to secure their own interests (Eitel, 2000; Wells, 2005; Okhovat, 2012). The next section provides a more detailed description about the lack of democracy in the structure, voting system and practices of the SC in particular.

### **II.3. The United Nations Security Council: Criticism**

The UNSC, the most powerful organ in the UN, has been criticised for its undemocratic structure, voting system as well as practices which are mainly based on the interests of the five permanent members.

#### **II.3.1. The SC Structure and Voting System**

The SC consists of 15 members states. Ten of them are non-permanent and serve for a two years' term. They are elected by the GA mainly on the basis of an agreed geographical distribution<sup>12</sup>. Yet, Sievers and Daws (2014) state that "lobbying for seats on the SC is intense, and can start two decades before a seat becomes available" (p.142). In other words, when there is a preference for electing certain nations as non-permanent members in the SC, some member states exercise their influence during negotiations. The five remaining seats are permanently held by the Great Powers who are known as the five permanent members (P5): China, France, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom of Great Britain, and the United States of America.

It is obvious that the structure of the SC can influence the decisions taken by the SC since the 15 members do not share the same positions and rights. The P5 are considered to be superior and more powerful than the non-permanent members because of their right to use the veto. More importantly, the five permanent members can veto any resolution whose formula can threaten

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<sup>11</sup> Article 94, Para. 1, Chapter XIV.

<sup>12</sup> The fair representation of nations in the SC should be based on the size, culture and geography. The latter is based on a classification of six groups of nations: African States, Asian States, Latin States, Central and Eastern States, and West European and Other States (the US, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand) (Wells, 2005).

their interest (Eitel, 2000). In this context, history records how the P5 abused their right to use the veto in order to protect their interests or the ones of their allies (Wells, 2005). For example, Wells (2005) states that in the case of the Israel-Palestinian dispute, which generated a record number of vetoes, over half of 60 sanctions, issued by the SC against Israel, were vetoed by the US. More importantly, among the 65 UNSC resolutions designed to resolve the Israel-Palestinian conflict, 35 of the most substantive ones were also vetoed by the US (Wells, 2005, p. 25).

According to UN Charter, the voting system in the SC depends on the type of the resolution that should be voted on. First of all, a substantive resolution which is about important matters such as investigating a dispute or applying sanctions requires seven votes, including the ones of the P5<sup>13</sup>. Procedural resolutions, which deal with the internal legal order of the UN or the UNSC such as recommendations about membership or setting up a subsidiary organ etc.<sup>14</sup>, on the other hand, can be passed with a merely affirmative vote of seven members<sup>15</sup>. Thus, adopting a substantive resolution and agreeing on its content in the most powerful organ of the UN can be expected to be mainly based on the decisions or rather 'interests' of the P5. Eitel (2000) states that "the veto [...] was to safeguard only the vital interests of the major powers and not, e.g., the interests of client states" (p. 54). In other words, non-permanent members' opinions and fears that oppose the interests of the P5 are often ignored in the council whereas when the same concerns are expressed by one of the P5, the reaction in the council is different (Eitel, 2000, p.55). In this case, the permanent member's views are taken into consideration and hence decisions are adapted accordingly. If reaching an agreement is impossible, the draft of the resolution can be rejected (p.55). Moreover, Eitel (2000) claims that the veto plays its role not when it is activated but rather during the discussions that take place in the council between its members. In other words, once one of the P5 disagrees with the opinions of other member states' concerning a particular issue, it may threaten to use the veto.

As for 2013, the veto has been used 271 times since the first time when it was cast on 16 February 1946 by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to reject a draft resolution about the withdrawal of foreign troops from Lebanon and Syria. A total of 226<sup>16</sup> draft resolutions have

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<sup>13</sup> Article 27, Chapter V, UN Charter.

<sup>14</sup> It should be noted that Dontcheva Navratilova (2009) defines two types of resolutions: executive and preparatory. It can be said that the executive resolutions are like the substantive ones since they "[...] state regulative facts and establish duties and obligations of executives and member-states using declarations, directives and occasionally expressive performative speech acts [...]" (p. 75).

<sup>15</sup> Article 27, Chapter V, UN Charter.

<sup>16</sup> The difference between the number of vetoes used and the number of resolutions that are vetoed is related to the fact that more than one member of the P5 can use the veto against the same resolution. For example, each of

been vetoed<sup>17</sup>. Okhovat (2012) argues that even though the number of using the veto has decreased after the Cold War mainly because the ideological divergence between the Great Powers was reduced, the veto has been further exercised for 'self-interest' or 'the interests of allies' (p.3). For example, during the last two decades, the SC has cast "[...] a total of 24 vetos [sic!], 15 have been used by the USA to protect Israel" (p.3). Recently, China and Russia used the veto to reject four draft resolutions concerning the violent and destructive conflict in Syria<sup>18</sup>. By doing so, the two permanent members have been accused of hindering the international response and hence indirectly aggravating the situation in Syria (Arnör, 2012).

### **II.3.2.The SC Powers and Practices**

The SC is endowed with specific powers to be able to discharge its main duty, to maintain international peace and security, and act in accordance with the four purposes and seven principles of the UN<sup>19</sup>. These powers are listed in the Charter under four Chapters. Added to that, according to the doctrine of implied powers of international organisation, the SC also enjoys some other unstated powers.

#### ***II.3.2.1.UNSC Powers: Implied and Legislative***

First, according to Chapter VI, when a dispute is likely to threaten international peace and security, the council is free to decide whether it should invite the parties to resolve the conflict by peaceful means or not<sup>20</sup>. Moreover, it gives the council the power "to investigate any dispute, to recommend appropriate procedures or methods of adjustment or such terms of settlement as it may consider appropriate" (Deplano, 2015, p.13). Since the Council is not allowed to use force, Chapter VII<sup>21</sup> provides provisions and recommendations for the council about solving the matter without involving the use of armed force. According to Chapter VIII<sup>22</sup>, even though local disputes can be settled through regional arrangements or organisations, actions cannot be implemented without the authorization of the SC. Article 26 under the same chapter confers on

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the two drafts (SD02V and SD11R) in the material is vetoed by two member states (China and the Russian Federation).

<sup>17</sup> [https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/monthly-forecast/2013-11/in\\_hindsight\\_the\\_veto.php](https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/monthly-forecast/2013-11/in_hindsight_the_veto.php) (Last accessed 09 October 2018).

<sup>18</sup> Resolution S/2011/612 in 4 October 2011, Resolution S/2012/77 in 4 February 2012, Resolution S/2012/538 in 19 July 2012 and Resolution S/2014/348 in 22 May 2014.

<sup>19</sup> See Article 1 and Article 2 of UN Charter.

<sup>20</sup> Chapter VI (Pacific Settlement of Disputes)

<sup>21</sup> Chapter VII (Actions with Respect to Threats to Peace, Breaches of Peace and Acts of Aggression)

<sup>22</sup> Chapter VIII (Regional Agreements)

the council the power to establish a system to regulate armaments<sup>23</sup>. With its fourth power, the SC is supposed to promote the development of Territories politically, economically, and socially and establish the notions of self-government and determination.

It should be noted that the council has the use of more authority thanks to the doctrine of implied powers of international organizations. This doctrine means that such organizations (e.g., the SC) have additional powers that are not written in their constituent documents (e.g., the UN Charter) but they are determined from the ones that are expressed in it (Gadkowski, 2016). Moreover, Skubiszewski (1989) considers these additional powers to be “necessary or essential for the fulfilment of the tasks or purposes of the organization, or for the performance of its functions, or for the exercise of the powers explicitly granted” (p. 856).

Since such implied powers are unwritten and not precisely defined, Deplano (2015) states that each organ of the UN determines the scope of its powers by measuring them against its aims. However, she argues that “it is difficult to identify the scope and limits of the implied powers of the SC” for UN organs are endowed with unequal powers and use different instruments (p.15). She goes further by considering today’s legislative capacity of the SC which has been acquired and developed in the last recent years as a type of implied powers.

Its legislative powers that date back to the cold-war era and reached their peak in the 1990s have been mostly exploited in the twenty first century especially when dealing with the issue of international terrorism (p.19-20). More importantly, Deplano (2015) shows in her study that “contrary to the cold war legislative resolutions, [...] the post-cold war resolutions present a common structure that seems to have crystallized over the years” (p.17). For example, the council’s general ideological assumption of fostering peace and security in the world has been reflected in the legislative resolutions through new strategies. Unlike in the previous period, the post-cold war resolutions have a preference to address ‘all states’ or ‘member states’ and even request them “to impose certain measures on targeted individuals and groups associated with them” (p. 18). More importantly, the twenty-first century resolutions are characterised by enforcing an economic or military embargo against specific states (p. 18)<sup>24</sup>.

It is, then, obvious, that the machinery of the council has witnessed an extension in terms of its implied powers and legislative capacity to fulfil its functions and aims that were introduced in the Charter. Consequently, its ideological assumptions have been since then reflected and applied

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<sup>23</sup> Article 26, Chapter V.

<sup>24</sup> Res. 1390 (2002), para. 2 (Afganistán); Res. 2134 (2014), para. 32 (Central African Republic); Res. 1807 (2008), para. 1 (Democratic Republic of the Congo); etc. (Deplano, 2015, p.18).

through new instruments as well as strategies and acquiring more powers. The next section gives an overview about its practices.

### ***II.3.2.2. The SC Practices***

Through her textual analysis of UNSC resolutions, Deplano (2015) finds out that the SC has used different types of international legal instruments in its texts during three main periods: from its establishment to the end of the Cold war, the post-cold war era to 2000 and 2000 to the present. This change has implications on its practices. In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, for example, the council refers to a wide range of UN documents in its resolutions. Specifically, SC resolutions, which deal with thematic issues such as women, children, and civilians, have become the legal basis and source to justify the SC actions since 2000. On the other hand, the 21<sup>st</sup> century resolutions are characterized by paucity of direct references to International Treaties, since “they exercise some restrictive influence over the discretionary powers of the SC” (p.30). Added to that, another distinctive trait of these resolutions is that they rely on human rights law more than on the humanitarian Law<sup>25</sup>.

The practices of the SC have been criticized to be mainly based on the interests of its members. In the same vein, Deplano (2015) argues that “the decision-making at the SC is ultimately governed by reasons of political convenience” (p. 3) mainly due to the right to use the veto by the P5. Put differently, situations that represent an actual threat to peace and security in the world are likely to be disregarded if they “[...] include a direct interest of a single P5” (p.3). Accordingly, Eitel (2000) considers the SC to be “a highly political and politicized organ” (p.65) which deviates from its ideal values and path outlined in the Charter to reach private interests. This unfairness in treating different matters is also reflected in the resolutions. Gruenberg (2009) shows how SC fails to treat nations equally based on the number of resolutions issued about each conflict and the use of language.

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<sup>25</sup> According to the record provided by the International Committee of the Red Cross (2003), two major differences between these two types of international law are related to what they protect and when they are applicable. Human rights law is about protecting individuals and groups’ rights that they can expect/claim from governments. The humanitarian Law, on the other hand, is about solving the humanitarian problems that are caused by international or non-international armed conflicts. Therefore, while human rights law “lays down rules binding governments in their relations with individuals”, humanitarian law sets rules that apply to state as well as non-state actors (International Committee of the Red Cross, 2003, para.11). Briefly, human rights law is always applicable (i.e., in peacetime and in armed conflict) whereas humanitarian law applies only in times of armed conflict (International Committee of the Red Cross, 2003).

## II.4. UNSC Resolutions

According to Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English, a UN resolution is “an official decision made by the UN (United Nations), which its members have voted for and are expected to obey”<sup>26</sup>. The United Nations Editorial Manual Online also describes these documents as ‘formal expressions’ that shape ‘the opinion or will of UN organs’ concerning the matter discussed. Resolutions by the Security Council, General Assembly, Economic and Social Council and Human Rights Council are issued as individual documents as well as in annual or sessional compilations. Most resolutions are adopted by the GA and the SC. However, the only resolutions that have a binding power are the ones issued by the SC. The next sections provide an overview of the resolutions which “[...] are the principal form in which the Council acts” (Wood, 1998, p. 79).

### II.4.1. Layout, Style and Graphological Features of UNSC Resolutions

UNSC resolutions have the symbol pattern S/RES/-- (year) and the expression *United Nations* as a header (Figure 1). It should be noted that in vetoed drafts, the symbol pattern does not include the short form RES. The SD09V, which is a vetoed draft taken from the Syrian corpus, for example, has the following symbol pattern S/2012/77. The header and the symbol are followed by a masthead with the logo of the UN, the source of the resolution i.e., *Security Council* and the expression *Distr.: General* together with the date of adopting the resolution or vetoing the draft resolution.

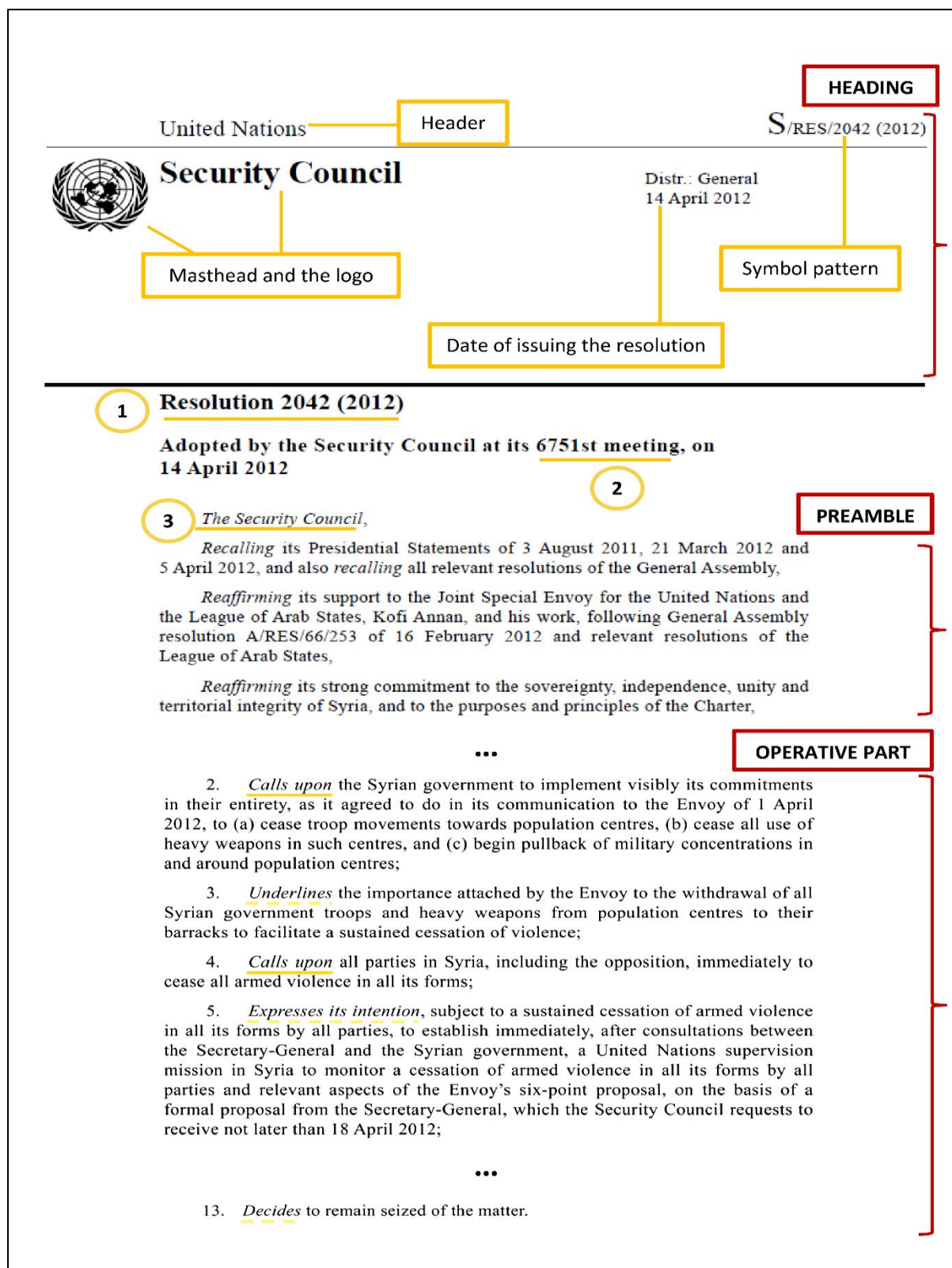
Every resolution issued by the council lists its serial number (1), the council’s meeting number, as well as the date when it was adopted (2) and starts with the expression *The Security Council* (3) that presents the addresser (Figure 1). Vetoed resolutions, on the other hand, include a reference to the member states that proposed the draft which is followed by a colon and then the expression draft resolution<sup>27</sup> instead of indicating the meeting number etc. The texts of resolutions and drafts start with the name of the council written in italics and followed by a comma. The SC is the sole addresser in the whole document.

The text of UNSC resolutions is composed of two parts: the preamble and operative parts. In the former, expressives (*express grave concern*), declaratives (*condemn*), or assertives (*re/affirm*) are

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<sup>26</sup> <http://www.ldoceonline.com/dictionary/UN-resolution> (Last accessed: April 2019).

<sup>27</sup> For example, SD09V, includes the following reference “Bahrain, Colombia, Egypt, France, Germany, Jordan, Kuwait, Libya, Morocco, Oman, Portugal, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and United States of America: draft resolution”.



**Figure 1: The layout, preamble and operative sections of resolutions (it is taken from ResI, S/RES/2042, which is part of the Syrian Corpus)**

often used in the form of non-finite subordinate clauses. Dontcheva-Navratilova (2009) refers to the preamble part of UNESCO resolutions as the component where drafters express their ideological attitudes (p.82). Similarly, the preamble section of UNSC resolutions, in which a description of the conflict is provided, is also supposed to reflect the ideological views of the council since drafters can be selective in what they mention and how they express it.

In the operative part of UNSC resolutions, the council introduces its decision and lists the measures that should be taken concerning the conflict. It is composed of main finite clauses which often start with directives in the simple present, which are the main type of performatives that is used in this section (*call upon, request, urge, demand*). It should be noted that other types of performatives (such as the assertive *reaffirm*) as well as non-performatives (*decides, underlines, expresses its intention*) are sometimes opted for in the operative part (Figure 1). Finally, UNSC resolutions end up with the common clause, *Decides to remain (actively) seized of the matter*. It indicates that the issue has been on the agenda of the council (Sievers & Daws, 2014). Moreover, Scotto di Carlo (2013) suggests that “[...] it seems to be an assurance that the Security Council will consider the topic in the future if necessary” (p. 62).

In some cases, such as ResI (S/RES/2042) about the Syrian conflict, these UNSC documents may have annexes with additional texts (e.g., the text of a convention). The foregoing resolution includes an annex that presents the *Six-Point Proposal of the Joint Special Envoy of the United Nations and the League of Arab States* (Figure 2). This six-point peace plan was proposed by Kofi Annan, joint special envoy of the UN and the Arab League to Syria, as an attempt to put an end to violence on 14 April 2012<sup>28</sup>.

The corpus in the present study consists of two substantive resolutions that tackle external matters (i.e., the Syrian conflict). This type of resolutions is highly significant since they deal with substantive issues such as "resolutions on nuclear weapons, terrorism, and attacks on UN personnel" (Wood, 1998, p. 79). Therefore, these resolutions acquire a binding force since they are highly related to their duty of maintaining international peace and security. In general, UNSC resolutions have a binding force unlike other resolutions issued by other organs of the organization. Öberg (2006) argues that to determine the legal effect of UNSC resolutions, the following aspects should be studied:

[...] **their addressees** (one member, some members, all members, other UN organs...),  
[...], **their terminology** (*shall* as opposed to *should*, *recommend* as opposed to *demand*,

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<sup>28</sup> <http://www.responsibilitytoprotect.org/index.php/crises/crisis-in-syria> (Last accessed 3 October 2018)



etc.), and, [...], **the ways they are adopted, who and how many vote for and against them, and perhaps even why they do so** (p.881).

S/RES/2042 (2012)

**Annex**

**Six-Point Proposal of the Joint Special Envoy of the United Nations and the League of Arab States**

(1) commit to work with the Envoy in an inclusive Syrian-led political process to address the legitimate aspirations and concerns of the Syrian people, and, to this end, commit to appoint an empowered interlocutor when invited to do so by the Envoy;

(2) commit to stop the fighting and achieve urgently an effective United Nations supervised cessation of armed violence in all its forms by all parties to protect civilians and stabilize the country;

To this end, the Syrian government should immediately cease troop movements towards, and end the use of heavy weapons in, population centres, and begin pullback of military concentrations in and around population centres;

As these actions are being taken on the ground, the Syrian government should work with the Envoy to bring about a sustained cessation of armed violence in all its forms by all parties with an effective United Nations supervision mechanism.

Similar commitments would be sought by the Envoy from the opposition and all relevant elements to stop the fighting and work with him to bring about a sustained cessation of armed violence in all its forms by all parties with an effective United Nations supervision mechanism;

(3) ensure timely provision of humanitarian assistance to all areas affected by the fighting, and to this end, as immediate steps, to accept and implement a daily two hour humanitarian pause and to coordinate exact time and modalities of the daily pause through an efficient mechanism, including at local level;

(4) intensify the pace and scale of release of arbitrarily detained persons, including especially vulnerable categories of persons, and persons involved in peaceful political activities, provide without delay through appropriate channels a list of all places in which such persons are being detained, immediately begin organizing access to such locations and through appropriate channels respond promptly to all written requests for information, access or release regarding such persons;

(5) ensure freedom of movement throughout the country for journalists and a non-discriminatory visa policy for them;

(6) respect freedom of association and the right to demonstrate peacefully as legally guaranteed.

**Figure 2: The annex in S/RES/2042 (2012) (ResI from the Syrian corpus)**

In the next sections, I deal with two of the aforementioned factors: the language used in the UNSC resolutions and their drafting process.

## **II.4.2. The Language of The UNSC Resolutions**

Resolutions are classified as “a genre of the administrative functional style, which includes as its sub-styles legal English, the language of diplomacy, public administration and the military, and business English” (Dontcheva-Navratilova, 2009, p. 22). This administrative style is

characterized by a specific terminology. SC resolutions have their own word register, spelling rules etc. which are listed in The United Nations Editorial Manual Online. Moreover, the language of such administrative texts can be expected to be “formal, factual and impersonal” and requires the feature of being explicit and unambiguous (p. 22). However, the last aspect is not shared by Scotto di Carlo (2013) whose study points out the vague nature of SC resolutions about Iraq and Iran. Added to that, such diplomatic documents are classified as “a sub-variety of legal English characterized by the appearance of some emotional or persuasive elements [...]” (Dontcheva-Navratilova, 2009, p. 23).

Furthermore, since the SC is a ‘highly politicized organ’ (Wood, 1998) due to the struggle of ideologies and interests between its members, the language of the resolutions must have the characteristics of political discourse. In other words, the council’s resolutions include ‘masking and mitigating devices’ (Dontcheva-Navratilova, 2009; Scotto di Carlo, 2013) such as nominalization, active/passive transformations, modals etc. Through these linguistic tools, SC resolutions become a field of ‘defocalization of the agent and the patient’ “to manipulate the reader and to construct ideologically biased representations of reality” (Dontcheva-Navratilova, 2009, p. 26). Dontcheva-Navratilova (2009) suggests that ideologies are present in the preamble part of UNSECO resolutions. This present study intends to prove that both parts of the resolutions and especially drafts include instances of the ideological positions of the council’s members.

To conclude, UNSC resolutions can be considered to be administrative texts that include mixed features from the legal, diplomatic and political language. Exploring the discourse of SC resolutions through its various facets is significant for their interpretation. Therefore, a linguistic analysis is required to uncover the hidden meanings and highlight the council’s ideological representations. Even though the literature lacks a developed systematic approach to interpret these legal, diplomatic and political texts, as it is stated by Wood (1998) and Öberg (2006), researchers have tried to develop their own frameworks. For example, Scotto di Carlo (2013) Gruenberg (2009) and Dontcheva-Navratilova (2009) opt for different frameworks in their studies to tackle UN resolutions from a linguistic perspective. To interpret the political mind of SC, Scotto di Carlo (2013) and Gruenberg (2009) analyse the language used in SC resolutions<sup>29</sup>. In my thesis, I intend to build on these previous studies and provide another linguistic framework that highlights the significance of analysing the language of drafts and not only of resolutions. In

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<sup>29</sup> More details about these studies are provided in the fourth Chapter of this work.

other words, to better understand and interpret this genre, it is also essential to understand the way SC resolutions are drafted.

## **II.5. Drafting Process**

Understanding the functions of the SC, how it works according to UN Charter and the nature of its resolutions for the sake of their interpretation is not enough. In fact, examining and interpreting SC resolutions “requires some knowledge of how they are drafted” (Wood, 1998, p.77). Therefore, the coming sub-sections present an overview of the drafting process of resolutions in the council.

### **II.5.1. Provisional Rules of Procedure of the Security Council**

According to Wood (1998), there is neither a “standard procedure for drafting SCRs [Security Council Resolutions]” nor any detailed information supplied by the United Nations Secretariat or the Office of the Legal Council (p.80). He states that the legal input of resolutions normally comes from member states. Article 30 in the fifth chapter of the Charter<sup>30</sup> states that “the Security Council shall adopt its own rules of procedure, including the method of selecting its President”<sup>31</sup>. In 1946, the SC issued its Provisional Rules of Procedure in a form of a procedural resolution (S/96). It should be noted that the Provisional Rules of Procedure have changed and were amended several times. For example, in 1974, rules 41 to 49, which concern the languages that should be used in the council, were revised while the 43<sup>rd</sup> rule was deleted<sup>32</sup>.

Rule 32 from resolution S/96<sup>33</sup>, which regulates the order of draft submissions, has not always been respected since 1960 as the SC, like other UN organs, “ [...] began circulating advance draft resolutions printed in blue ink, known as ‘blue draft resolutions’” (Sievers Daws, 2014 p. 269). This new practice indicates that a draft resolution can be introduced during the meeting at very short notice and put to vote after adding some possible amendments which are made most of the time orally (p. 269). When a member requests to have its draft in blue it means that the draft is ready for being voted on “[...] either because it has garnered sufficient support or because no further progress through negotiations is anticipated” (p. 269). This move can be

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<sup>30</sup> <http://www.un.org/en/sc/about/rules/> (Last accessed 16 October 2018).

<sup>31</sup> <http://legal.un.org/repertory/art30.shtml> (Last accessed 16 October 2018).

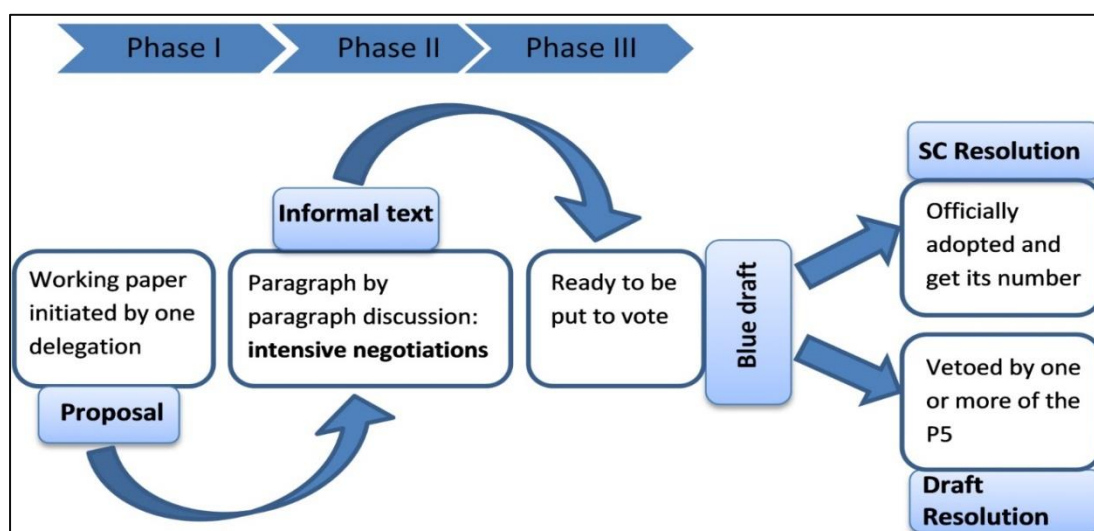
<sup>32</sup> <http://www.refworld.org/docid/3b00f17773.html> (Last accessed 16 October 2018).

<sup>33</sup> Rule 32 states that “Principal motions and draft resolutions shall have precedence in order of their submission. Parts of a motion or of a draft resolution shall be voted on separately at the request of any representative, unless the original mover objects” (<http://www.un.org/en/sc/inc/pages/pdf/rules.pdf>) (Last accessed 16 October 2018).

considered to signal the moment of submission i.e., the draft is ready to be put to vote. It should be noted that other drafts can be still submitted once a blue draft is introduced to the council.

## II.5.2. The Stages of The Drafting Process

The following description of the different phases that precede issuing resolutions in UNSC is mainly based on the review suggested by Wood (1998). He proposes that the drafting process of a draft resolution has five stages<sup>34</sup>. However, in my description, I shortened them into three main phases depending on the type of the draft as it is presented in Figure 3.



**Figure 3: The three stages that a draft can go through during the drafting process in the UNSC**

Through its journey, a draft starts as being a few clauses in the form of a working paper or proposal<sup>35</sup> which is initiated by one delegation. The latter is also called ‘sponsor’ or ‘mover’ who controls the draft through all the coming phases. S/he has the right to not only request to put her/his initiated document to vote in the third phase but also “to object to a separate vote on parts of its draft or withdraw the draft before a vote” (Sievers & Daws, 2014, p. 267). In the second phase, the working paper is introduced to the members of the council and hence can be called an informal text. Member states engage in “[...] preliminary discussion of the major points, and all members of the Council will then seek instructions from capitals” (Wood, 1998, p. 80). Once beyond this, all members go through the informal text in a “detailed paragraph-by- paragraph discussion” (p. 80). These debates can be either conducted in informal talks by the permanent

<sup>34</sup> It should be noted that Wood (1998) uses the term *stage* in his overview about the drafting process. I use the term *phase* in my description since I will provide a summarized version of Wood’s account of the drafting process. I will employ the term *stage* only when I refer to the ones proposed by Wood (1998).

<sup>35</sup> This term *proposal* is suggested by Sievers and Daws (2014).

members or in unofficial groups. This phase can result in issuing new informal drafts even though in a very short period.

To proceed to the third phase and become ready for submission and voting, one of the informal texts should be supported by “[...] one or more co-sponsors, or — and this is often the case where the text is fully agreed and supported by all Council members — by the President of the Council” (Wood, 1998, p. 81). For Sievers and Daws (2014), this possibility takes place either when there is consent to all parts of the informal text or when the sponsor realizes that the negotiating process cannot go further. During this new phase, it can be called the formal or blue draft because it is printed in blue ink. In case it needs some amendments, they are often made orally and then member states proceed to voting.

This last phase can lead to one of the following possible scenarios. The formal draft will become an official resolution and will be translated in the five languages of the council in case it is passed with nine votes, including the concurrent votes of the P5. On the other hand, it will remain a draft resolution and saved in the archive of the UNSC, if it does not receive the required number of votes or defeated by one of the five permanent members’ veto. However, the journey of a draft can come to an end at an early stage (i.e., in the first or second phase) “so long as no vote has been taken with respect to it” to be submitted for voting (Rule 35)<sup>36</sup>.

The first phase, which corresponds to the first and second stages outlined by Wood (1998), is seen as the most important one because it is characterized by intensive negotiations and lobbying. It is the phase where the policy of the council is set in the text. The working process takes place between Groups of Friends who tackle specific matters<sup>37</sup>. For example, a Group of Friends of the Syrian People composed of more than 70 nations was created in 2012 and held their first meeting in Tunis, Tunisia. The Group grew in number to reach 114 representatives but then it diminished to only 11 because of the pressure exercised by the Syrian opposition on it<sup>38</sup>. Even though the Friends of Syria met on several occasions to discuss the matter and find solutions, I have not found a reference that says that they worked with the SC. In fact, most of their meetings and negotiations were carried out outside the council in different countries.

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<sup>36</sup> Rule 35 from the Provisional Rules of Procedure, Chapter VI: Conduct of Business <http://www.un.org/en/sc/about/rules/chapter6.shtml>

<sup>37</sup> Some Groups of Friends are *Friends of Georgia*, the *Friends of Western Sahara*, the *Angola Troika* (Wood, 1998, p. 81).

<sup>38</sup> <http://www.moonofalabama.org/2013/04/the-rise-and-fall-of-the-friends-of-syria-group.html> (Last accessed 3 October 2018)

During their second meeting on 2<sup>nd</sup> July 2012, they “emphasized that Assad must relinquish power”<sup>39</sup>.

In the case of the Syrian conflict, the eleven drafts that make up the corpus for this study can be classified according to the second or third phases that are proposed in Figure 3. Phase one is excluded since the drafts present full texts and not only a few clauses. SD02V and SD09V are considered to be blue drafts since they are put to vote but they are vetoed. The fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth drafts are supposed to be the informal drafts that represent the procedures that normally take place during the second phase. For example, SD05, SD06, SD07 and SD08 can be said to be the new informal drafts issued after SD04 in a short period. Not only is their content very similar but also some transformations (mainly additions and deletions) are added to the texts of the drafts. For instance, some additions are included between brackets in these four drafts. Moreover, some textual fragments that are present in preceding drafts are crossed out in SD08. Such modifications are signs of how a “detailed paragraph-by-paragraph discussion” (p. 80) can take place between the members about the informal text in the second phase. Finally, the SD08 reaches the third phase as it becomes SD09V and is put to vote.

All of SD01, SD03R, SD10 and SD11R are supposed to be informal drafts whose journeys ended at an early stage of the process and did not reach the final phase (Table 1). However, the analysis concerning the travels of textual fragments during the drafting process shows how segments and representations from SD01, SD03R, SD10 and SD11R are embedded (with and without transformations) in their subsequent drafts as well as in the resolutions. In other words, when new drafts are proposed, drafters often take into consideration the representations that have already been proposed in preceding ones. Thus, every draft is supposed to leave an impact on subsequent representations and especially on the formulations of the final resolution.

**Table 1: Classification of drafts according to the phases of the process of drafting resolutions in UNSC**

Drafts	SD01	SD02V	SD03R	SD04	SD05	SD06	SD07	SD08	SD09V	SD10	SD11R
Phases	Phase II	Phase III	Phase II	Phase II	Phase II	Phase II	Phase II	Phase II	Phase III	Phase II	Phase II

<sup>39</sup> <http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/chronology/syria.php?page=all&print=true> (Last accessed 3 October 2018)

Moreover, it is claimed by Wood (1998) that “this process [the first phase] may go on for a considerable time” (p. 80) and that new informal drafts can be issued during the second phase. This description applies to the drafting process of the resolutions concerning the Syrian case. Put differently, the first resolution about this conflict was adopted after almost one year during which different types of drafts have been issued<sup>40</sup>. According to what was available online, eleven drafts preceded the adoption of the first resolution while the veto has been used twice. More importantly, the intricate nature of the process can be seen through the various amendments and modifications that were made to the content of drafts.

Furthermore, two major factors should be included in this section since they can influence the length of the drafting process. The drafting processes of SC resolutions may differ from each other according to the issue being dealt with and the interests of the P5. For example, unlike in the case of the Syrian conflict, the drafting process of the resolutions concerning the Libyan issue, which has some similarities with the Syrian war<sup>41</sup>, was not complex and lengthy since the P5 quickly reached an agreement. The second factor is related to the interests of the P5. Indeed, the SC is often split into different blocks when drafting resolutions. For instance, Eitel (2000) refers to the P3: France, Britain and the USA<sup>42</sup>. Such division plays a major role in the process of drafting resolutions. In the case of Syria, it is clear that Russia and China present one block against the remaining members of the council since these two countries vetoed two draft resolutions that condemn Syria for committing violence. Moreover, the corpus of this study contains two drafts (SD03R, SD11R) that are solely drafted by Russia while the first vetoed draft resolution is written by France, Germany, Portugal and United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (SD02V).

Therefore, the veto power, which is highly related to the fears and concerns of the permanent members, “[...] plays its principal role not when cast but throughout **the deliberations when the Council is looking for and negotiating a decision**” (Eitel, 2000, p. 55; emphasis added). Put differently, when there is interplay of interests in the council mainly between the P5, discussions

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<sup>40</sup> The first draft is issued on 3<sup>rd</sup> of June 2011 and the first resolution is adopted on 14<sup>th</sup> of April 2012.

<sup>41</sup> Like the uprising in Syria, the one in Libya also came under the so-called Arab Spring and started by peaceful demonstrations which turned into an escalating conflict that caused thousands of casualties and has become a major international political issue debated in the SC. Moreover, the demonstrations that had taken place in Libya as well as in Syria had also faced repression and violent response from the regimes respectively.

<sup>42</sup> Such a split is not only obvious among the P5 but also between the latter and the ten remaining non-permanent states. As a matter of fact, the non-permanent members often do not exercise their right to discuss the proposed drafts beforehand. The representative of South Africa’s view, which criticizes the working methods of the SC, explains the previous idea. He claims that “resolutions and decisions of the Council are often drafted in small groups and presented as faits accomplis to elected members” (Sievers & Daws, 2015, p. 396).

between the members might take more time with the aim to reach consensus and hence to avoid using the veto in the next phase. To unravel the ideological divergence that existed between member States concerning the Syrian Conflict and how it had an impact on the drafting and formulation of the adopted resolutions, a linguistic examination of the content of different drafts that preceded the issuing of resolution 2042 (2012) is required.

### **II.5.3. The Importance of The Drafting Process to The Interpretation of SC Resolutions**

The SC resolutions should be interpreted from a linguistic angle to explore the political viewpoints of its members especially since many of UNSC resolutions are of ‘a political nature’ (Wood, 1998, p. 81). In other words, the SC policy can be understood by analysing the content of the resolutions to uncover the political ideologies of the council. These ideological representations can be revealed through examining the drafting process of resolutions during which some phases are characterized by “intensive negotiations to agree underlying policy” (p.80). Indeed, Wood (1998) argues that “the drafting process [of the UNSC resolutions] is not so different from most international negotiations, but it has implications for interpretation” (p.81). The last word *interpretation* refers to the linguist’s conclusions and remarks that s/he can make when analyzing UNSC resolutions or other diplomats that need to take decisions after discussing the drafts. This thesis explores how the struggle of ideologies and intensive negotiations can be resolved and handled during the process of building a resolution to reach agreement.

Moreover, studying the drafting process in depth would contribute to Scotto di Carlo’s work (2013) about vagueness in the language of this diplomatic organ. Her analysis shows how strategic vagueness can have negative consequences on the future of a certain conflict. Moreover, she also concludes that

UN resolutions can be considered a hybrid text type because they are characterised by prescriptive legal language, a high level of explicitness, formulaic and syntactic complexity, graphological means of foregrounding the logical sequence of the text, but also by typical elements of diplomatic language, such as rhetoric devices, which reflect the needs to settle agreements in international contexts (p. 60).

Yet, she does not put emphasis on the possible factors that might lead to this indeterminacy in language. Indeed, my study aims at exploring the assumption that intentionally producing a vague text is a diplomatic and legal practice that is used to reach agreement despite the different ideologies. On the other hand, Sievers and Daws (2014) argue that “[...] attempting an analysis



of, for example, why the council used particular language in a resolution would be likely to face enormous hurdles, since Council decisions are frequently the fruit of labored negotiations and reflect nuances and compromises” (p. 589). To better understand the origins of such vague language and agreements in the council, the analysis should also deal with the initial intentions of some of UN members for “it is, of course, only possible to use clear language when the policy is clear” (Wood, 1998, p.82). Another factor that is also necessary for a better interpretation of the drafting process of the data is the historical and political background of the Syrian conflict which is explored in the next chapter.

## **THE SYRIAN CONFLICT AS A CASE STUDY: THE POLITICAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND**

### **III.1. Introduction**

This chapter which provides a political and historical background to the Syrian conflict is divided into two main sections. The first section starts with a brief overview about how the Arab Spring in Syria turned from peaceful Syrian demonstrations to a civil war. It also gives a chronological outline of the phases of the conflict in relation with the international response of the SC as well as other external parties during 2011 and 2012. The second section deals with the debates and great tension that characterized the drafting process of the first two resolutions concerning the Syrian conflict.

### **III.2. From Peaceful Demonstrations to The Syrian Conflict and The International Response to It**

The peaceful demonstrations in Syria came as a continuum to the series of citizens' protests that started in Tunisia in the end of 2010 and beginning of 2011 and reverberated through other Arab regions mainly Egypt, Libya, and Yemen. The revolutionary wave of movements that swept over and across the North Africa and Middle East regions and became known as the "Arab Spring" were motivated by people's various socio-economic and political demands. The Arab Spring has found its way to bring 'regime change' (Jafarova, 2014, p. 26) and democracy at low costs only in Tunisia and to some extent in Egypt<sup>43</sup>. In fact, the Arab Spring in Syria, which started by peaceful demonstrations of citizens in January 2011<sup>44</sup>, has taken another turn to mutate into "a bloody armed uprising and then a full-fledged civil war in which, [...], 60.000 people had been killed as of November 2012" (Thakur, 2013, p. 70). The uprising in Syria is seen as the most intricate and difficult case in comparison to the other revolutionary movements in the Arab region in terms of violence escalation, human rights violations, and the international community's response.

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<sup>43</sup> In early 2015, the coup d'état led by Sissi against Morsi, the elected president of the post-revolutionary transitional government in Egypt, "[...] suggest[s] that military dictatorship has returned there with a vengeance" (Sluglett, 2016, p.49).

<sup>44</sup> It should be noted that in some studies (Jafarova, 2014; Adams, 2015) it is stated that the Syrian uprising started in March 2011. However, according to the Security Council report published on 28 June 2016 on the council's official website, citizens' protests that marked the first flame of the Arab Spring in Syria took place in January 2011. Considering March as the starting point of the Syrian conflict can be explained by the fact that this month witnessed the first confrontation between protesters and Syrian authorities.

Unlike the uprisings in Tunisia and Egypt, the Syrian conflict caught the attention of the UN since its beginning in 2011<sup>45</sup>. This civil war in Syria which is described by Jafarova (2014) as “[...] the deadliest conflict in the entire Middle East” (p. 49) has been one of the most difficult cases for the SC for it has provoked great tension between the members states in the council. Indeed, forging an alliance and agreeing on a political solution was not easy for the SC. It should be noted that the council’s reaction to the Syrian case went through different phases during which the attention and reaction of the SC have varied due to some internal and external factors. The conflict of interests and power struggle inside and outside the council as well as the chain of events in Syria influenced the response of the international community in general and SC in particular. Therefore, a description of the conflict in relation to the aforementioned factors is given in the next sub-sections according to the first two years, i.e., 2011 and 2012, which corresponds to the period of data collection.

### **III.2.1. The First Year 2011: From ‘Passive Reaction’ to Heated Discussions in The Council in The Coming Years**

According to the Security Council report<sup>46</sup>, the protests that started in January 2011 demanding the resignation of Syria’s Ba’ath government marked the beginning of the Syrian conflict. In response to these demonstrations that spread across Syria, “on 15 March, state security forces responded with violent repression” (p. 14). For Adams (2015), the first phase of this Syrian uprising was between March and the middle of the year. During this time, Syria witnessed violent reactions by the Syrian government which caused the death of almost 850 Syrians by Mid-May (p. 6). This asymmetrical violence did not last long and by the second half of the year which corresponds to the next phase of the conflict many civilians joined the Free Syrian Army (FSA)<sup>47</sup> which fought the regime.

Even though the reaction of the SC seemed to be “passive”<sup>48</sup> during the conflict’s first and second phases, it can be said that it was not too long when discussions in the council started

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<sup>45</sup> For more details check the Security Council report which is available on the official website of the Security Council <http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/chronology/syria.php> (last accessed 3 October 2018). It presents the chronological events of the Syrian conflict and the international response from the beginning of the uprising i.e., January 2011 till March 2016. The sequence of events is stated in terms of every month.

<sup>46</sup> The SC report. <http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/chronology/syria.php?page=all&print=true> (last accessed 3 October 2018).

<sup>47</sup> As the Syrian regime did not accept to reform itself, some of the Syrian armed forces that were in favour of change left the Syrian army. They officially formed the Free Syrian Army in July 2011 to become the main opposition in the country (Adams, 2015; Sluglett, 2016).

<sup>48</sup> During this period, the council did not manage to release a resolution about the Syrian conflict.

about the Syrian uprising. The process of drafting a resolution began during the early stages of the conflict. According to SC report, a draft resolution was proposed by four members in May 2011<sup>49</sup>. The drafting process was complicated because of the different political positions mainly held by the five permanent members in the council who could not agree on a final resolution. That is why the first resolution about this conflict did not come to light by the end of the first year of the Syrian war. Even though the efforts in the council were not rewarding for Syria, examining the first year of the conflict is still interesting for this piece of research. Indeed, this period is helpful to tackle the role of the internal dynamics in the council in shaping the decision of the SC during the drafting process.

On the other hand, other organs of the UN were following the course of events in Syria and reacting accordingly. Discussions centered on how to protect civilians and efforts were concentrated mainly on the humanitarian aspect of the conflict. For example, on 29 April 2011, the Human Rights Council adopted a resolution which requests sending a mission to Syria to investigate the situation<sup>50</sup>. This suggestion was also supported by the Secretary General who called for “[...] a UN team to enter Syria to assess the humanitarian situation” (p.14). On 11 May, Syria resigned its membership from the Human Rights Council. By the end of the same month i.e., 25 May, the SC entered into discussions concerning a draft resolution that was proposed by UK, France, Germany and Portugal. It was not put to vote.

The data collected for this study suggests that during June and August 2011 the SC was actively working on a draft resolution. An informal draft was proposed by the council in June and later two separate excerpts were introduced in August. Another informal draft was also suggested in the same month by the SC. The latter was not voted on. Moreover, a presidential statement was adopted by the council on 3 August 2011 to express concern over “the worsening security situation and violations of human rights” (Jafarova, 2014, p. 28). Another move by the international community was taken during mid-August by the leaders of France, Germany, United States and United Kingdom who called for the Syrian President to “step aside” (Adams, 2015; Baron, 2013). According to Adams, this announcement linked the concept of “regime change” with the end of atrocities in Syria. Being Syria’s ally, Russia did not consider Assad responsible for committing these violent actions. It took advantage of the announcement to “[...]”

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<sup>49</sup> It should be noted that this draft is not part of the data since it was not available.

<sup>50</sup> For more details check the Security Council reports. They present the chronological events of the Syrian conflict and the international response from the beginning of the uprising i.e., January 2011 till March 2016. The sequence of events is stated in terms of every month. <http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/chronology/syria.php>. <http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/chronology/syria.php?page=all&print=true> (last accessed 3 October 2018).

loudly declare that their efforts at the Security Council were aimed at defending Syria's sovereignty, rather than providing political cover for a dictatorship that was killing its own people" (Adams, 2015, p. 13). The same argument was also used to defend its use of veto in October.

As the dispute escalated into a violent and sectarian<sup>51</sup> (i.e., religious) conflict that inflicted thousands of casualties and refugees, the SC put to vote for the first time a resolution proposal on 4 October 2011. According to the SC report of November 2011, the sponsors of this draft, France, Germany, Portugal, and the UK, "[...] condemned the Syrian crackdown on protestors"<sup>52</sup>. Moreover, the text of this draft resolution witnessed various rounds of negotiations and discussions and hence it was considerably modified<sup>53</sup>. However, drafters kept the decision of the SC concerning the actions that should be taken in case Syria did not abide by the measures introduced in the draft<sup>54</sup>. Jafarova (2014) criticizes this document which includes "[...] 'unspecified measures' against the regime after thirty days if the government failed to end the violence, underlining the responsibility of economic and diplomatic sanctions" (p. 42). Therefore, this proposal was vetoed by Russia and China arguing that the draft threatens the sovereignty and independence of the Syrian country. The drafting process witnessed another attempt to forge a resolution. As a matter of fact, an informal draft was proposed by Russia in December 2011 which received official amendments by the SC<sup>55</sup>.

To conclude, the reaction of the international community during the first year of the conflict is characterized by a long and complicated drafting process as well as a special focus on the issue of human rights by other international actors. Indeed, one official draft was put to vote which was preceded by various attempts in the council to propose a draft resolution. Because of the opposing views of the P5, the drafting process was not rewarding despite the intensive efforts made inside the SC. Consequently, 2011 witnessed the failure of the SC in passing a resolution and providing a solution to the conflict.

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<sup>51</sup> For more details about the "sectarianization" of the Syrian civil war and its impact on the neighbouring regions check the work by Seeberg (2016).

<sup>52</sup> For more details check the Security Council report November 2011 monthly forecast which is available on the official website of the Security Council [https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/monthly-forecast/2011-11/lookup\\_c\\_gIKWLeMTIsG\\_b\\_7811209.php](https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/monthly-forecast/2011-11/lookup_c_gIKWLeMTIsG_b_7811209.php)

<sup>53</sup> See footnote 53.

<sup>54</sup> See footnote 53.

<sup>55</sup> See footnote 53.

### **III.2.2. The Second Year 2012: Three Adopted Resolutions and Actions Taken Outside The Council**

The year 2012 witnessed intensification in the efforts of the SC as well as the international community to solve the Syrian conflict. The members of the council redoubled their efforts to find a solution and agree on a resolution. After suggesting eight drafts (seven are informal drafts and one is a formal draft) in 2012, the SC adopted two successive resolutions in April of the same year. It should be noted that among these eight attempts (informal drafts) six of them were introduced by the SC (i.e., all members), one was proposed by France, UK, US, and other members (a formal draft) whereas another attempt (informal draft) was led solely by Russia. Meanwhile, some actions were also taken outside the council namely the six-point plan, and the United Nations Supervision Mission in Syria<sup>56</sup>. The latter are very significant since they played a role in the adoption of both resolutions in April 2012.

Although the General Assembly is not considered to have binding powers like the SC in such matters, the former also played a role in the Syrian conflict. On the basis of its resolution A/Res/66/253, adopted on 16 February 2012, UN Secretary General, Ban Ki- Moon, and the Secretary-General of the League of Arab States, Nabil Elaraby, agreed to appoint the former UN SG, Kofi Annan, as the Joint Special Envoy of the UN and the League of Arab States for the Syrian war (Jafarova, 2014). This proposal was accepted by the SC on 2 March 2012 which marked the beginning of six active months that are described by Jafarova (2014) as “[...] the most active phase in the UN’s quest for a solution to the crisis” (p. 29).

Kofi Annan proposed his six-point plan to the SC on 16 March 2012 which envisaged solutions to the situation in Syria. It predicted that the various political parties in Syria would be actively working together with Annan to establish a political dialogue, put an end to military hostilities, and respect human rights. Added to that, the six-point plan had set out the next steps once a ceasefire was observed. To monitor the situation, an international supervision mechanism was required, and humanitarian aid should have been provided. The plan received support and approval from the SC which produced a presidential statement on 21 March. More importantly, the Syrian government also agreed on this plan in its letter sent to the Joint Special Envoy after four days of the same month (Jafarova, 2014, p. 29). Yet, the second provision of the plan

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<sup>56</sup> It should be noted that the international community continued its endeavours to find a solution for the conflict. Consequently, the Geneva Conference was held on June 2012, and it resulted in the adoption of the Geneva Communiqué. The latter is perceived by Jafarova (2014) as a key document that could have led to a meaningful transitional process once its principles and steps would have been followed and implemented. This chapter does not deal with this document in details since it is issued after two months of the adoption of the first two resolutions.

generated great debate between the member states of the SC. As a matter of fact, Russia and China disagreed with the western members of the council about who should be assigned the responsibility to put an end to hostilities: the Syrian government or Syrian opposition<sup>57</sup>.

Kofi Annan continued in his endeavors to convince the Syrian parties to implement a ceasefire. To support this plan, he asked the SC “[...] to bolster his entreaties with a clear expression of the Council’s will” (p. 30). His request was answered by issuing another presidential statement on 5 April to call for a ceasefire by all parties by 10 April. The latter was implemented starting from 12 April “[...] when the parties suspended their military onslaught for the first time in the duration of the conflict” (p. 30). Yet, discussions between the Syrian government and opposition forces about who should stop military hostilities and refrain from causing provocation hindered any future action. As a result, “[...] the lull in military activities that lasted for a short period of time was gradually superseded by active military hostilities and increasing human casualties” (p. 31).

In the same presidential statement, the SC also refers to the indispensability of creating the international supervision mechanism in Syria as it is mentioned in the six-point plan. However, the P5 differed in their views concerning whether it is safe enough to send UN peacekeepers to this war zone. Moreover, this political conflict that led to a split between the permanent members became bloodier and apparently endless as the situation in Syria worsened. After this prolonged internal political tension in the council, the latter managed to reach consensus between its member states who adopted two successive resolutions in April.

On 14 April 2012, the SC issued its first resolution<sup>58</sup> on the Syrian war which dates to January 2011. The UNSC resolution 2042 includes an authorization to send an advance UN supervision team to Syria. Resolution 2043, adopted on 21 of the same month, “[...] unleashed a full-fledged UN mission on the ground for an initial period of ninety days, formally established the United Nations Supervision Mission in Syria (UNSMIS), and set up a reporting period of fifteen days’ interval” (p. 31). However, the mission could not perform its duties for a long period as the situation continued to deteriorate. Indeed, even though 300 unarmed military observers took part

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<sup>57</sup> The issue of the heated debates and ideological struggle in the council is dealt with in depth in the remainder of the present chapter.

<sup>58</sup> It should be noted that the first two resolutions adopted in April 2012 are included in the corpus since they are preceded by several drafts. The third resolution that is issued in July of the same year is going to be mentioned in this section to provide more clarifications, but it is not part of the corpus for the following reasons. First, it was adopted in order to “renew the mandate of the UNSMIS” (Jafarova, 2014, p. 32) and hence it does not contain a representation of the conflict or more measures. The second reason is that issuing this third draft did not engender many drafts.

in the UNSNIS which played an effective role in controlling the ceasefire, they had to restrict their operations because of security and safety reasons.

The mission managed to pursue its monitoring activities thanks to resolution 2059 issued by the council in July 2012. The latter came “[...] to renew the mandate of the UNSMIS for a final period of thirty days [...]” under the condition that a cessation of violence as well as the use of heavy weapons would be confirmed by the SG (p. 32). Since it was impossible to provide such a secure and safe ground for the mission, its presence in Syria as “[...] the only independent source of on-site information on the events in the country” came to an end quickly (p. 32). It was obvious that this result stifled the little tangible progress that had been achieved by the different international actors in these two years.

Briefly, during the first two years of the Syrian conflict, various efforts were made by the SC as well as by the international community to reach a solution and put an end to violence. However, agreeing on one decision and a draft resolution was not an easy task for the members of the SC because of their opposing attitudes towards the conflict. This drafting process can be said to be long and complex as it was characterized by intensive negotiations and heated debates in the council because member states had different interests. This conclusion can be further justified by contrasting the drafting processes about the Syrian conflict and the Libyan conflict<sup>59</sup> since they share some similarities. Indeed, the SC reacted to the Libyan crisis in a quick and ‘effective’<sup>60</sup> way in comparison to the Syrian case in two obvious aspects. First, the drafting process of the Libyan resolutions did not take a long time and was not intricate since the members of the council reached agreement easily. Second, the adopted resolutions were quickly materialized by taking some actions namely by intervening in Libya<sup>61</sup> to put an end to the violations of humanitarian international law.

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<sup>59</sup> Among the uprisings that came under the so-called Arab Spring, the peaceful demonstrations in Libya and Syria turned into escalating conflicts that caused thousands of casualties and have become major international political issues debated in the SC. Like in Syria, the demonstrations that had taken place in Libya had also faced repression and violent response from the regime and caused many victims. However, even though both conflicts had similar backgrounds and caused violations of human rights, the response of the SC to each conflict was different.

<sup>60</sup> It should be noted that the military intervention in Libya by NATO forces which put an end to the Qaddafi regime provoked international debate about whether the preventive doctrine of R2P can be employed to conduct a regime change (Adams, 2015). In other words, it was argued that the resolution’s content which rather puts more emphasis on humanitarian intervention “[...] was successfully exploited by the NATO members to justify their military intervention in Libya and enforcement of the regime change” (Jafarova, 2015, p. 46).

<sup>61</sup> Thakur (2013) states that “in Libya, it took just one month to mobilize a broad coalition, secure a UN mandate to protect civilians, establish and enforce no kill- zones, stop Gaddafi’s advancing army, and prevent a massacre of the innocents in Benghazi” (p. 69). This NATO intervention came under the preventive doctrine of Responsibility to Protect which was officially adopted by more than 150 states at the UN World Summit in 2005.



### III.3. Schism within The UNSC on The Syrian Case

The uprising that mutated into deadly conflict in Syria provoked heated debates within the SC. This great tension between member states of the council was engendered by the following issues concerning the Syrian civil war. Giving the example of the military intervention in Libya and the toppling of Qaddafi<sup>62</sup>, there were worries in the council that the Libyan scenario would be repeated in Syria and hence Russia expressed its “[...] reluctance to include any threat-of-force language in subsequent resolutions” (Mintz & Wayne, 2016, p. 141). Therefore, they insisted that the scenario of an intervention under the doctrine of Responsibility to Protect in Libya should not be repeated in Syria.

For example, a debate arose when the council suggested imposing sanctions and an arms embargo on the Syrian government in 2011 (Adams, 2015). According to Seeberg (2016), these sanctions that came from international as well as regional state actors were intended to weaken the Syrian regime and contribute to a regime change (p. 102)<sup>63</sup>. The opposition came this time from the non-permanent members of the council, namely India, Brazil, and South Africa (IBSA group) which “[...] appeared to broadly accept the argument that “external interference” would push Syria towards a sectarian [i.e., religious] civil war” (Adams, 2015, p. 10). On 25 May 2011, the SC entered into discussions concerning a draft resolution that was proposed by the UK, France, Germany and Portugal. Members of the council debated their attitudes as “some members were uncomfortable with what they saw as possible action-oriented language which might lead to robust follow-up by the Council” (p. 10). The IBSA group as well as China and Russia argued that the Council should not decide how a country should ‘reform itself politically’. Consequently, the draft resolution was not put to vote.

Another major discussion in the council was about assigning responsibility for committing violence and implementing a ceasefire in Syria. The member states of the SC also disagreed about which regional states should be involved in solving the Syrian question. These issues were

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<sup>62</sup> It should be noted that the military intervention in Libya did not stick to its main purpose which was to protect civilians and end human rights violations since NATO forces managed to kill Ghaddafi. Some SC member states debated how the doctrine of responsibility to protect people does not relate to regime change (Adams, 2015). Siad (2014) concludes that Resolution 1973 adopted by the SC on 17 March 2011 does not include a sign for intervention for its text is explicit and not vague. However, the text of the resolution which came to authorize the use of “[...] all necessary measures [...] to protect civilians and civilian-populated areas” can be considered to have signs of vagueness. As a matter of fact, the expression, *necessary measures*, is very controversial since it caused much criticism in UN resolutions relating to Iraq. In this respect, Scotto di Carlo (2013) points out that the indeterminacy of this expression “[...] gave the possibility of interpreting it as meaning also ‘military action’” (p.120). She also states that discretionary powers can be guaranteed by this vague expression.

<sup>63</sup> The work by Seeberg (2016) provides more details about the identity of these actors and the type of sanctions introduced. He also discusses the purposes behind them and their effectiveness.

discussed not only during the drafting process of resolutions but also when some actions were taken by the international community outside the council.

### **III.3.1. Assigning Responsibility for Committing Atrocities and Implementing a Ceasefire**

IBSA's position was not fully clarified since they abstained from the vote on a draft resolution in October 2011 which assigns the responsibility of committing atrocities and killing almost 2,000 people (p.10). The two other permanent members, Russia and China, vetoed this draft resolution as well as the one on February 2012. On the one hand, their reaction came as a rejection of imposing sanctions on Syria. On the other hand, Russia expressed its desire to adopt a resolution that is harsh but at the same time addresses both parties that are involved in the conflict in an equal manner (Baron, 2013, p. 264).

Furthermore, even though the six-point plan was considered as a sign of hope to bring peace and even though its endorsement by the Council "[...] was almost seen as a victory of international diplomacy", it provoked more heated discussions in the council (Jafarova, 2014, p. 30). In the same context, unable to assign responsibility and accountability, the SC also disagreed on the second provision of the League of Nation-Six-point plan which placed the primary responsibility on the Syrian government to put an end to military hostilities (Jafarova, 2014, p.28-29).

To this end, **the Syrian government should immediately cease troop movements** towards, and **end the use of heavy weapons** in, population centres, and **begin pullback of military concentrations** in and around population centres ..., **the Syrian government should work** with the Envoy to bring about a sustained cessation of armed violence in all its forms by all parties with an effective United Nations supervision mechanism. Similar commitments would be sought by the Envoy from the opposition and all relevant elements to stop the fighting and work with him to bring about a sustained cessation of armed violence in all its forms by all parties with an effective United Nations supervision mechanism<sup>64</sup>.

However, it should be noted that there is a clear reference in the SC report about the Syrian government forces being responsible for committing crimes against humanity and inflicting violent repression. For example, in 2011, the SC reports that "on 15 March, state security forces responded with violent repression" to the escalating protests in Syria while in December of the same year it was stated that "[...] crimes against humanity had likely been committed by Syrian government forces" (p. 13-14).

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<sup>64</sup> Six-Point Proposal of the Joint Special Envoy of the United Nations and the League of Arab States, Annex to S/RES/2042 (2012) (14 April 2012), 4.

Permanent and non-permanent members of the council that represent the Western world such as France, the United States, the United Kingdom, Germany, and Portugal “unanimously underlined that it was the clear responsibility of the Syrian government to cease the military attacks, which had to be reciprocated by the opposition forces” (p. 30). However, the two remaining non-Western permanent members, Russia, and China, had another view concerning this matter by placing responsibility on both parties in Syria. In other words, they argued that an armistice should be signed by both the government and opposition forces that had to commit themselves to refrain from any provocation (p. 30). More importantly, for them, this process of a cessation of military hostilities should be taken not only reciprocally but also simultaneously by the aforementioned parties.

### **III.3.2. The Involvement of International and Regional Actors in The Syrian Case**

The internal tension in the council caused by the political interests of the P5 which influenced their relationship with other international actors was becoming increasingly obvious. The permanent members of the council were divided into two camps, and each was supported by the other non-permanent member states: the Western powers (France, UK, USA) and Russia and China. From the very beginning, the position of the latter was in favor of Assad for the following reasons. Russia would not allow the fall of Assad and lose its main important ally in the strategic region of the Middle East since Syria is a significant economic partner and customer of Russian weapons (Mintz & Wayne, 2016; Jafarova, 2014). By supporting non-intervention in Syria “China aimed at primarily limiting U.S. hegemony in the Middle East, partly because of its own economic interests there, and partly because of its desire to prevent Western intervention in domestic affairs” (Mintz & Wayne, 2016, p. 143).

These two opposite poles had different attitudes concerning various issues that were seen as a threat to their interests. For example, the US and Russia disagreed on which state should participate in the Geneva conference in 2012. Saudi Arabia and Iran were rejected by Russia and USA, respectively since they were active supporters of the opposing parties in Syria (i.e., the opposition and the government respectively) (Jafarova, 2015). Sluglett (2016) considers this support that is coming from international and regional actors to be decisive in solving the Syrian crisis. He states that “[...] as well as showing the lack of capacity of international institutions, this new ‘struggle for Syria’ is in many ways a result of the machinations of forces far beyond Syria’s borders [external support to the Syrian parties]” (p.51).

More importantly, to serve their interests, these two poles also tried to influence the remaining member states in the council as well as other international actors such as the Arab League who played an active role in both cases. In the Libyan conflict, it was the League that proposed to the UNSC to impose a no-fly zone in its resolution. Yet, it was disappointed by the violent actions carried by NATO that led to the toppling of Muammar Gaddafi (Seeberg, 2016). That is why “[...] a military intervention [in Syria] would hardly ever be accepted by the Arab League” (p.104), even though the League showed great motivation and contribution to solving the Syrian crisis as it is stated earlier in the present chapter. However, in the case of Syria, the League condemned the Assad regime because it was under the pressure of the United States. The latter thought that this act would influence Russia and China to accept more binding UNSC resolutions.

#### **III.4. Conclusion**

Having shown the split in the SC concerning the Syrian conflict, it would be highly interesting and significant to show how these issues linguistically manifest in the different drafts proposed to the SC and the final resolutions. In other words, the conflict of interests and the ideological struggle in the council could be further revealed by examining and comparing the texts proposed by the different state members of the council during the drafting process. A critical discourse analysis of this empirical material will show how member states’ attitudes and representations of the conflict are reformulated and re-shaped through their travel.

It is the aim of this study to explore how after this great tension and extreme opposing attitudes, the SC managed to agree on one resolution and reach compromise despite their ideological differences. A question that should be raised from a linguistic point of view: how can texts with supposedly different representations end up in one resolution that should satisfy all member states of the council? In other words, how are the issues, such as assigning responsibility and regime change on which member states disagreed, linguistically represented in drafts and in what way are they transformed to reach consensus? To answer these questions, it is beneficial to first examine what have been researched on the wording and language that is used in SC resolutions concerning other cases. The following chapter deals with three main studies concerning the wording and discourse of some organs of the UN mainly UNESCO and SC.

## **DISCOURSE STUDIES ON UNESCO AND UNSC RESOLUTIONS**

### **IV.1. Introduction**

The diplomatic and legal discourse has so far received relatively little academic attention. Drawing from Donahue and Prosser (1997), Dontcheva-Navratilova (2009) states that “[...] diplomatic interaction in general remains a relatively neglected field of research in communication and discourse studies”. United Nations discourse is one of the areas that has been scarcely researched in the field of diplomatic and international relations (Dontcheva-Navratilova, 2009). Various studies tackle the structure, practice and powers of the organs of the UN such as the SC, but they do not take into account the discourse of these institutions and how diplomats use language to solve conflicts (Wells, 2005; Eitel, 2000; Öberg, 2006; Conforti, 2005).

Other researchers include in their studies an examination of SC resolutions’ content; yet the scope of such investigations is not necessarily linguistic as they are usually restricted to analyzing few expressions in one resolution in relation to its historical and political context (Jafarova, 2015; Adams, 2015; Siad, 2014; Hertz, 2009; Lapidoth, 1992). A case in point is the concise study provided by Siad (2014) concerning resolution 1444 about Libya. The researcher deals with its content in relation to its legal effect when interpreting it.

The examinations of UNSC documents in the aforementioned studies do not provide a detailed (critical) discourse analysis of the texts of the resolutions. Only few studies explore the language used by some UN organs in their resolutions such as by the UNESCO (Dontcheva-Navratilova, 2009, 2006, 2005) and the SC (Gruenberg, 2009; Scotto di Carlo, 2011, 2013, 2015, 2017). Indeed, the theoretical framework and analytical tools of the current study are partly derived from these major linguistic studies.

This chapter consists of two main sections: it starts with a description of previous research on the discourse of the UN (Dontcheva-Navratilova’s (2009, 2006, 2005), Gruenberg’s (2009) and Scotto di Carlo’s (2013) studies) and ends with a discussion and brief conclusion that provide a glimpse about my contribution which will be more elaborated in the next chapter.

### **IV.2. Description of Previous Research on The Discourse of The UN**

The first section of this chapter sheds light on what has been already researched on the discourse of the UN in general and the SC in particular. Dontcheva-Navratilova (2009) examines the effects of the institutional and situational context on the generic structure and language of

UNESCO resolutions. An investigation about the choice of words in relation to the type of entity and issue being addressed in UNSC resolutions is conducted by Gruenberg (2009). This section also includes an overview of the critical discourse study about UNSC resolutions which is introduced by Scotto di Carlo (2013) to show how vagueness is used as a political strategy by the SC in its resolutions about Iraq and Iran.

#### **IV.2.1. Dontcheva-Navratilova's Analysis of UNESCO Resolutions**

Dontcheva-Navratilova's (2009) work provides a thorough analysis of the legal and diplomatic language of the UN. In her project, which is considered genre-based research of UNESCO resolutions, she examines "[...] the effect of the situational context on generic structure from both the synchronic and diachronic viewpoint in an attempt to observe any visible signs of the development of this genre over the last sixty years" (Martínez Escudero, 2012, p. 128-129). She applies various theoretical approaches from sociolinguistics, stylistics, and pragmatics to explore text organization, lexicogrammatical and semantic choices (p. 128-129).

Her corpus is made up of three Resolutions Volumes of UNESCO resolutions<sup>65</sup>. In her analysis, Dontcheva-Navratilova (2009) explores the development of the text structure and shows how "the changes undergone by the structure and the characteristic features of resolutions reflect a tendency towards formal and structural codification, promoting the use of recurrent word combinations" (p. 78). Her work includes a synchronic study of the generic structure<sup>66</sup>, the rhetorical structure<sup>67</sup> and style markers of resolutions.

The next section provides a description of her analysis of the style markers<sup>68</sup>. She studies the (1) syntactic patterns in adverbial structures, (2) clause patterns and verb complementation in relation to (3) non-performative and performative verbs, (4) information processing, cohesion and coherence, and clause relations. Such style markers are "[...] considered to be characteristic of the genre since they reflect the constraints imposed by the generic structure [...]" (p. 94). For the purposes of the current study, the next sub-sections are devoted to the first three style markers.

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<sup>65</sup> She includes the complete text of three Resolutions Volumes adopted in the 2<sup>nd</sup>, 30<sup>th</sup> and 32<sup>nd</sup> sessions of the General Conference in 1947, 1999 and 2003 respectively. In total, her corpus is made of 121.000 words. The first Volume is composed of 33.000 words while the two other include 45.000 words and 43.000 words.

<sup>66</sup> In the analysis of the generic structure of resolutions, she deals with the optional and obligatory elements in these texts.

<sup>67</sup> The rhetorical structure of resolutions is composed of three moves: (1) identifying the resolution, (2) providing grounds for the decision and (3) stating the decision (p.83-85).

<sup>68</sup> Some aspects of the generic and rhetorical structure are dealt with in the second chapter of the present study.

### ***IV.2.1.1. Syntactic Patterns in Adverbial Structures***

Dontcheva-Navratilova (2009) focuses on exploring the significant recurrent syntactic patterns in the text of UNESCO resolutions since they “[...] serve as a basis for the establishment of matching parallelism relations between textual components within the colony text of the *Resolutions* volume” (p. 98). Her investigation on stylistically important recurrent syntactic patterns in resolutions, which is mainly descriptive, begins by looking at adverbial structures. Adverbials are part of the main clause and represent the obligatory setting and optional preamble components of the structure of resolutions.

She states that all adverbials in her material expressing the aforementioned structural parts of resolutions are adjuncts. Moreover, she shows how the realization type<sup>69</sup>, semantic role<sup>70</sup>, and position of adverbials<sup>71</sup> depend on the type of resolutions (executive and preparatory resolutions). Dontcheva-Navratilova (2009) also tackles the relevant patterns and verb complementation in supplementary clauses, which are realized by clausal adverbials. Her investigation reveals that these clauses are based on “verbs with recurrent noun phrase and *that*-clause complementation” (p. 103). It should be noted that complementation by noun phrases is mostly present in *ing*-clauses<sup>72</sup>.

### ***IV.2.1.2. Clause Patterns and Verb Complementation***

Main clause patterns and complementation of main-clause predicative verbs are also studied by Dontcheva-Navratilova (2009) as part of her investigation of the stylistically significant recurrent syntactic structures. She states that clause components correspond to generic structure components i.e., non-finite subordinate clauses come in the preamble part while the main finite clauses are used in the operative component of the genre. That is why, she points out that “[...] it

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<sup>69</sup> Her study reveals that clausal realizations of adverbials are typical of executive resolutions whereas phrasal realizations of adverbials characterize preparatory resolutions. Concerning clausal realizations of adverbials, non-finite clauses, especially *ing*-clauses, represent the highest frequency of syntactic realizations of adverbials (52.8 %) in her corpus. According to Dontcheva-Navratilova (2009), this preference to using non-finite clauses reflects “[...] the written and highly formal character of the genre which requires a very condensed form of expression” (p. 99). On the other hand, the prominent presence of adjuncts in the form of prepositional phrases (42.7 %) is due to “[...] their function in the textual structure of signalling the obligatory setting element” (p. 100).

<sup>70</sup> Some of the semantic categories expressed by clausal adjuncts are similar to those indicated by non-clausal adverbials like time, place, manner and contingency. In addition, the clausal adverbials also realize other semantic relations such as preference and proportion.

<sup>71</sup> Dontcheva-Navratilova’s analysis (2009) on the placement of adverbials in the clause shows that those realized by clausal adverbials occupy medial position in executive resolutions whereas prepositional phrases come mostly in initial or final positions in preparatory resolutions.

<sup>72</sup> According to her, this preference given to this pattern is due to the abstract noun heads in the form of nominalizations which are typical of legal English (2009).

is reasonable to expect that structural patterns at the highest syntactic level, i.e., the level of main clauses, reflect strategic choices in discourse which typically motivate stylistically relevant choices of language means” (p. 111).

Dontcheva-Navratilova’s analysis<sup>73</sup> (2009) about clause patterns and verb complementation shows that the following clause patterns are found in her material:

- **The one-place SV pattern<sup>74</sup>:**

The following Members were thus elected: [...] (R010/1999)

- **The two-place SV patterns: SVO**

*The General Conference, [...]*

2. *Thanks* the Director-General, who has spared no effort to increase the participation of Palestine in UNESCO’s programme and activities; (R52/1999)

- **The three-place SV patterns: SVOO**

*The General Conference, [...]*

1. *Invites* the Director-General to submit additional information on the proposal contained in these documents at the 159th session of the Executive Board, in particular, regarding the repercussions of such a proposal on the current system of split-level assessment of contributions of Member States; (R69/1999)

- **The three-place SV patterns: SVOC**

*The General Conference, [...]*

Elects the following Member States to be members of the Intergovernmental Council until the end of the 32nd session of the General Conference: [list of states] (R016/1999)

UNESCO resolutions are highly characterized by transitive clause patterns (i.e., the two- and three-place SV patterns). The monotransitive SVO and ditransitive SVOO clause patterns have the highest frequency of occurrence in both sub-types of resolutions. This distribution of clause patterns is genre-specific “[...] as it is motivated by the high frequency of declarative speech acts stating decisions, and directive speech acts stating duties and obligations assigned to member states and executives” (p. 113). This preference for performative verbs is seen as a stylistic

<sup>73</sup> In her analysis, Dontcheva-Navratilova (2009) applies Biber et al.’s typology of clause patterns (1999). The latter is a combination of the approach of verb-valency and the traditional classification of verbs in relation to transitivity (Quirk et al., (1985); Huddleston & Pullum (2002)). She classifies her data according to three major clause patterns: (1) the one-place SV pattern corresponding to intransitive verbs, (2) the two- and three-place SV patterns (SVO, SVOO, SVOC, SVOA) corresponding to transitive verbs and (3) the two-place SV patterns with complement or adverbial corresponding to copular verbs (SVC and SVA). However, not all patterns are found in her data.

<sup>74</sup> It should be noted that her material includes a single case of the SV clause pattern which occurs in the 1999 preparatory resolutions about elections. According to her, the reason for the absence of intransitive and copular verb patterns is because the resolutions include an agentive subject (the General Conference) that is “[...] engaged in a process extended beyond the agentive participant, the processes being primarily communication, mental activity and causation” (p. 112).



choice that reflects a tendency towards disambiguation and clarity in the genre. She also explores verb complementation of non-performative as well as performative verbs.

Non-performative verbs that come in the simple past tense of the unmarked indicative mood occur mostly in preparatory resolutions dealing with administrative issues. They perform representative speech acts and have an informative character as they report decisions taken by the General Conference:

- (1) At its 2nd plenary meeting, on 26 October 1999, the General Conference, having considered the provisional agenda drawn up by the Executive Board (30 C/1 Rev.), **adopted** that document. As its 3rd plenary meeting, on 27 October 1999, it **decided** to add to its agenda items [...] (R03/1999).

Dontcheva-Navratilova's corpus (2009) includes the following non-performative verbs: *adopt*, *announce*, *approve*, *decide*, *elect*, and *set up*. Except for *decide* which has a *to*-infinitive clause complementation, the remaining non-performative verbs are complemented by noun phrases. These syntactic types of complementation have the function of direct objects which either refer to countries that are affected by the action taken (example 2) or state the decision of *the General Conference* (example 3).

- (2) At its 1st plenary meeting, on 26 October 1999, the General Conference, [...], *set up a Credentials Committee* for its 30th session consisting of the following Member States: Burkina Faso, Costa Rica, Georgia, Lebanon, [...] (R01/1999) (p. 115).
- (3) At its 2nd plenary meeting, on 26 October 1999, the General Conference **decided to admit as observers the representatives of the following non-governmental organizations**: [...] (R06/1999) (p. 115).

The verbs *adopt* and *decide* which are the only predicates occurring more than once are “[...] regarded as semantically central to the genre of resolutions as they refer to the act of taking a decision and to the act of adoption a resolution, which overlap with the macro-performative function of the *Resolutions* volume” (p. 114). It should be noted that the verb *decide* also occurs in performative sentences, where it is complemented by *to*-infinitive and *that*-clauses.

Dontcheva-Navratilova (2009) uses Biber et al.'s typology (1999) to conduct a semantic analysis of speech act verbs (non-performative and performative verbs). It distinguishes seven main semantic domains according to the core meaning of the verbs: activity verbs, communication verbs, mental verbs, causative verbs, verbs of simple recurrence, verbs of existence or relationship, and aspectual verbs. Three semantic domains are reflected through the six aforementioned non-performative verbs: mental verbs (*approve*, *adopt* and *decide*), communication verbs (such as *announce*) and activity verbs (*set up* and *elect*).

Verb complementation of performative verbs is also investigated by Dontcheva-Navratilova (2005). According to her, UNESCO resolutions are characterized by the presence of performatives which are used in the active voice of the simple present tense of the indicative mood to explicitly state the communicative intention of the speaker (p. 15). All five types of these verbs (directives, expressives, assertives, representatives and declaratives) are present in her data. Assertive, directive, and expressive verbs have the highest frequency of occurrence. Dontcheva-Navratilova (2009) notes that apart from declarations and a group of assertive verbs, all performative verbs are realized by illocutionary performative sentences in the resolutions. For example, *note*, *reiterate*, *express* etc. are among the group of illocutionary performative verbs that are part of communicative verbs while the rest belong to mental verbs (p. 115-116).

The following group of assertive verbs is mostly used with the SVO clause pattern: *accept*, *acknowledge*, *appreciate*, *approve*, *consider*, *decide*, *endorse*, *express*, *note*, *reaffirm*, *recall*, *reconfirm*, *recognize*, *reiterate*, *resolve*, *support*, *take note of*, *underline*. The most frequent realization of verb complementation in the assertive group is the *that*-clause. Among the various assertive verbs, *decide* is the mostly used verb in the resolutions and it is often complemented by a *that*-clause (example 4). The noun-phrase is the second syntactic realization that is mostly used and most of the occurrences include the verb *approve* (example 5). It should be noted that almost all verbs take a noun-phrase complementation. The least used verb complementation is *to*-infinitive clause and all instances are exclusively used in post-predicate position with *decide* (example 6).

(4) The General Conference, [...]

*Decides that the contributions remaining due for the financial periods 1996-1997 [...]* (R 66/1999) (emphasis in bold added) (p. 119).

(5) The General Conference, [...]

4. *Approves the orientations* given by the Director-General to the Slave Route project [...]

 (R 34/1999) (emphasis in bold added) (p. 118).

(6) The General Conference, [...]

*Decides to add a third paragraph to Rule 37 and its Rules of Procedures reading as follows:* (R 78.115) (emphasis in bold added) (p. 119).

Six directive verbs are found in her material, and they are used with both the SVO and SVOO clause patterns: *appeal*, *authorize*, *call upon*, *invite*, *request*, *urge*. The most frequent clause pattern that occurs with this type of performatives is the SVOO ditransitive clause pattern which “[...] logically requires the identification of the recipient” (p. 116). The occurrences of directive

verbs in SVOO clauses are complemented with a noun phrase and *to*-infinitive. The former has the grammatical function of an indirect object with the semantic role of recipient. Dontcheva-Navratilova (2009) states that “in this pattern, the noun phrase functioning as direct object in the main clause performs the function of subject of the *to*-infinitive clause, as the addressee of the speech act is the agent responsible for the future action [...]” (p. 122) (example 7).

(7) *The General Conference*, [...]

1. *Invites* **the Director-General to submit additional information on the proposal contained in these documents [...]** (R 69/1999) (emphasis in bold added) (p. 122).

Two expressive verbs (*commend*, *welcome*) occur in SVO clause pattern and are complemented by noun phrases. Four other expressives (*congratulate*, *convey (gratitude)*, *express (gratitude)*, *pay (tribute)*) come in SVOO clause patterns and have different verb complementation patterns in comparison with directives. They occur with a noun phrase to refer to the addressee who has the semantic role of a recipient and a prepositional object which is introduced by the preposition *for* to indicate an action that is beneficial for the addressor (example 8). It should be noted that the expressive verb *thank* is used in both clause patterns.

(8) *The General Conference*, [...]

1. *Congratulates* and *thanks* **the Director-General for his great efforts** to ensure the full implementation of the Executive Board’s decisions and the General Conference’s resolutions; (R 69/1999) (emphasis in bold added) (p. 122).

Furthermore, Dontcheva-Navratilova (2005, 2009) extends her analysis of directives and expressives to study politeness strategies that are invoked by these two types of performative verbs in UNESCO resolutions. She states that “UNESCO resolutions are typically group performatives (Hughes 1984: 379, Thomas 1995: 41) and commonly express directive and expressive speech acts and declarations” (p. 15, 2009). As a matter of fact, she considers directives as a tool used by UNESCO to have member states abide by its decision. In her words,

The organization has no further instruments or power to enforce its decisions on the member states, as they are supposed to adhere voluntarily to the decisions of the organizations made by vote. Therefore, it is reasonable to claim that the choice of directive speech acts used in resolutions, and particularly of the force, reflects the above-described relationship between the organization and its members and signals an effort to mitigate the unequal power relations between the participants (Dontcheva-Navratilova 2009, p. 40).

Her analysis thus concentrates on “[...] speech-act strategies used in resolutions for the management of positive and negative face” (p. 41). Her semantic analysis of directive and expressive speech acts is based on Leech’s framework for illocutionary verbs analysis (1983),

Bach and Harnish's analysis of directives (1979) and Searle's analysis of illocutionary acts (1969, 1975). She adopts three major variables for the classification of directive verbs found in her data: the desirability of the event for the addresser and addressee, the implicated attitude of the addressee and the size of imposition ranging from weak, middle to a strong imposition (Table 2) (2007, p. 17).

**Table 2: Semantic analysis of directive verbs that are found in her material (Dontcheva-Navratilova, 2005, p. 17)**

Illocutionary verb	Desirability for addressor/ addressee	Implicated attitude of the addressor	Force of imposition
<i>appeal</i>	↓ Adee ↑ Ador*	Wish that Adee do X*	Weak imposition
<i>authorize</i>	↑ Adee (↓ Ador)	Granting permission to do X in virtue of the authority of Ador	Middle imposition
<i>call upon</i>	↓ Adee ↑ Ador	Wish that Adee do X	Weak imposition
<i>invite</i>	↑ Adee (↓ Ador)	Willingness for Adee to do X	No imposition
<i>request</i>	↓ Adee ↑ Ador	Desire that Adee do X	Middle imposition
<i>urge</i>	↓ Adee (↑ Ador)	Desire that Adee do X	Middle imposition

\*↓ Ador marks undesirable for the addressor, ↑ Ador marks desirable for the addressor

↓ Adee marks undesirable for the addressee, ↑ Adee marks desirable for the addressee

X marks the action that the Adee is to perform

Moreover, to account for politeness strategies conveyed by these directives in her material, Dontcheva-Navratilova (2005) uses the Tact and Generosity Maxims of Politeness (Leech 1983) which are about 'minimizing cost to other while maximizing the benefit to other' and 'minimizing benefit to self while maximizing cost to self' (p. 18). Three scales are employed to measure the degree of tact conveyed: the cost-benefit scale, the optionality scale, and the indirectness scale.

Among the directive verbs found in the material, only *authorize*, and *invite* express a desire of action on the part of the addressee while the benefit to the addresser is concealed in verbs such as *appeal* and *call upon*. The degree of optionality for the addressee is maximized by using only illocutionary verbs of middle and weak force of imposition in the material; "they mitigate the authority of the addressor and the strength of his commitment" (p.18). Her findings evidence that UNESCO resolutions do not include directive verbs with a strong force of imposition. For Dontcheva-Navratilova (2005), this reveals the aspects of formality and politeness in the diplomatic communication and the nature of the relationship between the participants in this genre (p. 17). Negative politeness is revealed through the usage of "[...] indirect directive speech acts with a speech-act verb mitigating the illocutionary force of the utterance and allowing for some ambivalence in its interpretation" (Dontcheva-Navratilova, 2009, p. 120) (example 9).

(9) *The General Conference*, [...]

1. *Invites* professional associations of journalists and the media, as well as media entertainment industries, to exercise self-discipline and self-regulation (R 40/1999) (p. 121).

Expressives are used to indicate past or present events and to satisfy social expectations. Her material includes five expressives whose meanings vary in terms of two aspects: the desirability of the event for the addresser and addressee and the implicated attitude of the addresser (Table 3).

**Table 3: Semantic analysis of the expressive verbs found in her material (Dontcheva-Navratilova 2005, p. 21)**

Illocutionary verb	Desirability for addressor/ addressee	Implicated attitude of the addressor
<i>Congratulate</i>	↑Adee*	Pleasure at X*
<i>Convey (gratitude)</i>	↑ Ador	Gratitude for X
<i>express (gratitude)</i>	↑Ador	Gratitude for X
<i>Pay (tribute)</i>	↑ Adee ↑Ador	Pleasure at X + Gratitude for X
<i>Thank</i>	↑Ador	Gratitude for X

\*↓ Ador marks undesirable for the addressor, ↑ Ador marks desirable for the addressor

↓ Adee marks undesirable for the addressee, ↑ Adee marks desirable for the addressee

X marks the action performed by the Adee

The analysis of expressives in her material shows that these verbs are associated with positive politeness. Her investigation is based on the approbation and modesty maxims of politeness (Leech, 1983). The former is about ‘minimizing dispraise of *other*’ and ‘maximizing praise of *other*’ while the modesty maxim is associated with ‘minimizing praise of *self*’ and ‘maximizing dispraise of *self*’. Dontcheva-Navratilova (2005) claims that “the positive politeness markers include the use of the paraphrases of the verb *thank*, which require greater effort from the part of the addressor and state explicitly his attitude of expressing gratitude” (p. 22) (example 10-11). Moreover, she states that positive politeness is also reflected in “[...] the choice of speech-act verbs marked for high degree of formality and the use of pre-modifying adjectives for intensifying positive stance [...]” (2009, p. 120) (example 12).

(10) *The General Conference*, [...]

2. *Thanks* the Director-General for the measures taken to organize the two meetings of governmental experts during the 1998-1999 biennium; (R26. 64)

(11) *The General Conference*, [...]

2. *Pays tribute* to Mr Federico Mayor and *expresses its deep gratitude* to him on the occasion of this plenary meeting of 5 November 1999. (R08. 9) (emphasis in bold added)

(12) *The General Conference*, [...]

1. Expresses its **profound gratitude** to the President of the General Conference and the Chairperson of the Administrative Commission for all the efforts they have made, in particularly difficult circumstances, to find solutions acceptable to all. (R71. 110)

To conclude, the analyses conducted by Dontcheva-Navratilova (2005, 2009) on the syntactic patterns in adverbial structures, clause patterns and verb complementation are highly significant for future research on UN documents in general. More importantly, it would be interesting to test her claim concerning the association between the use of directives and politeness strategies in UNSC resolutions. She claims that “variation in the degree of imposition in directive speech acts in resolutions may be interpreted as an application of a politeness strategy resulting in power mitigation” (2009, p.44). For example, deleting directives with a strong force of imposition during the drafting process of UNSC resolutions and replacing them with other directives with weak or middle force of imposition can be associated with negative politeness. In other words, by opting for a mitigated representation, drafters seem to avoid threatening the face of the addressee to reach agreement with Russia and China on the draft. In the same line, Gruenberg (2009) and Scotto di Carlo (2013) show in their studies how the use of instructive words, which are like directives, can depend on the issue and addressee being directed by the SC.

#### **IV.2.2. Gruenberg’s Hierarchical Classification System of Wording in UNSC Resolutions**

As to my knowledge, the first linguistic work<sup>75</sup> about UNSC resolutions is carried out by Gruenberg (2009) who claims that the SC fails to treat countries (i.e., entities)<sup>76</sup> equally and objectively, specifically Israel and South Africa in comparison with the other countries. This disparate treatment of states by the SC is revealed by studying: (1) the number of resolutions issued to direct each country and the role of veto power during and after the Cold War, (2) the word choices with different countries that committed a similar issue<sup>77</sup> and (3) the role of the

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<sup>75</sup> It should be noted that Sloan (1988), the former Director of the General Legal Division of the United Nations Legal Office, also tackles the wording used in General Assembly resolutions. Gruenberg (2009) and Scotto di Carlo (2013) argue that his survey is merely quantitative without a hierarchical classification of the wording. Moreover, it does not take into consideration the variation of words in relation to the issue and country in question (Gruenberg, 2009, p. 482). This study is not included in this chapter because it was not available.

<sup>76</sup> He calls countries directed by the SC *Entities*. However, I will use the term *countries* in this section.

<sup>77</sup> He calls issues *Subjects*. An issue or a *Subject* is, for instance, a military attack that is carried out by an entity against another. I use *issue* instead of *subject* to avoid confusion since *subject* can be understood as a grammatical function.

Negroponete Doctrine which influenced the balance of wording in SC resolution. The latter parameter is not presented in the following sections for it is irrelevant for the present study<sup>78</sup>.

#### ***IV.2.2.1. The Number of Resolutions for Each Country and The Role of Veto Power***

Gruenberg (2009) tackles the behaviour of the SC over two periods: from the creation of the SC until the end of the Cold War (i.e., 1946 to 1989) and during the post-Cold War period (i.e., 1990 to 2009). After the fall down of the Soviet Union, the SC issued more than 1,100 resolutions which is almost twice the number of the resolutions that were adopted from 1946 to 1989. There was an excessive focus on Israel's actions which "[...] have been the Subject of far more resolutions than any other Subject [country]" since the establishment of the UN (p. 494). More specifically, the SC addressed Israel in 147 resolutions "which was more than twenty-three percent of the 646 resolutions issued during that time frame [before 1990]" (p. 494). The second country that was frequently addressed after Israel is South Africa.

He states that resolutions about various issues that are related to international peace and security were not adopted due to the veto power which was used by either the US or the Soviet Union. His claim can be related to the case of the Syrian conflict especially during the first two years (2011-2012) since the SC was unable to reach agreement during the first year. Its first resolution concerning this conflict came after one year of negotiation and proposing drafts. The resolutions that were adopted later were either about encouraging negotiation or calling for a ceasefire. It seems that the SC is witnessing a return to the Cold war scenario that was featured by an ideological struggle between the western and Russian poles.

Not only did the behaviour of the SC change by the end of the cold war but also its vocabulary. In this respect, Gruenberg states that "[F]ollowing the breakup of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War, the Security Council was freed from its shackles and able to consider more issues while using different word choices" (p. 492). For instance, the emotive words *censure* and *grieved* have not been used during the post-cold war period while *alarmed* and *concerned* have been more frequently employed.

#### ***IV.2.2.2. Word Choices with Different Countries Committing a Similar Issue***

Gruenberg's study (2009) includes an analysis of all UNSC resolutions in terms of the wording, vocabulary and details employed by the SC to represent the conflicts being addressed. He

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<sup>78</sup> The Negroponete doctrine, which was adopted after the terrorist attack on September 11, 2001, asserts that Israel should have equal treatment in the SC. In case this condition is not met, the United States will veto the unbalanced resolutions.

restricts his analysis to nine specific areas. Some examples of these nine specific areas are: the Hebron massacre vs. the Park Hotel bombing, precise numbers and civilians, atrocities perpetrated by South Africa, on the one hand, and by other countries, on the other hand, and warnings given by the SC to Israel and South Africa (Gruenberg, 2009, p. 469). He focuses on the latter countries and topics for one or more of the following reasons: (1) the SC spent a large amount of its time dealing with the issue, (2) the SC spent very little time tackling the issue even though it led to huge losses, (3) the SC chose sharp wording to describe the issue, (4) or the SC used different wording when describing similar issues. He cross-references the issue of each resolution with the country, wording and details employed. To systematically and objectively interpret his collected statistics and identify the specific characteristics of a text, he carried out a content analysis.

He developed a classification structure of UNSC wording to be able to perform the content analysis (Table 4). Three different types of words are in focus: emotive, instructive, and modifying words (Table 4). Gruenberg (2009) deals with eight lexical items called emotive words from the wide vocabulary that the SC uses to express its institutional feelings towards the issue of the resolution and the country's actions (Table 4). The second group, instructive words, is about stating "[...] the amount of urgency the Security Council attaches to the action stated in the resolution" (p. 482). According to Gruenberg (2009), they are "the words that matter most to the target of a Security Council resolution [...]" (p. 487). Their significance lies in their role to illustrate not only the amount of authority the council intends to convey but also the influence it intends to apply to make the country recognize the severity of the issue. Indeed, he states that "the stronger the instructive word, the greater risk an Entity takes by ignoring it. If disregarded long enough, the Security Council may impose sanctions or authorize military engagement" (p. 489). His analysis is based on seven instructive words. It should be noted that the verb *decide* cannot be always considered as an instructive verb. Indeed, Dontcheva-Navratilova (2009) considers *decide* as an assertive and not a directive. Modifying words<sup>79</sup> are mainly adverbs that are used by the SC to intensify the representation of actions and feelings expressed towards the conflict.

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<sup>79</sup> It should be noted that Gruenberg (2009) does not provide many details about the use of the modifying words in his article.



**Table 4: The hierarchical classification of emotive, instructive, and modifying words**

Emotive Words from Weakest to strongest	Instructive Words from Weakest to strongest	Modifying Words Adverbs*
Concerned (2793) Grieved (32) Deplored (216) Condemned (623) Alarmed Shocked (8) Indignant (10) Censured (7)	Decide (<3000) Call upon (1357) Recommend Request (2968) Urge Warn (17) Demand (805)	Vigorously (3) Deeply Gravely Solemnly Urgently Strongly (371)

\* The appearance of the modifying adverbs in the table is not related to an intensity scale. Gruenberg (2009) only mentions the number of occurrences of the adverbs *vigorously* (three times) and *strongly* (371 times) (p. 490).

His taxonomy of the emotive and instructive words is based on the intensity of the words. Gruenberg (2009) argues that “[...] many of the divergent words used are considered synonyms of each other according to the dictionary, yet appear to convey messages of different intensities” (p. 483). He classifies these words based on their definitions in the dictionary<sup>80</sup> as well as their context in the resolutions and how they are used. He also conducts an analysis of modifiers which “[...] serve an important role by incrementally increasing the intensity of a word without requiring the Security Council to use the next strongest emotive word in the hierarchical system” (p. 491). Gruenberg (2009) ’s hierarchical classification includes six adverbs (Table 4).

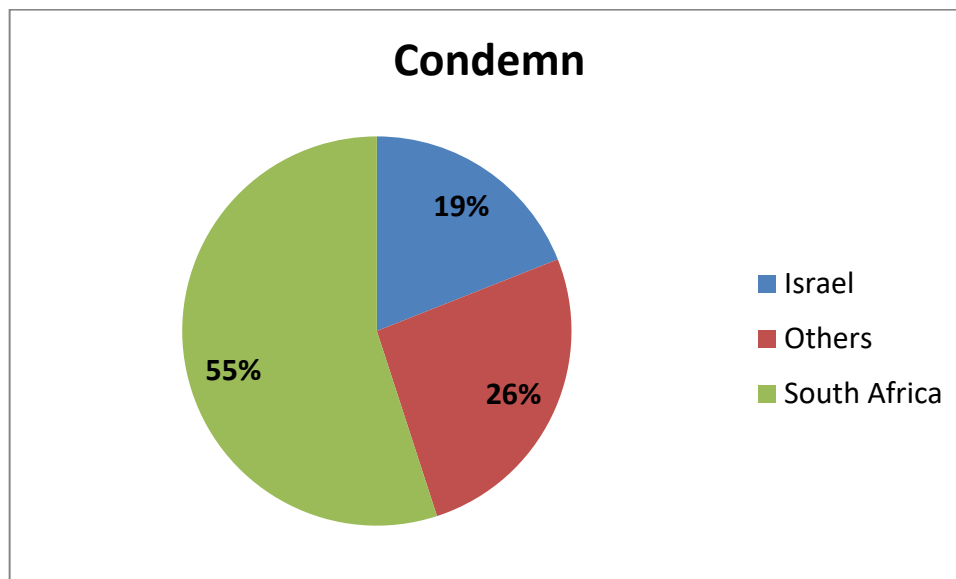
He also explores the usage of the aforementioned words in all resolutions that address Israel and South Africa since there was a strong focus on these two countries especially during the Cold War era. His quantitative analysis reveals, for instance, how South Africa was *condemned* by the SC 107 times i.e., “[...] more often than every other Entity combined, including Israel” (p. 502) (Figure 4). To provide more reliable results, he contrasted his findings with other cases which address different countries that are responsible for committing a similar behaviour. For example, the instructive word, *warn*, is found to be exclusively used with Israel and South Africa<sup>81</sup> (p. 503). The SC warned each of these two countries “[...] that if military attacks were repeated, the Council would consider further steps to enforce its resolutions” (p. 503). However, there are other military attacks perpetrated by other countries that were neither warned against nor even addressed in SC resolutions. The attack led by Syria and Egypt against Israel on 6 October 1973, for instance, did not produce a warning from the SC<sup>82</sup>. Gruenberg (2009) argues that these inconsistencies in SC wording when addressing different countries that are involved in a similar

<sup>80</sup> He uses Webster’s dictionary, classic edition 135 (1st ed. 1999).

<sup>81</sup> Gruenberg (2009) adds the exception of Portugal which is also warned by the SC.

<sup>82</sup> See Gruenberg (2009, p. 503) for more cases about military attacks that did not receive a warning from the SC.

behaviour contradict the principle of treating all Members equally which is introduced in the United Nations Charter (p. 501).



**Figure 4: The use of *condemn* by the SC to denounce the actions of the countries (Gruenberg, 2009, p. 502)**

Furthermore, his analysis includes more examples about how the SC did not use a uniform vocabulary with different countries that were involved in a similar issue. A case in point is the Hebron massacre in 1994 and the Park Hotel bombing in 2002. The first incident is about a Jewish settler, Baruch Goldstein, who killed 29 Muslims and injured 125 others in the Mosque of Ibrahim. On the other hand, the bombing of the Park Hotel was committed by a Palestinian who set off a bomb and caused the death of 29 Jews and injured 140 others. Gruenberg (2009) explains how these factually similar incidents are treated differently by the SC in terms of the vocabulary and details used in its resolutions. Indeed, some words such as *massacre* are only used to describe the Hebron tragic case (example 13) and it is employed five times in resolution 904.

(13) [The Security Council] [...] *Strongly condemns the massacre* in Hebron and its aftermath which took the lives of **more than 50 Palestinian civilians** and **injured several hundred others**; (SC Res 904; emphasis added)

(14) [The Security Council] [...] *Expressing its grave concern* at the further deterioration of the situation, including the recent suicide bombings in Israel and the military attack against the headquarters of the President of the Palestinian Authority, (SC Res 1402; emphasis added)

Moreover, stronger emotive words such as *strongly condemns* are present in the same resolution (example 13). However, the SC *expresses its grave concern*, which is a weaker phrase than

*condemn*, towards the bombing of the Park Hotel in resolution 1402 (example 14). Added to that, the SC includes a detailed description about the consequences of Hebron tragic incident such as the exact number of casualties in resolution 904 (example 13). Resolution 1402, on the other hand, is characterized by ‘vague generalities’ without giving the exact number of casualties (example 14).

To sum up, Gruenberg (2009) shows how the linguistic choices made by the SC might depend on the country and issue being addressed. This seems an innovative approach that can be further elaborated to examine the use of language in other UNSC resolutions. A case in point is the study by Scotto di Carlo (2013) that reveals how vague language can be used as a political strategy to achieve particular aims.

### **IV.2.3. Scotto di Carlo’s Critical Discourse Analysis of UNSC Resolutions**

Scotto di Carlo’s critical discourse study of UNSC resolution (2013) can be seen as one of the most fundamental research projects that have been carried out on the discourse of the SC. She explores SC resolutions as a text type of legal genre from different angles by encompassing a wide range of linguistic devices and corpus linguistic methods in the interdisciplinary approach of Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) (Wodak, 1999, 2001; Reisigl & Wodak, 2001). Scotto di Carlo (2013) employs the DHA (Wodak, 1999, 2001; Reisigl & Wodak, 2001) as her main theoretical framework which allows the researcher to take into consideration three different aspects of language use in context: the social, political, and historical ones.

She analyses UNSC resolutions that deal with the Iraqi and Iranian cases. After the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, attention was given to new international issues that posed a threat to the security of the US and the world. Indeed, the Bush administration “warned against states that sought the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and supported international terrorism” (p.49). Iraq as well as Iran were accused of being in material breach of UN resolutions that were adopted to verify whether non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, disarmament, and the right to peacefully use nuclear energy were respected. In her study, Scotto di Carlo (2013) shows how the SC uses different intensification and mitigation strategies when addressing Iraq and Iran as they opt for divergent realization and wording choice of preambulatory and operative phrases. More importantly, she unravels signs of vagueness by studying modality and weasel words in SCRIraq1 and SCRIran1.

### IV.2.3.1. Intensification and Mitigation Strategies

Scotto di Carlo (2013) explores intensification as well as mitigation strategies by analysing instructive words that come in the operative part since the choice of these words can reveal how the SC presents its decisions (the amount of authority) and the issue (the severity of the issue) (Gruenberg, 2009; Scotto di Carlo, 2013). In her analysis about instructive words, Scotto di Carlo (2013) adopts two criteria: the scale of gravity (weak, middle, and strong) and the type of subject being instructed (animate or inanimate) (Table 5).

**Table 5: Two types of instructive words as operative phrases expressing actions to be taken by the SC or instructing a Subject to perform an action required by the SC.**

	SCRIraq1	SCRIran1
<b>Operative phrases expressing actions to be taken by the SC</b>	Decides Notes Reaffirms Welcomes Directs Emphasizes Recognizes Etc. <sup>83</sup>	Decides Underlines Encourages Affirms Reaffirms Stresses Etc.
<b>Instructive words instructing a Subject to perform an action required by the SC</b>	Requests Calls upon Calls on Appeals Urges Demands Invites Calls for	Requests Calls upon Urges Demands

The SC opts for intensification strategies by using *demand* and *urge* to issue strong warnings against Iraq as well as Iran. According to the researcher, using stronger words in both corpora, in general, could be because the resolutions under investigation tackle serious issues (i.e., possessing nuclear weapons and long-range missiles). For example, the strongest instructive word demand is used twice in the following paragraph to address Iraq, “[The Security Council] [...] **demands** that Iraq confirm within seven days of that notification its intention to comply fully with this resolution; and **demands further** that Iraq cooperate immediately, unconditionally, and actively with UNMOVIC and the IAEA [...]. (S/RES/1441 (2002))” (p. 84; emphasis added).

It should be noted that such words with strong intensity are employed more with Iraq than with Iran (*demands* and *urges* are used only once in SCRIran1). Indeed, Iran resolutions are featured by ‘a toned-down language’ through a dominance of *call upon* such as in “[the Security Council]

<sup>83</sup> Both corpora of SC resolutions about Iraq and Iran include other instructive words expressing actions to be taken by the addressees whose occurrence range from one to three times: *affirms*, *approves*, *authorizes*, *declares*, *supports*, *reminds* etc.

[...] **Calls upon** Iran to comply fully and without delay with its obligations under the above-mentioned resolutions of the Security Council, and to meet the requirements of the IAEA Board of Governors. [...] (S/RES/1835 (2008))” (p. 223; emphasis added). Using mitigating strategies with Iran is probably “due to the understanding of the negative consequences of the strong but vague and indeterminate language that had been used for the Iraqi issue” (p. 224).

The weakest and least face-threatening instructive words, *requests* and *calls upon*, are the most frequent operative phrases in both corpora. Scotto di Carlo (2013) states that “[...] some of the choices of weak expressions may also depend on the addressees of the UN requests, preferring relatively strong phrases for Iraq and weaker phrases for other Member States and for the Secretary-General probably to avoid face-threatening acts” (p. 84). For example, positive instructive operative phrases are employed to express actions to be taken by the SC itself (*encourages, support*) or to put emphasis on an issue (*reiterates, reminds, stresses, underlines*). In this respect, Dontcheva-Navratilova (2009) also claims that word choice of performative verbs depends on politeness strategies in some cases.

Added to that, the willingness of the SC to use diplomatic mitigating strategies to resolve the Iraqi and Iranian issue is also emphasized by the choice of preambulatory phrases. Scotto di Carlo (2013) extends Gruenberg’s classification of wording (2009), which is based on negative gravity scale, by including a positive gravity scale. She also provides an analysis of preambulatory words expressing positive institutional feelings<sup>84</sup>, expressions of assertiveness and phrases expressing emphasis (Table 6). She further looks at adverbs (*gravely, strongly, etc.*) and adjectives (*gravest etc.*) that co-occur with some emotive words to intensify the meaning.

The preambulatory phrases expressing negative institutional feelings in SCRIraq1 as well as in SCRIran1 belong to a low level of the gravity scale. Scotto di Carlo (2013) states that the absence of severe negative phrases in resolutions related to Iraq reveals that “[...] the UN had a moderate negative reaction against the outbreak of this conflict” (p. 85). The use of weak phrases, in the Iran corpus, conveys a ‘toning down hedged warning’ “[...] because there is no proof that Iran is using nuclear energy in a non-peaceful way, and because there is a willingness of diplomacy” (p. 214). Moreover, the SC also opts for mitigation when using assertive and emphatic phrases.

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<sup>84</sup> There is a limited set of positive preambulatory phrases in the resolutions directed to Iran whereas Iraq corpus includes a range of phrases expressing UN’s positive institutional feelings about the post-conflict reconstruction in Iraq.

**Table 6: Preambulatory phrases expressing negative, positive, assertive institutional feelings and emphasis in SCRIraq 1 and SCRIran 1 (Scotto di Carlo, 2013)**

	<b>SCRIraq 1</b>	<b>SCRIran 1</b>
<b>Words expressing negative institutional feelings</b>	Deploring Concerned Expressing the gravest concern Regretting	Noting with serious concern Concerned Deploring Noting with concern
<b>Words expressing positive institutional feelings</b>	Welcoming Commending Encouraging Expressing appreciation	Welcoming Commending
<b>Words expressing assertive institutional feelings</b>	Recognizing Determined Affirming Convinced Determining Etc. <sup>85</sup>	Recognizing Determined Expressing the firmness Having agreed
<b>Emphatic Words</b>	Recalling Reaffirming Noting Etc. <sup>86</sup>	Recalling Reaffirming Noting Etc.

Assertive and emphatic phrases are more frequent in SCRIraq1 than in SCRIran1. Since these categories of phrases cannot be classified into positive and negative, Scotto di Carlo (2013) employs Halliday and Matthiessen's theory of transitivity (2004) that specifies four primary processes: material, mental, verbal, and relational. Her investigation reveals that the aforementioned types of preambulatory phrases, in her main corpora, are restricted to mental and verbal processes. The former is about construing 'sensing' such as perception, cognition, intention, and emotion while the verbal process construes 'saying' i.e., verbalization.

The mental process is used more than the verbal process in both corpora. In the case of Iran, the frequent use of this category supports the claim that the SC follows a toned-down position when dealing with the Iranian issue to find a diplomatic solution. It should be noted that the SC also shows its determination to resolve the conflict through using verbal process phrases. This preference given to mental process, in the Iraq corpus, further supports "[...] the hypothesis that the UN did not express a firm position against military operations or with regard to the Iraqi crises in general" (p. 75).

<sup>85</sup> Three other assertive words are found in Scotto di Carlo (2013) 's corpus: *expressing resolve*, *having considered*, and *resolved*. Each has occurred only once.

<sup>86</sup> Scotto di Carlo 's (2013) material includes other five words expressing emphasis: *stressing*, *taking note*, *reiterating*, *underscoring*, and *mindful*.

She also extends her analysis to examine two other significant expressions used in the preamble sections: the verb *allow* and the phrase *Acting under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter*. The use of the latter phrase is very significant as it gives a binding character to the resolution and clarifies the enforcement powers of SC. Indeed, Chapter VII allows the council to decide if there is a threat to international peace and security. Her analysis of the verb *allow* which is used in the preamble part suggests signs of vagueness. She defines *allow* as “[...] a veiled permission to act without giving an explicit authorization for war [...]” (p. 75). She claims that the presence of *allow* in the preamble part is a sign of intentional vagueness since calling for actions is usually stated in the operative part (example 15).

- (15) [The Security Council] [...] **Convinced** of the need as a temporary measure to continue to provide for the civilian needs of the Iraqi people [...], **allows** the Council to take further action with regard to the prohibitions referred to in resolution 661 (1990) of 6 August 1990 in accordance with the provisions of these resolutions [...]. (S/RES/661 (1990))

This aspect of vague language in UNSC resolutions is further investigated by looking at modality and weasel words.

#### ***IV.2.3.2. Vagueness in UNSC Resolutions***

Another linguistic device studied by Scotto di Carlo (2013) is modality which represents the interpersonal function in the Systemic Functional Grammar (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004). She states that “[A]n adequate treatment of modal verbs is necessary for determining the attitudes of the speaker [...] concerning the state of affairs expressed by the proposition asserted” (p. 92). She focuses on deontic and epistemic modals which are the most relevant forms of modality in the legal language of UN resolutions. Drawing on Jenkins (1972), Scotto di Carlo (2013) notes that the main modals in the English language possess a double meaning: root (deontic/dynamic) and epistemic meanings (Jenkins, 1972) (Table 7) which can cause vagueness as it is sometimes difficult to specify their precise meaning.

Most modals found in SCRIraq1 express a root meaning with few occurrences of modals expressing epistemic meaning. Nine modals are found in SCRIraq1: *shall*, *will*<sup>87</sup>, *may*, *would*, *should*, *can*, *must*, *could*<sup>88</sup>, and *might*. Apart from *might* and *must*, the remaining modals are also

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<sup>87</sup> Most occurrences of *will* introduce a non-modal usage (such as a consequence or condition) that are related to the futurity meaning in both corpora. Instances of *will*, in SCIran1, attempt to assure “[...] Iran’s compliance with UN resolutions, either [by] reassuring Iran that compliance will be beneficial for the nation, or firmly stating that vague and unspecified ‘further decisions’ and ‘additional measures’ ‘will be required’ if Iran does not engage in compliance with UN resolutions [...]” (p. 232).

<sup>88</sup> *Could* is used only once and is associated with the deontic meaning of ability.

**Table 7: Root and epistemic meanings of the main English modals, adapted from Jenkins (1972) in Scotto di Carlo (2013, p. 92)**

Modal	Root Meaning	Epistemic Meaning
May	Permission	Possibility
Must	Necessity	Logical entailment
Will	Volition	Future prediction
Can	Ability	Possibility

present in SCRIran1. The usage of *shall* and *should* is characterized by vagueness for the former modal is used to express more than one meaning while the different degrees of strength of the latter modal depend on where it occurs in the resolution. Indeed, *shall*, which is the most frequent one in both corpora, is used with a performative value as well as a deontic value of obligation in the resolutions addressing both countries. This modal is also employed to give permission or granting of rights to the IAEA only in SCRIraq1. According to Scotto di Carlo (2013), this right seems to be implicitly given in SCRIran1; and it is seen as a linguistic strategic device explained by CDA “[...] as one of the devices used to allow acceptance through taken-for-granted actions” (p. 104). Concerning *should*<sup>89</sup>, this modal expresses less deontic force once it is employed in the preamble part where the purpose and main reasons of the resolutions are explained.

The instances of *can* found in SCRIraq1 cover the three meanings that are usually associated with this modal: ability, permission, and possibility. Some occurrences of *can* are also characterized by being slightly ambiguous. The remaining modals that are present in SCRIran1 (*would*<sup>90</sup>, *may*<sup>91</sup>, *could* and *should*) are used in their epistemic meaning of hypothetical modals. This usage reflects their hedging function which contributes to the toning down approach that the SC is following in its resolutions about Iran. For example, the use of *would* in the following paragraph taken from (S/RES/1737 (2006)), “[*The Security Council*] [...] Calls upon all States to exercise vigilance and prevent specialized teaching or training of Iranian nationals, within their territories or by their nationals, of disciplines which *would* contribute to Iran’s proliferation sensitive nuclear activities [...]”, reveals a toning down approach aiming at a diplomatic and peaceful solution of the issue (p. 211).

<sup>89</sup> *Should* is considered as one of the vaguest modal auxiliaries that expresses a weak deontic force and indicates a weaker obligation than *shall* and *must* (Scotto di Carlo, 2013, p. 109).

<sup>90</sup> The analysis reveals that the instances of *would* are also connected to the epistemic meaning of future prediction more than the root meaning of volition which is used in SCRIraq1.

<sup>91</sup> The occurrences of *may* principally indicate giving permission since “[...] the legislature is the deontic source that permits the referent of the subject noun phrase in the active clause to carry out, at his discretion, the events expressed by the main propositions” (p. 127). Like the other modals, *may* also occurs in cases that are connected to an epistemic meaning of possibility.



While *must*<sup>92</sup> is present in SCRIraq1, it is absent in SCRIran1 which confirms the fact that this modal is normally not as frequently used as *shall* in legal discourse (Scotto di Carlo, 2013, p. 117). More importantly, not using *must* in SCRIran1 confirms the idea that the SC avoids imposing obligations on Iran and hence they seem to be opting for mitigation strategies.

In SCRIraq1, the intervention in Iraq is justified and imposed by associating some modals with the humanitarian situation and using strong modals that express deontic meaning. Moreover, some modal auxiliaries have a hedging function which contributes to the toned-down approach followed by the SC in SCRIran1. In general, her analysis shows that “[...] modals can be a source of vagueness, and their interpretation is possible only if the linguistic as well as the non-linguistic elements of the utterance are taken into consideration” (p. 118).

Scotto di Carlo’s (2013) also investigates the use of weasel words (adjectives and nouns) in SC resolutions for they can be another source of vagueness. According to her,

the expression ‘weasel word’ derives from the egg-eating habits of weasels, which are animals that have the ability to suck the content out of eggs but leaving the eggshell intact. The word has been transferred into the legal literature to indicate words used to avoid a direct statement of a position (p. 119).

These words are considered to have a very flexible meaning that depends on context and interpretation. Her investigation is based on Mellinkoff’s list of indeterminate expressions (1963) and Fjeld’s classification of adjectives (2005). Her analysis shows that vague weasel words are highly frequent in SC resolutions about Iraq and Iran.

Some vague weasel nouns that are included in her material are related to different issues such as weapons of mass destruction (*Existence of weapons of mass destruction; Chemical; nuclear and biological weapons*), health (*medicine; health supplies; foodstuffs, other materials and other supplies*), terrorism (*terrorism; terrorist(s)*), democracy (*democratic Iraq; democratic government; democratic elections* etc.), etc. The first topic is one of the vaguest issues as it consists of “[...] many items, such as concrete weapons, dual-use items, and unaccounted items, and so it can be interpreted in many ways” (p.151-152).

Another case of vagueness is the reference to *terrorist attacks* which are difficult to be specified since “[I]t seems like any violence of the resistance was calculated as ‘terrorism’, even acts of defense against armed attacks” (p. 155). In her investigation, she relates the use of weasel nouns in SCRIraq1 to the political, historical, and social aspects and facts of the conflict. These weasel

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<sup>92</sup> Only one occurrence of *must* expresses the core deontic meaning of obligation while the three remaining cases state an objective that should be achieved in time.

words are employed to “[...] put emphasis on the moral aspect of legitimacy of war rather than on legality of military action in order to find a justification for war that could be acceptable for the international community and the UN” (p. 247).

In her analysis of adjectives, she classifies them into ten groups: seven categories, modal adjectives, ethic adjectives, evidence adjectives, consequence adjectives, frequency adjectives, general qualities adjectives and relational adjectives, belong to Fjeld’s classification (2005) and three other groups of location, quantity and temporal adjectives are added by Scotto di Carlo (2013) (Table 8).

**Table 8: Field’s 2005 classification of adjectives (Scotto di Carlo, 2013, p. 44)**

Type of adjectives	Definition	Examples
<b>Modal adjectives</b>	They express modal force ranging from necessity to desirability.	‘necessary’, ‘expedient’ ‘desirable’, ‘unpractical’
<b>Ethic adjectives</b>	They are related to ethical standard.	‘right’, ‘equitable’, ‘responsible’, ‘justifiable’, ‘reasonable’ etc.;
<b>Evidence adjectives</b>	They express degrees of accordance between conditions and conclusions.	‘natural’, ‘unlikely’, and ‘likely’ etc.;
<b>Consequence adjectives</b>	They represent degrees of consequence attributed to the modified noun.	‘crucial’, ‘critical’, ‘serious’, ‘considerable’, ‘significant’ etc.;
<b>Frequency adjectives</b>	They represent one of the most complicated categories of adjectives because they denote the evaluation of the appearance of the noun related to some kind of a quantitative norm:	‘widespread’, ‘common’, ‘normal’, ‘usual’, ‘special’, ‘deviant’ etc.;
<b>General qualities adjectives</b>	express a quality relevant dimension in general	as ‘good’, ‘bad’, ‘useful’, ‘unacceptable’, ‘inadvisable’ etc.;
<b>Relational adjectives</b>	They convey relationship between nouns and fixed standards.	‘suitable’, ‘sufficient’, ‘appropriate’ etc. ;

Among the group of relational adjectives, that are present in her corpora, *appropriate* is the most frequent one. In SCRIraq1, it is associated with the humanitarian situation in Iraq while in the resolutions that address Iran, it is used to persuade this country to comply by UN decisions. For example, the council warns Iran that ‘appropriate measures’ will be taken in case of non-compliance. It should be noted that this vague adjective “[...] has left room to disparate and subjective implementation of the resolution” mainly in the case of Iraq (p.226).

Ethic adjectives are used with the concept of international peace and security in both corpora to create empathy for different aims. Some of these ethic adjectives are used to justify war against Iraq while other positive ethic adjectives are employed to address the issue of Iraqis’ rights of equality and freedom etc. The positive adjective *peaceful* is the most frequent one in SCRIran1 which conveys SC’s intention to express its willingness to find diplomatic solutions.

Other ethic adjectives that are present in the corpus are: *representative, equitable, transparent, equal*. They are persuasive and associated with loaded or emotive language which attempt “[...] to influence the listener or reader by appealing to emotions beyond their literal meaning” and “[...] to express personal feelings [...] also to arouse feelings in others” (p. 139). Consequently, they can be used by the addressor as powerful persuasive tools that create empathy and make the addressee act according to emotions.

Another category of vague expressions is modal adjectives which are evaluative and express a modal force that ranges from necessity to desirability. The word *necessary* has the highest frequency in both corpora in comparison to the other modal adjectives. Using the expression *necessary measures* is problematic in UNSC resolutions since it can be interpreted differently. Unlike in SCRIraq1, the SC provides some degrees of limit to what is necessary when using this vague expression in SCRIran1. For instance, Scotto di Carlo (2013) states that “[...] the open-endedness of the phrase gives full power to the Sanction committee [...] with no limit in time or control over it” such as in example (16) taken from SCRIran1 (p. 230).

- (16) [*The Security Council*] [...] Affirms that it shall review Iran’s actions in the light of the report referred to in paragraph 23 above, to be submitted within 60 days, and [...] (c) that it shall, in the event that the report in paragraph 23 above shows that Iran has not complied with this resolution, adopt further appropriate measures under Article 41 of Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations to persuade Iran to comply with this resolution and the requirements of the IAEA, and underlines that further decisions will be required should such additional measures be **necessary**. (S/RES/1737(2006))

Scotto di Carlo (2013) examines the category of quantity adjectives since they contribute to vagueness in SCRIraq1. The semantic property gradability is a good predictor of the subjective nature of quantity adjectives “[...] due to the relativism in interpretation.” (p. 131). Some of the quantity adjectives found in her Iraq corpus are *all* (88 hits), *additional* (7 hits), *most* (3 hits), *many* (2 hits), *remaining* (2 hits) etc. The cases of the second most frequent quantity adjectives, *additional*, are associated with possible future situations and belong to the field of future expenses as it can be seen in its clusters: *additional authorities, which shall be binding, additional shipping, transportation, and storage costs* etc. (p. 132). Scotto di Carlo (2013) states that this vague quantity expression leaves room for speculation because it does not provide specification on amounts. As a result, such vague expressions can lead to the failure of implementing some decisions listed in the resolution. In this respect, she mentions that “[...] the Coalition was widely criticised for failing to implement adequate financial controls and of failing

to make expenditures from the Development Fund for Iraq in an open and transparent manner” (p. 133).

She also examines the vague temporal references in SCRIraq because “[V]ague temporal relationships inevitably lead to the vagueness of the entire utterance or text” (p. 135). Some of the indeterminate expressions of time that occurred more than five times in SCRIraq1 are: *previous* (23 hits), *immediate* (21 hits) *future* (11 hits), *temporary* (7 hits), *soon* (6 hits) etc.

Scotto di Carlo (2013) focuses, in her analysis of consequence adjectives, on those that modify the noun *consequence*. Even though SCRIraq1 includes only one occurrence of *serious consequences*, the latter has particular importance because of its vague nature and subjective interpretability. It should be noted that this term has been used with future tense for the first time in the history of UNSC resolutions when directing Iraq (example 17).

- (17) [*The Security Council*] [...] Recalls, in that context, that the Council has repeatedly warned Iraq that it **will face serious consequences** as a result of its continued violations of its obligations [...]. (S/RES/1441 (2002)) (p. 147, emphasis added)

Briefly, Scotto di Carlo (2013) reveals how the different linguistic devices examined in her corpora contribute to the vague nature of SC resolutions. She shows how the SC intentionally uses linguistic patterns “[...] as a set of discursive strategies [nomination, mitigating intensification etc.] for international issues” (p. 234). Moreover, the weasel words employed by the SC not only lead to vagueness and serve the aim of the SC but also play a discursive role as a means of intertextuality. The SC resolutions under investigation are characterized by a high rate of intertextuality as they include references to other resolutions. This aspect is also highlighted “[...] by the use of preambulatory clauses containing the prefix ‘re-’, which indicates repetition” (p. 246). Scotto di Carlo (2013) tests her hypothesis that vagueness “[...] has and can allow a far too subjective interpretation by Member States, which could use the wording of resolutions also with manipulative intentions” (p. 234). To this end, she carries textual and legal comparative analyses of the final version of a UNSC resolution and an American legislation with their drafts in relation to both conflicts.

#### ***IV.2.3.3.A Linguistic Comparative Analysis of SC Final Resolution and The Official US Public Law with Their Drafts in The Case of Iraq***

To test her finding that the UNSC intentionally uses vague wording in its resolution 1441 (2002) to reach certain political strategies, Scotto di Carlo (2013) looks at its draft which is jointly proposed by the US and UK. This draft was the centre of heated negotiations because of its wording. Russia, France and China threatened to use the veto in case the wording of the

resolution would include “[...] a formulae which could have triggered an authorization to use force” (p.166). Consequently, SC resolution 1441 (2002) ended up being highly vague and allowed for expansive interpretation by the US that interpreted it as an implicit authorization of war.

Scotto di Carlo (2013) also examines the first bills as well as their amendments which led to the final American Public Law that introduced the authorization for war. Through the textual comparative analysis of these American legislations with their drafts and the amendments that were rejected, Scotto di Carlo (2013) “has revealed that the vague wording included in S/RES/1441 (2002) could have been interpreted in different ways, but the Congress willingly opted to interpret it as meaning war” (p. 191). As a matter of fact, one of these rejected amendments proposed a diplomatic solution stating that weapons of mass destructions should be eliminated in Iraq through UN inspectors while the other amendment calls for a legal justification to be the basis for engaging in a pre-emptive war such as a documented presence of Weapons of Mass Destruction in Iraq by UN inspectors. In her comparative analysis, Scotto di Carlo (2013) tries to interpret the different modifications that the drafts went through (what has been substituted, deleted, and added) from a legal and political dimension. Since this chapter is devoted to the linguistic studies about UN discourse, more emphasis is given to language modifications.

Her investigation shows that the final versions of the resolution and the American Public Law are much vaguer than their drafts. For example, unlike the latter, the final version of the resolution includes all-inclusive expressions (examples 18, 19) which are unrealistic and hence difficult to be realized. Moreover, she states that “S. J. Res 46 [107th] prefers to be all-inclusive, referring to ‘**all relevant resolutions regarding Iraq**’, instead of using ‘**the resolutions referred above**’” (p. 189; emphasis added). Scotto di Carlo (2013) claims that UNSC uses these language devices as pretexts for war.

(18) Determined to ensure **full and immediate compliance** by Iraq [...]. (S/RES/1441 (2002)) (p. 172; emphasis added)

(19) Deploring also that the Government of Iraq has failed to comply [...] in providing access by international humanitarian organizations to **all of those in need** of assistance in Iraq [...]. (S/RES/1441 (2002)) (p. 171; emphasis added)

Scotto di Carlo (2013) reveals that in the final version of the SC resolution there are more references to previous significant resolutions that are characterized by strong and severe language than in its draft. Added to that, much vaguer and unspecific wording such as *the*

*creations of exclusions zones, sufficient guards* (there is no clear indication about the number or type) are present only in the adopted resolution.

Briefly, the comparative linguistic analysis of the final version of the resolution with its draft reveals the progress of vagueness from the draft to the approved document. This behavior of intentionally opting for a vaguer text is seen by Scotto di Carlo (2013) as a political strategy that led to an expansive interpretation in the final version of the American Public Law. She concludes that the rejected amendments proposed to the drafts of the American act could have led to a peaceful solution once they would have been accepted.

It should be noted that her comparative textual analysis of UNSC resolution with its draft that shows how vagueness in adopted resolutions can be intentional is a useful method to show how decisions can be (re)formulated and transformed when looking at more than one draft. Moreover, by studying a long drafting process (i.e., composed of more than one draft), the divergence in the attitudes of member states that can trigger the use of veto and influence the formulation of the final product would be more apparent.

Scotto di Carlo's conclusion (2013) that the UN and the international community seem to be in 'us versus them' relationship (Van Dijk, 2001) with Iraq seems to be part of an ideological position which is not thoroughly researched. Moreover, her analysis seems to overshadow the strategic functions that the US appears to be following when drafting its Public Law. In her linguistic comparative analysis of US bills, Scotto di Carlo (2013) shows how the process of making the law included introducing much stricter bills. The final version of the American law includes a negative connotation about Iraq and gives more concrete arguments to justify the war against it by listing its faults. These moves, which can be said to be ideologically motivated, could be also explained in relation to some techniques proposed by Chilton (2003). For example, the US opts for the strategic functions of *legitimization* by referring to some general ideological principles such as to secure international peace and security as well as to defend itself and *(mis)representation* by representing itself positively while the other negatively.

A case in point of the US legitimizing its actions is the deletion of the expression *the Kurdish peoples*, which is employed in the draft of the bill (example 20), and the addition of a reference to the incidence of detaining *an American serviceman* by Iraq in the final bill (example 21). This transformation changes the focus of the idea of victimization. In other words, both groups (i.e., *civilian population* as well as *non-Iraqi citizens*) are represented as victims, however, it can be said that the particular social actor, *an American serviceman*, who represents the *non-Iraqi*

*citizens*, is given more attention in the final bill than the other group of *civilian population* (example 21)<sup>93</sup>.

(20) Whereas Iraq persists in violating resolutions of the United Nations Security Council by continuing to engage in brutal repression of its civilian population, including the Kurdish peoples, thereby threatening international peace and security in the region, by refusing to release, repatriate, or account for non-Iraqi citizens wrongfully detained by Iraq and by failing to return property wrongfully seized by Iraq from Kuwait [...]. (S. J. Res 45 [107<sup>th</sup>]) (Scotto di Carlo, 2013, p. 184)

(21) Whereas Iraq persists in violating resolutions of the United Nations Security Council by continuing to engage in brutal repression of its civilian population thereby threatening international peace and security in the region, by refusing to release, repatriate, or account for non-Iraqi citizens wrongfully detained by Iraq, including an American serviceman, and by failing to return property wrongfully seized by Iraq from Kuwait [...]. (S. J. Res 46 [107<sup>th</sup>]) (Scotto di Carlo, 2013, p. 184)

For her, “this choice is probably linked to the need of the U.S. to find a concrete and rational reason to engage in military action against Iraq” (p. 184). In other words, the representation of *the American serviceman* as a victim of Iraq’s brutal repression, which is added in the final bill, invokes the idea that the threat by Iraq becomes directly associated with America and not with another group. This move can be related to the strategic function of legitimization that is followed by the USA to legitimize its future actions and decisions against Iraq as a way of securing its citizens.

Furthermore, it is reasonable to claim that American drafters seem to opt for the strategic function *delegitimation* when presenting the other negatively. One of the instances of conceptualizing Iraq negatively is when it is accused of committing wrongfully acts that seem to affect the security of the US and the international community. In Scotto di Carlo’s work (2013), it is stated that this negative image is also intensified through substituting the neutral expression *political structure* (in the draft H.J. Res 110 [107<sup>th</sup>]) (example 22) by the negative/pejorative word *regime* (in the final Public Law 107-234) (example 23). In her words, “this gives a negative connotation to the Iraqi system, which is no longer considered as a neutral ‘political structure’, but a structure of control [regime]” (p. 182).

(22) Whereas Congress, in the Iraq Liberation Act of 1998 (Public Law 105–338), has expressed its sense that it should be the policy of the United States to support efforts to remove from power the current Iraqi political structure and promote the emergence of a democratic government to replace that political structure; [...]. (H.J. Res 110 [107<sup>th</sup>]) (Scotto di Carlo, 2013, p. 182)

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<sup>93</sup> This idea of shift in focus is further explained in the chapter about the grammar of recontextualization.

(23) Whereas the Iraq Liberation Act (Public Law 105–338), expressed the sense of Congress that it should be the policy of the United States to support efforts to remove from power the current Iraqi regime and promote the emergence of a democratic government to replace that regime; [...]. (P.L. 107-243) (Scotto di Carlo, 2013, p. 182)

Moreover, the textual comparative analysis of two drafts of the American Public Law shows how the US disassociates itself from a negative connotation when the expression, *the use of force*, which is used in S. J. Res 45 [107th] (example 24), is replaced by the neutral and vague expression *action* in S. J. Res 46 [107th] (example 25). Therefore, besides claiming that drafters are following a mitigating tone and that “this choice left the paragraph open to several interpretations, among which an implicit use of military force” (Scotto di Carlo, 2013, p. 185), this move can be interpreted as a strategic function to invoke a positive self-presentation.

(24) Whereas Iraq’s demonstrated capability and willingness to use weapons of mass destruction, the high risk that the current Iraqi regime will either employ those weapons to launch a surprise attack against the United States or its Armed Forces or provide them to international terrorists who would do so, and the extreme magnitude of harm that would result to the United States and its citizens from such an attack, combine to justify the use of force by the United States in order to defend itself [...]. (S. J. Res 45 [107th]) (Scotto di Carlo, 2013, p. 185)

(25) Whereas Iraq’s demonstrated capability and willingness to use weapons of mass destruction, the risk that the current Iraqi regime will either employ those weapons to launch a surprise attack against the United States or its Armed Forces or provide them to international terrorists who would do so, and the extreme magnitude of harm that would result to the United States and its citizens from such an attack, combine to justify action by the United States to defend itself [...]. (S. J. Res 46 [107th]) (Scotto di Carlo, 2013, p. 185).

It is then reasonable to say that the American drafters try to strategically legitimize US unilateral war against Iraq by opting for some of the techniques mentioned by Chilton: to refer to some general ideological principles (to secure international peace and security and defend itself) and boast about performance and positive self-presentation.

To conclude, the linguistic studies by Dontcheva-Navratilova (2009), Gruenberg (2009) and Scotto di Carlo (2013) analyse and compare various aspects of the language used in UNESCO and UNSC resolutions. Nevertheless, there are still some interesting and relevant problems to be addressed.



### **IV.3. New Space of Research: Decision-making in The UNSC Through an Analysis of The Drafting Process**

The current study is a critical discourse analysis of the drafting process of UNSC resolutions that it takes into consideration the historical and political context of the conflict as well as the notions of ideology and power. Moreover, the latter concepts are investigated by incorporating different approaches and linguistic devices that have not been employed in previous studies.

#### **IV.3.1. The Historical and Political Context**

Dontcheva-Navratilova's study (2009) provides "[...] compelling arguments for the discussion of UNESCO diplomatic discourse, particularly in regard to its textualization and its generic variation" (Martínez Escudero, 2012, p. 129). She reveals how the lexical choice is influenced by the specific subject area that is tackled in UNESCO resolutions i.e., whether about elections, administrative or legal issues etc. However, the historical and political context is not given much importance when interpreting the findings. Martínez Escudero (2012) argues that Dontcheva-Navratilova's (2009) "[...] emphasis on the textualization of discourse often overshadows the equally relevant contribution of contextual elements partly responsible for UNESCO discursive choice" (p. 129-130).

Context plays a major role in every critical discourse study. Therefore, my contribution is going to explore language variation in UNSC resolutions and their drafts that deal with the recent Syrian conflict by taking into consideration its historical and political aspects as well as the reaction of the international community towards this case. Moreover, to better understand the process of drafting resolutions, it is necessary to also study the ideological attitudes of member states in the council towards this conflict.

#### **IV.3.2. Ideology in The Council**

The concept of ideology has been very little researched in international relations as it is regarded as "a classical topic of political science" (Thérien, 2015, p. 225). However, the Security Council is like a political organ where ideology often plays a key role in shaping the decision of the council which can be expected to be expressed in the text of its resolutions. In this respect, Dontcheva-Navratilova (2009) states that in intergovernmental institutional interaction "[...] the actual 'speaker' often assumes an institutional identity representing an institutional ideology, which may interact with his/her professional identity and personal views" (p. 16). She also refers to the preamble part of UNESCO resolutions as the component where drafters express their

ideological attitudes (p.82). Consequently, tackling the ideology of UNSC through an analysis of the drafting process seems promising as it would contribute to the previous research studies about UNESCO and UNSC resolutions conducted by Dontcheva-Navratilova (2009), Gruenberg (2009) and Scotto di Carlo (2013).

The ideological attitudes of member states are supposed to be reflected in the language they use to represent social actors as well as their (re)actions. Van Leeuwen (2008) shows how social actors can be referred to differently to invoke a particular representation. It has also been suggested by Baker (2008) to take into consideration how “[...] certain actors may be foregrounded or referred to often, at the expense of backgrounding or not referring at all to others” (p. 162). It would be, then, reasonable to include an examination of how social actors (agent and patient) are represented in the sentence: whether they are present or absent, and what representational choice is opted for to refer to them (e.g., in specific or general terms). Studying how social actors are represented can be a new research direction in this specific field of legal and diplomatic texts.

Furthermore, studying how violent actions are represented in the resolutions is important to uncover the ideological viewpoints of member states. For example, a quick review of the material of the present thesis shows that the violent events taking place in Syria are represented through various nominalizations. In (26), which is taken from the first draft of the adopted resolution, five nominalizations are used to represent the violent actions committed by the Syrian authorities. It would be interesting to check if these nominals invoke different conceptualizations of the events and to see whether drafters opt for a particular nominalized form more than others. It would also be worth exploring whether such a choice is due to an ideological background especially that “[...] **nominalization** and passivization, as well as transitivity choices, reflect and reinforce particular **ideological points of view**” (Hart, 2014b, p.10; emphasis added).

(26) The Security Council [...] Condemns the systematic **violation of human rights**, including the **killings**, arbitrary **detentions**, **disappearances**, and **torture** of peaceful demonstrators, human rights defenders and journalists by the Syrian authorities, (SD01)

The reaction of the SC and its way of addressing social actors in resolutions and their relevant drafts is also worth examining as it is supposed to reflect the council’s ideological views. It can be argued that the choice of directive verbs in UNSC resolutions should be explained not only from a pragmatic perspective in terms of politeness strategy but also from an ideological perspective. In this diplomatic and political setting, there is often an ideological struggle inside the council and hence reaching a compromise that would satisfy all member states’ interests

might depend on their language choice. Indeed, language in this diplomatic setting can be a powerful tool used by diplomats to impose their decisions or to mitigate their representations of the conflict to reach compromise. Therefore, it is reasonable to track the use of directives during the drafting process to see in what direction drafters change the use of these verbs during the stages of text production i.e., from a weak force of imposition to a stronger one or from a strong-middle force of imposition to a weak one. Such an investigation can give us an idea about the interplay between using politeness strategies and expressing one's ideological views.

To reveal the ideological viewpoints of member states, it is necessary to study whether drafters opt for different types of referential expressions, nominalizations and directives to respectively represent social actors and their violent actions as well as express the reaction of the SC. Briefly, such a language variation can be revealed when examining the textual travels of drafts and the role of the veto power.

### **IV.3.3. Textual Travels, Recontextualization, Veto**

Scotto di Carlo's (2013) work provides a comparative analysis of only one draft with its final resolution. This idea can be further elaborated to study more drafts and cover the whole drafting process of SC resolutions. Opening up new research setting for considering the practice of the UNSC of drafting resolutions can contribute to the understanding of the final resolutions. Martínez Escudero (2012) also suggests that the contextualization of discourse could be carried out by "[...] discussing the significance of relevant aspects such as **intertextuality**, **interdiscursivity** and **hybridization** in the text-production process" (p.129; emphasis added). Without getting bogged down with many details, these aspects are going to be tackled when analyzing the textual travels of drafts i.e., by comparing the final resolutions with their drafts. In other words, the study aims to show 'what happens' to the representations in drafts by examining the process of recontextualization (Heffer, Rock & Conley, 2013) during the drafting process i.e., what is modified in, added to or deleted from every representation in relation to its preceding and subsequent ones. More importantly, this process of producing resolutions should be seen as a politically loaded activity enmeshed in the complex strands of the legal and political structure (veto power, ideologies) of this international organization.

Gruenberg (2009) claims that the frequent use of the charged and scolding word *deplore*, which is weaker than other ones, may be opted for to "make it easier to get past the United States veto" (p. 505). Moreover, Scotto di Carlo (2013) states that Russia and China threatened to use the veto in case the wording of the resolution would include "[...] a formulae which could have triggered

an authorization to use force” (p.166). This shows that the final formulation of adopted resolutions is influenced by the different attitudes of the member states especially the P5. The current study is, then, interested in examining to what extent this legal obstacle (the veto) and the different attitudes of the P5 can change the path of the draft not only in shaping the textual elements of the text but also in influencing the ideological position embedded in the documents.

Briefly, what is particularly interesting about the current work is that it conducts a critical discourse study about decision-making during the drafting process by addressing various factors such as the ideological struggle, textual travels and the role of veto that tend to remain hidden when only analyzing the final resolutions.

#### **IV.4. Conclusion**

To conclude, the studies conducted by Dontcheva-Navratilova (2009), Gruenberg (2009) and Scotto di Carlo (2013) indicate important future directions for research in the field of diplomatic communication. Dontcheva-Navratilova (2009) considers nominalization as well as performative verbs as two main features of the diplomatic discourse of UNESCO resolutions (Dontcheva-Navratilova, 2006, 2009). The essence of Gruenberg’s work (2009) lies in introducing the first classification of the words used in SC resolutions whose application led to interesting results in his study as well as in Scotto di Carlo’s analysis (2013). Moreover, Scotto di Carlo (2013) shows how vagueness in UNSC resolutions can be intentional and used as a political strategy.

Through an elaboration of the previous analyses about the language used in UNESCO and SC resolutions, I am going to look at a terrain they did not see: the drafting process. This thesis opens up a new space for considering the practice of the SC in producing resolutions. To have more insightful findings, a wider linguistic analysis of the resolutions should take into consideration the following main factors: the historical and political context of the conflict, the ideological struggle in the council as well as power relations between member states, and the textual travels, recontextualization and the role of veto in (re)formulating the text of the adopted resolutions. More importantly, this study aims to reveal the divergent views of UNSC members by examining the use of the referential expressions, nominalization and directives in the resolutions and their relevant drafts to see whether there is variation through the different stages of the drafting process.

## THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

### V.1. Introduction

This chapter introduces the theoretical part for the present study. It consists of four main sections. Being designed as a critical discourse study about the process of producing UNSC resolutions, this chapter starts with a brief overview about Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and a description of the Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001). In the third section, an explanation of the notions ‘textual travels’ and ‘recontextualization’ in relation to the drafting process is provided. Moreover, the same section includes an overview about the socio-cognitive approach by Van Dijk (1998, 2013) and a demonstration about how *ideology* can be (re)produced during the drafting process of UNSC resolutions. It also shows how Politeness strategies can be one of the major means that help member states to either impose their attitudes or mitigate their conflicting views and reach consensus. Finally, the chapter ends with a general overview about the adaptations that are made to the DHA.

### V.2. A Critical Discourse Study of The Process of Drafting Resolutions via an Elaboration of The Discourse Historical Approach

As a CD study should be ‘multitheoretical and interdisciplinary’ (Hart, 2014b), this work melds together aspects from discourse analysis, legal studies, socio-cognitive theories, pragmatics and Cognitive Linguistics which are incorporated in the Discourse Historical Approach. It is adopted as the overall framework for this study to understand this complex process of drafting resolutions and the change of texts and re-production of ideologies from one stage to another in relation to the historical and political contexts.

#### V.2.1. CDA: Critical, Context, Ideology and Power

CDA can be defined as “an academic movement, a particular way of doing discourse analysis from a critical perspective” (Baker et al., 2008, p. 273). It is worth noting that CDA is not a method in itself; instead, it is “a discipline or practice [to the analysis of discourse] which consists of several identifiable ‘schools’ and ‘approaches’, each of which has its own distinct methodology” (Hart, 2014b, p. 2)<sup>94</sup>. The CDA approach is critical in two ways. By aiming at

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<sup>94</sup> This approach, which was first developed by Fairclough (1989), emerged from the school of Critical Linguistics (Kress & Hodge, 1979; Fowler et al., 1979) and it is inspired by different theories and frameworks such as Marxist theory of ideology (Althusser, 1971), Foucault’s theory of ideology (1972), Genre theory (Bakhtin, 1986), Systemic

bringing into the fore the role of language in creating and maintaining the social systems, situations and relations, CDA seeks to not only explain and understand society but also transform and change it; in other words, by being critical, it aims at achieving social change (Hart, 2014b). The concept of critique is also related to the fact that the researcher “should make the object under investigation and the analyst’s own position transparent and justify theoretically why certain interpretations and readings of discursive events seem more valid than others” (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001, p. 88).

One of the principles of CDA highlights the importance of context which should be taken into consideration when examining texts since discourse is historical in nature and cannot be produced without context (Jahedi et al., 2014). Moreover, CDA is interested in studying social problems. In other words, it aims to move beyond analysing language and its use. It seeks to focus on the “linguistic character of social and cultural processes and structures” (Wodak & Fairclough, 1997, p. 271). Moreover, language and society are involved in a dialectical relationship i.e., as language shapes society, the latter also plays a role in shaping language. Last but not least, critical discourse studies should consist of the three levels of analysis proposed by Fairclough (1989). CDA seeks to move beyond the description stage (textual analysis) to the interpretation (processing analysis) and explanation stages (social analysis).

Briefly, language in CDA is seen as a *social practice* through which *ideologies* and *social power relations* are conveyed. In this sense, critical discourse analysts are interested in examining the relationship between discourse and social power<sup>95</sup> (Jahedi et al., 2014) and it aims at unveiling opaque structures of power abuse in discourse and provides an explanation of “how power abuse is enacted, reproduced or legitimized by the text and talk of dominant groups or institutions” (Van Dijk, 1996, p. 84). Besides the notions of *ideology* and *power*, the concept of *intertextuality*, i.e., how texts are connected to each other, is also constitutive for every approach in CDA (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001). One of the CDA approaches that takes into consideration all

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Functional Linguistics (Halliday 1978) etc. Even though approaches to CDA draw upon theories from critical social theory, ethnography or social psychology, the methodologies that are adopted are inspired from the field of Linguistics (Hart, 2014b). One of the most prominent approaches to CDA are Fairclough’s socio-critical approach (1992), Discourse Historical Approach (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001), the Socio-Cognitive Approach (Van Dijk, 1998, 2013), and the Social Actor Analysis (Van Leeuwen, 2008).

<sup>95</sup> Baker and Ellege (2011) mention two types of power: sovereign power and disciplinary power (Foucault, 1979) or what Fairclough (1989) calls coercion or/and consent. While the former is “[...] exercised by the state or sovereign, who had the power to punish, coerce or kill people”, disciplinary power is “[...] a way of ensuring that people exercise self-control or submit to the will of ‘experts’” (Baker and Ellege, 2011, p. 99). Exploring the ways how this disciplinary power is created, maintained, and challenged has been the focus of critical discourse studies (Baker & Ellege, 2011).

the aforementioned notions is the Discourse Historical Approach which is chosen to be the framework for the current critical discourse study of the drafting process of UNSC resolutions.

### V.2.2. The Discourse Historical Approach

The DHA<sup>96</sup> which has been used in investigations on “sexism, anti-Semitism, identity politics, organizational discourses [e.g., EU parliament] and racism” (Wodak, 2011, p. 43-44) is going to be employed in the current study to analyse the process of decision making and conflict management during the drafting process of resolutions.

Language use by powerful people is critically analyzed by the DHA which sees language as “a means to gain and maintain power by the use ‘powerful people’ make of it” (p. 88). Texts can thus be seen as the setting for social struggle caused by the asymmetric power relations and ideological fights between social actors for dominance and hegemony. The DHA is, then, a useful framework to investigate power relations and the ideological struggle in the drafting process of UNSC resolutions. For example, its text-inherent categories developed for the analysis of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001) are appropriate for the analysis of the use of ideology (i.e., its production and reproduction).

Furthermore, this approach is useful for the purposes of this research as it allows going beyond a simple linguistic analysis that normally covers one level of context. Baker et al. (2008) put it very nicely:

the DHA thus takes into account the **intertextual** and **interdiscursive** relationships between utterances, texts, genres and discourses as well as **extra-linguistic social/sociological variables, the history and ‘archaeology’ of an organization, institutional frames of a specific context of situation and processes of text production, text-reception and text consumption** (p. 279-280; emphasis added).

This distinctive feature of the DHA to take into account all available background information suits the purposes of the present study which tend to integrate different layers of contexts: the intertextual and interdiscursive relationships between the final resolutions and their relevant drafts, the historical and political background of the Syrian conflict as well as the power relations

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<sup>96</sup> This approach was used for the first time to study how anti-Semitic stereotyped images are constituted in public discourses in the 1986 Austrian presidential campaign of former UN general secretary Kurt Waldheim (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009, p. 105). The DHA has been further elaborated and employed in other studies of racist discrimination against migrants (Lawton, 2013), the discourse about identity (Ricento, 2003; Wodak, Krzyzanowski & Forchtner, 2012) and UNSC resolutions (Scotto di Carlo, 2013). It is influenced by Halliday’s Systemic Functional Grammar, Critical Linguistics, Critical Theory, Argumentation Theory, and forms of Fairclough’s critical discourse analysis etc. (Baker & Ellege, 2011, p. 33)

between member states in the council and the use of veto in relation to the process of (re)producing/(re)formulating the texts of drafts.

Since the DHA allows to work with various theories and methods<sup>97</sup> in a way that the combination “leads to an adequate understanding and explanation of the research object” (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001, p. 104), some adaptations are needed to this framework to fit the purposes of the present research. The notions of ‘textual travels’ and ‘recontextualization’ are necessary to examine the change of texts during the drafting process. Moreover, to study the ideological attitudes of member states in the council, Van Dijk’s socio-cognitive approach (2003) about the system of ideology is needed. Besides integrating Chilton’s analytical categories (2004) in the DHA, as it is proposed by Lawton (2013), Chilton’s variant of Politeness phenomena (1990) are also incorporated in the framework for a better understanding of the ideological struggle and conflict management in the council. These notions and approaches that are added to the DHA are explained in the following sections.

### **V.3. The Origins of The Concept Textual Travels**

The notion of textual travel is taken from the book *Legal-Lay Communication: Textual Travels in the Law*<sup>98</sup> edited by Heffer et al. (2013) and stands for “[...] the way that texts move through and around institutional processes and are shaped, altered and appropriated during their journeys” (p. 4). The portmanteau term ‘textual travel’ is used by the authors of the book to encapsulate different processes and notions such as *entextualization*, *decontextualization* and *recontextualization* (Bauman and Briggs, 1990); *intertextuality* and *interdiscursivity* (Kristeva 1980; Fairclough 1992, 2001; Candlin and Maley 1997); *reentextualization* and *text trajectories* (Blommaert, 2005)<sup>99</sup> that are related to this idea of texts travelling and connecting to each other.

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<sup>97</sup> The DHA has been used in combination with socio-cognitive approaches (Van Dijk 2003, 2006; Chilton 2004). For example, Koller (2005) examines the lesbian identity in discourses by using a combination of notions from the discourse historical (e.g., de Cillia et al., 1999; Reisigl & Wodak, 2001; Wodak 2001) and socio-cognitive approaches (e.g., Chilton, 2004; Koller 2005; O’Halloran 2003, Van Dijk, 2003, 2006). Lawton (2013) explores the anti-immigrant discourse of the American English-Only movement by integrating Chilton’s analytical categories (2004) in the DHA. Furthermore, the same approach has been used with methods from ethnography to examine “[...] identity politics and patterns of decision-making in EU organizations, offering insights into the ‘backstage’ of politics, as well as the explorations of social change in EU countries” (Wodak, 2011, p. 44).

<sup>98</sup> The different authors of the book tackle a permanent challenging issue in the area of language and the law which is “the communication problems that arise when lay people interact with the legal arena” (Sousa-Silva, 2013, p. 175).

<sup>99</sup> Other theoretical notions that are related to the metaphor of the text travelling are *delocation* and *relocation* (Bernstein, 1990); *centering*, *decentering* and *recentring* (Hanks, 1989); *reentextualization* and *text trajectories* (Blommaert, 2005) (see Heffer et al., 2013).



Talking about texts travelling is based on the assumption that texts are dynamic and not stable. Heffer et al. (2013) states that this move dates back to “Bakhtin’s challenge to Saussure’s construction of the science of language as the study of *langue*, a synchronic and autonomous entity that existed outside sociohistorical processes” (p. 8). In fact, Bakhtin considers language to be involved in and inseparable from the sociohistorical and ideological processes in which it is created (Heffer et al., 2013). Texts should be rather seen as dynamic entities that can change over time and space.

Previous studies on legal discourse have not given importance to the legal process per se and how the text evolves as it travels through various phases and moves from one institution to another (Heffer et al., 2013). According to Heffer et al. (2013), “analysts of discourse, including discourse in the legal arena are methodologically inclined to start with a **synchronic** and **apparently stable analytical unit** – the immediate text– which often hides the **diachronic instability** of the discourse from which that text emerged” (p. 3; emphasis added). In other words, they argue that analysts often begin their investigation by studying the final text, which seems to be stable, without exploring its previous legal process and how it has been formed or connects to other texts. According to them, there should be a shift of attention in the focus of Legal studies by taking into consideration the diachronic instability that is indispensable for the creation of any text.

They consider the legal process as the setting where the diachronic instability of discourse is highly evident. More importantly, they conceptualize the dynamicity that precedes the creation of the final discourse in terms of the Journey metaphor. In other words, texts or textual fragments are dynamic units that travel from one context to another and get transformed (e.g., from a police investigation to the court). This Journey metaphor can be also used for the context of the drafting process of UNSC resolutions with further elaborations that are going to be explained in detail in the coming sections.

The current work teases out the diachronic instability of discourse in a new ‘legal’ space which is the drafting process of UNSC resolutions. In previous studies about this legal and diplomatic discourse, only the immediate text (i.e., official resolutions) is examined (Dontcheva-Navratilova, 2009; Scotto di Carlo, 2013; Gruenberg, 2009)<sup>100</sup>. However, the drafting process as a setting where recontextualization probably manifests is neglected. It should be noted that

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<sup>100</sup> It should be noted that the textual analysis by Scotto di Carlo (2013) of a final resolution with its draft does not show in detail how such relations of recontextualization manifest and how decision making can be influenced by the different attitudes that can be present between the member states during the drafting process.

aiming at showing signs of vagueness, Scotto di Carlo (2013) indirectly reveals, in her study, intertextual and interdiscursive relations between a UNSC resolution, its official draft and relevant American legislations. However, the drafting process which hides the diachronic instability of the final resolutions remains unaddressed especially in relation to recontextualization. Therefore, examining these under-researched aspects is necessary to understand the immediate product i.e., resolutions as Wood (1998) also suggests.

### **V.3.1. Textual Travels in The Drafting Process of Resolutions?**

Textual travels in Legal Lay communication (Heffer et al., 2013) are investigated as texts travel from one institution - also called contexts - to another one or from the discourse of a lay person (suspect's first interrogation) to a new legal discourse (as it should be re-written by police in their investigation or mentioned by lawyer). In the current study, the focus is on the textual travels that take place in one context (i.e., in the same institution, which is the SC, and more specifically during its process of drafting resolutions and decision making)<sup>101</sup>.

In other words, one can talk here about travels of textual fragments from drafts to the resolution. Indeed, once a draft is rejected or vetoed, a different representation of the conflict is very likely to be introduced to the council. This new representation can be expected to be formed on the basis of some fragments taken from previous documents and may get transformed in the new draft. However, it is also possible that to reach compromise, one of the drafts will introduce a moderate representation that takes into consideration the other ones that are rejected at an earlier stage. This diachronic instability or textual travels will result in producing the final resolution that is supposed to include different fragments from previous representations provided in the preceding drafts.

Moreover, the agents in the SC who are responsible for the production of textual travels belong to the same status – diplomats -. Like textual travels in other legal processes, agents in the SC who are regulating the travel of texts have different powers. The P5, who have the right to use the veto, are the most powerful voices that will control the textual travels in the drafting process.

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<sup>101</sup> In the context of the drafting process of the SC, we can still talk about different contexts because of the presence of different types of documents that are thought to connect to each other. For example, every draft is expected to be influenced by some other documents such as statements of the SC president, SC reports or speeches of member states or even other drafts. Drafters can get some textual fragments from the aforementioned documents to form their representation of the event. Thus, one can talk about textual travels during the formation of a single draft.

To sum up, the present study is interested in examining the textual travels during the drafting process of UNSC resolutions i.e., between drafts and their relevant resolution. Moreover, as fragments of representations travel from one discourse to another, they get transformed and modified. This transformational process of texts is explained in the next section under the notion of recontextualization which is one of the concepts covered by the term textual travels.

### V.3.2. Recontextualization

**“This interweaving, this textile, is the text produced only in the transformation of another text” Derrida (1981) (cited in Heffer et al, 2013, p.9)**

One of the notions covered by the term ‘textual travels’ is ‘recontextualization’<sup>102</sup>. This process is about “the dynamic transfer-and-transformation of something from one discourse/text-in-context [...] to another” (Linell, 1998, p. 144-145). According to Heffer et al. (2013), transferring elements to new contexts includes *entextualization* (i.e., rendering discourse extractable (Bauman & Briggs, 1990)), *de-contextualization* (i.e., taking out an element of its context) and *recontextualization* (i.e., replanting the respective element in a new context). These three stages are supposed to take place during the drafting process as representations of social actors and (re)actions are transformed.

Following Linell (1998), the process of recontextualization can take place in three ways or at different levels:

- (1) intratextual, where a part of a text is referred to within the same text, either earlier or later;
- (2) intertextual, where part or all of another text is referred to in another text and
- (3) interdiscursive, where types of discourses are recontextualized (Baker and Ellege, 2011, p.112).

Even though the intratextual<sup>103</sup> and intertextual<sup>104</sup> relationships are present in the data of the present study, they are not going to be analysed since the aim of the research is to examine the interdiscursive relationship. It should be noted that the last two levels in the citation can be

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<sup>102</sup> Heffer et al. (2013) state that both terms ‘entextualization’ and ‘recontextualization’ are used by different authors to refer to the whole process of entextualization, decontextualization and recontextualization. The term recontextualization is going to be used in the present work to mean the whole process instead of entextualization.

<sup>103</sup> Intratextuality is present in the material of the present study through such expressions “to implement paragraphs 2 and 4 above” (SD02V), “pending the deployment of the mission referred to in paragraph 5” (SD11R, ResI). Moreover, anaphoric or cataphoric references can be supposed to be signs of intratextual relation since they refer to other expressions in the text.

<sup>104</sup> Intertextuality is also present in the material and can be typical of UNSC resolutions. For example, references to statements issued by the president of the council or to other resolutions, (*The Security Council [...] Recalling its Presidential Statements of 3 August 2011*, (ResI)) are included in all drafts and resolutions examined in the present study.

related to the notions that have often been researched in critical discourse studies: intertextuality and interdiscursivity. The Discourse Historical Approach, for instance, deals with “intertextual and interdiscursive relationships between utterances, texts, genres, and discourses, as well as extra-linguistic social/sociological variables” (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009, p. 90). Reisigl and Wodak (2009) suggest that by paying attention to all these relationships, analysts “explore how discourses, genres and texts change in relation to socio-political change” (p. 90). In the context of drafting resolutions in the SC, the relation of interdiscursivity can be revealed when comparing a draft with its preceding and subsequent documents as well as with the final resolution. Moreover, the content of drafts is supposed to change in relation to a legal change in the SC which can be marked by the use of veto.

Reisigl and Wodak (2009) propose that the process of recontextualization becomes obvious when comparing a political speech with the reports written about it in various newspapers. For example, the journalist will take particular quotes from the report that suit the purpose of the article which should be for instance a commentary. Thus, during these processes of de- and re-contextualization, the quotations are ‘newly framed’ according to one’s interests (p. 90). Consequently, “the element (partly) acquires a new meaning, since meanings are formed in use” (p. 90). In the same line, Heffer et al. (2013) suggest that recontextualization, through transformation, can play a role in commenting on, legitimating or evaluating text (Blackledge, 2006) by providing a change in framing (Goffman 1974) etc. Therefore, they argue that “the processes of textual travel are fundamentally ideological” (p. 11).

Similarly, drafters are supposed to take particular textual fragments from preceding drafts and embed them in a new draft or in the final resolution without changing them when these textual sections satisfy their interests and represent their attitudes. Once these textual fragments are transformed or inserted in a new co-text, they might be given new meanings by drafters to invoke different representations that stand for their views. Being controlled by powerful agents, these transformations have an ideological nature. Having said this, it is worth considering these textual travels and recontextualization in a new research setting characterized by power relations and ideological struggle such as the drafting process of UNSC resolutions. In order to tackle this political cognition and the ideological nature of textual travels in the drafting process, a socio-cognitive approach about the concept of ideology is required.

### V.3.3.A Socio-Cognitive Approach to the Concept of Ideology

One of the approaches to ideology in CDA is the socio-cognitive one by Van Dijk (1998, 2013). It is described to be triangular as “[...] it relates discourse with society via a socio-cognitive interface” (Van Dijk, 2013, p. 176). In other words, Van Dijk (2013) defines ‘ideology’ as a form of social cognition which can be expected to be acquired, expressed, and reproduced by discourse. In his approach to CDA, he relates this socio-cognitive definition of ideology with a systemic analysis of the structures of ideological discourses to understand the ways this form of social cognition emerges, spreads and is used by social groups (Van Dijk, 2013, p. 176). In the current study, the aim is to examine why a particular kind of ideology is embedded in the discourse of the final resolution when divergent ideologies are present in the council during the drafting process. To answer this question, an investigation about the drafting process where different forms of this social cognition are thought to be produced, reproduced, and replaced by others is needed.

For a sound account on the different uses of ideology, Van Dijk (2013) suggests that one “should account not only for overall, group-based social practices or systems of interpretation of social events, but also for the ways individual members may participate in, and hence reproduce ideologies in their everyday lives” (p. 180)<sup>105</sup>. He suggests that there should be a theoretical distinction between these socially shared belief systems i.e., ideologies and “the many ways these systems can be expressed, used, or implemented by individual people, as members, in discourse and other social practices” (p. 177).

His call to include the ‘personal nature of the *use* of ideologies’ should be taken into consideration in the present work since the drafting process (as a social practice) is supposed to include personal uses of ideology by some member states. Without getting bogged down with the details, every individual member state in the SC can participate in the process of producing a resolution and hence may reproduce an interpretation of the overall ideology (principles) of the Council in its draft as it is the case with Russia.

This personal use of ideology is one of the layers that are included in Van Dijk’s socio-cognitive system of ideology (2013) which consists of “[...] **the general ideology** itself, **a set of variable ideological attitudes**, also shared by social groups, and finally **personally variable mental**

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<sup>105</sup> His arguments for considering this personal cognition or personal use of ideologies stem from his comparison of ideology with natural languages. He argues that “[I]n the same way as there are no private or personal languages, there are no personal ideologies” (p. 177). Moreover, ideologies, like natural languages, “[...] are forms of social cognitions that are used by individuals” (p. 177).

**models** representing individual experiences at the basis of personal discourse and other practices” (p. 180; emphasis added). This three strata socio-cognitive system of ideology is going to be adopted in this work since it can be useful for examining the different uses of ideology during the drafting process of resolutions.

The general ideology (the first layer) of the SC is represented in the Charter of the UN. The council’s overall ideology is based on the norms and values of securing international peace and security as well as respecting the independence and territorial integrity of countries. Van Dijk (2013) suggests that these ideological beliefs can be “stable but with flexible application in variable issues” (p. 179) which is also the case of the general ideology of the SC. Indeed, the norms and values mentioned in the Charter (first layer of ideology/primary context) have not changed since its creation.

Van Dijk (2013) claims that once the overall ideology is reproduced, it can result in a set of variable social attitudes or personally variable mental models. The same phenomenon is supposed to take place in the SC. The norms and values of the Charter are reproduced by member states in resolutions and even drafts. While the former is supposed to represent only the second layer since they are adopted by all member states (social group), drafts can represent either the personally variable mental models, if they are produced by only one member state, or a set of variable social attitudes in case they are proposed by a group of member states. The three layers or uses of general ideology in the SC are illustrated in Figure 5.

According to the second layer of the system of ideology (Van Dijk, 2013), resolutions are supposed to have a set of variable attitudes that are abstracted from the overall ideology. This idea can be related to Gruenberg’s findings (2009) which show that the SC does not treat member states equally in terms of the lexical choice of certain words. This unequal treatment of similar conflicts by the SC, at the lexical level, can be the result of bearing different attitudes towards them. The set of variable attitudes in the secondary context is shown in Figure 5.

This idea of embedding the overall ideology of the SC by member states in different documents is similar to Heydon’s study (2013). She examines how wordings and concepts travel down as they move from the primary context of legislation to the secondary context of the interview room. The norms and values of UN Charter (primary context) are reproduced in the second (resolutions) and third (drafts) contexts by being embedded in these documents in the form of a group (second layer of ideology) or personal (third layer of ideology) interpretations.

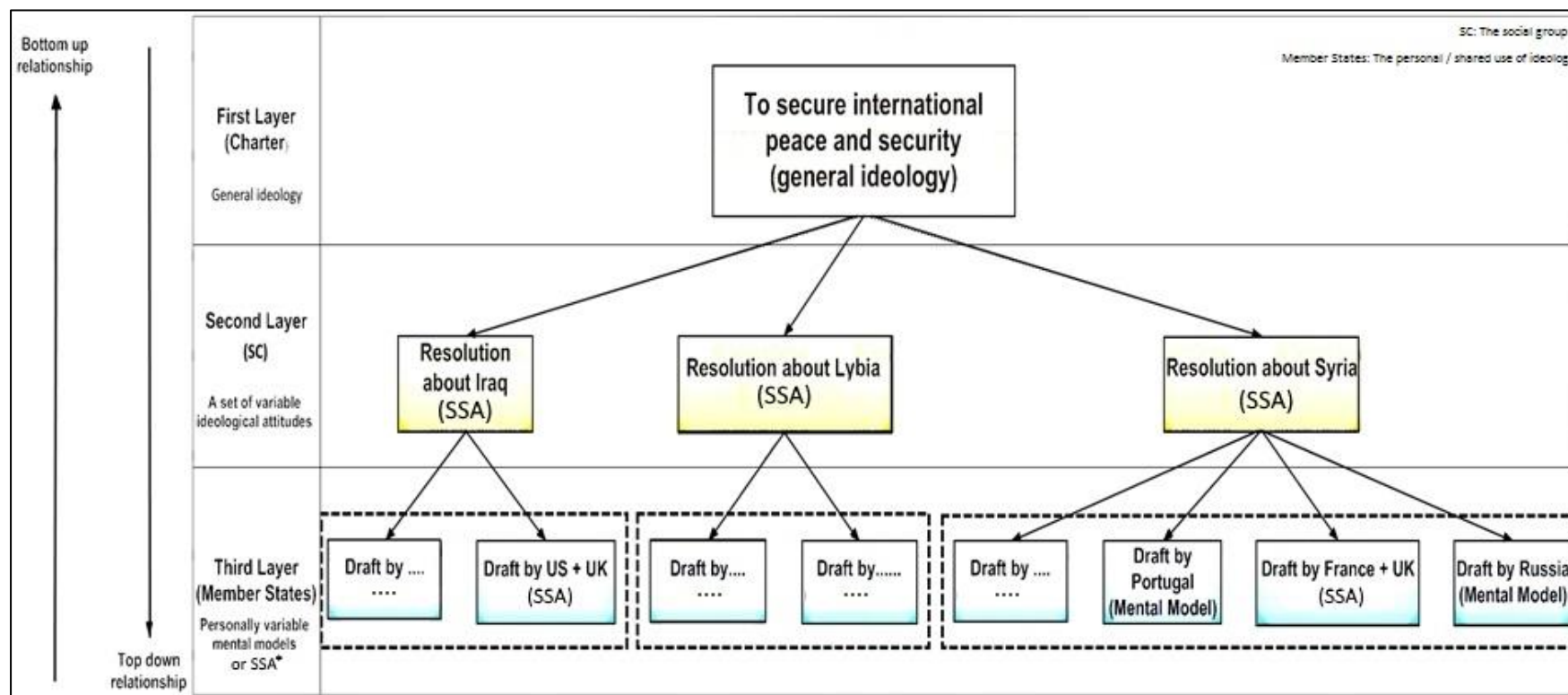


Figure 5: The three layers of socio-cognitive system of ideology (Van Dijk, 2013) adapted to the notion of ideological travel in the drafting process of UNSC resolutions

\* SSA: Socially shared attitudes

Besides traveling down, ideology, in its different forms (as a representation, attitude etc.), also travels up in the context of the SC. The implementation of the notion of recontextualization to the drafting process means that the adopted resolution should be composed of modified fragments from drafts that can either represent a personal mental model or shared attitudes. This means that the latter, together with other personal views, would travel from drafts to the final resolution which will represent a set of shared attitudes. This thought can be related to the studies by Maryns (2013), Komter (2013) and Johnson (2013) where the interview rooms become the primary contexts from which texts (police interviews) travel up to the courts, which are the secondary context. The primary context would then be the drafting process from which representations included in drafts travel their way up to be embedded in the adopted resolution (secondary context) after possible transformations.

Added to that, in these recontextualizing contexts of both directions - top down or bottom up -, the movement of representations or interpretations during the drafting process is regulated by multiple powerful agents who have diverse cultural background and ideological attitudes. At the end of every drafting process, member states must agree on one policy (i.e., one representation of the conflict and some measures) despite their ideological differences and divergent interests. During this stage, negotiations will take place about how to mitigate their divergences to agree on one text. This process is expected to be facilitated through the use of politeness strategies.

### **V.3.4. Politeness as a Tool for Decision Making in Politics and Diplomacy**

Politeness, according to Brown and Levinson framework (1978), is about speakers' mutual acknowledgement of their mutual interests to satisfy their face desires. In line with this assumption, Politeness phenomena are part and parcel of the legal discourse in general and of resolutions in particular (Dontcheva-Navratilova, 2009). The analysis provided by Dontcheva-Navratilova (2005; 2009), for instance, shows how the choice of directive and expressive speech acts in UNESCO resolutions is motivated by the socio-pragmatic situation (Dontcheva-Navratilova, 2005).

A turning point in the history of this framework is when researchers<sup>106</sup> called for using it as a methodological instrument to study negotiation and bargaining in the setting of politics and diplomacy from a critical perspective of discourse analysis. Chilton (1990) provides a

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<sup>106</sup> This move dates back to studies by Bell (1975; 1988) and Cicourel (1988) who called for the importance of integrating politeness theory among other approaches from applied linguistic to investigate verbal interaction in international negotiation (Chilton, 1990).



reinterpretation of Brown and Levinson framework (1978), which is based on Leech's (1983) variant of the same approach, to apply it to the context of politics and diplomacy.

The current study would go a little bit further by examining the role of Politeness in the formation of UNSC resolutions by considering their historical and political context. Indeed, the SC is seen as a political organ whose drafting process is a setting where different ideologies and interests as well as power relations manifest. This interplay of these concepts is expected to be reinforced and regulated by politeness strategies. Therefore, applying Chilton's variant of Brown and Levinson framework of Politeness phenomena (1990) as tools of critical discourse analysis of political discourse in international communication is needed.

The relevance of Politeness theory to the international political context is seen through the political senses that are given to the concept of face as well as strategy from the Brown and Levinson framework (1978). By revealing the inherent political elements in the notion of face, the following political senses "[...] claiming common ground (positive face) and avoidance of intrusion into other's ground or territory (negative face)" are considered as "goal-oriented *strategies* of social and political action" (Chilton, 1990, p. 221). Chilton (1990) goes even further by conceptualizing the linguistic realizations of these *strategies* as *tactics*, implying conflict and hence evoking the military metaphor. He concludes by claiming that "Politeness has both a conflictual and a co-operative face" (p. 222) which is expected to be part of the process of decision making in the SC.

In politeness theory, it is assumed that humans have 'face' which is defined by Brown and Levinson (1978) as "[...] a want that individuals have, rather than a right" (cited in Chilton, 1990, p. 204). Accordingly, speakers are assumed to "mutually acknowledge their mutual interest in satisfying their face wants" (Chilton, 1990, p. 204). However, besides the notion of *face* and the term *wants*, Chilton (1990) claims that substantive rights and needs should also be taken into consideration. In the context of the SC, member states do not only try to save others' face but they also have the right to use their legal position to impose measures that represent their wants. For example, the P5 employ their right of vetoing a resolution to satisfy their needs, i.e., interests. In this context, Chilton (1990) states that "[...] politeness phenomena may not only depend on existing power relationships in a community but also (a) constitutively reinforce them and (b) be a mechanism for manoeuvre and change in such relationships" (p. 204). This view of politeness is assumed to be part and parcel of decision making in the SC.

Politeness theory distinguishes two types of face: negative and positive. Negative Face, which is “[...] the want not to be impeded by others”, is related to the desire of territorial integrity and self-determination as well as freedom (Chilton, 1990, p. 204). Positive face, on the other hand, can be seen as “the want of a person that their wants also be wanted by others” in a way as to be integrated into a group based on mutually believed values and desires (p. 204); hence it is seen as part of the construction of identity and consensus.

It is assumed that during interaction, some acts can threaten face especially those that contradicts the face wants of the hearer and/or the speaker (Brown and Levinson, 1978). Brown and Levinson (1978) identify ‘politeness strategies’ that can be used while performing ‘face threatening acts’. A speaker is said to go **on record** in doing an act when the communicative intention of the message is made clear to the participants. However, if a speaker “goes **off record** in doing A [an act], then there is more than one unambiguously attributable intention so that the actor [the speaker] cannot be held to have committed himself to one particular intent” (p. 316). Off record strategies can be realized through different linguistic devices, such as metaphor, irony, implicatures etc., which can express “hints as to what a speaker wants or means to communicate, without doing so directly, so that the meaning is to some degree negotiable”. (p. 313).

Moreover, a speaker is considered to use a ‘bald’ on record formulation when it is performed in the most direct way without involving any vagueness. This can be seen in the first drafts when draftsmen condemn acts of violence through direct and intense representations of the conflict (example 1) as well as the use of directives with strong force of imposition to order the addressee to stop the violent actions (example 2). Such formulations that threaten the others’ face are supposed to be present in the beginning of the process of decision making in the SC. Since member states are supposed to express their ideological differences in their drafts as a first step, their desire would be to ‘impose’ their policy, which stands for territorial integrity and self-determination, by opting for particular representations of the conflict. In this sense, politeness strategies are seen to have a function of reinforcing power relations in the drafting process.

- (1) The Security Council [...] **Condemns** the systematic **violation of human rights**, including the **killings, arbitrary detentions, disappearances, and torture of peaceful demonstrators, human rights defenders and journalists by the Syrian authorities**, (SD01)
- (2) The Security Council [...] **Demands** that the Syrian authorities immediately: [...] (c) cease the use of force against civilians; (SD02V)

On the other hand, going on record in doing an act can be accompanied by **redressive actions** that are intended to save others' face. These redressive actions take "one of two forms, depending on which aspect of face (negative or positive) is being stressed" (p. 317). **Positive politeness** is, then, when the speaker shows that s/he wants what the hearer's wants by treating him "as a member of the in-group, not as an alien or outsider, by indicating sharing of interests, values, reciprocal rights and obligations" (Chilton, 1990, p. 212). One of the realizations of positive politeness provided by Chilton (1990) is praising the hearer, which is also present in the material. For instance, the data include instances of the SC congratulating and praising the efforts of the UN team (example 3).

- (3) The Security Council [...] **Encourages** the League of Arab States to continue efforts in cooperation with all Syrian stakeholders [...], (SD03R)

For Brown and Levinson (1978), **negative politeness** is "oriented mainly towards partially satisfying (redressing) H's [hearer's] negative face, his basic want to maintain claims of territory and self-determination" (p. 317). In the context of UNSC resolutions, member states can be said to use off record strategies and negative politeness when they condemn acts of violence or refer to the aggressor in general terms<sup>107</sup> and with redress<sup>108</sup> (example 4). Moreover, deleting or replacing directive verbs with strong force of imposition with other ones that have a weaker force of imposition can be a sign that member states are following redressive actions. Such strategies that are responsible for saving others' positive or negative face are supposed to be apparent at the end of the drafting process when member states try to reach consensus.

- (4) The Security Council [...] **Condemning** the widespread **violations of human rights** by the Syrian authorities, as well as **any human rights abuses by armed groups**, [...] (ResI, ResII)

Briefly, the phenomena of positive and negative face are likely to be involved in the final stage of the process of decision making in the SC when the 15 member states try to reach compromise and form one group that share the same attitudes and beliefs. In other words, to reach consensus and agree on one policy, despite their disputes, the member states in the SC should express their willingness to accept the wants of each other and mitigate their differences by following positive

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<sup>107</sup> For instance, by using general terms such as *violations* and *abuses* instead of listing the violent actions through specific terms such as *killings*, *detentions* etc. as it is the case in the first drafts.

<sup>108</sup> In general, the texts of the adopted resolutions are formulated with redress. For example, the acts of violence are condemned (example 4) in the preamble of the resolutions but drafters do not use directives with a strong or middle force of imposition (such as *demands* or *urges*) in the operative section of the resolutions to ask the addressees to stop committing violence which is the case in the first drafts.

and negative face strategies. More importantly, the process of recontextualization is supposed to reveal this functional role of politeness in changing the relationship between the participants.

#### **V.4. An Extension of The Discourse Historical Approach to The Study of the Drafting Process of UNSC Resolutions**

The DHA encourages researchers who intend to use it to employ triangulation and include different theories and methods for the sake of a better understanding of the research object (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001). Therefore, this section provides the reasons for integrating some aspects from the socio-cognitive approach as well as from Cognitive Linguistics, and more specifically from Cognitive Grammar. Before moving to that, a description of the significance of the four different levels of context in the DHA in relation to the current study is provided. Lawton (2013) summarizes these levels in four points:

1. The immediate language or text-internal co-text;
2. The intertextual and interdiscursive relationship between utterances, texts, genres and discourses; [Recontextualisation]
3. The extra-linguistic social/sociological variables and institutional frames of a specific 'context of situation'; [the drafting process, veto]
4. The broader socio-political and historical contexts, in which discursive practices are embedded and to which they are related (p. 105) [the Syrian conflict].

Moreover, the DHA involves five discursive strategies as categories of analysis which can be related to the realization of ideology, voice, and politeness strategies as well as the macro strategies that will be explained later.

1. Nomination or referential strategies looks at how social actors, objects, phenomena [processes] and events are named and referred to linguistically;
2. Predication examines which characteristics and features are attributed to the actors, objects and phenomena;
3. Argumentation justifies claims of truth and often relied on topoi, which are part of argument schemes and can connect the premise of an argument to its conclusions;
4. Perspectivization: positions the point of view of the producer of a text;
5. Intensification or mitigation modifies the force and status of utterances (Lawton, 2013, p. 106).

Apart from Argumentation which is going to be out of the scope of the present study, the remaining strategies are dealt with in the analysis. The Social Actors Network by Van Leeuwen (2008) is used to study how social actors are referred to in the material to reveal nomination

strategies. Moreover, some tools from Cognitive Linguistics are also deemed necessary for a thorough analysis of the ideological nature of the drafting process in the present study. The construal operations of schematization, profiling, and focus (Hart, 2011b, 2014a) are employed as they are apt tools to examine how actors and their actions are conceptualized (predication strategies). A comparative analysis of the representations of the conflict [social actors and their actions] during the drafting process is, then, supposed to reveal the ideologies of member states in the council. Moreover, by dealing with the fourth strategy, perspectivization, the study also tackles the idea proposed by Linell (1998) about the discrimination of voices. Voices heard before can be silenced by powerful agents who will try to impose their own voices by re-telling the story/issue from their own perspective. The analysis of the textual travels which will show how representations of social actors and their (re)actions are transformed would reveal how and when intensification and mitigation strategies, which also stand for politeness strategies, are opted for.

Lawton (2013) incorporates three strategic functions<sup>109</sup> proposed by Chilton (2004) in her critical discourse analysis of the discourse of the English-Only movement. She shows how the integration of Chilton's (2004) analytical categories in the DHA can lead to a fruitful framework to reveal how the discourse of English-Only<sup>110</sup> is "[...] ideological, discriminatory and anti-immigrant, and that it relies on the positive representation of the 'self' and the negative representation of the 'other' to achieve its aims" (Lawton, 2013, p. 116). These strategies or communication strategies that are used to analyse political discourse are considered by Lawton (2013) as "[...] macro-strategies that utterers use to manage their interests" (p. 107). Similarly, coercion, (de)legitimization and (mis)representation are supposed to be used by member states to justify their views and the decisions they take against Syria.

Coercion can be expressed through language as well as other means and it depends on the utterer's resources and power. Chilton (2004) considers "[...] speech acts backed by sanctions (legal or physical), such as commands, laws, edicts, etc." as clear examples of such non-linguistic coercive functions. In the context of the SC, the veto power can be considered as a coercive means that enables the five permanent members to secure their interests since they have the possibility to reject any draft resolution whose formula can threaten their interests. As a

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<sup>109</sup> Chilton (2004) suggests that instead of trying to find out if the use of certain linguistic expressions can be justifiably called strategic, the analyst can adopt another approach which proposes "[...] categories of 'strategic function' that linguistic expressions of various types may be (perceived to be) used for" (p. 45).

<sup>110</sup> The English Only movement aims "to make English the official language of the United States, restrict linguistic access to political and civil rights, and dismantle or restrict bilingual education programs" (Lawton, p. 100, 2013).

matter of fact, the use of veto can be seen as a way of exercising power to control “[...] others’ use of language – that is, through various kinds and degrees of censorship [i.e., to prevent people to give information] and access control” (Chilton, 2004, p. 45)<sup>111</sup>. Other forms of coerced behavior of political actors manifest in their use of language “[...] in setting agendas, selecting topics in conversation, positioning the self and others in specific relationships, making assumptions about realities that hearers are obliged to at least temporarily accept in order to process the text or talk” (p. 45). In her study, Lawton (2013) reveals how this strategy is used in her data to construct immigrants negatively through concealment to manipulate hearers conceptually or emotionally.

Legitimation (of the self) is also related to the previous function since it is about establishing ‘legitimacy’ i.e., the right to be obeyed. Political actors, for example, try to communicate their reasons to the hearers through explicit or implicit statements (Chilton, 2004). They will try to provide arguments about voters’ wants, mention ideological principles, or boast about performance and positive self-presentation (e.g., self-praise, self-apology, self-explanation, self-justification, self-identification as a source of authority, reason, vision, and sanity).

Delegitimation (of the other) is about representing others (institutional/unofficial opposition, foreigners etc.) in a negative way. The techniques employed include “[...] the use of ideas of differences and boundaries, and speech acts of blaming, accusing, insulting, etc.” (p. 46) and acts of “scape-goating, marginalizing, excluding, attacking the moral character of some individual or group, attacking the communicative cooperation of the other [...]” (p. 47). These two functions are seen by Chilton (2004) as opposite ends of the same scale which corresponds to “[...] positive face (being an insider and legitimate) and negative face (being not only an outsider and thus not legitimate but also under attack)” (p. 47).

Representation and misrepresentation can be quantitative (‘inadequate to the needs or interests of hearers’) or qualitative (by using various kinds of omissions, verbal evasion, and denial etc.) (Chilton, 2004). Consequently, Chilton (2004) states that this third function can be related to the violation of Grice’s maxims of quantity, quality, and manner.

## **V.5. Conclusion**

Through an adaptation to the DHA, the idea of drafts travelling during the drafting process is thoroughly explained in relation to studies from the legal, political, and linguistic fields. In

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<sup>111</sup> This idea of controlling the use of language through censorship is seen by Chilton (2004) to apply to the context of public media, the field where political communication manifest at most.

addition, an investigation of the textual travels in the context of the SC is supposed to reveal the ideological attitudes of member states and the recontextualization process that takes place between drafts to form the final resolution. More importantly, these processes of de- and re-contextualization will reproduce several elements with **new meanings** causing a change in **framing** (Reisigl & Wodak 2001; Heffer et al., 2013; Blackledge, 2006). These new meanings and frames which emerge because of a conflict of interests and ideologies stand for an opposing personal view, or a shared attitude. It is significant to reveal how these theoretical notions manifest at the level of discourse. By applying the political senses given to the notions of face and politeness strategies by Chilton (1990), the analysis of Politeness during the drafting process would reveal how constructions of politeness can serve larger strategic ends. In this case, they will be discursive strategies of intensification to impose one's representation or of mitigation to reach consensus and narrow down the differences.

To study all these notions and discursive strategies, the next chapter introduces a 'Grammar of recontextualization' which is based on the Social Actors Network presented by Van Leeuwen (2008), three construal operations and a classification of directives. This 'grammar of recontextualization' is supposed to provide various representational possibilities from which drafters can choose to represent the conflict, social actors and their (re)actions.

## **A 'GRAMMAR OF RECONTEXTUALIZATION' FOR A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE PROCESS OF DRAFTING UNSC RESOLUTIONS**

### **VI.1. Introduction**

Studying the process of recontextualization during the legal practice of drafting resolutions means an examination of the different possible transformations that texts can undergo from the first draft till the adopted resolutions. This study explores the process of formulating the final representation of the Syrian conflict (i.e., the social actors involved in the conflict and their actions) and the reaction of the SC (i.e., how the SC introduces its measures and addresses the participants). This thesis is then interested in revealing how the aforementioned aspects are recontextualized during the drafting process.

To be able to analyse how the representation of social actors and their (re)actions is transformed from one draft to another, a 'Grammar of recontextualization' specific to the data under scrutiny is presented. Hart (2014b) explains the distinction between grammar and Grammar as the former being the grammar rules that one learns at school to know how to use language while the latter is about how "scholars are concerned with describing language rather than prescribing how it ought to be used" (p.1). The latter explanation of Grammar is the one that is adopted in the current work.

A large part of it is based on Van Leeuwen 's "grammars" of recontextualization (deletion, addition, rearrangement, and substitution) and his Social Actors Network (2008). Three main construal operations and a classification of directives are also integrated. The latter three elements are examined in relation to four types of transformations: deletion, addition, rearrangement, and substitution (Van Leeuwen, 2008).

In the following sections, I start with an overview of the transformations that are necessary to analyse the process of recontextualizing representations. Then, an adaptation of Van Leeuwen 's Social Actors Network (2008) to my study is described. In the third section, I present a Grammar of (re)conceptualization that incorporates the construal operations of schematization, profiling and focus to examine how actions and social actors are (re)conceptualized. Finally, to analyse the reaction of the SC, I provide a classification of directive verbs since they have different force of imposition that drafters can use to address social actors.



## VI.2. Basic Transformations

Van Leeuwen (2008) lists four main transformations that can take place during the process of recontextualization. Deletions, additions, rearrangements, and substitutions are useful to show how representations of social actors and (re)actions are (re)formulated and transformed during the drafting process. These transformations which are made at the surface level of text have important functional effects. Deletion and addition can either exclude, background, or include social actors. Rearrangement has the effect of reallocating roles of social actors while substitutions can add new meanings. Studying these transformations and their effects can reveal how member states change their attitudes during the drafting process.

Recontextualization can take place through the **deletion** of one or more elements of the representations of social actors and (re)actions. For example, the use of the nominalization *attacks* can lead to the deletion of one or both participants when they are not elaborated as in *attacks by the Syrian authorities against civilians*. Another type of transformation is **addition** which can occur when recontextualizing a representation in subsequent drafts such as when a new social actor, that is not included in a preceding draft, is added in a subsequent draft during the drafting process. For example, the paragraph in SD10 (example 1) refers to only one social actor, *the Syrian authorities*; however, the same paragraph travels to ResI and ResII (example 2) where another social actor, *armed groups*, is added to the representation.

- (1) The Security Council [...] Condemning the widespread, systematic, and gross violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms by **the Syrian authorities**, (SD10)
- (2) The Security Council [...] Condemning the widespread violations of human rights by the **Syrian authorities**, as well as any human rights abuses by **armed groups**, (ResI, ResII)

Representing social actors in texts means assigning roles to them. In relation to recontextualization, “representations can reallocate roles or rearrange the social relations between the participants” (p. 32). This is called **rearrangement**. Van Leeuwen (2008) makes a distinction between active and passive roles. A social actor is ‘activated’ when it is represented as the ‘dynamic force’ in an activity whereas it is ‘passivated’ when it is represented as ‘undergoing’ the activity. Activation and Passivation of social actors can occur through the following realizations: grammatical participant roles, transitivity structures, circumstantialization, premodification or postmodification of nominalizations or process nouns, and possessivation. There are two types of passivation: subjection and beneficialization. In the former, the passivated social actor is treated as a ‘thing’ in the representation and can be bought,

sold, borrowed, exchanged etc. A beneficialized social actor is a third party that benefits from the process either negatively or positively.

I restrict my analysis to analysing the roles of social actors being involved in the conflict i.e., the violent actions. In other words, I am interested in showing who is presented as an active social actor (the aggressor) who is acting against a passivated one (the victim). These roles are further explained and examined in the section dealing with the conceptualization of events in terms of ACTION, FORCE and MOTION schemas. It is necessary to show if there is a difference in allocating roles to social actors between drafts. For example, *the Syrian authorities* are represented as the active social actors who are causing the killings, detentions etc. in SD01 (example 3) while the same social actors, who is referred to through the referential expression *security personnel* in SD03R (example 4), are passivated and given the role of a victim.

- (3) The Security Council [...] Condemns the systematic violation of human rights, including the killings, arbitrary detentions, disappearances, and torture of peaceful demonstrators, human rights defenders and journalists by the Syrian authorities (SD01)
- (4) The Security Council [...] Urges the Syrian government to [...] complete without delay investigations carried out by the Syrian judicial committee into all events in which civilians and **security personnel** were killed or injured, (SD03R)

Such a difference can lead to **rearrangement**, another type of transformation that can be motivated by the concerns of recontextualizing previous representation of social actors to reach specific objectives. Furthermore, Van Leeuwen (2008) also considers rearrangement as when “elements of the social practice, insofar as they have a necessary order, may be rearranged, scattered through the text in various ways” (p. 18). This modification may occur during the drafting process when drafters change the position of some textual fragments or paragraphs in the texts. For example, condemning the violence that is taking place in Syria is present in the operative part of SD01 (example 5) while it is embedded in the preamble part of SD03R (example 6).

- (5) The Security Council [...] **Condemns** the systematic violation of human rights, including the killings, arbitrary detentions, [...] of peaceful demonstrators, human rights defenders and journalists by the Syrian authorities, (SD01)
- (6) The Security Council [...] Strongly **condemning** continuing violence coming from all parties, including disproportionate use of force by Syrian authorities, (SD03R)

Van Leeuwen (2008) considers **substitution** as the most fundamental transformation because “as soon as this [substitution] happens, new meanings are added, though in some cases more drastically than in others” (p. 17). He illustrates this type of transformation when representing

social actors in texts. In other words, while some participants are represented in specific terms, others can be left vague or anonymous. Therefore, Van Leeuwen (2008) provides in his Social Actors Network various categories through which social actors can be referred to differently. Substitution is supposed to occur when a representational choice is used to refer to a social actor or when a/n (re)action is replaced by another in subsequent drafts. The victim in the first draft is referred to by the expression *civilians* (example 7) while it is substituted by a more general term, *people*, in the resolutions (example 8) as exemplified below.

- (7) The Security Council [...] expresses deep regret at the deaths of hundreds of **civilians**, (SD01)
- (8) The Security Council [...] expressing its profound regret at the death of many thousands of **people** in Syria (ResI, ResII)

In the next section, the ways of realizing these types of transformations and their effects are further explained. They are significant to show differences in representing the different aspects of the Syrian conflict especially that they are proposed by drafters who have opposing agendas.

### **VI.3. An Adaptation of Van Leeuwen's Social Actors Network**

Through his Social Actors Network, which is also described as a socio-semantic inventory, Van Leeuwen (2008) provides a Grammar for analysing the ways how the aforementioned transformations can be realized and for explaining their functional effects when representing social actors. Unlike in other CD studies, where the linguist first starts by exploring the ways how social actors are realized linguistically (nominalization, passive agent deletion, etc.), Van Leeuwen (2008) answers this question after defining his sociological categories (nomination, agency etc.). His Social Actors Network “range[s] over a variety of linguistic and rhetorical phenomena, finding its unity in the concept of ‘social actor’ rather than in a linguistic concept such as, for instance, the ‘nominal group’” (p.25). In the following section, I explain the main sociological categories that are going to be used in the analysis of the social actors’ representation in drafts.

#### **VI.3.1. Exclusion and Inclusion of Social Actors**

Van Leeuwen's approach to the representation of social actors (2008) is based on the dichotomy of inclusion and exclusion of these social actors in texts which are caused by the transformational processes of addition and deletion respectively. He states that “[r]epresentations include or exclude social actors to suit their interests and purposes in relation to the readers for

whom they are intended” (p. 28). According to Van Leeuwen (2008), exclusion as an important aspect of critical discourse analysis manifests in three ways (a total exclusion (A) or two types of partial exclusion (B and C)):

A) exclusion: leaves no traces in the representation i.e., the social actors as well as their activities are excluded from the whole text.

B) Suppression: does leave a trace by including the relevant actions such as the killing of demonstrators but excluding some or all of the actors that are involved in them. More importantly, these excluded social actors are not referred to anywhere in the text.

C) Backgrounding: is a less radical type of exclusion. The social actors that are excluded from a given action are mentioned elsewhere in the text and they can be inferred with reasonable (though never total) certainty who they are. (Van Leeuwen, 2008, .29).

The first type of exclusion is important for my thesis since “such radical exclusions can play a role in a critical comparison of different representations of the same social practice, but not in an analysis of a single text, for the simple reason that it leaves no traces behind” (p. 29).

Van Leeuwen (2008) lists six linguistic realizations of suppression: passive agent deletion, non-finite clauses (function as a grammatical participant), beneficiary deletion<sup>112</sup>, nominalizations and process nouns, processes realized as adjectives<sup>113</sup> and an action in the middle voice as exemplified below.

- (9) The Security Council [...] Urges the Syrian government to [...] complete without delay investigations carried out by the Syrian judicial committee into all events in which civilians and security personnel **were killed or injured** (SD03R)
- (10) The Security Council [...] Stressing the need **to hold to account** those responsible for attacks, including by forces under the control of the Government of Syria (SD01)
- (11) The Security Council [...] Welcoming the Secretary-General’s statements articulating continued concerns about the ongoing violence and **humanitarian needs**, (SD02V)
- (12) The Security Council [...] Stressing that the only solution to the current crisis in Syria is through an inclusive and Syrian-led political process with the aim of effectively **addressing** the legitimate aspirations (SD02V)

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<sup>112</sup> It should be noted that such instances are classified as beneficiary deletions even though they contain different nominalizations because together with their co-text they imply the meaning of someone who is going to benefit from the action mentioned. For instance, the answer to the question who is expected to benefit from providing humanitarian needs and allowing genuine political participation would be the Syrian People.

<sup>113</sup> According to Van Leeuwen (2008), “processes may also be realized as adjectives, as is the case with ‘legitimate’” in the sentence *Australians feel they cannot voice **legitimate** fears about immigration* (p. 30) as in example (13). This representational choice causes the suppression of the social actor who is responsible for legitimizing the fears since we cannot be sure about who did that.

- (13) The Security Council [...] Calls for an inclusive Syrian-led political process [...] aimed at effectively addressing the **legitimate** aspirations and concerns of Syria's people, (SD04)
- (14) The Security Council [...] Stressing that the only solution to the current crisis in Syria is through an inclusive and Syrian-led political process [...] and further stressing that such a political process can only **be advanced** through an environment free from any sort of violence, fear and intimidation, (SD02V)

Backgrounding can be realized by one of the aforementioned linguistic realizations as long as the social actor in question is included elsewhere in the text. Moreover, "simple ellipses in non-finite clauses with *-ing* and *-ed* participles, in infinitival clauses with *to*, and in paratactic clauses" can also cause backgrounding of social actors (p. 30). However, simple ellipses in paratactic clauses in drafts are not considered to cause the backgrounding of a social actor that has been already mentioned elsewhere in the same paragraph. In (15), for example, the SC addresses *Syrian authorities* through a list of measures. The latter are realized by non-finite clauses that are paratactically structured. In this formatting, the addressee is presented at the heading of the list of measures which gives it more prominence. Because of this stylistic way of introducing the measures, leaving the addressee without a linguistic representation in the non-finite clauses in such paratactic structure is not considered to background the addressee. In the analysis of such cases, *the Syrian authorities* is counted as being included once.

- (15) The Security Council [...] Calls upon the Syrian authorities to:
- (a) act with the utmost restraint, respect human rights and international humanitarian law, refrain from any reprisals against those that have [...];
  - (b) take concrete measures to meet legitimate demands, including by adopting comprehensive reforms aimed at allowing genuine political participation, and by promptly implementing the abolition of the High Security Court and the lifting of measures restricting the exercise of fundamental freedoms; [...] (SD01)

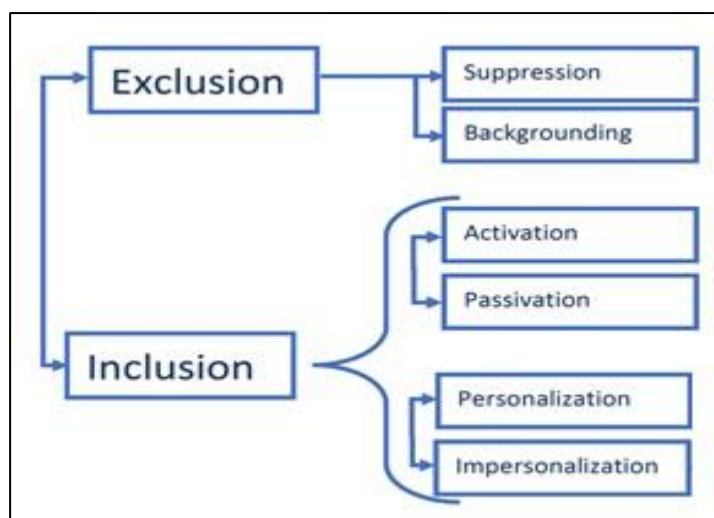
Therefore, backgrounding, as one type of exclusion in the adapted Social Actors Network in this thesis, is defined as when social actors, who are mentioned elsewhere in the text, receive no linguistic representation in the whole paragraph where clauses are paratactically combined (examples 9-14). It should be noted that this type of backgrounding suggested in the Social Actors Network overlaps with the backgrounding caused by the construal operation of profiling, which is suggested in Cognitive Grammar. Profiling is about foregrounding a social actor at the expense of backgrounding<sup>114</sup> another one.

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<sup>114</sup> Social actors are said to be pushed to the semantic background when they do not receive linguistic representation in the sentence.

Two lexical items from my data can also be considered to cause the backgrounding of some social actors. For example, by taking into consideration the context of the data under scrutiny, the following referential expressions, *the wounded* (epithet) or *mass grave*, are instantiations of physical identification that present social actors in terms of their physical state which is caused by violent actions whose causer remains backgrounded in the sentence.

Besides examining what social actors are backgrounded in the same draft, it is interesting to check if these excluded or deleted social actors remain absent in subsequent drafts. Van Leeuwen (2008) considers the two types of exclusion (suppression and backgrounding) as forms of deletion (Figure 6). Social actors can be said to be radically excluded or deleted from one representation if it has been included in a previous representation of a preceding draft but does not show up in the new draft either as suppressed or as backgrounded. While backgrounding and suppression are two types of deletions that can occur in the same text, radical exclusion of social actors is another type of deletion that can take place during the drafting process. Inclusion can be realized through activation, passivation, personalization or impersonalization (Figure 6). The latter are further explained in the next section.

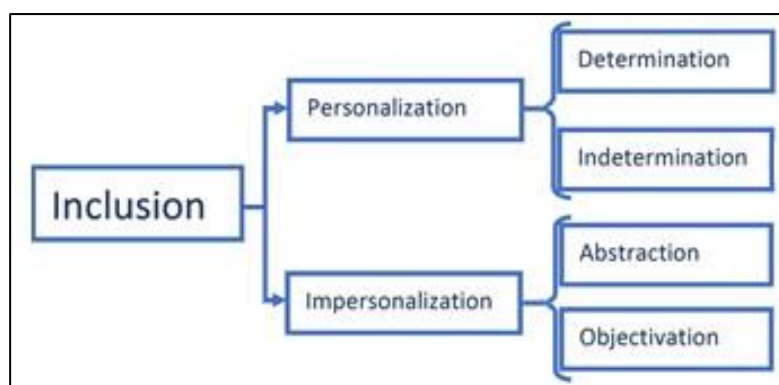


**Figure 6: Main sociological categories for Exclusion and Inclusion of social actors (taken from Van Leeuwen's Social Actors Network)**

The Grammar of recontextualization that is used in this study also employs Van Leeuwen's remaining sociological categories that provide different referential options for representing social actors.

### VI.3.2. The Sociological Sub-categories of Inclusion

To examine the referential scope within which the social actors are introduced (i.e., included), a brief explanation of some sociological categories from the Social Actors Network is necessary. The sub-categories fall into two major ones: personalization and impersonalization (Figure 7). In the former, social actors in discourse can be either determined through nomination, categorization, association and dissociation, or left anonymous (indetermination). In an impersonalized representation, social actors are presented through abstraction or objectivation (Figure 7).



**Figure 7: Main sociological categories for Inclusion of social actors (taken from Van Leeuwen's Social Actors Network)**

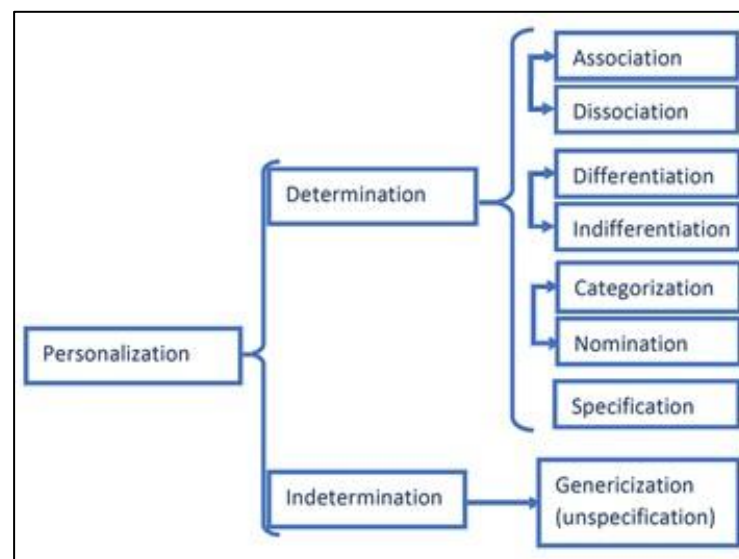
The social actors are said to be represented as personalized when they are realized by personal or possessive pronouns, proper names, nouns or adjectives such as *Syrian-led* in *Syrian-led political process*, which include in their meanings the feature “human”. In a personalized representation of social actors, the latter can be either determined or indetermined (Figure 8).

Seven sociological referential categories can invoke determined representations (**determination**) of social actors: **(in)differentiation**, **(dis)association**, **nomination**, **categorization**, and **specification**<sup>115</sup> (Figure 8). The identity of the social actor can be further determined by employing different sub-categories. **Indetermination** includes the subcategory **genericization** (Figure 8).

In **differentiation**, the social actor's identity is determined. In addition, s/he is explicitly differentiated from a similar actor of a group, “creating the difference between the “self” and the “other,” or between “us” and “them,”” (p. 40). In the material under scrutiny, the demonstrative

<sup>115</sup> Specification and genericization in Van Leeuwen's Social Actors Network (2008) can be part of personalization as well as impersonalization. However, I include them in determination and indetermination respectively for the purposes of the current study. More about this modification is explained later when specification and genericization are dealt with.

*those* is used to refer to social actors. This deictic demonstrative<sup>116</sup> can invoke the polarisation us vs. them (Van Dijk, 2013) which provides a differentiation between the self and the other in terms of good and bad respectively.



**Figure 8: Sociological categories for Personalization (taken from Van Leeuwen's Social Actors Network)**

Van Leeuwen's framework (2008) includes another category, *association*, through which social actors can be also represented as groups. According to him, association

refers to groups formed by social actors and/or groups of social actors (either generically or specifically referred to) which are never labeled in the text (although the actors or groups who make up the association may of course themselves be named and/or categorized) (p. 38).

Association is frequently invoked in the material of the present study through parataxis (example 16).

- (16) The Security Council [...] Urges the Syrian government to [...] complete without delay investigations [...] into all events in which **civilians and security personnel** were killed or injured, (SD03R)

In (16), *civilians and security personnel* make up a new group of victim in SD03R. Indeed, most references to the group of Victims in the same draft as well as in other drafts are present through mentioning different categories that represent Syrian people. Moreover, in Van Leeuwen's words (2008) "in many texts, associations are formed and unformed ('dissociation') as the text

<sup>116</sup> According to Hart (2014b), deixis which "relates to the coding of distance relative to the speaker's situational coordinates at the moment of utterance" can be noticed in adverbs (*here versus there*) and demonstratives (*this versus that*) in relation to person (*us. versus them*) (p. 164).

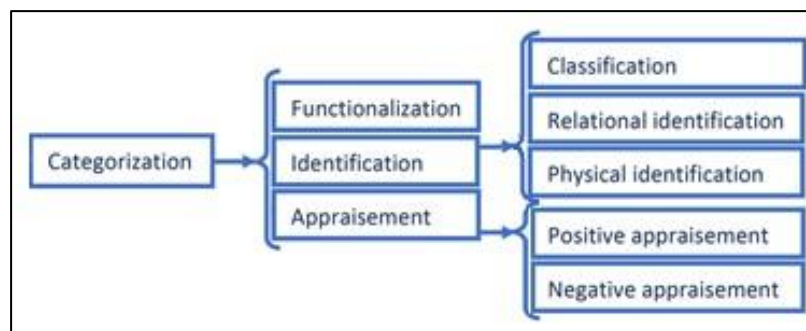


proceeds” (p. 39). It would be interesting to see what kind of new groups are created through association in drafts.

With **nomination**, social actors are represented in terms of their unique identity whereas, in **categorization**, they are referred to in terms of identities and functions they share with others (p.40). In each category, the speaker/writer has a range of representational choices. **Nomination** can be formal, semiformal or informal, and respectively realized by surname only, given name and surname or given name only (p. 41). The material includes three instances of nomination which are used to represent one social actor of the UN team in terms of his unique identity. This representational choice is realized by the proper noun *Kofi Annan* (semiformal) in SD11R and the resolutions. The addition of titles (Dr.) or ranks (honorification), or functional position in an institution (affiliation), for instance, can be also used for nomination. Affiliation is the type of titulation that is often used in the discourse of UNSC such as The Secretary General, The League of Arab States etc.

**Categorization** occurs through **functionalization**, **identification**, or **appraisement** (Figure 9). The former sub-category is about nominating a social actor in terms of an activity, or something s/he does such as an occupation or a role. Van Leeuwen (2008) lists three main realizations of functionalization: (1) a deverbal noun, derived from a verb, with suffixes such as *-er*, *-ant*, etc. (*interviewer*, *correspondent* etc.), (2) a noun that refers to a place or tool closely associated with an activity through suffixes such as *-ist*, *-eer*, etc. (*pianist*, *mountaineer*), or (3) a compound noun (*cameraman*, *chairperson*) composed of words that denote a place or tool that is closely associated with an activity (*chair*, *camera*) and a generalized categorization (*man*). Social actors are frequently referred to through functionalization in the material such as *government*, *authorities*, *opposition*, etc. Moreover, functionalization is expected to be invoked through a group of clauses acting as postmodification of a head noun in the material under scrutiny. For example, in these clauses *numerous civilians trying to flee the violence*, *Syrians who have fled etc.*, *those exercising their rights* and *who has communicated with etc.*, the social actors are represented through their activity which invokes functionalization.

**Identification**, which is about defining social actors “in terms of what they, more or less permanently, or unavoidably, are” (p. 42), can occur through three types: **classification**, **relational identification**, or **physical identification** (Figure 9). Major categories that differentiate between classes of people in a given society or institution such as age, gender, provenance, class, race, ethnicity, religion, etc. are different manifestations of classification. This type of identification is frequently used in the representation of social actors in the data through



**Figure 9: Sociological categories for Categorization (adapted from Van Leeuwen's Social Actors Network)**

the adjective *Syrian*. In relational identification, social actors are referred to in terms of personal, kinship, or work relations to each other. It is realized through a closed set of nouns that denote such relations such as *friend*, *aunt*, and *colleague*. Relational identification is rarely used in the data and the few instances refer to *children*. The third type, physical identification, “represents social actors in terms of physical characteristics which uniquely identify them in a given context” (p. 44). The noun *the wounded* is a physical identification of the victims in the representation of the Syrian conflict. Van Leeuwen (2008) states that “physical attributes tend to have connotations, and these can be used to obliquely classify or functionalize social actors” (p.45).

Another sub-category of categorization is **appraisalment**. In Van Leeuwen's words, “social actors are appraised when they are referred to in terms which evaluate them as good or bad, loved or hated, admired or pitied” (2000, p. 45). This sub-category is realized by nouns and idioms that denote such appraisalment such as *the darling*, *the bastard*, *the wretch*, or *thugs* (p. 45). In relation to this sociological category is the sub-system of ‘judgement’ in the Appraisal theory proposed by Martin and White (2005)<sup>117</sup>. This sub-system constitutes resources to construe “our attitudes to people and the way they behave – their character” (p. 52). With this sub-system, drafters' attitude towards social actors can be measured up by showing whether they evaluate social actors' character or behaviour negatively (i.e., if it is criticized or condemned) or

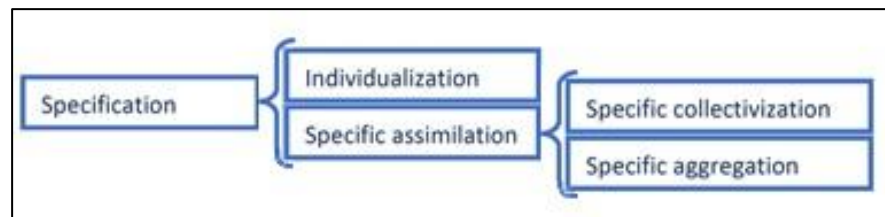
<sup>117</sup> Appraisal system (Martin and White, 2005) deals with different aspects of evaluation through three semantic systems namely *attitude*, *engagement* and *graduation* which are also divided into sub-systems. One of them is *judgement* which is part of the *attitude* system. *Judgement* is further sub-divided to ‘social esteem’ and ‘social sanction’. The former is sub-categorized into NORMALITY (how special someone is), CAPACITY (how capable someone is), and TENACITY (how dependable someone is), while *judgements of esteem* have to do with VERACITY (how truthful someone is) and PROPRIETY (how far beyond reproach someone is) (p. 52). Like in every system of this theory, the sub-categories are polarized between negative and positive evaluations. The first three sub-categories (NORMALITY, CAPACITY and TENACITY) are associated with acts of criticism and admiration whereas negative and positive instantiations of VERACITY and PROPRIETY are associated with acts of condemning and praising respectively (p. 52-53).

positively (i.e., if it is admired or approved) in the representation. It is significant to see to which extent social actors are presented as dependable and far beyond reproach.

Thus, it is useful for the analysis of the representation of social actors to integrate this aspect from appraisal theory to the sociological category of appraisal to allow for a more fine-grained analysis. The expressions *military* and *armed* in *all Syrian military and armed forces* are two illustrative realizations of acts of criticism of this social actor by drafters. On the other hand, instantiations of positive judgement in the material under scrutiny are realized by adjectives such as *peaceful* and *innocent* in *peaceful demonstrators* and *innocent individuals* (far beyond reproach). In the adapted Social Actors Network, two types of appraisal are distinguished: **negative appraisal** and **positive appraisal** which identified according to whether social actors are appraised in terms of negative judgement or positive judgement (Figure 9).

One of the representational choices that one needs to make when introducing a social actor in text is to refer to it either as a general class (*genericization*) or specific individual (*specification*). It should be noted that these two major categories *genericization* and *specification* are considered by Van Leeuwen (2008) to be used in personalized as well as impersonalized representations. To adapt his framework to the purposes of the present study, both categories are rather included under personalization. Specification is supposed to invoke personalized determined representations and genericization is part of indetermination. This slight modification to the framework is made for two reasons: (1) specification and genericization are found to be used only with personalized references to social actors in the material and (2) thus it is significant to clearly show the difference between the use of all categories that realize personalization.

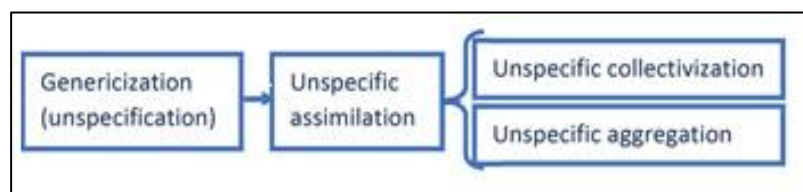
*Specification*, in Van Leeuwen's framework (2008), is composed of two sub-categories *individualization* (realized by singularity) and *assimilation* (realized by plurality i.e., to refer to social actors as groups) (Figure 10). The latter sub-category can take the form of *collectivization* or *aggregation* (Figure 10). *Collectivization* as one type of assimilation can be realized by plural forms that stand for a particular group of people collected together such as *civilians* or by mass nouns denoting a group of people such as *population* and *society* that are used by drafters in the material. In *aggregation*, the social actor is referred to through "the presence of definite or indefinite quantifiers which either function as the numerative or as the head of the nominal group" (p. 38). This representational choice is frequently used in the data under scrutiny when referring to the victims of violent actions such as *thousands of people* or to refer to vague social actors by using *all* such as in *all relevant elements*.



**Figure 10: Sociological categories for Specification (adapted from Van Leeuwen's Social Actors Network)**

However, I suppose that there is a slight difference between the nouns *civilians* and *population* that realize collectivization. Indeed, the word *civilians* is more specific than *population* since the former is part of the latter. Similarly, the definite and indefinite quantifiers functioning as numerative can be classified according to a specificity scale. Using *thousands* and *all*, for example, instead of more specific number such as *2340* can be said to invoke a general representation of social actors. Therefore, a further distinction between specific and unspecific assimilation, collectivization and aggregation is made in my adaptation to Van Leeuwen's framework (2008). Categories that provide specific representations are classified under determination while unspecific assimilation, collectivization and aggregation are considered to invoke indetermined representations.

**Indetermination** is, thus, about representing social actors as unspecified or anonymous individuals or groups; it is realized by indefinite pronouns employed in nominal function (e.g., *somebody, someone, some, some people*). In such a representation, "the writer treats his or her [the social actor's] identity as irrelevant to the reader" (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p.40). Moreover, indetermination can be also aggregated such as in the expression *many believe* (p. 40). According to the aforementioned explanation, indetermination is supposed to include **genericization**, **unspecific assimilation** as two major categories (Figure 11). The latter is further divided into **unspecific collectivization** and **unspecific aggregation** (Figure 11). The noun groups *all parties, all sides, all groups* in my data are instantiations of indetermination (unspecific aggregation and unspecific collectivization) that can sometimes lead to uncertainty in inferring which social actor is referred to from the ones included in the same draft.



**Figure 11: Sociological categories for Genericization (adapted from Van Leeuwen's Social Actors Network)**

**Genericization** is realized by the plural without article, the singular with the (in)definite article or by mass nouns to refer to a group of participants with the article being absent when it occurs with habitual or present tense (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 36). For example, the expression *non-European immigrants* is considered to invoke genericization in the following sentence because of the present tense *non-European immigrants make up 6.5 percent of the population* (p. 36).

Briefly, categories realizing determined representations of social actors (i.e., categorization, nomination, differentiation and specification) are supposed to present clear and identifiable references of social actors. However, opting for indetermination through genericization and unspecific assimilation leads to creating a vague, general or anonymous reference to social actors. A more general representation can be invoked by opting for an impersonalized reference to social actors.

Social actors can be impersonalized by representing them through abstract or concrete nouns whose meaning does not include the semantic feature of “human” (Van Leeuwen, 2008). Impersonalized representations of social actors are realized by two sociological categories: **abstraction** and **objectivation** (Van Leeuwen, 2008)<sup>118</sup> (Figure 12).

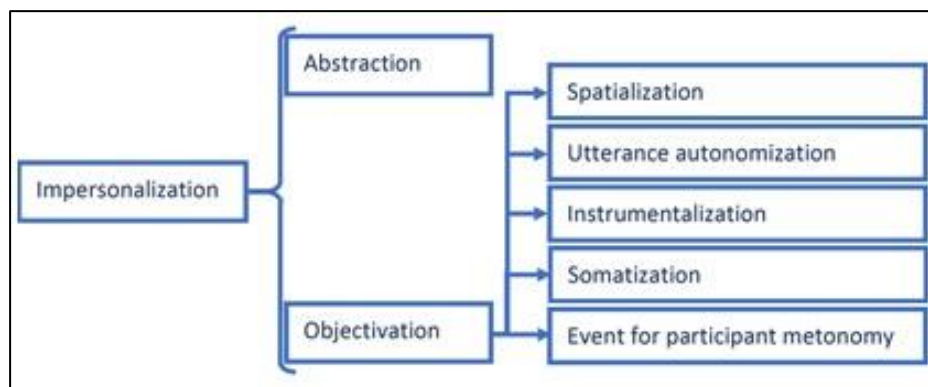
In **abstraction**, social actors “are represented by means of a quality assigned to them by and in the representation” (p. 46). A case in point, provided by Van Leeuwen (2008), is the abstract noun *problems* in “Australia is in danger of saddling itself up with a lot of unwanted problems” which is used to refer to the “poor, black, unskilled etc. immigrants” (p. 46). Through this impersonalized form, the social actors are “assigned the quality of being problematic, and this quality is then used to denote them” (p. 46).

**Objectivation**, the second type of impersonalization, “occurs when social actors are represented by means of reference to a place or thing closely associated either with their person or with the action in which they are represented as being engaged” (p. 46). Van Leeuwen (2008) mentions four types of objectivation that can be realized by such metonymical references: **spatialization**, **utterance autonomization**, **instrumentalization** and **somatization**<sup>119</sup> (Figure 12). Moreover, **EVENT FOR PARTICIPANT metonymy** is added as another type of **objectivation** and integrated in the Social Actors Network (Figure 12).

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<sup>118</sup> It should be noted that Van Leeuwen (2008) considers *genericization* and *specification* as two other main categories that can be forms of impersonalization as well as personalization.

<sup>119</sup> With somatization, “social actors are represented by means of reference to a part of their body” such as the use of shoulder in “[s]he put her hand on Mary Kate’s shoulder” (p.47). This type of objectivation is not found in the material under scrutiny.



**Figure 12: Sociological categories for Impersonalization (adapted from Van Leeuwen's Social Actors Network)**

The first form of objectivation is **spatialization** “in which social actors are represented by means of reference to a place with which they are, in the given context, closely associated” (p.46). An illustrative realization of *spatialization* provided by Van Leeuwen (2008) is the use of *Australia* as a substitution for *Australians* in “Australia was bringing in about 70,000 migrants a year”. By activating *Australia* in relation to the action of *bringing in migrants*, the writer “does not tell the reader who is responsible for the action, just as in the case of nominalizations and passive agent deletions” (p. 47). Similarly, *Syria* is also used in the data as a substitution of the social actors such in “The Security Council [...] Calls upon all States to exercise vigilance and restraint over the direct or indirect supply, sale or transfer **to Syria** of arms” (SD02V)<sup>120</sup>.

Another type of objectivation is **utterance autonomization** in which social actors are represented by means of reference to their utterance such as by using the terms *reports*, *surveys* in “[t]his concern, the report noted, was reflected in surveys which showed that the level of support for stopping immigration altogether was at a post-war high” (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 47). A similar use of the term *reports* is found in the first draft, for instance, such as in “The Security Council [...] Expressing concern at the **reports** of shortages of medical supplies [...]” (SD01). By using this special case of nominalization, drafters keep the identity of the agent of the action (i.e., reporting) hidden. In the first draft, the agent responsible for reporting is suppressed whereas in subsequent drafts, members of the UN team are presented as the agent of such actions. For example, the agents of reporting are *Human Rights Council* in “The Security Council [...] Noting **Human Rights Council's report** of its 17th Special session (A/HRC/S-17/1),” (SD02V) and it is *the Secretary-General* in “The Security Council [...] Requests **the Secretary-General**

<sup>120</sup> It should be noted that the noun *Syria* can be also thought of as denoting the Syrian nation. Nevertheless, invoking a Place for Person metonymy still holds here.

to report immediately to the Security Council any obstructions to the effective operation of the team by any party;" (ResII).

Objectivation can be also realized through *instrumentalization*. It means that the instrument with which social actors carry out the action is used as an alternative to refer to them. A case in point is the instrument *a 120mm mortar shell* that is used instead of the agent responsible for the action in "[a] 120mm mortar shell slammed into Sarajevo's marketplace" (p. 46). In the material under scrutiny, the expressions *reforms*, *measures*, and *aspirations and concerns* are the instruments with which authorities should bring change or set the rules (examples 17, 18). Indeed, the aforementioned impersonalized references are used as subjects of material processes (*allowing*, *restricting*, *will allow*).

(17) Calls upon the Syrian authorities to: [...] (b) take concrete measures to meet legitimate popular demands, including by adopting comprehensive **reforms** aimed at **allowing** genuine political participation, inclusive dialogue and effective exercise of fundamental freedoms, and by promptly implementing the abolition of the High Security Court and the lifting of **measures restricting** the exercise of fundamental freedoms; (SD01)

(18) Stressing that the only solution to the current crisis in Syria is through an inclusive and Syrian-led political process with the aim of effectively addressing **the legitimate aspirations and concerns** of the population which **will allow** the full exercise of fundamental freedoms for its entire population, (SD02V)

In addition to the aforementioned types of objectivation, *EVENT FOR PARTICIPANT metonymy* is added as it can function as a form of objectivation in relation to the representation of social actors. Such metonymical references are illustrated by Hart (2014b) with the expression *student protest* in "student protest over fees turns violent" (p. 131), and *riot* in "when a riot broke out at the Conservative Party headquarters" (p. 133). *Violence*, for instance, is used instead of a direct reference to the participants in the first draft "the humanitarian impact of **the violence** on a number of Syrian towns [...] or [...] numerous civilians trying to flee **the violence**" (SD01).

According to van Leeuwen (2008), such impersonalized references can have significant effects as they:

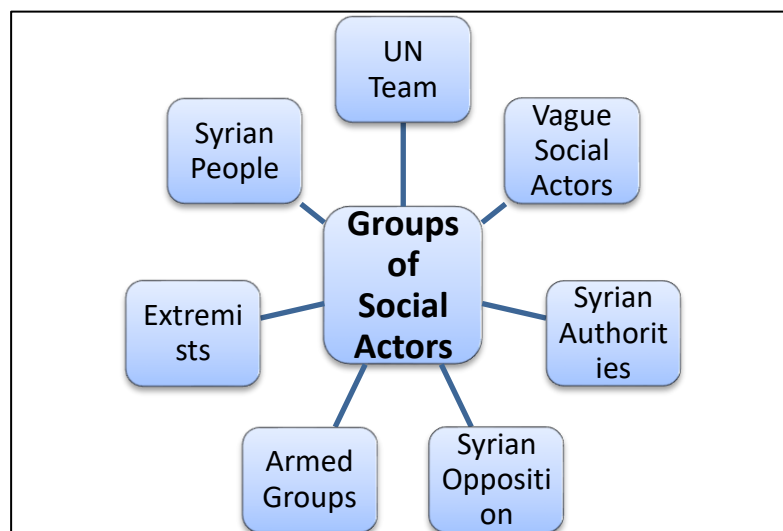
can background the identity and/or role of social actors; it can lend impersonal authority or force to an action or quality of a social actor; and it can add positive or negative connotations to an action or utterance of a social actor. [...]. For this reason, impersonalization abounds in the language of bureaucracy, a form of organization of human action which is governed by impersonal procedures (p. 47).

Figure 13 illustrates all the aforementioned sociological categories that are included in an adapted version of the Social Actors Network. During the extraction of the representations of

social actors from the data, a decision was taken concerning the classification of social actors which is explained in the next section.

### VI.3.3. Social Actors Groupings and Categories

The analysis starts with classifying the social actors into distinct groups which are in turn arranged under three categories (Aggressor, Victim and Helper). These two classifications are made to distinguish the different social actors according to the groups of people they belong to and the actions in which they are represented to be engaged and the roles that are assigned to them by drafters. The groups of social actors found in the material are: Syrian Authorities, Syrian Opposition, Armed Groups, Extremists, Syrian People, UN Team, and Vague Social Actors (Figure 14). It is important to clarify why the group of Syrian Opposition is not included in the group of Syrian Authorities since a political opposition normally presents one of the political authorities in a country; however, these two groups are supposed to be represented as distinct from each other in the drafting process. Indeed, a major part of the conflict is between the Syrian Authorities (that represent Bashar al-Assad) and the Syrian Opposition (see III. The Syrian Conflict as a Case Study: The Political and Historical Background).



**Figure 13: Groupings of social actors in the material under scrutiny**



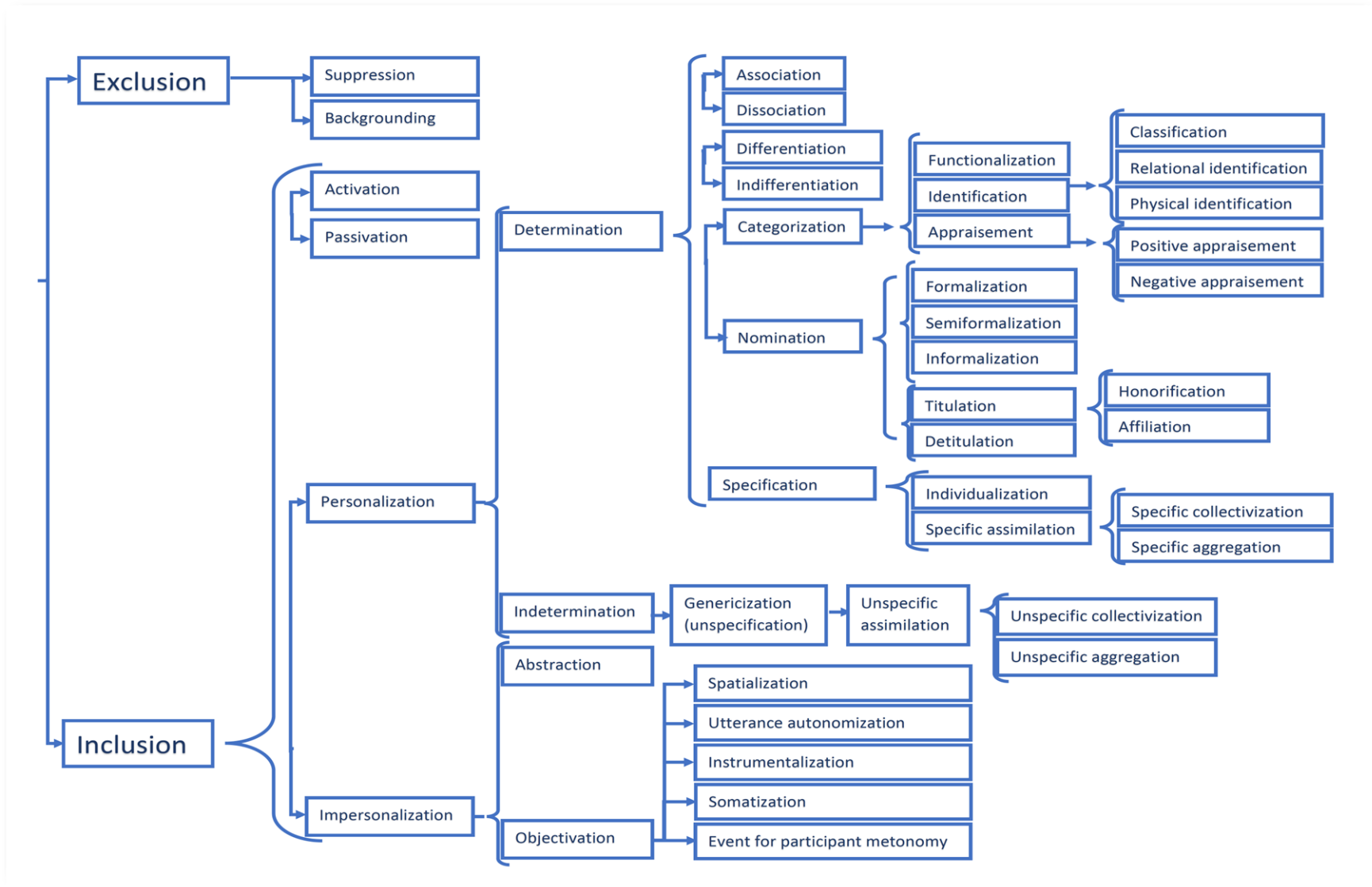


Figure 14: The adaptation of the Social Actors Network proposed by Van Leeuwen (2008) to the present study (see appendix for short definitions)

Indeed, some of the Syrian armed forces that were in favour of change left the Syrian army and they officially formed the Free Syrian Army in July 2011 to become the main opposition in the country as the Syrian regime did not accept to reform itself (Adams, 2015; Sluglett, 2016). Moreover, one of the contentious issues in the council that triggered tension between Russia and China, on one hand, and the western members, on the other hand, is about who should be assigned the responsibility to put an end to hostilities: the Syrian government or opposition (see III. The Syrian Conflict as a Case Study: The Political and Historical Background for more details).

It should be noted that during the analysis of social actors' representations, some instances were difficult to be classified under a specific group because they include general and vague referential expressions such as *all parties*, *all sides* etc. The latter can be related to more than one group of social actors that are represented to be responsible for similar actions elsewhere in the text. Thus, inferring which group of social actors that is intended by such vague expressions can be difficult. For example, in ResI, the category of Aggressor includes three social actors that belong to different groups: Syrian Authorities (example 19), Armed Groups (example 19) and Syrian Opposition (example 20). Moreover, a vague referential expression *all parties* is used in the same resolution in similar contexts (example 21). This general and all-inclusive referential expression is supposed to refer to all the aforementioned groups, which are present elsewhere in the same resolution.

(19) The Security Council [...] Condemning the widespread violations of human rights **by the Syrian authorities**, as well as any human rights abuses **by armed groups**, (ResI)

(20) The Security Council [...] Calls upon all parties in Syria, including **the opposition**, immediately to cease all armed violence in all its forms; (ResI)

(21) The Security Council [...] Calls upon **all parties** in Syria, including the opposition, immediately to cease all armed violence in all its forms; (ResI)

What makes this issue more complex is when dealing with instances in which the social actor is backgrounded. In other words, in drafts that represent Syrian Authorities as well as other groups of social actors as the Aggressors (such as in ResI), a nominalization such as *violence* (used without specifying the cause i.e., the actor responsible for violence) can be problematic. In such cases, it is difficult to infer which one(s) of the groups, that are presented as the Aggressors elsewhere in the same text, is or are backgrounded<sup>121</sup>. In this way, drafters have the possibility to keep the identification of the agent blurred in order to avoid assigning responsibility and to

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<sup>121</sup> In such cases, the omitted or backgrounded social actor(s) is/are classified in the group of Vague Social Actors.

reduce the possibilities of invoking the negative image about the Syrian Authorities or another group.

In these cases, it is unclear under which group of social actors the instances should be classified. Therefore, besides the major groups of Syrian Authorities, Syrian People, Syrian Opposition etc. another group of Vague Social Actors is created. The latter, like the other groups, should include the patterns of the inclusion and backgrounding of vague representations of social actors.

In this phase of analysis, the groups of social actors are also classified under three major categories that are related to the context of conflict-management: Aggressor, Victim and Helper. The first category is supposed to include social actors that are responsible for causing violence while the category of Victim involves the social actors that are affected by the violent actions of the aggressor(s). Since UNSC resolutions are documents where the SC tries to solve the conflict and provide some measures to stop causing violence, the category of Helper is then present. It corresponds to not only the SC but also to every social actor that is represented as being engaged in the conflict to alleviate the crisis. It should be noted that not all references to the category of Helper are analysed. The present study is interested only in the instances that represent the groups of Syrian Authorities, Syrian People, Syrian Opposition or Vague Social Actors as Helpers.

After classifying the social actors into different groupings and categories, the analysis continues with a critical comparison of drafts to tackle patterns of inclusion, backgrounding and suppression of social actors in order to show who is more or less present, omitted and absent in the same draft as well as in relation to other drafts. After this step, the quantitative data about the referential scope within which the included social actors are represented is qualitatively studied. In other words, this part of analysis shows whether social actors are represented in terms of personalized (determined or indetermined) or impersonalized references. In the lexical analysis of the representational choice used by drafters to refer to every group of social actors, their textual travels and recontextualization process are also explored to show any changes that could have been made by drafters to the co-text of social actors' representations.

Besides analysing the representation of social actors, their actions will be also examined for a complete picture about how the conflict is represented in every draft. A good approach for studying how social actors' actions are conceptualized are the construal operations of schematization, profiling and focus which also further analyse the roles assigned to them from a cognitive perspective. Moreover, a classification of directives is also integrated to examine the Security Council's reaction.

## **VI.4. A Grammar of (Re)conceptualization for The Analysis of Social Actions and Social Actors: Construal Operations<sup>122</sup>**

In the previous section, a Grammar of recontextualization that provides the different ways and alternative referential choices with which social actors can be represented is explained. For a more fine-grained analysis of the representation of social actions in the material, I propose a cognitive perspective to the Grammar of recontextualization concerning the representation of social (re)actions. According to Cognitive Linguistics, human beings use construal operations or conceptual processes in language. That is, “the same situation, event, entity or relation can be conceptualized in different ways and alternative linguistic forms impose upon the scene described alternative conceptualizations” (Hart, 2014b, p. 110). To show how the same conflict and the measures can be (re)conceptualized in every draft, I employ three main ‘construal operations’ from cognitive grammar.

Schematization, profiling and focus are the main construal operations that are added to the grammar of recontextualization/re-conceptualization of social (re)actions in this study. These conceptual operations are useful for critical discourse studies since they “serve to constitute our understanding and experience of phenomena in the world” and “can also, in certain discursive contexts, be seen to function ideologically by bringing into effect different types of discursive strategy” (Hart, 2014b, p. 110). In the present study, the analysis of schematization will show whether the discursive strategy of intensification is used more often than the strategy of mitigation or vice versa when conceptualizing the events. Profiling and focus are supposed to reveal the extent to which social actors are mystified or specified.

### **VI.4.1. Schematization**

With the construal operation of schematization, the speaker imposes an image schema upon a scene invoking a particular image-schematic representation. Image schemas, which are abstractions and not images per se, are part of our background knowledge that we acquire/collect from the repeated patterns of experience (Hart, 2014a, 2014b). These schemas, according to Hart (2014b), “are co-opted to provide the meaningful basis of both lexical and grammatical units [...] and] are then later called up in conceptualization by words and constructions to constitute hearers’ basic experiences of the phenomena described” (p. 113).

Image schemas are grounded in basic domains of experience such as ACTION, FORCE, SPACE and MOTION in which we live different types of experience (Hart, 2014b, p. 117). From these

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<sup>122</sup> The section about construal operations is largely based on Hart’s works (2014a, 2014b, 2013).

alternative experiences, a cognitive grammar constitutive of sets of different image schemas arises from which speakers select to construe a given scene (p. 114). Consequently, “there is then, of course, an ideological dimension to which schemas are recruited in discourse to construe a given scene and which roles social actors are cast in within these schemas” (p. 117). To analyse and compare how drafters conceptualize and categorize the actions and the roles of social actors in drafts, an image schema analysis is thus useful.

To check if social actors are conceptualized as being involved in action (example 22), force (example 23) or motion events (example 24) and show the schematic representations that differ in the intensity of the process involved is significant to reveal strategies of intensification and mitigation.

- (22) The Security Council [...] Strongly condemns the continued grave and systematic human rights violations and [**the use of force** Action] against [civilians Patient] by [the Syrian authorities Agent], (SD02V)
- (23) The Security Council [...] Condemns the systematic violation of human rights, including the killings, arbitrary [**detentions** Force], [...] of [peaceful demonstrators, human rights defenders and journalists Agonist] by [the Syrian authorities Antagonist], (SD01)
- (24) The Security Council [...] Strongly condemning continuing [violence trajector] [**coming from** Motion] [all parties Landmark/Source], including disproportionate use of force by Syrian authorities, (SD03R)

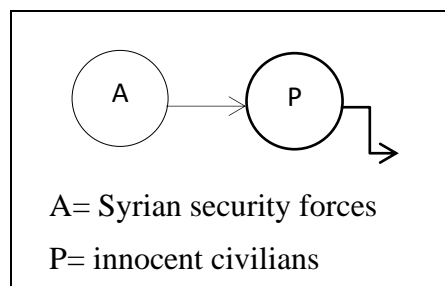
Examples (22, 23, 24) provide different conceptualizations of the same conflict. In this context, Hart (2014b) states that “interactions of objectively the same kind can be subjectively construed in more or less violent terms as in ACTION, FORCE or MOTION event” (p. 114). The discursive strategies of intensification and mitigation can be revealed through the choice of schemas by drafters to represent social actions.

#### ***VI.4.1.1. ACTION, FORCE and MOTION Schemas***

ACTION, FORCE and MOTION schemas that arise from different domains of experience provide alternative possibilities for the speaker to conceptualize interactions between social actors.

Conceptualizing a given scene as an ACTION event means to describe the interaction as a transfer of energy from an AGENT (the source of the transfer) to a PATIENT (the target of the

energy transfer)<sup>123</sup>. Moreover, the PATIENT witnesses a change in state as a result of the interaction; for example, they can be injured or killed etc. A case in point of conceptualizing the event in terms of an ACTION schema in the material is “The Security Council [...] Called upon [the Syrian security forces Agent] [...] to refrain from [targeting Action schema] [innocent civilians Patient] [...]” (SD01). Figure 15 illustrates the image schema that is imposed on the scene through the aforementioned example from SD01.



**Figure 15: The violent event conceptualized in terms of ACTION schema**

The participants are presented in circles while the straight arrow is a vector that represents the transfer of energy. The resultant of the interaction is illustrated by a stepped arrow coming from the circle representing the PATIENT. However, it is not linguistically mentioned in the example. The information that can be left implicit and does not receive linguistic representation is said to be left in the semantic background and not profiled (see section VI. 4.2. Profiling and Focus).

In FORCE schema, the interaction between the social actors is characterized by the exertion of force<sup>124</sup> which can be physical, psychological, social, political etc. Two participants are involved in this force interaction: an AGONIST (AGO, affected entity) who has an intrinsic tendency toward either rest (inaction)<sup>125</sup> or motion (action) and an ANTAGONIST (ANT, the affecting entity) who either acts against the tendency of the AGONIST or lets it manifest its tendency. The outcome of the force interactions which depends mainly on the relative strength of the participants and on the type of the intrinsic tendency of the AGO can be seen in the resultant

<sup>123</sup> It should be noted that another participant, a THEME, also called INSTRUMENT (Ungerer & Schmid, 2006), can be involved in this transfer of energy to serve as an energy transmitter, such as sticks in “There were scuffles at the front of the crowd, with protesters throwing missiles and hitting officers with sticks” (Hart, 2014b, p. 117).

<sup>124</sup> It is important to shed light on the difference between ACTION and FORCE schemas. In both, there is a change in the state of the PATIENT and AGONIST respectively. Yet, they differ in the way how this change is caused. In ACTION schemas, it is the AGENT who is responsible for causing a change in the state of the PATIENT while in FORCE schemas, different factors, such as the relative strength of both participants and the intrinsic tendency of the AGONIST can intervene to determine the resultant state of the AGONIST. More importantly, in ACTION events, the PATIENT might suffer from injuries or might be killed because of the violence that he undergoes from the AGENT. In FORCE events, on the other hand, the resultant state of interaction can be either depriving the AGONIST his freedom to stay in rest/inaction or move/action or allowing it to do so respectively. Hence, conceptualizing events in terms of ACTION schemas is supposed to produce more intensified representations than FORCE schemas.

<sup>125</sup> I also use inaction and action for rest and motion respectively because the intrinsic tendency of the AGONIST can be either to move or to act.

state of the AGO. One of the following scenarios can be then witnessed: (1) a weak AGO is forced to act in opposition to its intrinsic tendency because of the activity of a stronger ANT (**causation of motion or rest**) (Figure 16, (a, b)) (2) a stronger AGO manages to manifest its tendency despite the hindrance of a weaker ANT (**despite types of rest or motion**) (Figure 16 (c, d))<sup>126</sup>.

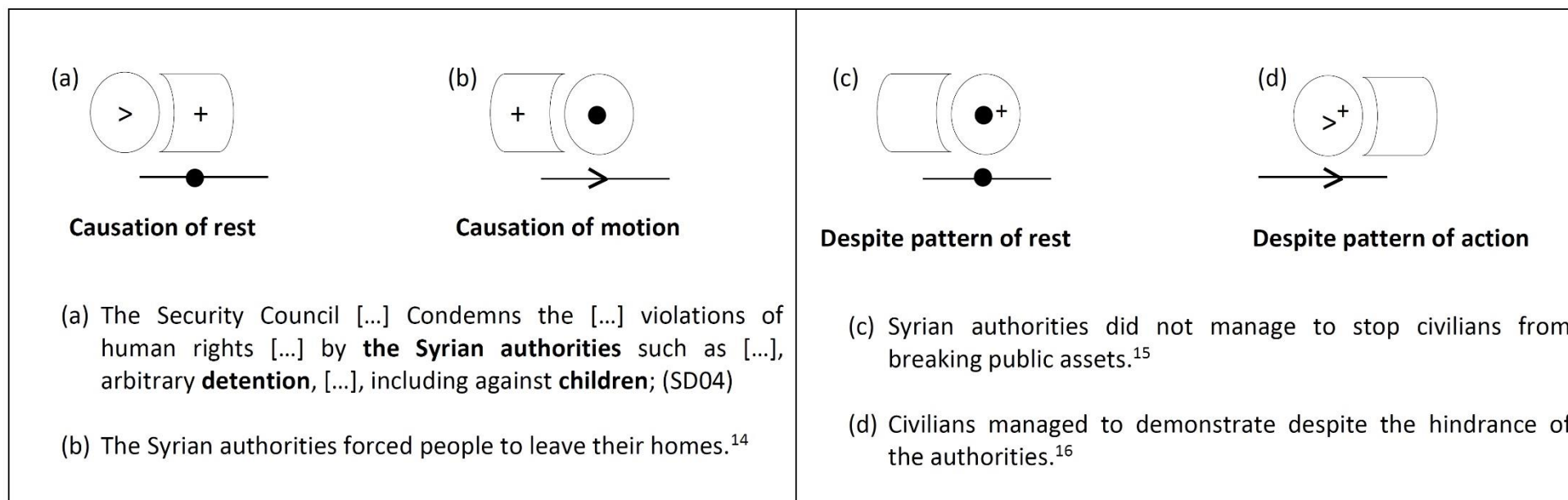
In the force dynamic paradigm, the aforementioned patterns can witness change through time and hence shifting force dynamic patterns can be invoked. The latter are 'dynamic' and include 'onset causation' and 'onset letting' patterns since they "capture changes in time to the condition of the Ant which effect a change in the force tendency of the Ago" (Hart, 2011a, p. 279). In **the onset causation of rest or motion**, the AGO, who was previously able to manifest its tendency to either move or stay in rest, is now respectively blocked or forced to move by a stronger ANT who comes to act against it (Figure 17 (e, f)). This shift in the activity and state of the ANT leads to shifts in the resulting state of the AGO. **The onset letting schema** is about a stronger ANT that leaves its previous impingement of forcing the AGO to move or of blocking it and allows it to come to rest/inaction. Consequently, the weaker AGO is now able to realize its intrinsic tendency toward rest (onset letting of rest) or motion (onset letting of motion) (Figure 17, (g, h)).

Unlike ACTION and FORCE schemas, MOTION schemas involve only one participant (the trajector) who is conceptualized as moving along a path relative to an 'inanimate' landmark (e.g., towards it, away from it or around it) (Hart, 2014b, p. 116). Therefore, a spatial trajectory with a location is the vector in the conceptualization of MOTION event instead of a transfer of energy with a participant at its head or a force interaction between two participants. A case in point of conceptualizing the violent actions in terms of MOTION schema in the data of the present study is "The Security Council [...] Expressing concern at [...] the reports of [numerous civilians trajector] trying [to flee motion] [the violence Landmark]" (SD01).

The Motion schema invoked in the aforementioned example is illustrated in Figure 18. As the diagram shows, the trajector, *civilians*, moves away from the space of the landmark which represents *violence* to an unspecified location. As Hart (2014b) states, it is difficult to conceive that this event would not involve some form of interaction between the participants (p. 117) – i.e., between the civilians and the social actor causing violence; however, the motion event

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<sup>126</sup> These patterns are classified by Talmy (2000) under the group of steady state schemas when verbs like *keep* denoting continuity through time are included in the representations. However, I do not make this distinction since such verbs are not used in the material under scrutiny.



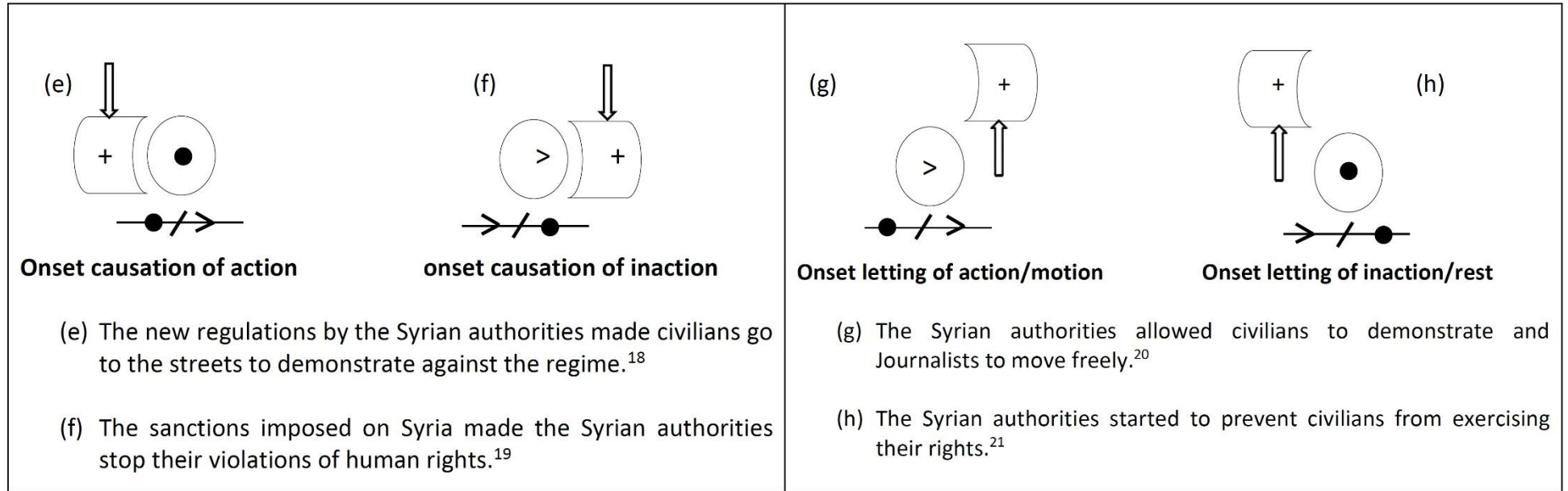
**Figure 16: The basic force-dynamic patterns\* (adapted from Talmy, 2000, p. 415)<sup>127</sup>**

\* Legend for Figure 16

<b>Force Entities</b>	<i>ANTAGONIST</i>		<b>Intrinsic Tendency</b>	<i>Towards rest/inaction</i>		<b>Resultant state</b>	<i>Motion/action</i>		<b>Relative Strength</b>	<i>Stronger force entity</i>	<b>+</b>
	<i>AGONIST</i>			<i>Towards motion/action</i>			<i>Rest/inaction</i>			<i>Weaker force entity</i>	<b>-</b>

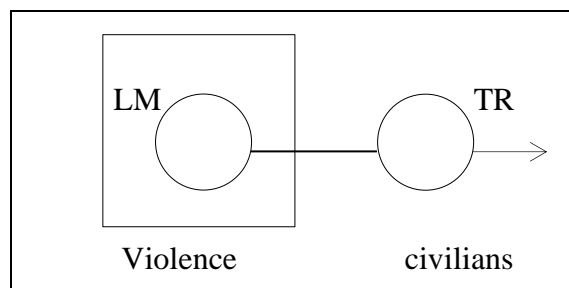
<sup>127</sup> Talmy (2000) refers to these patterns as steady-state force dynamic patterns since the force interactions in the causation and despite patterns are extended. For example, such extended causation of rest can be invoked through the verb *keep*. Since such lexical words are not used in drafts, I prefer to not call these patterns steady-state or extended patterns of causation or despite.





**Figure 17: Shifting force-dynamic patterns (adapted from Talmy, 2000, p. 418) \***

\* The change through time in these patterns is indicated through the conventions of “an arrow for the Antagonist’s motion [action] into or out of impingement, and a slash on the resultant line separating the before and after states of activity” (Talmy, 2000, p. 417)



**Figure 18: The violent event conceptualized in terms of MOTION schema**

conceptualization overlooks this physical contact and reduces the intensity of the process to a simple motion event.

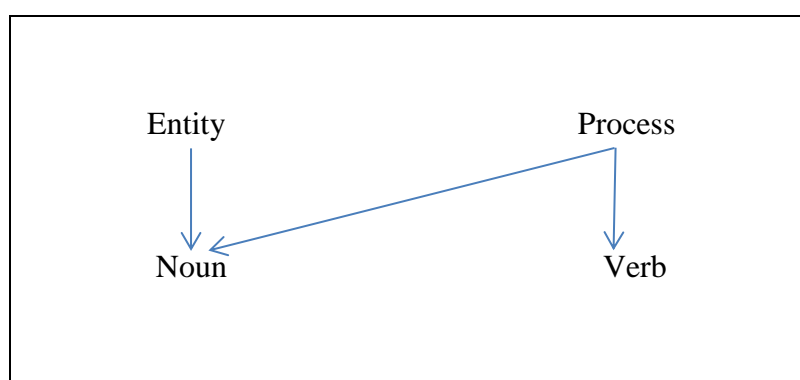
#### ***VI.4.1.2. Realization of Image Schemas***

ACTION, FORCE and MOTION schemas are normally realized by material verbs that can be either transactive or non-transactive. The former type of verbs denotes an interaction between two participants and hence can invoke ACTION or FORCE schemas. The latter involves only one participant and evokes motion schemas. It should be noted that while ACTION schemas can be invoked by transactive verbs that denote violent action, MOTION schemas are realized through non-transactive verbs whose meaning expresses motion. FORCE schemas are realized through transactive material processes that belong to the group of causative verbs whose meaning should invoke either the concept of blocking and a cessation of action (e.g., *to prevent, refrain, stop, cease, halt* etc.), or the concept of permission, letting of action/motion and restraint removal (e.g., *to let, allow, to lift restrictions, to end suppression, to restore services, to release, etc.*).

Yet, representations of the conflict are mostly realized through nominalization which is typical of legal English and United Nations resolutions (Dontcheva-Navratilova, 2009). Thus, nominal forms derived from the aforementioned types of processes are considered to be linguistic realizations that invoke one of the three schemas according to the grammatical (either transactive or non-transactive) and semantic features (action, force, or motion verb) of the verbs from which they are derived. Moreover, other nominal forms such as *death, killing* and *wounded* are supposed to invoke ACTION schemas since they stand for the resultant state in such type of schemas. The arguments I am making here are further explained in the remainder of this section.

Grammatical metaphor is an important theoretical notion developed by Halliday (1985). It is defined as when “processes (congruently worded as verbs) and properties (congruently reworded as adjectives) are reworded metaphorically as nouns; instead of functioning in the clause, as

Process or Attribute, they function as Thing in the nominal group” (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 656). These derived nouns are considered to behave in the same way as abstract common nouns since both have the function of classifying the things we want to talk about. However, the nouns that are derived from verbs, which are also called nominalizations, “seem to retain much of the meanings from the associated verb. For example, the noun evaluation carries with it the meaning that **someone evaluated something**” (Fontaine, 2013, p. 27; emphasis added). Therefore, a nominalization derived from a verb has the latter’s semantic meaning as well as the properties of an abstract common noun. Halliday (2010) also states that “if a process (congruently realized by a verb) is reconstructed in the grammar as a noun (which congruently realized an entity), the result is a **semantic hybrid** which combines the features of ‘process’ and of ‘thing’” (p. 22; emphasis added). He illustrates this idea in Figure 19.



**Figure 19: Nominal forms as semantic hybrids (Halliday, 2010, p. 22)**

In the same context, Beck (2008) state that nominal forms derived from verbs have two characteristics: they include, in their verbal bases, the event-structures retained from their verbs (the features of the process) while they also have the nominal properties of closedness and conceptual autonomy (the features of thing) (p. 150). These characteristics are useful for a cognitive analysis of nominalization.

An event-structure denoted by a verb should represent an event and involve actors according to the type of the process. A case in point is the previous example of *evaluation* which carries with it the meaning or event-structure retained from the verb *someone evaluating something* with *someone* being the ACTOR and *something* as the GOAL/CARRIER of the process.

Hart states (2014b) that nominalization has an ideological function as it allows its user to conceal some information, like the participants involved in the process. To recover the backgrounded social actors, the reader should retrieve the ‘congruent’ representation (i.e., the one realized by a verb and includes a linguistic elaboration of the event-structure) which would seem to involve a significant amount of ‘unpacking’ (p. 33). Yet, in many instances of nominal forms in my data,

both participants or one of them are/is explicitly mentioned in the incongruent sentence through circumstantialization i.e., by prepositional phrases with *by*, *of* or *against*. Let us consider the event-structures of the nominal *attacks*, which represents the incongruent sentence, and of the verb from which it is derived i.e., the congruent form<sup>128</sup>.

**Incongruent form:** The Security Council, [...] Strongly condemns [...] The widespread and systemic **attacks** currently taking place in Syria [by the authorities AGENT] [against its people PATIENT] (SD01)

**Congruent Form:** The Security Council, [...] Strongly condemns the fact that [the authorities AGENT] **are attacking** [its people PATIENT] in Syria in a widespread and systemic manner.

The nominal form *attacks* can thus elaborate both participants like its verb. Thus, it can be said that not all types of nominalizations “leave no room for information relating to **participants** or circumstances” (Hart, 2014b, p. 33; emphasis added). The nominal properties of closedness and conceptual autonomy “can be shown to vary somewhat [...] depending on **the compositional properties of the construction in which the deverbal nouns appear**” and “the elaboration of these elements [participants] may be made necessary by the context in which they [deverbal nouns] are used” (Beck, 2008, p. 150; emphasis added). Thus, unlike verbs which are expressions of non-autonomous semantic RELATIONS since their frames contain two participants that must be elaborated in most cases<sup>129</sup>, deverbal nouns offer different possibilities. Being expressions of autonomous meaning, deverbal nouns offer three ways of representing the event-structure in the sentence<sup>130</sup>: they can (1) leave the participants hidden, (2) elaborate only one of the participants (partial representation of the participants) or (3) they can elaborate both participants (full representation of the participants).

Therefore, the facility of deverbal nouns to provide alternative elaborations of the event-structure/participants can be ideologically exploited by writers to fulfil discursive strategies such as mystification of agency. The last two possibilities of partial or full representation of the event-structure in the incongruent form will also help reduce the amount of unpacking. Moreover, a further distinction between *process nominals* and *result nominals* in the linguistic literature

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<sup>128</sup> The verb, in the congruent sentence, is put in the present progressive, *are attacking*, because of the expression, *currently taking place*, in the incongruent form which denotes the continuity of the event at the time of introducing the draft.

<sup>129</sup> It is important to note here that by using the passive voice, one has the choice to leave the agent implicit (i.e., to leave it in the semantic background) but the patient is always linguistically represented. However, the event-structure of verbs in the active voice always need to be expressed (i.e., both participants should be linguistically present).

<sup>130</sup> It should be noted that nominal forms can also conceal other information related to the circumstances of the action (time, place etc.). However, the latter elements are not part of the aims of the present thesis.

(Gurevich, Crouch, King, & De Paiva, 2007) is adopted here in relation to their conceptual reflex in invoking alternative image-schematic representations.

Process nominals imply that “the event (e.g., *collection*) is taking place or has taken place, and the nominal refers to the action” (Gurevich et al., 2007, p.397). Nominals that are derived from two types of material processes: transactive (hitting, attacking) or intransactive (walking, running) (Hart, 2014b; Machin, 2007) are supposed to invoke ACTION and FORCE schemas or MOTION schemas, respectively. In cognitive grammar, a transactive material process, such as *to attack*, entails a transactional violent action between two participants invoking an action image schema. The same would be true for the nominalized form, *attacks*, since its verbal base consists of the same features of the material process *to attack*<sup>131</sup>.

The other type of deverbal nouns referred to by Gurevich et al. (2007) is result nominals, which are about the goal or result of the process. They consider them to be “less action-like, and one would not want to turn them into verb-like representations” (p.397). However, as it is shown by Hart (2013), some nominalized forms (such as *injuries*) stand for the resultant state of an action and hence they evoke ACTION schemas. For example, the nominalized forms, *death* and *wounded*, from my data, are supposed to be result nominals that foreground the resultant state in ACTION schemas and hence conceptualize the scene as a violent action.

More importantly, the choice of schema by drafters can be a way to not only reduce the intensity of the conceptualization of the conflict but also background the participants. For example, using a Motion schema in representing the conflict allows drafters to conceal the violent interaction between actors and hence hide one of the participants (mainly the aggressor). In (25), the motion event conceptualization overlooks the agent who is responsible for the violence from which Syrians fled to other countries.

- (25) The Security Council [...] Expressing its appreciation of the significant efforts that have been made by the States bordering Syria to assist **Syrians** who [**have fled** <sub>Motion</sub>] across Syria’s borders as a consequence of the violence, (ResII)

Moreover, the linguistic realization of schemas can play a major role in mystifying social actors. Using deverbal nouns to represent the conflict allows the drafter to choose between opting for a full, partial or a complete backgrounding of the participants. Drafters also opt for other

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<sup>131</sup> It should be noted that the difference between using the verb or its nominal form might be that the latter loses the temporal sequencing and witnesses reification (i.e., to be treated as an object, thing) and can take the position of a subject or object in the sentence.

possibilities to conceal information concerning the participants and the type of actions through vague nominals that can be called 'empty vessels' (Cap, 2002).

### ***VI.4.1.3. Vague Nominals as Empty Vessels***

Other nominalizations that provide a representation of the conflict are not classified into one of the schemas because of their vague meaning. Example (26) shows the vagueness of the nominal form *violation* and how it can refer to ACTION as well as FORCE schemas according to the context in which it is used.

- (26) The Security Council [...] Condemns the systematic [**violation** of human rights **Empty vessel**], including the [**killings** **Action**], arbitrary [**detentions** **Force**], [...] of peaceful demonstrators, human rights defenders and journalists by the Syrian authorities, (SD01)

The term *violations* is often used in UNSC resolutions and in combination with the expression *human rights*. Violating human rights means committing one of various acts that are supposed to cause physical or emotional harm to someone such as torture, attack, to cause the death of someone, to restrict the freedom of someone etc. Because of its vague and all-inclusive meaning, it is difficult to interpret the nominal form *violation* in terms of image schemas. In other words, this vague nominalization can make readers call up different semantic frames that can evoke more than one possible image schema.

The nominalization of violation carries with it the event-structure *someone violates human rights*; even though the agent is expressed in this event structure, the patient as well as the specific type of action that is committed against it (whether *killing* or *detaining*) are not included. Therefore, instances of *violations of human rights* are not going to be classified into one of the schemas even when the agent is represented in the clause such as in example (27).

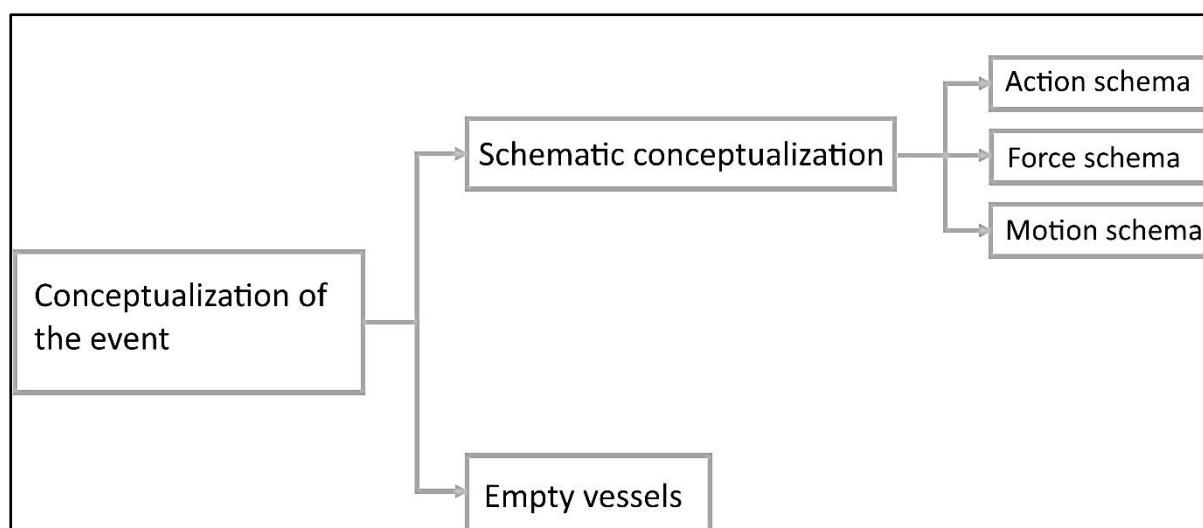
- (27) The Security Council [...] Demands that **the Syrian authorities** immediately: (a) cease **violations of human rights**, (SD10)

Another nominalization that is often used in drafts is *violence*. First of all, this relational nominal form is derived from the adjective *violent* which normally denotes the manner that is supposed to characterize ACTION events. Hart (2014b) states that "a violent situation [referred to through *violence*] is, however, made up of a series of complex interactions with particular internal structures. Linguistically, these structures are spelled out in full clauses" (130). Such clauses can be found in the material under scrutiny through nominalizations or their derived verbs that invoke ACTION and FORCE schemas such as *killing*, *attacking*, *using of force*, etc. or *arresting*, *detaining*, *suppression*, etc. respectively.

Such nominal forms are considered in my study as “empty vessels into which addresses pour their own meaning. The vessel might be shared by the group, but the contents seldom are” (Cap, 2002, p. 79). Cap (2002) gives the example of the nominal *justice* which is a universally appealing word and is normally accepted by people with widely diverse opinions. This vessel can be shared by people but they will have different interpretations of it: “miners might understand one thing by the word *justice* (getting paid according to how physically demanding the job is), doctors another thing (getting paid according to years of education)” (Cap, 2002, p. 79).

Like *justice*, the nominal forms *violation* and *violence* can be considered as empty vessels that can hide the differences of opinion as well as the types of image-schematic conceptualizations of the conflict that is intended by drafters. Such nominalizations are considered to be vague alternative representations that drafters can use instead of conceptualizing the event in terms of ACTION or FORCE schemas. Moreover, violations and violence, can be shared by all member states in the council since they do not invoke a specific conceptualization of the conflict and can be interpreted differently.

The aforementioned construal operations and linguistic tools that can be used for analysing how events are (re)conceptualized are presented in Figure 20. Other representational choices that drafters can use can be explained by the construal operations of profiling and focus.



**Figure 20: A Grammar or (re)conceptualization of social actors' actions**

#### **VI.4.2. Profiling and Focus**

The nominal characteristics of closedness and conceptual autonomy, mentioned earlier, give the user the possibility to employ deverbal nouns (1) without elaborating any of the participants, or

(2) with elaborating only one or (3) both of them. The second and third possibilities are examined through the construal operations of profiling and focus which are useful to analyse how social actors (i.e., Agent and Patient) or only one social actor are conceptualized relative to each other or to particular elements respectively. These construal operations will reveal the identification strategies followed by drafters which “concern which social actors are selected for conceptual representation and to what degree of salience they are represented relative to one and other” (Hart, 2013, p. 406).

### **VI.4.2.1. Profiling**

The construal operation of profiling, which is grounded in the system of attention and used to realize identification strategies, is expected to be involved in mystification i.e., the absence of actors within the clause (Hart, 2013). Among metonymy and agentless passives, nominalization is an important linguistic tool that can cause the absence of agents. In CDA, these absences are ideologically motivated since they give the option to gloss over agency in actions that do not suit the interests of the speaker/writer (Hart, 2013). However, it should be noted that by absences Hart (2013) means backgrounding and not suppression as it is also suggested by Van Leeuwen (2008) and Reisigl and Wodak (2001). They claim that by not mentioning a certain agent, one is trying to push it into the semantic background. Following Langacker (1990), this aspect of agents ‘absence from a cognitive perspective is dealt with by Santibáñez Sáenz (2000) as well as Hart (2014b, 2013), who applies in a critical discourse analysis about the representation of social actors involved in violent actions.

Santibáñez Sáenz (2000) refers to the possibility of interpreting nominalized forms in terms of two main notions from cognitive grammar: base and profile. The former, which is understood as the alternative of semantic background, is defined as “the presupposed cognitive structure, the part of the relevant domains (scope of predication) against which the profiling of a given substructure is carried out” (p. 507). Santibáñez Sáenz (2000) illustrates his idea by giving the following example taken from Langacker (1990):

1. **the conception:** a body of land completely surrounded by water
2. Expression *island*: may profile only **the land mass** from the whole conception
3. Expression *the water near the island*: may profile only **a portion of the water** from the whole conception

In a similar way, Hart (2013) shows how the nominalized form *injuries* (example 28) profiles only one portion (profile) of the whole conception of an action schema (base). This nominal form

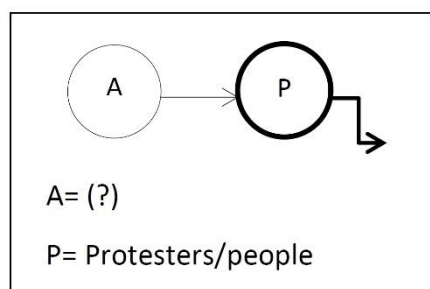


stands for the resultant state of a violent interaction between two participants that can be left implicit. In this context, Hart (2014a) states that “the action chain is still invoked since we know that injuries are the result of some form of interaction and the AGENT therefore remains within *the scope of attention*” (p. 182). The same argument should be true for deverbal nouns in the sense that they are conceptually composed of a base and profile. According to the previous sections about the potential of some nominals in producing image schemas, their bases will contain all the retained information from their verbs. The elements in the base (i.e., AGENT, PATIENT, or resultant state) that get linguistic representation will be profiled. Some nominalized forms such as the result nominal *death* in *the death of many people*, for instance, or *the wounded* (example 29) profile the resultant state within an action frame leaving the interaction and the agent in the semantic background as they are not linguistically mentioned (Figure 21).

(28) **Eight people** were taken to hospital with **injuries** after the violence flared at Millbank Tower (Hart, 2013, p. 415)

(29) Expressing concern at the reports of shortages of medical supplies to treat **the wounded**, caused partly by deliberate prevention of such supplies by the Government of Syria, (SD01)

The analysis of examples (28) and (29) is illustrated in Figure 21 where the resultant state and patient belong to the profiled portions which are represented in bolder lines while the cause (i.e., AGENT) is left in the scope of attention and it is cognitively and experientially backgrounded (Hart, 2013).



**Figure 21: Partial profile of the patient and resultant state in an ACTION schema**

To conclude, an image schema can be invoked by a deverbal noun as it becomes activated in the mind of the reader who goes through the process of retrieving the semantic meaning and event-structure of the verb from the congruent form. An explicit reference to one participant in the incongruent form will help reduce the amount of unpacking as well as evoke partial profiling of

the ACTION schema conception. More importantly, one of the profiled elements in the whole conception can get more focus than other profiled elements as it is shown in the next section.

### **VI.4.2.2. Focus**

The construal operation of Focus also belongs to the system of attention and realizes identification strategies. It differs from profiling in the fact that while the latter is about foregrounding only one entity, since the other one is not explicitly mentioned, Focus “pertains to the degree of attention afforded to entities explicitly selected [i.e., they receive linguistic representation] within the scope of attention, relative to one other” (Hart, 2013, p. 413). To understand how this construal operation works, it is important to tackle a fundamental feature of cognition which is important to the process of perception. In perceiving any scene, our mind conceptualizes the entities in terms of figure and ground. The former, which stands relative to the ground, is thus perceptually more prominent than the latter, which serves as the figure’s point of reference (Hart, 2013, p. 413).

According to Hart (2013, 2011b), one of several aspects of discourse that can evoke this construal operation of Focus is information structure<sup>132</sup> and metonymies. The latter linguistic tool, which is considered as “a particular type of profiling/backgrounding” can also invoke a conceptual shift in reference (2011b, p. 175). There are two types of semantic associations that support metonymies (Croft & Cruse, 2010; Hart, 2011b). While ‘intrinsic associations’ can be either inherent or permanent, ‘extrinsic associations’ are about two entities that are associated contingently and non-inherently (Croft & Cruse, 2010, p. 217). For example, Hart (2011b) states that an intrinsic metonymy can be between a person and his attribute while extrinsic metonymy can be between persons and the place where the former are located (p. 175).

His analysis of intrinsic metonymies, which involve a conceptual shift either ‘inwards’ or ‘outwards’, is useful to analyse the representational choices that are used to refer to the same social actors in drafts. In Hart’s words (2011b):

intrinsic metonymy profiles either an element of a given ‘dominion’ (a concept or category which provides the scope of attention for its elements) or the dominion as a

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<sup>132</sup> Information structure can be analysed by the construal operation of focus by considering entities that are positioned earlier in the clause to be conceptually more salient and hence they have the role of figure while entities introduced later have the function of ground (Hart, 2013). Hart states that “[F]ocus therefore seems to be an important conceptual process involved in topicalisation” (2013, p. 413). He shows difference in focus in examples about reciprocal action schemas where both participants/entities are linguistically represented. This type of analysis is not carried in this thesis since action schemas found in the material are all of an asymmetrical type.

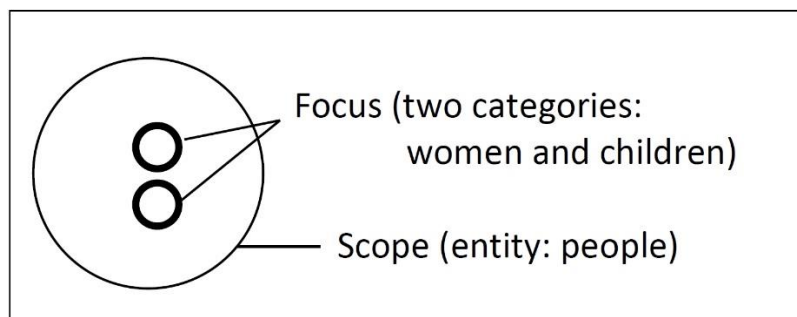
whole, encompassing all its elements; which depends on whether the conceptual shift in reference is inwards or outwards (p. 176).

He illustrates such an intrinsic metonymy of an inward conceptual shift in (30), where a particular element (the legal status i.e., the figure), of a group of individuals (the dominion i.e., the ground) is profiled. Similarly, examples like in (31) from the material under scrutiny are supposed to involve such a conceptual shift with one or more particular members (*women and children*) of a group (*people*) is or are profiled. This conceptual shift in reference inwards is expressed by the adverb *including*.

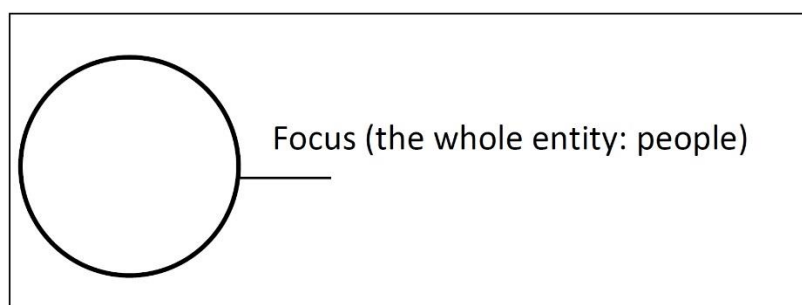
(30) Tony McNulty, the immigration minister, seemed to accept that there may be between 310,000 and 570,000 **illegals** in Britain. (Hart, 2011b, p. 176)

(31) The Security Council [...] expresses profound regret at the deaths of thousands of **people including women and children** (SD02V)

It should be noted that even though both ground (*people*) and figure (*women and children*) are linguistically represented in (31), it is the figure that is in focus. This conceptualization examined by the construal operation of FOCUS is illustrated in Figure 22. To better illustrate this idea, the representation in (31) should be compared with the one in (33).



**Figure 22\*:** Focus of two categories of the dominion people



**Figure 23\*:** Focus of the whole entity

\*Figures are adapted from Hart (2011b)

Intrinsic metonymy with a conceptual shift of reference is illustrated by Hart (2011b) through CLASS FOR INDIVIDUALS metonymy (example 32). The material also includes such cases to

refer to social actors (example 33). In such instances, different groups of individuals are referred to under the same class and hence “the profiled category occludes attention to the elements it encompasses, which are all accorded the same predication by virtue of falling within the referential frame of the metonymic nominal” (p. 177). This is represented by the image schema in Figure 23 in which only the ground is profiled.

(32) [It] isn't because the British are workshy but because **the Poles** are willing to work for less money. (Hart, 2011b, p. 177)

(33) The Security Council [...] expressing its profound regret at the death of many thousands of **people** in Syria, (ResI)

Thus, the different representational choices of the same social actor in (31) and (30) provide two divergent conceptualizations in which not the same elements are put in focus. In other words, they vary in the degree of FOCUS that is given to the representation of the patient. Such a construal operation is then useful for the analysis as it can also reveal instances of recontextualization during the drafting process. Moreover, the same analysis will be applied to instances in which the adverb is used in different contexts (i.e., to specify agents as well as actions).

Besides analysing the violent actions of the Syrian conflict, the reaction of the SC is also worth studying. Language provides a range of representational choices with which the members of the SC can introduce their measures in a way that allows them to fulfil their interests. The classification suggested in the next section, consists of useful tools to study how these measures are linguistically formulated and modified along the process of drafting the resolutions and what representations or conceptualizations they invoke.

## **VI.5. Recontextualization Grammar for The Analysis of Security Council's Reaction**

In every UNSC resolution, the SC always plays the role of an addresser in a communicative exchange with the parties that are represented as being engaged in the issue under question. The measures listed by the SC in the operative section of the resolutions and drafts symbolize the latter's policy taken in relation to how the conflict should be resolved and member state(s)'s viewpoint towards the addressee (mainly the aggressor). Indeed, the adopted resolutions include the final decisions and attitudes of the SC towards the conflict and social actors; thus, it is significant to investigate how this final policy is reached, agreed on and formulated by all members of the SC. The different stances taken by single member states or a group of them

during the drafting process should be studied and compared in relation to each other to reveal similarities and differences and analyse their effect on the final decision that is adopted in the resolution.

To discuss the patterns used by drafters in addressing the social actors, it is significant to employ a systematic classification of directive verbs which are typical of UNSC resolutions. My semantic classification of directives used in the corpus of the present study are based on Vanderveken's semantic analysis of performatives (1990a) as well as Dontcheva-Navratilova's analysis of these verbs (2005, 2009).

According to Vanderveken (1990a), directives are classified into two groups in relation to their modes of achievement (p. 189). Vanderveken (1990b) defines the mode of achievement of an illocutionary force as the way that "restricts the conditions of achievement of its point by requiring certain specific means or ways of achievement" (p. 110). For example, in order to perform a successful command, the speaker must have an authoritative position over the hearer while a request is considered to be successful by giving the hearer the option of refusal (p. 110).

In the semantic analysis of the English performative verbs by Vanderveken (1990a), directives are classified into ones which are 'granted or refused' and others that are 'obeyed or disobeyed'. Indeed, there is a group of directive illocutionary acts (direct, request, etc.) that has a polite mode of achievement and grants the hearer the option to refuse whereas the mode of achievement of another group of directives (command, order, etc.) is peremptory and hence the option of refusal is not given. Consequently, the illocutionary force of the directives can be detected through the nature of the mode of achievement. The group that has more authoritative force is the one with a special mode of achievement i.e., the peremptory directives (p. 189). Moreover, the strength of a directive is also determined according to its predecessor (i.e., the directive verb from which it is derived). In other words, he considers a verb (e.g., *urge*) to be the immediate successor of another verb (e.g., *request*) "only if the force that it names can be obtained from the force named by the other verb by adding new components or increasing the degree of strength" (p. 181)<sup>133</sup>.

The concept of the illocutionary force is also tackled by Dontcheva-Navratilova (2005, 2009). Her classification of the verbs is based on the "desirability for the addressor and addressee" and "the implicated attitude of the addressor". She classified the directive and the expressive speech

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<sup>133</sup> This argument is first introduced by Searle (1985). Indeed, any illocutionary force named by any performative verb is measured according to its primitives and after its illocutionary point is achieved, its degree of imposition can be "equal to (0)", "greater than (I)" or "smaller than (-I)" the one of the performative verbs from which it is generated (p. 99).

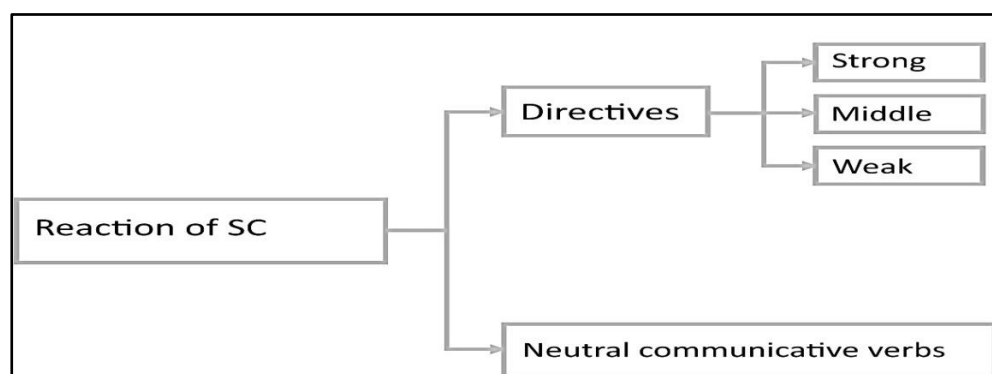
acts that occurred in the corpus of her study according to a scale of weak, middle and strong imposition (2005, 2009). Accordingly, the semantic analysis that is going to be suggested for this current study includes three major groups of directives: directives with a weak force of imposition, directives with a middle force of imposition and strong directives with a strong force of imposition.

Therefore, if the verb has an option of refusal, it can have either weak or middle strength of imposition whereas the verb that should be either obeyed or disobeyed has a strong imposition. On the other hand, the verbs that share the mode of achievement of “humility” and lack the special mode of achievement of authority are considered as either weak or middle but not strong. Moreover, to distinguish the difference between directives, it is significant to check their predecessors. Directives that are found in the material of the present study are classified accordingly (Table 9).

**Table 9: Classification of the directives used in the Syrian Corpus according to their force of imposition**

Directives with weak force of imposition	Directives with middle force of imposition	Directives with strong force of imposition
Call for/upon/on	Urge Request Invite Encourage Urge	Demand

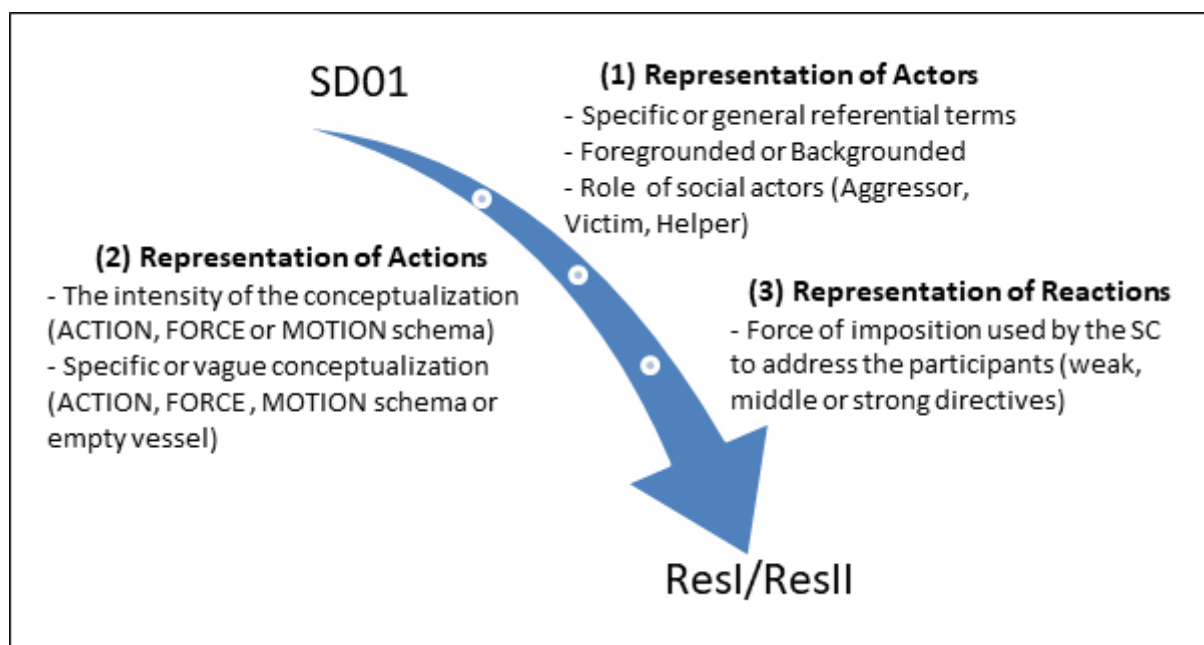
Opting for particular directive verbs can have different ideological effects and serve the discursive strategies of intensifying or mitigating the force of imposition used to introduce the measures. Other verbs such as *decide*, *direct* etc. are also present in the material under scrutiny but they are neutral cases since they do not carry a force of imposition. These representational choices are illustrated in Figure 24.



**Figure 24: The linguistic devices that can be used to present the reaction of the SC**

## VI.6. Conclusion

This chapter presents a Grammar of recontextualization for the representation and conceptualization of social actors and their (re)actions during the drafting process of UNSC resolutions. Figure 25 illustrates the elements that are examined during the textual travels of drafts. The representation of actors is analysed according to the expressions that are used when referring to them. The adaptation of Van Leeuwen's Social Actors Network (2008), which provides different representational choices to refer to social actors, is used to determine whether they are nominated through specific (i.e., determined referential expressions) or general/vague terms (i.e., indetermined referential expressions). They are also said to be included or backgrounded in a draft when personalized and impersonalized representations are used respectively. Moreover, the study is also interested in revealing whether social actors are foregrounded or backgrounded. Referring to them through impersonalized expressions or not representing them linguistically in the sentence has the effect of backgrounding them. The construal operation of profiling and focus are also supposed to show what social actors are profiled (i.e., foregrounded) or pushed to the semantic background (i.e., backgrounded). The roles assigned to social actors are also examined in the analysis of schematization. In other words, the present study also shows which social actors are conceptualized as AGENT (i.e., aggressor) and PATIENT (i.e., victim).



**Figure 25: The elements that are analysed during the textual travels of drafts**

In the analysis that deals with the conceptualization of violent actions in drafts, material processes, which are realized by verbs or their derived nominalizations in the data, are extracted

and classified to ACTION, FORCE, and MOTION schemas as well as empty vessels with the attempt to show if one type of representation is used more frequently than the others and whether drafters conceptualize the conflict differently. The analysis of schematisation also reveals the intensity that is opted for by drafters to conceptualize the conflict. Besides analysing the intensity of the representation of actions, the current work shows if these conceptualizations are specific or vague (i.e., if they are represented through vague nominals called empty vessels). The third element that is also analysed during the textual travels of drafts is the representation of SC reactions. The classification of directives reveals the force of imposition chosen by drafters to address the participants. The objective behind these analyses is to track any changes and discuss the linguistic choices made by drafters to conceptualize the conflict and address the social actors.

More importantly, the study aims to show if there is a change in the representational choices opted for by drafters during the drafting process when conceptualizing social actors and (re)actions. The transformations of deletions and additions have important functional effects by either excluding, backgrounding, or including social actors. Rearrangement has the effect of reallocating roles of social actors while substitutions can add new meanings. For example, by substituting one directive by another, that have a weaker force of imposition, the SC is said to be following a mitigating strategy while addressing the participants to reach an agreement. These transformations which are made at the surface level of text are useful to show how representations of actors and (re)actions are (re)formulated and transformed during the process of recontextualization. Studying these transformations and their effects can reveal how member states change their attitudes during the drafting process.

Moreover, the chapter also shows the ideological effects that can be invoked when using particular representations and how they can be used to present a positive or negative representation that aims at legitimizing or delegitimizing the self or others' actions respectively. More importantly, the transformations that may be made by drafters are supposed to show whether they are used for mitigation or intensification purposes as an attempt to either reach agreement or impose one's view respectively. With this study, the formulation of the final resolutions can be better understood and interpreted. The next chapter sets down the methodology with which the data is tackled.



## THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

### VII.1. Introduction

In this chapter, the methodology that is going to be followed in the current study is presented. It starts with presenting a description of the corpus and the process of collecting the data. In the second part, a brief overview is given about the analytic tools that are used in the analysis. The chapter proceeds with the last section which is about how the corpus is handled and the search tools that are employed.

### VII.2. Description of The Corpus and Data Collection

For the study of recontextualization during the drafting process of resolutions, a heterogeneous corpus has been compiled. It is composed of the first two resolutions (Res 2042 and Res 2043) and their relevant drafts that were issued and proposed concerning the Syrian conflict.

The SC issued its first resolutions about the Syrian conflict in April 2012, which is a year after the outbreak of the first demonstrations in Syria. During this long period, the SC witnessed heated discussions between its member states on the formulation of the resolution that should be adopted about the Syrian uprising. Meanwhile, two drafts were vetoed by the Russian Federation and China. According to UN reports and newspapers articles<sup>134</sup>, other informal drafts were also proposed. However, since only formal drafts (i.e., the ones that reach the vote phase and are vetoed) are kept by the UN in the archives, I opted for an internet search to look for possible informal drafts (i.e., the ones that are proposed in the council, but they are not voted on). Besides writing key search terms, 'drafts', 'SC', 'Syrian conflict' etc., I included other information such as the issuing date or the name of the member state(s) that proposed the draft, which are mentioned in UN reports or newspapers' articles to facilitate the search. Nine informal drafts are collected from different sources (such as newspapers websites or blogs). This search resulted in a heterogeneous corpus that includes 13 texts: nine informal drafts, two vetoed formal drafts and two adopted resolutions (Table 10).

Drafts are presented under the abbreviation SD, which stands for 'Syrian drafts'. They are listed according to their online publication date. In addition, to make it easier to distinguish them, a 'V'

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<sup>134</sup> <https://www.whatsinblue.org/2011/06/presidential-statement-on-syria.php>  
<https://www.whatsinblue.org/2012/01/council-consultations-on-draft-syria-resolution.php>  
<https://www.whatsinblue.org/2012/02/syria-draft-resolution-in-blue.php>  
<https://www.whatsinblue.org/2012/04/syria-advance-observer-mission-draft-resolution.php>  
See Footnotes 136-146

is added to the vetoed drafts and an 'R' is included to indicate drafts introduced by the Russian Federation which had opposing views about the Syrian conflict (as discussed in III. The Syrian Conflict as a Case Study: The Political and Historical Background). The resolutions 2042 and 2043 are presented under the symbol ResI and ResII.

**Table 10: The Syrian Corpus**

Draft Symbol	Drafters	Type of Draft	Token	Date	Source
SD01	SC	Informal	788	03.06.2011	Inner city press <sup>135</sup>
SD02V	Five Member States <sup>136</sup>	Formal	833	04.10.2011	UN official website
SD03R	Russian Federation	Informal	961	15.12.2011	Responsibility to protect blog <sup>137</sup>
SD04	SC	Informal	1205	23.01.2012	
SD05	SC	Informal	1143	27.01.2012	Al Arabiya newspaper website <sup>138</sup>
SD06	SC	Informal	1182	31.01.2012	Washington post website <sup>139</sup>
SD07	SC	Informal	1157	31.01.2012	New York Times website <sup>140</sup>
SD08	SC	Informal	1047	01.02.2012	Inner City Press website <sup>141</sup>
SD09V	21 Member States <sup>142</sup>	Formal	1035	04.02.2012	UN official website
SD10	SC	Informal	1042	13.04.2012	Aljazeera website <sup>143</sup>
SD11R	Russian Federation	Informal	575	12.04.2012	UN report blogspot <sup>144</sup>
ResI	SC	Adopted resolutions	938	14.04.2012	UN official website
ResII	SC	Adopted resolutions	1257	21.04.2012	UN official website

It should be noted that four other informal drafts were also found during the search. However, they were not selected because of two reasons: either due to the unreliability of the source<sup>145</sup> or

<sup>135</sup> Source: <http://www.innercitypress.com/unsc1syria.pdf> (Last accessed: August 2018)

<sup>136</sup> France, Germany, Portugal and United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

<sup>137</sup> Source: <https://responsibilitytoprotectblog.files.wordpress.com/2011/12/application.pdf> (Last accessed: August 2018)

<sup>138</sup> Source: <https://www.alarabiya.net/articles/2012/01/27/190815.html> (Last accessed: January 2018)

<sup>139</sup>Source: [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/un-draft-resolution-on-syria/2012/01/31/gIQAFsk4eQ\\_story.html?noredirect=on&utm\\_term=.87a3477d4183](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/un-draft-resolution-on-syria/2012/01/31/gIQAFsk4eQ_story.html?noredirect=on&utm_term=.87a3477d4183) (Last accessed : August 2018)

<sup>140</sup> Source: <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/02/01/world/middleeast/draft-of-security-council-resolution-on-syria.html?pagewanted=all&r=0> (Last accessed : August 2018)

<sup>141</sup> Source: [www.innercitypress.com/SCv3syria020212icp.html](http://www.innercitypress.com/SCv3syria020212icp.html) (Last accessed: August 2018)

<sup>142</sup> Bahrain, Colombia, Egypt, France, Germany, Jordan, Kuwait, Libya, Morocco, Oman, Portugal, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and United States of America.

<sup>143</sup> Source: <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2012/04/201241365429491785.html?xif=> (Last accessed: August 2018)

<sup>144</sup> Source: <http://un-report.blogspot.de/2012/04/russian-draft-resolution-on-syria.html> (Last accessed: August 2018)

<sup>145</sup>A draft that is expected to be a modified version of SD03R is found on a Facebook page of a 'Syrian association'.

because their texts are not complete<sup>146</sup> (i.e., they do not include complete preamble and operative parts).

### VII.3. Handling of The Data and Search Tools

After collecting the resolutions and drafts, they were copied into word format as well as Textdokument (.txt) format<sup>147</sup> and classified into separate documents according to the issuing date. The data was then retrieved mostly manually. The study also relied on the concordance tool available in *AntConc 3.4.4* to check if particular expressions also exist in subsequent drafts (Figure 26).

Concordance Hits 24		
Hit	KWIC	File
1	at the deaths of hundreds of civilians, 2. Demands an immediate end to the violence and	SD 01.txt 2 1
2	take concrete measures to meet legitimate popular demands, including by adopting comprehensive refor	SD 01.txt 2 2
3	response by the Syrian authorities to these demands, 1. Strongly condemns the continued grave	SD 02.txt 3 1
4	sands of people including women and children; 2. Demands an immediate end to all violence and	SD 02.txt 3 2
5	rights violations should be held accountable; 4. Demands that the Syrian authorities immediately:	SD 02.txt 3 3
6	Syria that excludes intervention from outside, 1-Demands that all parties in Syria immediately stop	SD 03.txt 4 1
7	and expeditiously engage in national dialogue, 5- Demands that all the parties insure respect for	SD 03.txt 4 2
8	and ill-treatment, including against children; 2. Demands that the Syrian Government immediately	SD 04.txt 5 1
9	and resolution A/RES/66/176 of the UNGA; 3. Demands that all parties in Syria, including	SD 04.txt 5 2
10	rights violations must be held accountable and demands that all parties ensure respect for,	SD 04.txt 5 3
11	of Arab States Action Plan 5. Demands that the Syrian Government, in accordance	SD 04.txt 5 4
12	required; International support and cooperation 9. Demands that the Syrian authorities to cooperate full	SD 04.txt 5 5
13	and ill-treatment, including against children; 2. Demands that the Syrian Government immediately put	SD 08.txt 6 1
14	it comes from, and in this regard demands that all parties in Syria, including armed	SD 08.txt 6 2
15	acts of violence, must be held accountable; 5. Demands that the Syrian Government, in accordance	SD 08.txt 6 3
16	er 2011 and its decision of 22 January 2012; 11. Demands that the Syrian authorities cooperate full	SD 08.txt 6 4
17	and ill-treatment, including against children; 2. Demands that the Syrian government immediately put	SD 09.txt 7 1
18	it comes from, and in this regard demands that all parties in Syria, including armed	SD 09.txt 7 2
19	acts of violence, must be held accountable; 5. Demands that the Syrian government, in accordance	SD 09.txt 7 3
20	r 2011 and its decision of 22 January 2012; 11. Demands that the Syrian authorities cooperate full	SD 09.txt 7 4
21	the Envoy's six-point proposal; 2. Demands the Syrian government implement visibly it	SD 10.txt 8 1
22	concentrations in and around population centres, and demands further that the Syrian government withdra	SD 10.txt 8 2
23	ouncil requests to receive by 13 April 2012; 5. Demands that the Syrian government (a) facilitate	SD 10.txt 8 3
24	all its forms by all parties, and demands that the Syrian government ensure the adva	SD 10.txt 8 4

**Figure 26: The concordance hits of the verb *demands* in the material**

For example, Figure 26 shows that the verb *demands*, which is present in SD01, is also used in subsequent drafts. However, it is absent in SD11R and both resolutions. An important tool that was used for the classification of drafts and mainly in the first stages of the analysis was the 'Compare' option available under the 'Review' toolbar in Microsoft Word.

In view of the enormous number of modifications made to almost every draft, a closer inspection of the different transformations revealed that they can be described as minor and major changes according to what has been changed. Minor modifications are defined in this study as being

<sup>146</sup> I also found three incomplete drafts: two of them are issued in the period between the first and second draft while the third one is another modified version of SD03R. They can be proposals since they are composed of few sentences.

<sup>147</sup> Converting resolutions and drafts into word format and Textdokument (.txt) format was necessary for the compare tool in Microsoft Word and for using AntConc 3.4.4 respectively.

restricted to transformations made to the style, punctuations or to other aspects (such as the time, or details related to the UN team) which are not part of the elements that are analysed in the thesis. Major changes are those that introduce important modifications to the groups of social actors whose representation and their (re)actions are examined.

This step shows whether subsequent drafts have undergone minor or major modifications which reveal first instantiations of transformations (deletion, addition, rearrangement as for moves) that took place during the process of recontextualization when drafting the resolutions. Figure 27 illustrates the transformations that are made in SD02V when comparing it with SD01 by using the compare tool available in Microsoft Word. The major modifications illustrated in Figure 27 are shown in example (1) and (2). The comparison shows that three textual fragments, which are present in SD01, are deleted in SD02V (marked with dashed underlining). One of the deleted elements, *killings*, is replaced by another expression, *human rights violations* in SD02V (highlighted in grey). On the other hand, three textual fragments are added to the second draft (marked with double underlining).

(1) The Security Council,

Expressing grave concern at the situation in Syria and condemning the violence and use of force against its people,

Welcoming the Secretary-General's statements articulating continued concerns about the on-going violence and humanitarian needs, and calling for an independent investigation of all killings during recent demonstrations, (SD01)

(2) The Security Council,

Expressing grave concern at the situation in Syria,

Recalling its Presidential Statement of 3 August,

Welcoming the Secretary-General's statements articulating continued concerns about the ongoing violence and humanitarian needs, calling on the Syrian Government to halt its violent offensive at once, calling for an independent investigation of all human rights violations during recent demonstrations, and stressing the need to hold to account those responsible for human rights violations, (SD02V)

A comparison of all drafts and resolutions by using the compare tool of Microsoft Word is presented in Table 11. The transformations are always shown in the subsequent draft in relation to its preceding one.

The first three drafts are vastly different from each other and most of the transformations affect the representation of the conflict. The same result is also observed between SD09V and its subsequent drafts. The five drafts in the middle phase of the process (SD04, SD05, SD06, SD07, and SD08) are also modified; however, the transformations do not bring drastic change in the

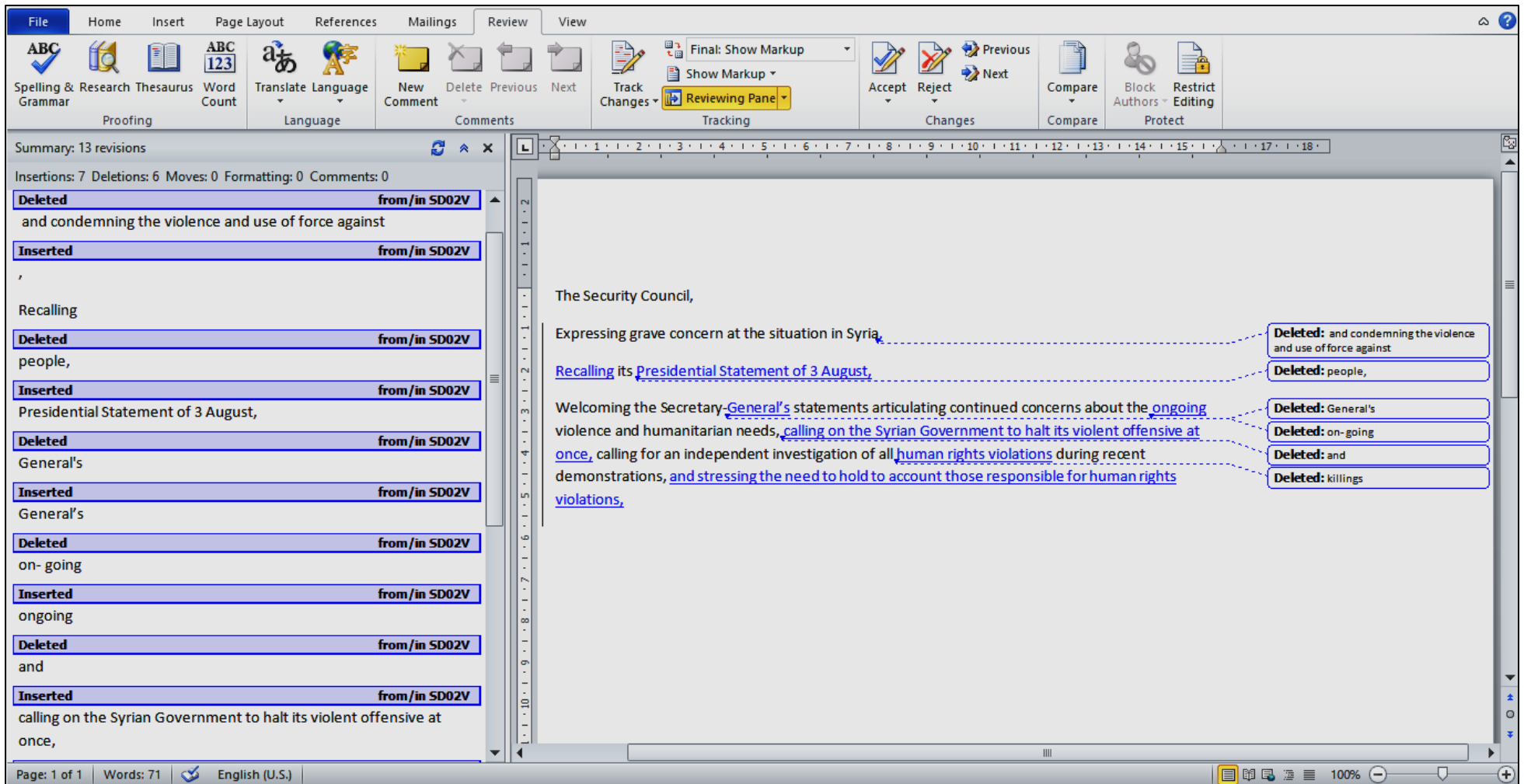


Figure 27: A comparison of SD01 with SD02V using the 'Compare' tool available in Microsoft Word (the transformations in SD02V in comparison with its preceding draft, SD01)

**Table 11: The transformations made from one draft to another using the ‘Compare’ tool**

Compared Drafts	Insertions	Deletions	Moves <sup>148</sup>	Total
SD01- SD02V	59	52	4	115
SD02V- SD03R	51	47	0	98
SD03R- SD04	38	37	0	75
SD04- SD05	43	32	0	75
SD05- SD06	15	13	2	30
SD06- SD07	46	51	0	97
SD07- SD08	34	29	0	63
SD08- SD09V	27	41	0	68
SD09V- SD10	52	50	12	114
SD10- SD11R	32	32	6	70

representations of the conflict. It should be noted that the changes affected the representation of the UN team to some extent, and they are characterized as minor transformations as they are related to punctuation and format. Therefore, SD04 and SD08, together with SD01, SD02V, SD03R, SD09V, SD10 and SD11R, are quantitatively and qualitatively analyzed since they contain major transformations that are related to the representation of the conflict.

<sup>148</sup> *Moves* means when the location of a textual fragment in the document is modified in the subsequent draft. It represents the transformation of rearrangement. Indeed, Van Leeuwen (2008) considers rearrangement as when “elements of the social practice, insofar as they have a necessary order, may be rearranged, scattered through the text in various ways” (p. 18).

## THE REPRESENTATIONS OF SOCIAL ACTORS

### VIII.1. Introduction

The critical discourse analysis starts in this chapter. The latter starts with examining all the groups of social actors that are either excluded from or included in the material. In the second part the representations of groups of social actors that are categorized as Aggressors are thoroughly explored.

Furthermore, besides examining the referential scope within which social actors are represented as well as the conceptualization of (re)actions, the co-texts in which social actors and (re)actions are referred to are also explored in every part of the analyses. In other words, the investigations reveal how much of the original co-text is reused, deleted or substituted in subsequent representations and explain the effects of the different transformations when textual travels occur. For a better demonstration of the different modifications that can be made by drafters, I use the following conventions in all the analyses:

Single underlining: the co-text that is compared (examples 1, 2)

~~Dashed underlining~~: deletion of information (examples 1)

Double underlining: addition of information (examples 2)

**Highlighting in Grey**: modifications made to lexical expressions (can be signs of substitution) (examples 1-4).

- (1) The Security Council [...] Expresses its intent, provided a cessation of armed violence in all its forms by all parties exists, to establish immediately a United Nations supervision mission in Syria to monitor such a cessation of violence [...]; (SD10)
- (2) The Security Council [...] Expresses its intention, subject to a sustained cessation of armed violence in all its forms by all parties, to establish immediately, after consultations with the Syrian government, a United Nations supervision mission in Syria [...]; (SD11R)
- (3) The Security Council [...] Noting **the assessment by the Envoy** that on 12 April 2012 **the Syrian government** had started partially to implement its commitments (SD10)
- (4) The Security Council [...] Noting **the Envoy's assessment** that **the parties** appeared to be observing a cessation of fire as of 12 April 2012 (SD11R)

### VIII.2. The Groupings and Categorization of Social Actors

This section starts with an overview of all the groups of social actors that are present in the drafting process and the referential expressions that are used to refer to them. In total, the social actors are classified into ten groups (Table 12 and 13). The representations of the groups represented in Table 12 are further analysed in the remainder of the chapter.

**Table 12: The referential expressions used to refer to each group of social actors**

Groups of Social Actors	Referential expressions
<b>Syrian Authorities</b>	<b>Personalized referential terms:</b> <i>Syrian authorities</i> , the <i>Syrian government</i> , the government of Syria, Government of the Syrian Republic, Syrian Arab Republic, the <i>President</i> , Anaphoric reference (its, it, their, them), Syrian-led, Syrian security forces, Forces under the control of the (Syrian) government (of Syria), Security personnel, Law enforcement personnel, all Syrian military and security forces, all Syrian military and armed forces, its troops and heavy weapons, all Syrian government troops and heavy weapons, those responsible for, host states, Syrian judicial committee. <b>Impersonalized referential terms:</b> The violence <sup>149</sup> , from violence, the impact of violence, High Security Court, an aggravation of the situation, the risks, the role which Syria plays, stability in Syria, reforms, to Syria, into Syria, the legitimate aspirations and concerns of the population, political process, political transition, state institutions
<b>Syrian Opposition</b>	the ( <i>Syrian</i> ) <i>opposition</i> , <i>Syrian armed opposition groups</i> , the whole spectrum of the Syrian opposition, various/all groups of opposition
<b>Armed Groups</b>	<i>armed groups</i>
<b>Extremists</b>	<i>extremists, extremist groups, extremism</i>
<b>Supplier of Weapons</b>	( <i>direct or indirect, illegal</i> ) <i>supply</i> , (continued) <i>transfer</i> , training, advice, assistance
<b>Vague Social Actors</b>	<i>all sides, all parties, all the parties, any party, all other parties, (all) those responsible for, relevant elements</i>
<b>Syrian People</b>	<b>Personalized referential terms:</b> (detained peaceful) demonstrators, those that have taken part in peaceful demonstrations, protestors, journalists, members of media, lawyers, Syrians, those exercising their rights, who has communicated with the mission, all Syrian stakeholders, citizens, civilians, (political) prisoners, detained persons, displaced persons refugees, <i>women and children</i> , ( <i>Syrian, Syria's</i> ) <i>people</i> , ( <i>Syria's</i> ) <i>population(s)</i> , <i>the wounded</i> , all sections of Syrian society, any individual(s), group of individuals or body, any person, for all, their, <b>Impersonalized referential terms:</b> a mass grave, a number of Syrian towns, the siege of Deraa, other affected towns, peaceful demonstrations, population centers, in such centers, civilian component, to Syria

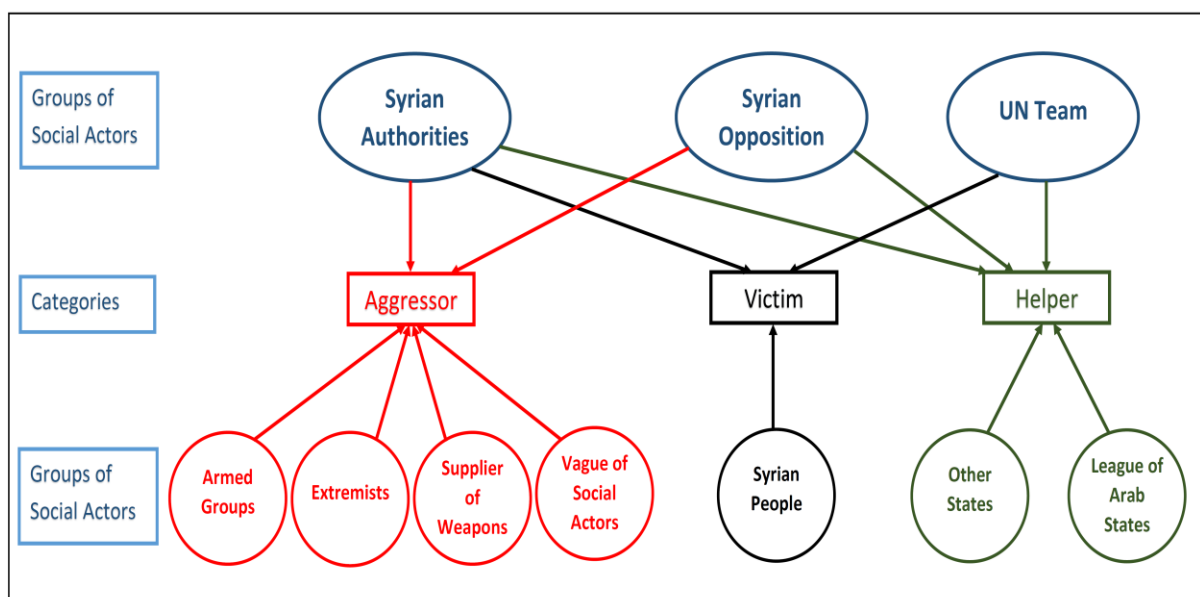
Drafters use a wide variety of expressions to refer to the groups of Syrian Authorities and Syrian People in comparison with the other groups of Syrian Opposition, Armed Groups, Extremists, Supplier of Weapons (Table 12). The groups included in Table 13 are referred to through a less varied jargon of terms. It should be noted that the lexical terms used in representing the group of UN Team are less numerous than the lexical expressions used for the Syrian Authorities and Syrian People groups since the same referential expressions are (re)employed to refer to the social actors that belong to the UN Team. The group of Supplier of Weapons is implicitly invoked in the first four drafts through references to their actions which are realized by nominals

<sup>149</sup> The nominal form *violence* is considered as a referential expression since it is used to impersonally refer to the group of Syrian Authorities. It is used by drafters as an EVENT-FOR-PARTICIPANT metonymy instead of a direct reference to the social actor who is causing violence. For example, the nominalization *violence* is represented as the reason why people are fleeing the country in the first draft "The Security Council [...] Expressing concern [...] at the reports of numerous civilians trying to flee the *violence*".



such as *supply*, *transfer* etc. (Table 12). They are considered to be suppressed since an explicit reference to the social actors committing the aforementioned actions is not included elsewhere in the texts.

These groupings are further categorized according to the roles they are represented as being engaged in: Aggressor, Victim or Helper. Figure 28 shows how some groups of social actors are classified under more than one category. For example, one of the most striking finding is the fact that the group of Syrian Authorities is arranged under the three categories while the group of Syrian Opposition is classified as being Aggressor as well as Helper. Similarly, the group of UN Team is represented in the material as Victim and Helper. The rest of the groups are classified under only one category.



**Figure 28: Classification of the groups of social actors into three main categories**

For instance, the category of Aggressor also includes the groups of Extremists, Supplier of Weapons, Armed Groups as well as the Vague Social Actors which are not classified under other categories. The representations of the group Syrian People correspond only to the category of Victim. Two other Helpers are the groups of the League of Arab States and Other States.

It is important to note that this categorizations is made by taking into consideration all the representations of these groups in the whole material. A detailed and precise description about the categories under which social actors are classified in every draft is presented in the qualitative analyses about the representations of the groups. It should be noted that the last three groups in the list (UN Team, League of Arab States, and Other States) are not extensively studied because the study under scrutiny is interested in investigating the representations of

social actors that are presented as Aggressor and Victim. Yet, the analyses include sometimes some references to these groups of social actors (Table 13) since they are often present in the context of other expressions that are examined. It should be noted that not all references to the category of Helper are analysed. The present study is interested only in the instances that represent the groups of Syrian Authorities, Syrian Opposition as Helpers.

**Table 13: The referential expressions used to refer to each group of social actors**

Groups of Social Actors	Referential expressions
<b>UN Team</b>	<i>Human rights defenders, the Secretary General, (the) (its observer) mission, Kofi Annan, United Nations Supervision Mission in Syria (UNSMIS), a Chief Military Observer, (humanitarian) personnel/organizations/agencies and workers, human rights monitors, the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights</i>
<b>League of Arab States</b>	<i>League of Arab States, LAS</i>
<b>Other States</b>	<i>Turkey, Russia, Brazil, India, South Africa, (all) States, neighboring and other states, Member States, the States bordering Syria, neighboring countries, the Russian Federation, Moscow</i>

### VIII.3. Recontextualization of The Representations of Social Actors Categorized as Aggressors and Victims

The analysis shows that the representations of social actors are not constant as they are modified during the drafting process. Deletions, additions, substitutions and even rearrangements are the types of transformations that take place during the process of recontextualizing the representations of social actors. The investigation about the patterns of inclusion and exclusion of social actors reveals the deletions and additions that are made when reproducing representations of similar social actors in different drafts. Substitutions and rearrangements are clearly reflected through the lexical analysis concerning the representational choices made by drafters to identify social actors.

#### VIII.3.1. Patterns of Inclusion and Exclusion of The Groups of Social Actors

Not only does the frequency of referring to the aforementioned groups of social actors vary from one draft to another, as it will be shown later in the analysis, but they are also introduced at different phases of the drafting process.

With the exception of the social actors groups of Syrian Authorities, Vague Social Actors, Syrian People and UN Team<sup>150</sup>, which are present in all drafts as well as in the resolutions, the remaining social actors groups are added after the first draft. For example, Syrian Opposition and Extremists are introduced in the second draft whereas the group of Armed Groups is added in the third draft. It should be noted that the group of Supplier of Weapons is suppressed in the first four drafts and it is excluded in the subsequent drafts and resolutions. The representations of the aforementioned groups of social actors travel from one draft to another. While some of them are included in the resolutions, others disappear at a specific point during the drafting process and are excluded from some drafts and more importantly from the final representation of social actors that is adopted in the resolutions.

Presences and absences of social actors in drafts show the first transformations of addition and deletion that took place during the process of recontextualization when drafting the Syrian resolutions. Patterns of inclusion and exclusion in the representations of five groups of social actors that are categorized as Aggressors are quantitatively revealed in the following sections<sup>151</sup>. It should be noted that the representation of both groups of Syrian Authorities and Syrian People are going to be dealt with in the subsequent chapters.

### **VIII.3.2. Inclusion, Exclusion, and Suppression of Supplier of Weapons, Syrian Opposition, Extremists and Armed Groups During The Drafting Process**

Besides the group of Syrian Authorities, which is part of the political body in Syria and plays a key role in the Syrian conflict, four groups of social actors are introduced during the drafting process as being involved in the conflict as Aggressors: *Supplier of Weapons*, *Syrian Opposition*, *Extremists*, and *Armed Groups*.

The representations of social actors in the first four drafts include a suppressed<sup>152</sup> social actor who is classified under the group of Supplier of Weapons according to his actions mentioned in

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<sup>150</sup> It is important to note that UN Team is a third major group of social actors that has been present during the drafting process as well as in the resolutions. However, it is only rarely included in the analysis since the latter is restricted to studying the representation of social actors that are part of the Syrian conflict.

<sup>151</sup> The inclusion and exclusion of social actors are shown in frequencies per thousand words after the number of hits obtained are normalised since drafts have different sizes.

<sup>152</sup> Suppression is one type of deletion that can occur in the same text. It does leave a trace by including the relevant actions such as *the killing of demonstrators* but excluding the actors that are involved in them. More importantly, these suppressed social actors are not referred to anywhere in the text.

the drafts (Table 14). This social actor remained present in the three subsequent representations of social actors (i.e., SD02V, SD03R, and SD04); but it has never been identified.

**Table 14: Suppression of the group of Supplier of Weapons in frequencies pthw**

	SD01	SD02V	SD03R	SD04	SD08	SD09	SD10	SD11R	ResI	ResII
<b>Suppressed</b>	1.2	7.2	2	1.6	0	0	0	0	0	0

Even though the frequencies are very low, the Supplier of Weapons is strongly suppressed in the second draft. This is due to the presence of six nominalizations that refer to different actions related to the illegal supply of weapons (example 1)<sup>153</sup>.

- (1) The Security Council [...] Calls upon all States to exercise vigilance and restraint over the direct or indirect **supply, sale** or **transfer** to Syria of arms and related materiel of all types, as well as technical **training**, financial resources or services, **advice**, or other services or **assistance** related to such arms and related materiel; (SD02V)

In SD02V, drafters add the group of Syrian Opposition to the representation of social actors in comparison with the one in SD01 (Table 15). This new group of social actors is also rementioned in subsequent drafts as well as in the final resolutions. Interestingly, it is more included in the eleventh draft and both resolutions than in their preceding drafts. It reaches its peak in SD11R with 6.9.

**Table 15: Inclusion of Syrian Opposition in frequencies pthw**

	SD01	SD02V	SD03R	SD04	SD08	SD09	SD10	SD11R	ResI	ResII
<b>Inclusion</b>	0	1.2	2	0.8	0.9	0.9	0.9	6.9	3.2	3.1

The noun phrase *Syrian opposition* (classification<sup>154</sup> and functionalization<sup>155</sup>) is the main linguistic realization that is used to refer to this social actor in the data. Moreover, other premodifiers are used in these few instances and they are ranged from noun phrases such as *groups of* (unspecific collectivization<sup>156</sup>), or *the whole spectrum of* (*genericization*), adjectives as *various* (unspecific aggregation<sup>157</sup>) and quantifiers like *all* (unspecific aggregation).

<sup>153</sup> The first four drafts also differed in their ways of representing the social actor or receiver of weapons. The representational choices can be classified into personalized (SD01 and SD03R) and impersonalized (SD02V, SD04) representations which reveal one type of transformation: substitution. This significant detail is examined in the section about impersonalized representation of the group of Syrian Authorities.

<sup>154</sup> See appendix for a definition of classification.

<sup>155</sup> See appendix for a definition of functionalization.

<sup>156</sup> See appendix for a definition of unspecific collectivization.

<sup>157</sup> See appendix for a definition of unspecific aggregation.

Together with the aforementioned representational choices of this group of social actors in SD02V, SD04, SD08, SD09V and SD10, the roles given to it denote a positive representation. For example, *the Syrian opposition* is introduced as a legitimate actor that should contribute to the political process together with *all sections of Syrian society* and Member States in SD02V and SD04 (examples 2, 3) and be part of a political dialogue with *the Syrian government* in the last four drafts and the resolutions (example 4). It should be noted that during the travel of the paragraph in (4) (SD08) to subsequent drafts (i.e., SD09V, SD10 and SD11R) as well as to ResI and ResII, some modifications are made to its content. These transformations are dealt with in details when examining the representation of Syrian Authorities.

- (2) The Security Council [...] encourages **the Syrian opposition** and all sections of Syrian society to contribute to **such a** process; (SD02V)
- (3) The Security Council [...] encourages Member States to work with **the Syrian opposition** and all sections of the Syrian society to contribute to **this** process, (SD04)
- (4) The Security Council [...] Fully supports in this regard the League of Arab States 22 January 2012 decision to facilitate a political transition leading to a democratic, plural political system, [...], including through commencing a serious political dialogue between the Syrian government and **the whole spectrum of the Syrian opposition** under the League of Arab States auspices, in accordance with the timetable set out by the League of Arab States, (SD08)

However, this social actor is also negatively evaluated in Res II through the use of the premodifier *armed* in *the Syrian armed opposition groups* who are called upon to respect provisions of the Preliminary Understanding (example 5). This negative appraisal<sup>158</sup>, which occurs only once with this social actor, can be also related to the new representation given to the group of Syrian Opposition, in the last draft (SD11R), which is also reproduced in the adopted resolutions. Indeed, it is represented as one of the social actors that are assigned the responsibility of causing armed violence (examples 6 and 7)<sup>159</sup>. For instance, in (6), *the Syrian opposition* as well as *all parties* (which is supposed to refer to *Syrian authorities* and *armed groups*) are asked to cease violence. Such negative representations of this social actor are first invoked in the Russian Federation's first draft (SD03R). Different groups of Syrian opposition are urged "to dissociate themselves from extremists" and "accept LAS initiative" (examples 8, 9).

- (5) The Security Council [...] Calls upon **the Syrian armed opposition** groups and relevant elements to respect relevant provisions of the Preliminary Understanding; (ResII)

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<sup>158</sup> Negative appraisal is about identifying social actors in terms of negative judgement. The adjectives *military* and *armed* are two illustrative realizations of acts of criticism of social actors.

<sup>159</sup> In example (7), *the Syrian opposition* is also positively represented as it is mentioned that it is willing to cease violence by expressing its commitments to do so.

- (6) The Security Council [...] Calls upon all parties in Syria, including **the opposition**, immediately cease **all armed violence** in all its forms; (SD11R, ResI, and ResII)
- (7) The Security Council [...] noting also **the Syrian opposition's** expressed commitment to respect the cessation of violence, provided the government does so; (ResI)
- (8) The Security Council [...] Urges also **all groups of Syrian opposition** to dissociate themselves from extremists, accept LAS initiative and to engage without preconditions in political dialogue with the Syrian authorities with a view to holding a substantial and in-depth discussion on the ways of reforming the Syrian society; (SD03R)
- (9) The Security Council [...] Calls upon all member states maintaining contacts with **various groups of Syrian opposition** to urge them to accept LAS initiative and expeditiously engage in national dialogue, (SD03R)

Even though the Syrian Opposition is represented as a legitimate actor that should guarantee the safety of the advance team in SD11R or be part of a national and political dialogue (SD03R, SD11R, ResI and ResII), it is also delegitimized by presenting it as a violent aggressor. More importantly, embedding some of the representations from SD03R and SD11R (such as example 6) in the adopted resolutions can be seen as an attempt made by member states to mitigate the conflict of attitudes with the Russian Federation and hence avoid the use of veto. In other words, by adopting these representations in the resolutions, member states seem to accept the views of the Russian Federation towards the conflict.

The group of Extremists, which is suppressed in SD02V, remains part of the representations of social actors in subsequent drafts and disappears after SD09V (Table 16). It is realized by the nominalization *extremism* in SD02V, SD04, SD08 and SD09V. This leads to its suppression. The only explicit references to this group of social actors occurs in SD03R. It is included twice in the third draft through the referential lexical items *extremist groups* (negative appraisal and collectivization) and *extremists* (negative appraisal and collectivization). According to the Collins COBUILD dictionary, describing some people as extremists means “you disapprove of them because they try to bring about political change by using violent or extreme methods” (p. 552).

**Table 16: Number of hits of inclusion and suppression of Extremists**

	SD01	SD02V	SD03R	SD04	SD08	SD09V	SD10	SD11R	ResI	ResII
<b>Included</b>	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Suppressed</b>	0	2	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0

More importantly, the extremist groups are represented as the aggressors that are attacking state institutions (example 12). Not only are their violent actions explicitly referred to in SD03R,

unlike in SD02, SD04, SD08 and SD09V (examples 10, 11) but they are also presented as the Other from which *Syrian opposition* should detach themselves (example 13).

- (10) The Security Council [...] Demands an immediate end to all violence and urges all sides to reject violence and **extremism**; (SD02V)
- (11) The Security Council [...] Calls for an inclusive Syrian-led political process conducted in an environment free from violence, fear, intimidation and **extremism** (SD04, SD08, SD09V)
- (12) The Security Council [...] Calling for an immediate end to all violence and provocations and condemning the activity of **extremist groups**, including attacks against state institutions, law enforcement personnel [...], (SD03R)
- (13) The Security Council [...] Urges also all groups of Syrian opposition to dissociate themselves from **extremists**, (SD03R)

With these representations in SD03R, the Russian Federation classifies the group of Syrian Opposition as an Aggressor who is part of the deligitimate Others if it does not stop working with the extremist groups. Moreover, while invoking the construction of a delegetimate Other is present in all drafts, the groups of social actors that are put in focus as Aggressors differ. Negative representations about the groups of Syrian Opposition and Extremists are more present in drafts proposed by the Russian Federation than in any other draft. In SD01 and SD02V, the only group of social actors that is represented as the aggressor is the Syrian Authorities. This conflict in assigning responsibility is mitigated at the end of the drafting process as more groups are assigned the responsibility of causing vilence and vaguer referential expressions (such as *all parties*) are employed to avoid reinvoking negative representation about a separate group of social actors.

Another social actor that is also added to the social actors representation during the drafting process and classified in the category of Aggressor is *armed groups*. This new group of social actors, Armed Groups, is introduced by the Russian Federation in its draft (SD03R). It is embedded in subsequent social actors' representations till SD09V. After being totally excluded from SD10 and SD11R, Armed Groups appears again in the adopted resolutions. The presence of this social actor is manifested through only one instance in every text (Table 17).

**Table 17: Number of hits of inclusion of Armed Groups**

	SD01	SD02V	SD03R	SD04	SD08	SD09V	SD10	SD11R	ResI	ResII
<b>Included</b>	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1

The noun phrase *armed groups* (negative appraisal<sup>160</sup> and unspecific collectivization<sup>161</sup>) is used in all instances to refer to this group of social actors as an aggressor. Armed Groups are assigned the role of a receiver of weapons in SD03R (example 14) and it presented as an aggressor who is responsible for attacks against *state institutions*<sup>162</sup> in SD04, SD08, and SD09V (example 15), and for causing human rights abuses in ResI and ResII (example 16).

- (14) The Security Council [...] Expressing great concern at the illegal supply of weapons to **the armed groups** in Syria [...], (SD03R)
- (15) The Security Council [...] Demands that all parties in Syria, including **armed groups**, immediately stop any violence or reprisals, including attacks against State institutions, irrespective of where it comes from, in accordance with LAS initiative; (SD04, SD08, SD09V)
- (16) The Security Council [...] Condemning the widespread violations of human rights by the Syrian authorities, as well as any human rights abuses **by armed groups**, (ResI, ResII)

The representation of Armed Groups in SD03 as the receiver of weapons is deleted from the drafting process and the new representation of this group of social actors which is introduced in SD04 (example 15) travels to subsequent drafts. Interestingly, this new representation can be considered to be a modified version of a representation that is used in SD03R (example 12). While it is *the extremist groups* who are represented as responsible for attacking state institutions in the latter draft (example 12), *armed groups* are referred to as being involved in the same action in SD04, SD08 and SD09V. Two interpretations are possible concerning this referential substitution. Extremist groups and armed groups might be two expressions used to refer to the same social actors with the latter expression invoking a mitigated reference. The second interpretation is that two different groups of social actors are referred to in SD03R, on one hand, and in SD04, SD08 and SD09V, on the other hand which shows the different views of drafters towards the conflict.

In ResI and ResII, Armed Groups are also represented as aggressors (example 16). However, the representation employed from SD04 to SD09V and the one used in ResI and ResII differ in the way how the action of Armed groups is presented. In the former representation (example 15), drafters conceptualize the violent actions in terms of ACTION schema through the process nominal *attacks*. Moreover, they provide the reader with different information and details such as

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<sup>160</sup> Negative appraisal is about identifying social actors in terms of negative judgement. The adjectives military and armed are two illustrative realizations of acts of criticism of social actors.

<sup>161</sup> Unspecific collectivization can be realized by plural forms that stand for a general group of people collected together. It provides a personalized indetermined representation of social actors.

<sup>162</sup> This social actor is part of the group of Syrian Authorities.



defining the affected patient (*against State institutions*), and introducing the measure i.e., what should be done (*immediately stop any violence or reprisals*). However, the representation used in ResI and ResII (example 16) does not include the aforementioned details. First, it is referred to through the vague expression *human rights abuses* which is an empty vessel<sup>163</sup>. The patient is also left implicit as it does not get a linguistic representation.

The analysis reveals that representing more than one group of social actors as Aggressors starts from SD03R. Indeed, the Russian Federation includes explicit references not only to the group of Syrian Authorities but also to the group of Syrian Opposition, Extremists and Armed Groups as being responsible for violent actions in its draft. Apart from the group of Extremists, the two other groups are also referred to in subsequent drafts and in the adopted resolutions. More importantly, the Russian Federation also introduces a new referential expression that is considered to refer to all social actors that are categorized as Aggressors. They are referred to as one large group through vague lexical items such as *all parties*, which make it difficult to infer which group is referred to from the different social actors groups that fall under the category of Aggressor. These vague references are dealt with in the next section concerning the group of Vague Social Actors.

### **VIII.3.3. The Inclusion of Vague Social Actors**

Besides the major groups of Syrian Authorities, Syrian People, Syrian Opposition etc., that are included in drafts, another group of social actors is created. The latter is the group of Vague Social Actors that involves cases where vague terms like *all parties*, *all those responsible for* are used to refer to the group of Syrian Authorities as well as to other groups of social actors that are represented as being responsible for similar actions. As shown in Table 18, the group of Vague Social Actors is not included in the first draft for the latter does not include vague referential terms such as *all parties*. Moreover, the only group of social actors that is represented as Aggressor in SD01 is Syrian Authorities.

It should be noted that a vague referential expressions *all sides* is first introduced in the second draft (Table 18). However, it does not refer to only groups of social actors acting as aggressor like in subsequent drafts (see the section about this term). In addition, the nominal group (*all*) *those*

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<sup>163</sup> Such a linguistic realization leaves the type of action unspecified as it can make readers call up different semantic frames that evoke more than one possible image schema.

*responsible for*<sup>164</sup>, and the noun *parties*, which is premodified by various elements such as *all*, *all the*, etc., are first introduced by the Russian Federation in SD03R. These two nominal groups are embedded in subsequent representations of social actors mostly at the end of the drafting process. In SD10, the expression *any party* is employed and it is reproduced in SD10 and both resolutions. Another all-inclusive expression, *for all*, is used in SD04 and travels to SD08 and SD09V (Table 18). These all-inclusive referential expressions are considered to insinuate personalized indetermined representations<sup>165</sup> of the group of Vague Social Actors.

**Table 18: Textual travels of the referential expressions used in the personalized representations of Vague Social Actors**

	SD01	SD02V	SD03R	SD04	SD08	SD09V	SD10	SD11R	ResI	ResII
<b>All sides</b>	-	✓	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>(All) those responsible for</b>	-	-	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	✓
<b>(All) the/other parties</b>	-	-	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
<b>Any party</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓	✓
<b>For all</b>	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓	-	-	-	-

As shown in Table 19, the drafts vary in the pattern of inclusion<sup>166</sup> and backgrounding<sup>167</sup> of the group of Vague Social Actors. The frequencies increase in SD03R and then decrease in SD04, SD08 and SD09V. The vague referential expressions are mostly present at the end of the drafting process (Table 19).

**Table 19: Inclusion and backgrounding of Vague Social Actors in frequencies pthw**

	SD01	SD02V	SD03R	SD04	SD08	SD09V	SD10	SD11R	ResI	ResII
<b>Included</b>	0	1.2	5.2	4.1	2.8	2.8	9.5	<b>13.9</b>	<b>13.2</b>	7.9
<b>Backgrounded</b>	3.8	3.6	3.1	4.1	7.6	7.7	<b>10.5</b>	6.9	6.3	<b>10.7</b>
<b>Total</b>	3.8	4.8	8.3	8.2	10.4	10.5	20	20.8	19.5	18.6

<sup>164</sup> It should be noted that the expression *those responsible for* is also used in the first and second drafts. However, it is employed to refer to the group of Syrian Authorities which is represented as the only aggressor in these two drafts.

<sup>165</sup> Personalized indetermined representations are realized through general referential expressions that include the feature of human (personalized) but they do not specify the identity of social actors and leave them anonymous (indetermined).

<sup>166</sup> Inclusion is the opposite of exclusion, and it means that a social actor is present in the text. It can be referred to through different types of expressions that represent one of the sociological categories that are mentioned in the adapted version of Van Leeuwen's Social Actors Network.

<sup>167</sup> Backgrounding is when the social actors are excluded from a given action (i.e., they are not linguistically represented in the sentence) but they are mentioned elsewhere in the text and can be inferred with reasonable (though never total) certainty who they are.

Cases of vague backgrounded social actors are, on the other hand, present from the first draft. After their increase in SD02V, they show a decline twice during the drafting process. Indeed, the Russian Federation apparently uses less vague representations than other drafters to background the group of vague social actors in its drafts (especially in SD03R). Interestingly, even though there is a decline in the frequencies in the middle of the drafting process, especially for the inclusion pattern, the presence of vague representations of social actors for both patterns increases at the end of the drafting process to reach two peaks (Figure 29). The first one is observed in SD11R concerning the inclusion pattern and the second peak is reached in SD10 and it is repeated in ResII concerning the backgrounding pattern. Figure 29 illustrates the increase and decrease in both patterns.



**Figure 29: The patterns of inclusion and backgrounding of the group Vague Social Actors**

Interestingly, the only impersonalized representation<sup>168</sup> of the group of Vague Social Actors in the material is present in ResII (example 17). Indeed, the nominalization, *violence*, in (17), is used by the SC instead of a direct reference to the social actor who is responsible for causing it. To avoid referring to the aggressor, the SC opts for representing the violent action as the cause because of which Syrian people have fled across the country's borders.

- (17) The Security Council [...] Expressing its appreciation of the significant efforts that have been made by the States bordering Syria to assist Syrians who have fled across Syria's borders as a consequence of **the violence**, (ResII)

<sup>168</sup> Impersonalized representations are realized through expressions that do not include the feature of human and they have a functional effect of backgrounding the identity of social actors.

It should be noted that such impersonalization is also used in the first draft, *numerous civilians [are] trying to flee the violence*. It is also present in SD02V, SD03R and SD04, *those who have fled (from) the violence*, as the SC stresses the need to ensure their voluntary return. However, through these impersonalized representations, the group of Syrian Authorities is backgrounded since it is the only or main group of social actors that is classified as the Aggressor in SD01, SD02V, SD03R, and SD04 (for a detailed analysis of these impersonalized representations see the following chapter).

The all-inclusive term *all sides* is used only in the second and third drafts (Table 18) to refer to different social actors including the group of Syrian Authorities (examples 18 and 19). Since SD02V explicitly refers to one Aggressor which is the group of Syrian Authorities<sup>169</sup>, *all sides* is supposed to include all other groups mentioned in the second draft such as UN Team, Syrian People, Other States, Syrian Opposition or suppressed social actors such as the Supplier of Weapons.

(18) The Security Council [...] **Demands** an immediate end to all violence and **urges all sides to reject violence and extremism**; (SD02V)

(19) The Security Council [...] **Calling for** an immediate end to all violence and provocations and condemning the activity of extremist groups, including attacks against state institutions, law enforcement personnel and urging all sides to act with utmost restraint, (SD03R)

The paragraphs in (18) and (19) differ in their structure as well as the co-texts, in which the vague referential expression is used. The paragraph in SD02V (example 18) has less details than the one in SD03R (example 19) since the latter has three clauses that are coordinated through parataxis. While the first sentences in both paragraphs are quite similar and only differ in terms of the directive verb that is used (*demand* vs. *calling for*), the second clause which starts with an expressive verb (condemning) does not exist in SD02V (example 18) and it is added in the third draft (example 19). This addition in the third draft is significant as it provides more information about the violence that is taking place and represents the group of Syrian Authorities as the victim.

The third clause, in which the referential expression *all sides* is used, is modified in SD03R (example 19) in comparison with its alternative in SD02V (example 18). In the second draft, the social actors represented through the term *all sides* are urged *to reject* an aggressor who is backgrounded by means of the nominalization *violence and extremism* (example 18). In the third draft, on the other hand, *all sides*, which can correspond to extremists groups as well as Syrian

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<sup>169</sup> Two other suppressed social actors acting as aggressors are also present in SD02V through nominalizations.

authorities (the aggressors), are urged to control themselves and stop committing violence. Accordingly, it is clear that the paragraph in (18) presents a vaguer representation than the one in (19).

This difference in the degree of vagueness can be related to the position of the paragraphs in both drafts. The paragraph in SD02V is embedded in the operative part of the draft and starts with a directive that has a strong force of imposition which gives it more prominence and makes the measure binding (example 18). Opting for a vague formulation can be a mitigating strategy that aims at concealing the identity of social actors and reducing the intensity of the representation in order to avoid the use of veto. In the third draft, the Russian Federation uses more information about the social actors and the violent actions. Besides the fact that the group of Syrian Authorities is represented as the victim in (19), the drafter of SD03R foregrounds only one Aggressor, *the extremist groups*, even though the Syrian Authorities is also mentioned elsewhere in the same draft as being responsible for violence. With such representational choices, the Russian Federation seems to be willing to lessen the risk of misinterpreting vague formulations such as in (18). Moreover, by changing the position of the paragraph to the preamble part in SD03R, the intended impact/effect of the paragraph in SD02V (example 18) seems to be reduced. These two cases show that vagueness can be used to fulfil different aims and interests.

The nominal group *all those responsible for*, which is also used twice in each of the first and second drafts (without *all*) as a personalized expression that refers to the group of Syrian Authorities, is considered to be a vague referential expression in the third draft as well as in subsequent drafts (Table 18). This change in the classification is due to the fact that from SD03R onwards, other groups of social actors are also included as part of the Aggressor category. Therefore, using the term *(all) those responsible for violence* can be vague since it is unclear which groups are intended to be referred to through the nominal expression.

Briefly, in SD01, the co-texts, in which the complex nominal groups *those responsible for* is used, invoke elaborated representations which include conceptualizations of Syrian authorities' violent actions and explicit references to the agent and patient (example 20). However, such significant details are deleted from the representation in SD02V and substituted for the nominalizations *violence* and *human rights violations* (examples 21). By simplifying the representation in SD02V, drafters attempt to mitigate the negative representations about the Syrian Authorities in SD01 (examples 20) to avoid the use of veto by one of the member states.

- (20) The Security Council [...] Stressing the need to hold to account **those responsible for attacks, including by forces under the control of the Government of Syria, on peaceful protesters and other innocent individuals**, (SD01)
- (21) The Security Council [...] Recalls that **those responsible for all violence and human rights violations** should be held accountable; (SD02V)

In SD03R (example 22), the paragraph, in which *all those responsible for* is employed, seems to include more information than the one in SD02V (example 21). Unlike SD01, the third draft neither provides details about the violent actions nor identifies the social actors responsible for causing violence. Moreover, the group of Syrian Authorities is represented in the second clause of the same paragraph in SD03R as a social actor that should comply with international law and help in initiating investigations of human rights violations. Again, the Russian Federation avoids adopting a negative representation of the Syrian Authorities and uses a vague referential expression, *all those responsible for*, that refers to all groups represented as aggressors in SD03R.

- (22) The Security Council [...] Recalling **the Syrian authorities** responsibility to comply with their obligations under applicable international law and to bring justice to account **all those responsible for** violence, and urging in this regard the government of the **Syrian Arab Republic** to initiate prompt, independent and impartial investigations into all cases of human rights violations. (SD03R)

The same referential expression also travels to SD04, and it is reproduced in a paragraph which presents a good example of recontextualization (example 23). Indeed, drafters of the fourth draft combine the paragraph used in SD02V (example 21) with a modified version of the first part of example (22) which belongs to SD03R. The main modification relates to the social actors that are asked to comply with or respect the international law. Instead of mentioning *the Syrian Authorities* (example 22), drafters of SD04 opt for vague term *all parties* which can cause vagueness. These examples are concrete evidence of using indeterminacy in the representation of social actors. Similarly, the paragraphs in SD08 and SD09V (example 24) provide vague representations of the social actors that are responsible for violence like in SD02V.

- (23) The Security Council [...] Recalls that **all those responsible for** violence and human rights violations must be held accountable and demands that **all parties** ensure respect for, and act in accordance with, applicable international law; (SD04)
- (24) The Security Council [...] Recalls that **all those responsible** for human rights violations, including acts of violence, must be held accountable; (SD08, SD09V)

In SD10, on the other hand, the expression *the Syrian authorities* is reembedded in the paragraph and it is represented as being responsible for violating human rights and fundamental freedoms (example 25). When taking into consideration only its close co-text, the referential expression

*those responsible for* does not cause vagueness as it refers back to *the Syrian authorities*. However, since the text of the draft also includes other groups of social actors that are represented as Aggressors, the referential expression will still cause some sort of vagueness.

(25) The Security Council [...] Condemning the widespread, systematic, and gross violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms by **the Syrian authorities**, and recalling that **those responsible for human rights violations** shall be held accountable, (SD10)

(26) The Security Council [...] Condemning the widespread violations of human rights by **the Syrian authorities**, as well as any human rights abuses by armed groups, recalling that **those responsible** shall be held accountable, and expressing its profound regret at the death of many thousands of people in Syria, (ResI, Res II)

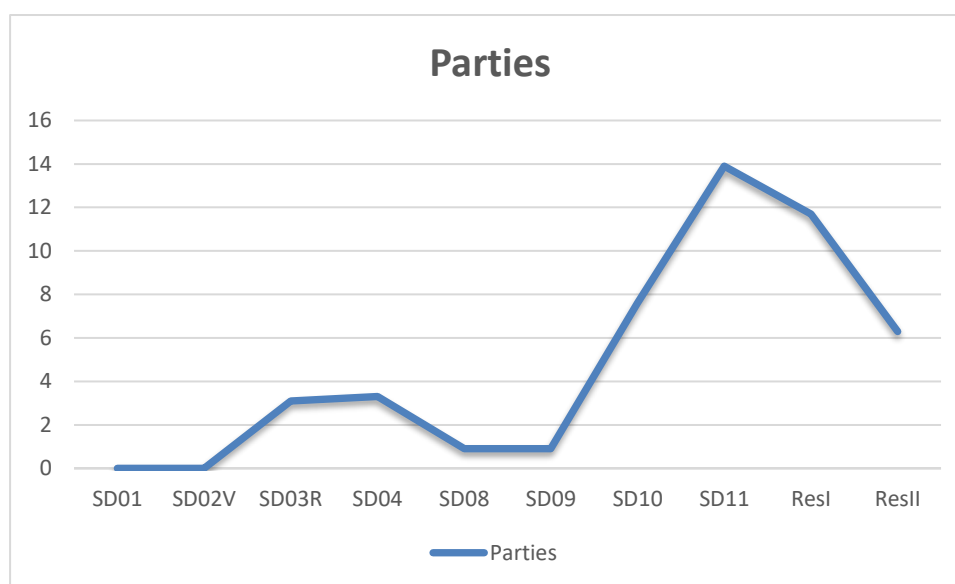
The paragraph in the tenth draft (example 25) is reused in the resolutions with some modifications (example 26). Three deletions are made in the co-text of (25). Removing the expressions *fundamental freedoms* and *human rights violations* is probably made to avoid repetitiousness since they are expressed through the phrase *violations of human rights* in its preceding clause (example 26). The third deletion is about the two adjectives (*systematic, and gross*) premodifying the nominalization *violations*. Their function is to increase the intensity of the Syrian authorities' action of violating human rights which may invoke a negative representation of this group of social actors. Therefore, by deleting them, drafters of the resolutions attempt to mitigate the representation. Another concrete evidence for such interpretation is the addition of another group of social actors (*armed groups*) as an aggressor besides *the Syrian authorities* in both resolutions (example 26).

The noun *parties* is used in the material more frequently than the aforementioned all-inclusive expressions. It is employed with different premodifiers such as *the parties, all parties, all the parties, other parties* and even in its singular form *any party*. It is first introduced in SD03R and used variably by drafters (Table 20). During its travel, the term *parties* becomes more present in the last two drafts (i.e., SD10 and SD11R) as well as in the adopted resolutions than at the beginning of the drafting process. Figure 30 illustrates the increase in the usage of this all-inclusive term at the end of the process.

**Table 20: Inclusion of the term parties in frequencies pthw**

	SD01	SD02V	SD03R	SD04	SD08	SD09	SD10	SD11	ResI	ResII
<b>Included</b>	0	0	3.1	3.3	0.9	0.9	7.6	13.9	11.7	6.3

This vague and all-inclusive term is used in contexts that also invoke the representation of an Aggressor. Indeed, different groups of social actors represented as Aggressor in the same draft are addressed by the SC through *parties* to cease violence, respect international law, allow UN Team to accomplish its duties and to cooperate with it, and to respect cessation of violence. One of the most important measures that is listed in all drafts is about addressing the Aggressor(s) to put an end to its/their violence (examples 27-33). In the first and second drafts, *the Syrian authorities* are the ones who are addressed to cease violence (examples 27, 28). Interestingly, starting from SD03R onward, drafters ask *all parties* to stop causing violence instead of referring to a specific group of social actors or mentioning all of them separately (example 29-33).



**Figure 30: The pattern of inclusion for the term *parties***

- (27) The Security Council [...] Calls upon **the Syrian authorities** to: (a) act with the utmost restraint [...] (c) [...] and cease any intimidation, persecution, torture and arbitrary arrests of individuals, including lawyers, human rights defenders and journalists; (SD01)
- (28) The Security Council [...] **Demands** that **the Syrian authorities** immediately: [...] (c) cease the use of force against civilians; (SD02V)
- (29) The Security Council [...] **Demands** that **all parties** in Syria immediately stop any violence irrespective of where it comes from in accordance with LAS initiative. (SD03R)
- (30) The Security Council [...] **Demands** that **all parties** in Syria, including **armed groups**, immediately stop any violence or reprisals, including attacks against State institutions, irrespective of where it comes from, in accordance with LAS initiative; (SD04)
- (31) The Security Council [...] **Condemns** all violence, irrespective of where it comes from, and in this regard **demands** that **all parties** in Syria, including **armed groups**, immediately stop all violence or reprisals, including attacks against State institutions, in accordance with the League of Arab States initiative; (SD08, SD09)



- (32) The Security Council [...] **Calls upon all parties** in Syria immediately to cease all armed violence in all its forms and to cease all arbitrary detentions, abductions, and torture; (SD10)
- (33) The Security Council [...] **Calls upon all parties** in Syria, including **the opposition**, immediately [sic!] cease all armed violence in all its forms; (SD11R, Res I, ResII)<sup>170</sup>

It should be noted that besides addressing *all parties*, *armed groups* and *the opposition* are also referred to through a postmodification phrase in SD04, SD08, SD09V (examples 30, 31) and in SD11R, Res I, ResII (examples 33) respectively. Foregrounding one of the groups (such as *armed groups* and *the opposition*) has the effect of putting more emphasis on it at the expense of the remaining groups (mainly *the Syrian authorities*) that are also represented as Aggressors elsewhere in the same text. Through such representations, drafters attempt to avoid re-invoking the negative image of the Syrian Authorities in the reader's mental representation by keeping it in the background.

In addition to the difference between some drafts in their representation of Vague Social Actors, two other significant modifications are made to the co-texts. First of all, at the beginning of each paragraph, the directive verb used by the SC to address *the parties* is not the same. Like in SD02V (example 28), the drafters of SD03R, SD04, SD08 and SD09V (examples 29-31) employ *demand*, which has a strong force of imposition, while it is replaced by another directive with a weak force of imposition in the last two drafts and the adopted resolutions (examples 32, 33) like in SD01 (example 27). With this transformation, the SC reduces the binding effects of the measures.

The second modification concerns the paragraph that is used in the eighth and ninth drafts (example 31). This passage is the result of combining two parts from two preceding drafts (SD03R and SD04). The first part of the paragraph in (31) is a modified version of the following two textual fragments from SD03R "The Security Council [...] Strongly condemning continuing violence coming from all parties" as well as the one in (29) "immediately stop any violence irrespective of where it comes from". The measure headed by the verb *demand*s in SD08 and SD09V (example 31) is taken from SD04 (example 30). The minor modifications that are made to this part of the paragraph are explained in more details in the chapter about impersonalization in the following chapter.

More importantly, the last two drafts (SD10 and SD11R) as well as ResI include more reference to such a measure (i.e., calling on the parties to stop their violence) in which *all parties* are

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<sup>170</sup> The same paragraph is used in ResI and ResII with a minor modification. The preposition *to* for the verb *cease* is added in the adopted resolutions to correct the mistake in the SD11R.

addressed (examples 34, 35, 36). A case in point of a recontextualization process is the paragraph used in ResI (example 36) which is composed of clauses from SD10 and SD11R. Its first part is taken from the eleventh draft (example 35) which in turn includes a modified version of the first part of the paragraph in SD10 (example 34). The modifications are marked in the examples.

- (34) The Security Council [...] Expresses its intent, provided a cessation of armed violence in all its forms by all parties exists, to establish immediately a United Nations supervision mission in Syria to monitor such a cessation of violence [...]; (SD10)
- (35) The Security Council [...] Expresses its intention, subject to a sustained cessation of armed violence in all its forms by all parties, to establish immediately, after consultations with the Syrian government, a United Nations supervision mission in Syria [...]; (SD11R)
- (36) The Security Council [...] Expresses its intention, subject to a sustained cessation of armed violence in all its forms by all parties, to establish immediately, after consultations between the Secretary-General and the Syrian government, a United Nations supervision mission in Syria to monitor a cessation of armed violence in all its forms by all parties [...]; (ResI)

Moreover, the prepositional phrase *after consultations with the Syrian government*, which is added by the Russian Federation in its draft (example 35), is embedding in the first resolution (example 36). The addition of this textual fragment in SD11R and reproducing it in ResI represents *the Syrian government* positively i.e., as a legitimate social actor whom the SC should consult about establishing a UN supervision mission. Another modification concerns the last part mentioned in the paragraphs above (examples 34, 35, 36). The passage in SD10 (example 34) includes another reference to a cessation of violence without mentioning the social actors (*to monitor such a cessation of violence*). This portion which is deleted in SD11R (example 35), is reused in ResI with another indication to the group of Vague Social Actors, *by all parties*, (example 36).

Example (37) presents another paragraph from SD10 which includes a reference to “a sustained cessation of armed violence in all its forms by all parties” which depends on *the Syrian government* implementing its commitments. The paragraph travels to ResII and it receives some modifications (example 38). The same resolution includes another paragraph which contains more information about the cessation of armed violence than in (37) and (38). Indeed, *the Mission* is assigned the responsibility of monitoring a cessation of armed violence by *all parties* in (39). It shall also monitor the full implementation of the Envoy’s six-proposal. Another difference between the paragraphs in SD10 and ResII (examples 37, 38), on one hand, and the other paragraph in ResII (example 39), on the other hand, is the omission of the social actor

*Syrian government* who should implement the Envoy's six-point proposal in ResII. Moreover, the examples (37) and (38) are mentioned in the preamble parts of the documents while the paragraph in (39) is part of the operative part of ResII.

- (37) The Security Council [...] echoing the Envoy's call for an immediate, full, and indisputable implementation by **the Syrian government** of its commitments in their entirety, [...], so as to enable a sustained cessation of armed violence in all its forms by all parties (SD10)
- (38) The Security Council [...] Supporting the Envoy's call for an immediate and visible implementation by **the Syrian government** of all elements of the Envoy's six-point proposal in their entirety to achieve a sustained cessation of armed violence in all its forms by all parties, (ResII)
- (39) The Security Council [...] Decides also that the mandate of the Mission shall be to monitor a cessation of armed violence in all its forms by all parties and to monitor and support the full implementation of the Envoy's six-point proposal; (ResII)

Similarly, the paragraphs below (examples 40, 41, 42), respectively taken from SD11R, ResI and ResII, report about a progress in the Syrian situation. First of all, *the parties* seem to follow a cessation of fire while *the Syrian government* "had started to implement its commitments". This positive representation of the group Syrian Authorities is first introduced in SD10 "The Security Council [...] Noting the assessment by the Envoy that on 12 April 2012 the Syrian government had started partially to implement its commitments as outlined in (a), (b), and (c) above, [...]". The Russian Federation who adopts this representation in its draft (example 40) deletes the adverb *partially*. This transformation can be either due to the progress noticed in the implementation of the commitments or caused by the intention of the Russian Federation to highlight the positive image of *the Syrian government*. The paragraph in SD11R (example 40) is incorporated in the texts of ResI and ResII (examples 41, 42). Other modifications made to the co-texts of the paragraphs are marked in the examples.

- (40) The Security Council [...] Noting the Envoy's assessment that **the parties** appeared to be observing a cessation of fire as of 12 April 2012 and that the Syrian government had started to implement its commitments to (a) cease troop movements towards population centres, [...] and supporting the Envoy's call for an immediate and visible implementation by the Syrian government of these commitments in their entirety, (SD11R)
- (41) The Security Council [...] Noting the Envoy's assessment that, as of 12 April 2012, **the parties** appeared to be observing a cessation of fire and that the Syrian government had started to implement its commitments, and supporting the Envoy's call for an immediate and visible implementation by the Syrian government of all elements of the Envoy's six point proposal in their entirety to achieve a sustained cessation of armed violence in all its forms by all parties. (Res I)

- (42) The Security Council [...] Expressing concern over ongoing violence and reports of casualties which have escalated again in recent days, following the Envoy's assessment of 12 April 2012 that **the parties** appeared to be observing a cessation of fire and that the Syrian government had started to implement its commitments, and noting that the cessation of armed violence in all its forms is therefore clearly incomplete, (ResII)

Moreover, the singular form, *any party*, is employed in SD10 (example 43), SD11R, ResI and ResII (example 44) as a general referential term that refers to any group of Social Actors who would obstruct the operation of the mission<sup>171</sup>. The first part of the paragraph in SD10 is reproduced in SD11R and in both resolutions with one modification that concerns the identity of the social actor that is expected to be obstructed by one of the parties. Indeed, different referential terms are used to represent the group of UN Team. In SD10 (example 44), the drafters use *the mission* while in SD11R the Russian Federation replaces it by *the team* (example 44). The latter, which is adopted in ResI, is substituted by the abbreviation *the UNSMIS* which stands for United Nations Supervision Mission in Syria in ResII.

- (43) The Security Council [...] Requests the Secretary-General to report immediately to the Security Council any obstructions to the effective operation of **the mission**, by **any party**, in connection with the provisions in paragraph 5 above, on the basis that such obstructions would impede the mission's ability to implement its mandate effectively and could give rise to its withdrawal; (SD10)

- (44) The Security Council [...] Requests the Secretary-General to report immediately to the Security Council any obstructions to the effective operation of **the team** [of UNSMIS], by **any party**; (SD11R, ResI, ResII)

Another topic that seems to raise tension in the council is about asking social actors to respect or comply with international law. Indeed, in the first two drafts, only the group of Syrian Authorities is addressed by the SC to respect and act in accordance with international law (examples 45, 46). In the third draft, the Russian Federation invokes this issue twice. In the preamble part of the draft (example 47), it addresses *the Syrian authorities* whereas in the operative part it demands from *all the parties* to comply with applicable international law (example 48).

- (45) The Security Council [...] Calls upon **the Syrian authorities** to: (a) [...] respect human rights and international humanitarian law (SD01)

- (46) The Security Council [...] Demands that **the Syrian authorities** immediately: (a) [...] comply with their obligations under applicable international law (SD02V)

<sup>171</sup> Another use of this vague term is present in ResII "The Security Council [...] Taking note of the assessment by the Secretary-General that a United Nations monitoring mission [...] and the appropriate conditions of operation would greatly contribute to observing and upholding the commitment of **the parties** to a cessation of armed violence in all its forms and to supporting the implementation of the six-point plan" (ResII).

- (47) The Security Council [...] Recalling **the Syrian authorities** responsibility to comply with their obligations under applicable international law (SD03R)
- (48) The Security Council [...] Demands that **all the parties** insure respect for and **act in accordance with applicable international law**, (SD03R)
- (49) The Security Council [...] and demands that **all parties** ensure respect for, and **act in accordance with, applicable international law**; (SD04)
- (50) The Security Council [...] Demands that **the Syrian Government** [...] and fully comply with its obligations under applicable international law including with resolutions S-16/1, S-17/1, S-18/1 of the HRC and resolution A/RES/66/176 of the UNGA; (SD04, SD08, SD09V)<sup>172</sup>

Similarly, both referential expressions employed in SD03R are also reproduced in SD04 in two paragraphs in the operative part (example 49, 50). In the eighth and ninth drafts, only the group of Syrian Authorities is addressed through the expression *the Syrian Government*. Yet, this issue is not mentioned in the last two drafts and the adopted resolutions which further supports the supposition that this topic causes tension between member states in the council. Moreover, including other social actors through the all-inclusive referential expression *all the parties* besides *the Syrian Authorities*, is a political strategy used by the Russian Federation to avoid assigning the responsibility solely to the group of Syrian Authorities.

The all-inclusive referential expression *parties* is employed by drafters in other measures. In (51), (52) and (53), the Security Council addresses *all parties/the parties* to allow the group of UN Team have access to carry the humanitarian aid and to guarantee its safety. It should be noted that in all drafts, the group of Syrian Authorities is addressed to act according to this measure. Including the group Vague Social Actors as the addressee in some measures can reduce the frequency of recalling the negative image of the Syrian Authorities in the reader's mental representation. In SD11R (example 52), *the opposition* is also included in the paragraph through a postmodification phrase. Added to that, the Russian Federation foregrounds both groups of social actors, *all parties* and *the opposition* while *the Syrian authorities* are mentioned at the end of the paragraph and hence receives less focus (example 52).

- (51) The Security Council [...] Calls upon **all parties** to allow full and unimpeded access for humanitarian relief personnel in order to ensure the timely delivery of humanitarian aid to persons in need of assistance; (SD04)
- (52) The Security Council [...] Calls upon **all parties**, including **opposition**, to guarantee the safety of the advance team without prejudice to the freedom of movement and access, and stresses that the primary responsibility in this regard lies with **the Syrian authorities**; (SD11R)

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<sup>172</sup> The reference to the resolutions is modified as full names are used instead of abbreviation in SD08 and SD09V.

- (53) The Security Council [...] Calls upon **the parties** to guarantee the safety of the advance team without prejudice to its freedom of movement and access, and stresses that the primary responsibility in this regard lies with **the Syrian authorities**; (ResI/ResII)<sup>173</sup>

In example (54), the Vague Social Actors group is present through the term *all parties* together with the group of Syrian Authorities. This paragraph, which is first used in SD10 and travels to ResI and ResII is the consequence of a recontextualization process that starts in preceding drafts. Such a measure is present in almost all drafts (except SD01 and SD11R) and the social actors that are addressed by the Security Council are only *the Syrian authorities*. A case in point is the paragraph that is employed in SD04, SD08 and SD09V in which *all parties* are not included (example 55). This further tests the assumption that drafters seem to avoid assigning responsibility to only the Syrian authorities at the end of the drafting process in order to reach consensus.

- (54) The Security Council [...] calls upon **all parties** in Syria, in particular **the Syrian authorities**, to cooperate fully with the United Nations and relevant humanitarian organizations to facilitate the provision of humanitarian assistance; (SD10, ResI, ResII)
- (55) The Security Council [...] Demands **the Syrian authorities** to cooperate fully with the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights and with the Commission of Inquiry of the Human Rights Council, including by granting it full and unimpeded access to the country; (SD04, SD08, SD09V)

The group of Vague Social Actors is referred to in other three paragraphs in which *the parties* are represented as social actors with whom *30 unarmed military observers* should establish a liaison (examples 56, 57). This measure is first introduced in SD10 and it travels to SD11R and ResI.

- (56) The Security Council [...] Decides to authorize an advance element of up to 30 unarmed military observers to liaise with the parties and to begin to report on the implementation of a cessation of armed violence in all its forms by all parties, and **demands** that **the Syrian government** ensure the advance element is able to carry out its functions according to the terms set forth in paragraph 5 (SD10)
- (57) The Security Council [...] Decides to authorize an advance team of up to 30 unarmed military observers to liaise with the parties and to begin to report on the implementation of a full cessation of armed violence in all its forms by all parties, pending the deployment of the mission referred to in paragraph 4/5 and **calls upon the Syrian government** and all other parties to ensure [sic!] [that] the advance team is able to carry out its functions [according to the terms set forth in paragraph 6]; (SD11R, ResI)

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<sup>173</sup> The only difference between the paragraph used in ResI and ResII is that the referential expression *advance team*, which is used in ResI, is substituted for *UNSMIS personnel* in ResII.

In the same paragraphs, *all parties* are referred to once more as agents who are supposed to cease armed violence. In SD11R and ResI (example 57), the group of Vague Social Actors is referred to a third time (*all other parties*) together with *the Syrian government* who should guarantee *the advance team* its right to carry out its functions. Interestingly, the same measure is first mentioned in SD10 (example 56); however, *all other parties* are not included in SD10. Indeed, in SD11R as well as in ResI (example 57), two modifications are made: *all other parties* is added and the directive verb *call upon* is used instead of *demand*. By embedding another group of social actors and reducing the force of imposition expressed by the directive verb, the Russian Federation tries to alleviate the negative representation of the Syrian Authorities. These modifications are also adopted in ResI to show consensus with the Russian Federation and avoid the possibility of vetoing it.

#### **VIII.4. Conclusion**

To conclude, the analysis shows that there is a difference between drafts in terms of their representation of the groups of social actors. While some groups (such as the Supplier of Weapons and Extremists) are suppressed<sup>174</sup> in the first four drafts, they are totally absent (i.e., excluded) from subsequent representations. Moreover, the inclusion and backgrounding of groups of social actors vary from one draft to another. More importantly, the textual travels of these representations reveal that some transformations are made to either impose one's attitude towards the conflict (especially in the case of the Russian Federation) or to mitigate a representation in order to reach consensus. This is clear when the Russian Federation opts for vague expressions to refer to a group of social actors as Aggressors and not only the Syrian Authorities and how this mitigates representational choice is adopted in the resolutions. This confirms Scotto di Carlo's (2013) claim that the SC uses vagueness as a political strategy.

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<sup>174</sup> Suppression of social actors is when the writer leaves a trace by including the relevant actions such as the killing of demonstrators but excluding some or all the actors that are involved in them. More importantly, these suppressed social actors are not referred to anywhere in the text.

## THE REPRESENTATION OF SYRIAN AUTHORITIES DURING THE DRAFTING PROCESS

### IX.1. Introduction

In this chapter, the representation of Syrian Authorities is thoroughly examined since it is one of the groups of social actors that plays a major role in the Syrian conflict. It starts with an overview of the inclusion and backgrounding of this group of social actors in the data. In the third section, which is about the inclusion of the Syrian Authorities, two exhaustive qualitative analyses about the personalized and impersonalized representations of this group of social actors follow respectively. The chapter ends with an examination of the backgrounding of Syrian Authorities in relation with the backgrounding of the group of Vague Social Actors.

### IX.2. Inclusion and Backgrounding of Syrian Authorities

The group of Syrian Authorities is present in every representation of social actors during the drafting process of the resolutions and it is referred to under the categories of Aggressor, Victim as well as Helper. The analysis shows that there is no instance of suppression in this group of social actors. However, its inclusion and backgrounding vary from one draft to another (Table 21, Figure 31).

**Table 21: Inclusion and backgrounding of Syrian Authorities in frequencies pthw**

	SD01	SD02V	SD03R	SD04	SD08	SD09V	SD10	SD11R	ResI	ResII
<b>Included</b>	24.1	28.8	24.9	15.7	15.2	15.45	24.9	<b>31.3</b>	24.5	17.5
<b>Backgrounded</b>	20.3	21.6	18.7	6.6	15.2	15.45	0	0	1	0
<b>Total</b>	44.4	50.4	43.6	22.3	30.4	30.9	24.9	31.3	25.5	17.5

The frequencies in Table 21 reveal the differences in including and backgrounding of social actors classified under the group of Syrian Authorities during the drafting process. One of the most interesting findings can be seen when we compare the frequencies of inclusion in both vetoed drafts. In SD02V, Syrian Authorities is included 28.8 times which is almost double the number of the same social actor group that is included in SD09V. The latter includes the Syrian Authorities group only 15.45 times which is one of the lowest frequencies of inclusion for the group of Syrian Authorities.

Moreover, the second draft is the point during the drafting process when the presence of this group in the drafts starts to decline in subsequent drafts. Similarly, after the first draft, the group of Syrian Authorities is less backgrounded. In the eighth and ninth drafts It is included as much



as it is backgrounded. Yet, it should be noted that this decrease in the frequencies of inclusion might be due to the fact that vague and all-inclusive noun groups such as *all parties* are employed more often at the end of the drafting process (see section VIII.3.3. The inclusion of Vague Social Actors).



**Figure 31: The patterns of inclusion and backgrounding of the group Syrian Authorities**

As illustrated in Table 21 and Figure 31, it seems that the group of Syrian Authorities is not backgrounded in the last two drafts and both resolutions. However, possible instantiations backgrounding this group of social actors are classified under the group of Vague Social Actors. In other words, in drafts that include more than one group of social actors in the category of Aggressor, a nominalization such as *violence* (used without specifying the cause i.e., the actor responsible for violence) can be problematic. In such cases, it is difficult to infer which one of the groups that are presented as the Aggressor elsewhere in the same text, is backgrounded<sup>175</sup>. In this way, the drafter has the possibility to keep the identification of the agent blurred in order to avoid assigning responsibility. This finding is further analysed when dealing with the backgrounding of Syrian Authorities and Vague Social Actors. This variance in the inclusion and backgrounding of Syrian Authorities is further studied in relation to the referential scope within which social actors are identified.

<sup>175</sup> In such cases, the omitted social actor is classified in the group of Vague Social Actors which makes the group of Syrian Authorities appear to be as if it has not been backgrounded.

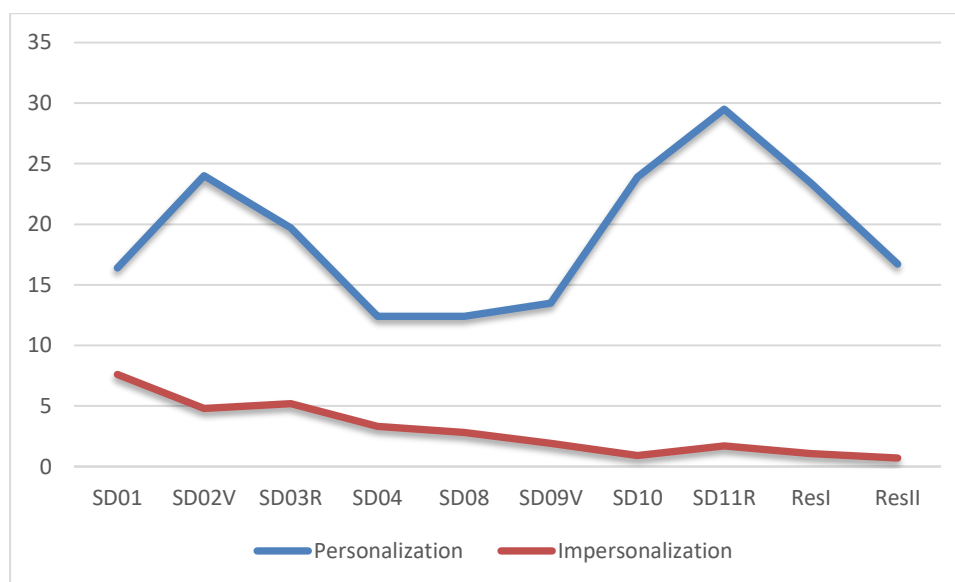
### IX.3. Inclusion of Syrian Authorities and Its Referential Scope

The analysis reveals that there is a difference in the referential scope within which the group of Syrian Authorities is represented (Table 22). In a personalized representation, social actors in discourse can be either determined through categorization or nomination, association or dissociation, differentiation or indifferentiation, specification, or indetermined through genericization. In an impersonalized representation, social actors are presented through abstraction or one type of objectivation (see appendix for a list of definition of all the categories).

**Table 22: Inclusion of the group Syrian Authorities and their referential scope in fpthw**

	SD01	SD02V	SD03R	SD04	SD08	SD09V	SD10	SD11R	ResI	ResII
<b>Personalization</b>	16.4	24	19.7	12.4	12.4	13.5	23.9	29.5	23.4	16.7
<b>Impersonalization</b>	7.6	4.8	5.2	3.3	2.8	1.9	0.9	1.7	1.06	0.7
<b>Total</b>	24.01	28.	24.9	15.7	15.2	15.45	24.9	31.3	24.5	17.5

Personalization is used more often than impersonalization to refer to this group of social actors. Personalized representations are less present during the drafting process than at its beginning or end. Impersonalization is used by drafters to refer to Syrian Authorities mostly in the first, third and fourth drafts (SD01, SD03R, SD04). Moreover, impersonalized representations are almost absent in the last drafts and both resolutions. This increase and decrease in the patterns of both types of representations are illustrated in Figure 32.



**Figure 32: The patterns of personalization and impersonalization for the group Syrian Authorities**

More importantly, these findings suppose that transformations at the referential level take place in the drafting process. In the next sections, personalized representations are first explored which is followed by an analysis of the impersonalized representations.

### IX.3.1. Personalized Representation

Personalized representations of Syrian Authorities are realized through different co-referents which are based on either grammatical or lexical cohesion. In the former, pronouns such as *they* or possessive determiners as *their* are part of the group of Syrian Authorities when their antecedents are one of synonyms of Syrian Authorities. Other co-referents are realized through lexical relations such as synonymy, metonymy etc. and share with Syrian Authorities the feature of possessing power (Syrian Judicial committee) or being part of the government (the President).

Personalized representations of Syrian Authorities are mostly realized using functionalization<sup>176</sup>, and classification<sup>177</sup>. These two categories often occur together in the same nominal group in the material such as *Syrian government*. In this context, Van Leeuwen (2008) states that:

boundaries can be blurred deliberately, for the purpose of achieving specific representational effects, and social actors can be, for instance, both classified and functionalized. In such cases, the categories remain nevertheless distinct and useful for making explicit how the social actors are represented (p. 53).

Positive and negative appraisal<sup>178</sup> (*security, armed*) as well as individualization<sup>179</sup> (*the President*), association<sup>180</sup> and differentiation<sup>181</sup> (*those*) are also present in the material under scrutiny and they often co-occur with the aforementioned categories (i.e., functionalization and classification). Moreover, some instances in the material include lexical terms that realize

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<sup>176</sup> Functionalization is about nominating a social actor in terms of an activity, or something s/he does such as an occupation or a role. It provides a personalized determined representation of social actors (see appendix).

<sup>177</sup> Classification is about differentiating between classes of people in a given society or institution according to their age, gender, provenance, class, race, ethnicity, religion, etc. It provides a personalized determined representation of social actors (see appendix).

<sup>178</sup> Positive and negative appraisal is about identifying social actors in terms of positive or negative judgement. The adjectives *security* and *military* are two realizations of acts of praise and criticism of social actors respectively.

<sup>179</sup> Individualization is realized by singularity, and it is the opposite of assimilation which is realized by plurality i.e., to refer to social actors as groups. It expresses a personalized determined representation of social actors.

<sup>180</sup> Through association social actors can be represented as groups. These groups which are referred to either in general or specific terms are never mentioned in the text. It is mostly realized through parataxis, civilians, and security forces, in the material under scrutiny.

<sup>181</sup> In differentiation, the social actor's identity is determined but s/he is explicitly differentiated from a similar actor of a group, "creating the difference between the "self" and the "other," or between "us" and "them,"" (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 40).

unspecific aggregation<sup>182</sup> (*all*) or unspecific collectivization (*committee*) together with other expressions that realize appraisal, functionalization or classification such as *all Syrian military and armed forces* and *Syrian Judicial committee*. In such cases, the referential expressions are considered to provide determined representation of social actors.

Functionalization is realized by nouns or group nouns such as *government, authorities, president, Republic, forces, personnel, law enforcement personnel, government troops and heavy weapons and host states*. Most of these nominal groups are identified through the classifier *Syrian* (as pre or postmodification) or by means of genitive of *Syria* in *Government of Syria*.

Few cases include adjectives used as functionalization in the representation of Syrian Authorities such as *Syrian-led* in *Syrian-led process* and *judicial* in *Syrian judicial committee*. Besides the categories of unspecific aggregation (*all*), classification (*Syrian*) and functionalization (*forces*), the adjectives *military* and *armed* add a negative appraisal to the representation of the social actor in the nominal group *all Syrian military and armed forces*.

Table 23 illustrates the use of the referential expressions during the drafting process. The dash (-) means that the lexical term or expression is absent in the draft. The check mark signifies the presence of the lexical term or expression in the subsequent draft without being modified. Expressions that travel to subsequent drafts and receive modifications are included in the Table instead of the check mark. The complex nominal groups *Syrian security forces and forces under the control of the (Syrian) government (of Syria)*, are put together in the same row because they are two representational choices of the same social actor and are present in the first draft.

Table 23 illustrates the lexical terms that are present in all drafts are *Syrian authorities* and *the Syrian government* which are sometimes substituted for anaphoric reference. It should be noted that *the authorities* is used without the classifier only once during the drafting process (SD01). *The government* is also used without the adjective *Syrian* in SD11R and the adopted resolutions. The compound *Syrian-led* in the complex compound noun *Syrian-led political process/transfer*, which is introduced in the second draft (SD02V), is also present in all subsequent drafts as well as in the adopted resolutions. The nominal group *the government of Syria*, present in the first draft, is reproduced again in the third draft (SD03R) and then in the second adopted resolution

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<sup>182</sup> Unspecific collectivization can be realized by plural forms that stand for a general group of people collected together such as the expression *groups of people*. It expressed a personalized indetermined representation of social actors.

Unspecific aggregation is about representing social actors in terms of unspecified or general statistics through general quantifiers such as *many, few, all* etc. It expresses a personalized indetermined representation of social actors.

(ResII). Two other complex nominal groups from the first draft, *Syrian security forces* and *forces under the control of the (Syrian) government (of Syria)*, also travel to five subsequent drafts (SD03R, SD04, SD08, SD09V and SD010) and are reused in the first resolution (ResI). Unlike the remaining nominal groups (Table 23), the last three expressions are transformed during their travel from one draft to another.

The four last lexical expressions, in Table 23, are present in few drafts. They are either present from the first draft or added later in one of the subsequent drafts. *Those responsible* is present in only two drafts: SD01 and SD02V. It should be noted that this demonstrative determiner is not totally absent from subsequent drafts; it is rather classified under the group of Vague Social Actors (see section VII.3.3.).

The nominal groups *host States* (SD02V), *Syrian judicial committee* (SD03R), and *the President* (SD04) are co-referents for the group of Syrian Authorities for the following reasons. The latter two nominal groups represent specific authorities in Syria whereas *host states* refers to Syria as one of the states hosting diplomats. These three nominal groups are employed only once in their drafts and are not reused in subsequent representations of social actors (Table 23).

### ***IX.3.1.1. Those Responsible for, Host States, Syrian Judicial Committee and The President***

As illustrated in Table 23, the nominal groups *those responsible for [...]*, *host states*, *Syrian judicial committee* and *the President* are rarely present in the material under scrutiny in comparison with the other representational choices used to refer to Syrian Authorities. The complex nominal group *those responsible for [...]* is present in only two drafts to refer to this group as an aggressor: SD01 (examples 1, 2) and SD02V (examples 3, 4). The referential scope<sup>183</sup> of the representation in which the nominal group is embedded is modified from the first to the second draft.

- (1) The Security Council [...] Stressing the need to hold to account **those responsible for attacks, including by forces under the control of the Government of Syria, on peaceful protesters and other innocent individuals**, (SD01)
- (2) The Security Council [...] Calls upon the Syrian authorities to: [...] hold to account **those responsible for attacks against peaceful demonstrators, including by forces under the control of the Syrian Government**; (SD01)

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<sup>183</sup> By referential scope I mean how social actors are referred to i.e., whether they are represented as a general class or in specific terms. For example, in (1) and (2), the postmodification, *including by forces under the control of the Government of Syria*, provides a more specific representation than in examples (3) and (4). In the latter, the nominal, *those responsible*, which is not further modified, refers to all entities that fall within its denotation.

Table 23: Textual travels of the referential expressions used in the personalized representations of Syrian Authorities

	SD01	SD02V	SD03R	SD04	SD08	SD09V	SD10	SD11R	ResI	ResII
<b>Syrian authorities</b>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
<b>The Syrian government</b>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
<b>Anaphoric reference</b>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
<b>Syrian-led political process</b>	-	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Syrian-led political transition	Syrian-led political transition	Syrian-led political transition	Syrian-led political transition
<b>The government of Syria</b>	✓	-	Government of the <u>Syrian Republic</u>	-	-	-	-	-	-	<u>Syrian Arab Republic</u>
<b>Syrian security forces/Forces under the control of the (Syrian) government (of Syria)</b>	✓	-	Security <u>personnel</u> <u>Law enforcement personnel</u>	<u>All</u> Syrian <u>military and security</u> forces	All Syrian <u>military and armed</u> forces	All Syrian <u>military and armed</u> forces	<u>Its troops and heavy weapons</u>	-	<u>All Syrian government</u> troops and heavy weapons	-
<b>Those responsible</b>	✓	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Host States</b>	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Syrian judicial committee</b>	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>The President</b>	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-

- (3) The Security Council [...] Recalls that **those responsible for all violence and human rights violations** should be held accountable; (SD02V)
- (4) The Security Council [...] stressing the need to hold to account **those responsible for human rights violations**, (SD02V)

In SD01 (example 1, 2), the complex nominal groups invoke elaborated representations which include conceptualizations of Syrian authorities' violent actions (attacks) and explicit references to the agent and patient. The aggressor is further identified through the post-modification *including by forces under the control of the (Syrian) Government (of Syria)* and the affected social actors is explicitly mentioned as *peaceful protestors and other innocent individuals* in (1) and *peaceful demonstrators* in (2). However, such significant details are deleted from the representation in SD02V and substituted for the nominalizations *violence* and *human rights violations* (examples 3, 4). By simplifying the complex nominal group in SD02V, drafters attempt to mitigate the negative representations in SD01 (examples 1, 2) to avoid the use of veto by one of the member states. More importantly, after the second draft, this referential expression is used to refer to other groups of social actors besides the Syrian Authorities that are categorized as Aggressors which causes vagueness (see section VIII.3.3. The inclusion of Vague Social Actors).

The following lexical expressions, *host States*, *Syrian judicial committee*, and *the president* are introduced in SD02V, SD03R, and SD04, respectively. They are not reproduced in subsequent representations of social actors (Table 23). The paragraph, in which the nominal group *host states* (functionalization and unspecific collectivization) is mentioned (example 5), is also not reemployed in subsequent documents. In (5), the paragraph starts with a reference to *attacks on diplomatic personnel* (action event) and then it refers to *the 1961 Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations* according to which *host States* (i.e., Syria) should act. None of this is reproduced during the drafting process.

- (5) The Security Council [...] Strongly condemns attacks on diplomatic personnel and recalls the fundamental principle of the inviolability of diplomatic agents and **the obligations on host States**, including under the 1961 Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, to take all appropriate steps to protect embassy premises and prevent attacks on diplomatic agents; (SD02V)

References to Syrian authorities' obligations and international law are present in the material but in different co-texts. They are either referred to generally, such as in SD03R, (example 6) or specifically, like in SD04, SD08 and SD09V, (example 7) (i.e., for example, by mentioning specific resolutions). Such transformations can be signs of decreasing vagueness from SD03R to

subsequent drafts. It should be noted that intertextual references to resolutions are present elsewhere in the texts of SD10, SD11R, ResI and ResII but with different degree of specificity. For example, the resolutions referred to in SD04, SD08 and SD09V (example 7) are also listed in SD10 (example 8) with other ones (GA resolution A/RES/66/253 of 16 February 2012 and HRC resolutions S/19/1, and 19/22).

Interestingly, such specific intertextual references to resolutions are absent in SD11R and they are replaced by a vague reference to all relevant resolutions of the General Assembly (example 9). This shows that the Russian Federation avoids invoking such resolutions in its drafts since they might include intense representations of the breaches of human rights by Syrian authorities. In the adopted resolutions (example 10), intertextual references to specific resolutions are reproduced. The only difference is that resolutions issued by Human Rights Council (S-16/1, S-17/1, S-18/1) which are mentioned in the fourth, eighth, ninth and tenth drafts are not referred to again in ResI and ResII. This can show that drafters tend to alleviate the representations since these resolutions can include intense representations about the human rights breaches made by the Syrian Authorities.

- (6) The Security Council [...] Recalling the Syrian authorities responsibility to comply with **their obligations under applicable international law** and to bring justice to account all those responsible for violence (SD03R)
- (7) The Security Council [...] Demands that the Syrian Government immediately [...] and fully comply with **its obligations under applicable international law including with resolutions S-16/1, S-17/1, S-18/1 of the HRC and resolution A/RES/66/176 of the UNGA**; (SD04, SD08, SD09V)
- (8) The Security Council [...] Recalling as well **General Assembly resolutions A/RES/66/253 of 16 February 2012 and A/RES/66/176 of 19 December 2011, as well as Human Rights Council resolutions S/16-1, S/17-1, S/18-1, 19/1, and 19/22**, (SD10)
- (9) The Security Council [...] and also recalling **all relevant resolutions of the General Assembly**, (SD11R, ResI and ResII)
- (10) The Security Council [...] Reaffirming its support to the Joint Special Envoy for the United Nations and the League of Arab States, Kofi Annan, and his work, following **General Assembly resolution A/RES/66/253 of 16 February 2012 and relevant resolutions of the League of Arab States**, (ResI, ResII)

International law is also referred to in representations about the importance of granting access to humanitarian personnel to reach people in need of assistance in SD10, ResI and ResII (example 11). In the latter, the co-text involves a conceptualization of the conflict in terms of a force event (*allow*) and not action event (*attacks*) as it is the case in the second draft (example 5). These issues are brought up later in the section about the representation of social actors' actions.



- (11) The Security Council [...] Reiterates its call for the Syrian authorities to allow immediate, full and unimpeded access of humanitarian personnel to all populations in need of assistance, **in accordance with international law and guiding principles of humanitarian assistance** (SD10, ResI, ResII)

The only instance of unspecific collectivization that is used to refer to Syrian Authorities occurs in the third draft (SD03R). It is realized by the noun *committee* in the expression *the Syrian judicial committee* which also includes a classification and functionalization (example 12). This social actor is represented by the Russian Federation as a legitimate actor who is responsible for carrying out investigations about violent incidents in which civilians and security personnel were killed. This referential expression which is not used again in the material can be compared with another one used in the first draft, *the High Security Court* (example 13), as both represent the Syrian judicial authority.

- (12) The Security Council [...] Urges the Syrian government to [...] complete without delay investigations carried out by the Syrian judicial committee into all events in which civilians and security personnel were killed or injured, (SD03R)
- (13) The Security Council [...] Calls upon the Syrian authorities to take concrete measures to meet legitimate popular demands, including by [...] promptly implementing the abolition of the High Security Court (SD01)

Without bogging down in many details, the expression, *the High Security Court*, is an impersonalized representation (see section IX.3.2. Impersonalized representation) and its co-text invokes a negative representation (they must be abolished) of a social actor from the group Syrian Authorities. Unlike the third draft, which provides a positive representation of one organ of the Syrian Judiciary authorities (example 12), the first draft delegitimizes the role of *the High Security Court*. The positive representation in SD03R (example 12) can be said to be a recontextualization of negative one used in SD01 (example 13). These two different evaluations of the Syrian judiciary in SD01 and SD03R is a clear indication of the opposing attitudes in the council. Added to that, they show that drafters are selective in the representations they include in order to serve their interests and agenda.

The lexical term *the President*, which appears only once in the data (in SD04), is used in a representation whose negative connotation realizes a clear strategy of delegitimizing the role of the Syrian President (example 14). Indeed, in (14), the Security Council supports the idea of a political transition in Syria which can be conducted *through the transfer of power from the President*. This representation in SD04, which is in total opposition with the views shared by the Russian federation and China about the Syrian President, is replaced by a call for a political dialogue between the different political parties in Syria in subsequent drafts and the adopted

resolutions (examples 15, 16). Such a transformation is probably made to mitigate the representation and avoid the use of veto by Russia. It is significant to examine the transformations that are made to the last part of the paragraphs in (15) and (16) which include the recontextualized co-texts for the one in SD04 where the lexical term *the President* is used.

- (14) The Security Council [...] Supports in this regard the League of Arab States' initiative set out in its 22 January 2012 communiqué to facilitate a political transition leading to a democratic, plural political system, [...], including through the transfer of power from the President and transparent and fair elections under Arab and international supervision, (SD04)
- (15) The Security Council [...] Fully supports in this regard the League of Arab States' 22 January 2012 decision to facilitate a political transition leading to a democratic, plural political system, [...], including through commencing a serious political dialogue between the Syrian government and the whole spectrum of the Syrian opposition under the League of Arab States' auspices, in accordance with the timetable set out by the League of Arab States, (SD08, SD09V)
- (16) The Security Council [...] Reaffirms its full support for all elements of the Envoy's six-point proposal [...] aimed at [...] facilitating a Syrian-led political transition leading to a democratic, plural political system, [...], including through commencing a comprehensive political dialogue between the Syrian government and the whole spectrum of the Syrian opposition, (SD10, SD11R, ResI, ResII)

The prepositional phrase *under Arab and international supervision*, which is part of the co-text in SD04 (example 14) is reproduced in SD08 and SD09V with some modifications and elaboration. For example, *the Arab and international supervision* (SD04) is further specified in SD08 and SD09V as drafters mention *the League of Arab States*. The representation used in SD08 *a serious political dialogue between the Syrian government and the whole spectrum of the Syrian opposition* as a substitution for the one in SD04, *the transfer of power from the president and transparent and fair elections*, travels to subsequent drafts (SD09V, SD10 and SD11R) and becomes part of the resolutions (example 16). Moreover, during its travel, it receives two transformations. For example, the premodification of the nominal group *political dialogue* which is realized by the adjective *serious* in SD08 and SD09V (example 15) is replaced by *comprehensive* in SD10, SD11R, ResI, ResII (example 16). Moreover, the elaboration of the prepositional phrase from SD04 in SD08 and SD09V, which is discussed above, is deleted from the subsequent recontextualized representations in SD10, SD11R, ResI, ResII (example 16).

To conclude, the textual travels of the co-texts of these referential expressions show interesting transformations made by drafters from one draft to another. Indeed, they show significant difference mainly between the drafts proposed by the Russian Federations, on one hand, and the

remaining drafts proposed by the western block in the council. For example, some can be seen as discursive strategies followed by member states (e.g., Russian Federation) to impose their contradictory views, others can be considered as attempts to mitigate negative representations in order to reach agreement.

### ***IX.3.1.2. The Government of Syria, The Syrian Government and Security Forces***

The expressions *the government of Syria*, *Syrian security forces* and *forces under the control of the (Syrian) government (of Syria)* travel from SD01 to subsequent drafts and to the resolutions (Table 23). More importantly, during their travel the referential scope of these expressions as well as their co-texts go through a recontextualization process. For example, the nominal group *the government of Syria* travels from the first draft (SD01) to the third one (SD03R) where it is modified and becomes the *government of the Syrian Republic*. The latter appears again in ResII and it is recontextualized as *Syrian Arab Republic*. It should be noted that apart from SD01, SD03R and ResII, the recontextualized expressions are totally absent in the remaining drafts.

In the first draft, the nominal group *the Government of Syria* is used three times (examples 17, 18, 19). In two of them, *the Government of Syria* is conceptualized as an aggressor as it is represented as being responsible for either preventing medical supplies in (17) or violent actions in (18). In (19), the same social actor is presented as being ready for starting reform. However, this positive representation is refuted in the next clause which refers to the lack of progress in the implementation of reforms related to the legitimate aspirations of the Syrian people. Generally, it can be said that this referential expression is used in three negative representations in the first draft.

- (17) The Security Council [...] Expressing concern at the reports of shortages of medical supplies to treat the wounded, caused partly by deliberate prevention of such supplies by **the Government of Syria**, and at the reports of numerous civilians trying to flee the violence, (SD01)
- (18) The Security Council [...] Stressing the need to hold to account those responsible for attacks, including by forces under the control of **the Government of Syria**, on peaceful protesters and other innocent individuals, (SD01)
- (19) The Security Council [...] Noting the stated intention of **the Government of Syria** to take steps for reform, but regretting that the Syrian Government has not responded to the legitimate aspirations of the Syrian people, (SD01)

The noun *Syria* in the nominal group *the Government of Syria* used in the first draft (examples 17, 18, 19) is substituted by *the Syrian Arab Republic* which gives more legitimacy to the social actor in the third draft (example 20). Indeed, a Republic is defined as “a country where power is

held by the people or the representatives that they elect”<sup>184</sup>. Moreover, the newly formed nominal group *the government of the Syrian Arab Republic* is embedded in a new co-text (example 20) which goes hand in hand with the positive representation of *the Syrian judicial committee* that is also mentioned in SD03R<sup>185</sup>.

(20) The Security Council [...] urging in this regard **the government of the Syrian Arab Republic** to initiate prompt, independent and impartial investigations into all cases of human rights violations. (SD03R)

The comparison of examples (17, 18,) with (20) shows that the negative representations of *the Government of Syria* in SD01 (examples 17 and 18) are not reproduced in SD03R. On the other hand, a positive evaluation of the same social actor is used. Indeed, *the government of the Syrian Arab Republic* is urged by the Security Council to carry out investigations about all human rights violations (example 20). Such a representation further legitimizes the role given to the Syrian government in being part of solving the conflict.

The referential expressions *the government of the Syrian Arab Republic* is absent from the representations of Syrian Authorities in subsequent drafts, and it is reproduced only in Res II as *The Syrian Arab Republic* (example 21). The latter referential expression and the co-text in which it is mentioned in ResII (example 21) can be said to provide a positive evaluation of the social actor which is not included in the preceding resolution or drafts. Moreover, *the Syrian Arab Republic* is positively represented as a legitimate social actor with whom the United Nations set an agreement, ‘the Preliminary Understanding’, which provides a basis for a protocol governing the Advance Team.

(21) The Security Council [...] Noting the 19 April 2012 Preliminary Understanding (S/2012/250) agreed between **the Syrian Arab Republic** and the United Nations which provides a basis for a protocol governing the Advance Team and, upon its deployment, the UN supervision mechanism, (ResII)

Another social actor that is referred to by drafters and represents the group of Syrian Authorities is the Syrian forces. The latter are referred to in SD01 through the complex nominal groups *Syrian security forces* and *forces under the control of the (Syrian) government (of Syria)*. References to this social actor are also observed in subsequent representations of five drafts (SD03R, SD04, SD08, SD09V and SD010) and the first resolution (ResI) (Table 23). All

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<sup>184</sup> Source: <https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/republic> (Last accessed: February 2018)

<sup>185</sup> This positive representation of *the Syrian judicial committee* is presented in example 12 “The Security Council [...] Urges the Syrian government to [...] complete without delay investigations carried out by the Syrian judicial committee into all events in which civilians and security personnel were killed or injured’ (SD03R), which is included in section IX.3.1.1. Those Responsible for, Host States, Syrian Judicial Committee and The President.

expressions are realizations of functionalization as they include words that refer to the social actor “in terms of an activity, in terms of something they do [*security, law enforcement*], for instance, an occupation [*personnel*] or role [*forces, troops*]” (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 42). Moreover, the terms, *security*, and *law enforcement* are polyvalent as they can be used as functionalization as well as positive appraisal since the social actors are presented as being responsible for bringing security or “for catching people who break the law”<sup>186</sup>. *Armed, military, troops* and *heavy weapons*, in contrast to the aforementioned terms, are instantiations of negative appraisal. Interestingly, these negative and positive evaluations are sometimes emphasized by the co-text in which the expressions are included.

In the first draft, the referential expressions *Syrian security forces* and *forces under the control of the (Syrian) government (of Syria)* which include functionalization, classification, and positive appraisal (*security*)<sup>187</sup> are used in a co-text that rather denotes a negative evaluation of the social actors (examples 22, 23, 24). The drafters of SD01 present the Syrian forces as aggressors (close from reproach). Moreover, this negative evaluation of the social actor is further emphasized by evaluating the affected social actors as *innocent* and *peaceful* (positive appraisal) in the representation.

- (22) The Security Council [...] called upon **the Syrian security forces** to show restraint and refrain from targeting innocent civilians (SD01)
- (23) The Security Council [...] Stressing the need to hold to account those responsible for attacks, including by **forces under the control of the Government of Syria**, on peaceful protesters and other innocent individuals (SD01)
- (24) The Security Council [...] Calls upon the Syrian authorities [...] to launch a credible and impartial investigation in accordance with its international obligations and hold to account those responsible for attacks against peaceful demonstrators, including by **forces under the control of the Syrian Government**; (SD01)

Syrian forces are absent from the representation of Syrian Authorities in the second draft whereas they are referred to in the third draft (SD03R) through the expressions *law enforcement personnel* and *the security personnel* whose meaning denote functionalization and positive appraisal. The latter sociological category is also emphasized in the co-text of the expressions through the role assigned to the Syrian forces (examples 25 and 26). In contrast to (22, 23 and 24), which represent the Syrian forces as aggressors, examples (25) and (26) present the same social actor as being the victim of attacks by extremist groups. *Law enforcement*

<sup>186</sup> Source: <https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/law-enforcement> (Last accessed February 2018).

<sup>187</sup> This positive appraisal does not relate to the representation in which the expression is used. In other words, security forces that are supposed to secure the safety of civilians are rather acting in opposition to their role. Such a representation further delegitimizes these social actors.

*personnel* and *security personnel* are thus evaluated as pitied (far from reproach) by the Russian Federation in its draft.

(25) The Security Council [...] condemning the activity of extremist groups, including attacks against state institutions, **law enforcement personnel**, [...] (SD03R)

(26) The Security Council [...] Urges the Syrian government to [...] complete without delay investigations carried out by the Syrian judicial committee into all events in which civilians and **security personnel** were killed or injured, (SD03R)

These two different representations of the same social actor in SD01 and SD03R is a significant form of recontextualization (rearrangement or role allocation) that can be said to be ideologically motivated. Not only does the referential scope of the expression receive modification but also its co-text is transformed. The textual travel of the representation of Syrian forces from SD01 to SD03R involves drastic transformations to the roles assigned to them. These modifications represent the opposing attitudes towards the Syrian Authorities in the council and are supposed to be made by drafters to show their different agendas.

The examination of the travel of the expression *Syrian security forces* from the first draft to the third one shows that the Russian Federation changes it to a neutral referential expression, *security personnel*, in its draft. Indeed, *personnel* are defined as “the personnel of an organization are the people who work for it”<sup>188</sup> while *forces* carries a negative meaning “forces are groups of soldiers or military vehicles that are organized for a particular purpose” (Collins COBUILD Advanced Dictionary, 2009, p.619).

While only one term, *security*, from SD01, is reused in the new nominal group, *security personnel*, in SD03R, the whole expression from SD01 is employed again in the fourth draft (examples 27) with a more referential scope all Syrian military and security forces. Adding *military* to the referential expression invokes a negative appraisal since its meaning involves the idea of using weapons (close from reproach). Moreover, the all-inclusive determiner *all*, which is considered as part of “determiners functioning as non-specific deictic” (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p.315) and as a resource of intensification (Martin and White, 2005, p. 84, 150), can be considered here as an unspecific type of aggregation and as an intensifier that adds further weight to the negative appraisal. The expression used in SD04 (i.e., *all Syrian military and security forces*) in (27) is further modified in SD08 as the positive term *security* is replaced by a negative one, *armed* (example 28). The new recontextualized expression *all Syrian military and armed forces* in SD08 is used again in SD09V (example 28).

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<sup>188</sup> <https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/personnel>

- (27) The Security Council [...] Demands that the Syrian Government [...] (c) withdraw **all Syrian military and security forces** from cities and towns, and return them to their barracks; (SD04)
- (28) The Security Council [...] Demands that the Syrian Government [...] (c) withdraws [sic!] **all Syrian military and armed forces** from cities and towns, and return them to their barracks; (SD08, SD09V)

The co-text, in which the social actor Syrian forces is included, is the same in SD04, SD08 and SD09V (examples 27 and 28). Yet, it differs from the one in which the expressions that refer to Syrian forces are used in SD01 (examples 22, 23, 24) in terms of the intensity with which the event is conceptualized. They are represented in terms of motion event in (27) and (28) as they should be withdrawn from the cities and towns whereas they are conceptualized in terms of action schemas (*targeting, attacks*) in SD01 (examples 22, 23, 24). These transformations at the level of the conceptualizations of the conflict realize different strategies; while the delegitimation of the Syrian forces is intensified in the first draft by conceptualizing them as an aggressive agent in action events, their delegitimation is mitigated in subsequent drafts (SD04, SD08 and SD09V) as drafters reduce the intensity of the conceptualization by opting for a motion schema.

The conceptualization (motion event) that is used in SD04, SD08 and SD09V (examples 27, 28) is also repeated in SD10 and ResI but with a new expression whose meaning includes a more specific reference to soldiers and arms, *its/all Syrian government troops and heavy weapons* (examples 29 and 30). In SD10, the classifier *Syrian* is absent, and it is substituted by the possessive determiner, *its*, realizing anaphoric reference to *the Syrian government* (example 29). In ResI (example 30), the possessive determiner, *its*, is replaced by *all Syrian* which includes the non-specific determiner and intensifier *all* (unspecific aggregation) and the classifier *Syrian* before the noun *government*. The larger co-texts of the expressions (for example, the verb that is used to introduce the measures) are different and reveal other types of transformations which are explored in more details in the section about the representation of the SC's reactions.

- (29) The Security Council [...] **demands** further that the Syrian government withdraw **its troops and heavy weapons** from population centres to their barracks; (SD10)
- (30) The Security Council [...] **Underlines** the importance attached by the Envoy to the withdrawal of **all Syrian government troops and heavy weapons** from population centres to their barracks to facilitate a sustained cessation of violence; (ResI)

Positive representation of the Syrian forces is present only in SD03R while they are negatively referred to in the other representations (SD01, SD04, SD08, SD09V, SD010 and ResI). This binary opposition in the representation of Syrian forces reveals the different ideological points of view of Russian Federation and the western powers towards this social actor. The negative

representations realize a strategy of delegitimation which might be used to justify a future intervention in Syria while the positive evaluation of Syrian forces in SD03R is a rhetorical tactic to refute that.

### ***IX.3.1.3. The Syrian-led***

According to Cobuild Collins dictionary, *-led* is a combining form that “combines with nouns to form adjectives which indicate that something is organized, directed, or controlled by a particular person or group” (p. 892). In the material, the compound *Syrian-led* is employed as a premodifier to the nominal groups *political process* and *political transition* and it is used as functionalization (*-led*) and classification (*Syrian*). It is first introduced in SD02V as part of the referential expression *Syrian-led political process* which is reproduced in SD03R, SD04, SD08 and SD09V. After that, it disappeared and only *Syrian-led political transition*, which is first employed in SD09V, is reproduced in the remaining drafts (i.e., SD10 and SD11R) and the adopted resolutions.

The combining form *Syrian-led* is mentioned in three paragraphs in the second draft (examples 31, 32, 33). The paragraphs in (32) and (33) are reproduced in subsequent drafts while the one in (31) is reused only in SD03R where it receives some modifications (examples 34).

- (31) The Security Council [...] Stressing that the only solution to the current crisis in Syria is through an inclusive and **Syrian-led** political process with the aim of effectively addressing the legitimate aspirations and concerns of the population which will allow the full exercise of fundamental freedoms for its entire population, including of the rights of freedom of expression, assembly and peaceful protest; (SD02V)
- (32) The Security Council [...] promoting such an inclusive **Syrian-led** political process; (SD02V)
- (33) The Security Council [...] Calls for an inclusive **Syrian-led** political process conducted in an environment free from violence, fear, intimidation, and extremism, and aimed at effectively addressing the legitimate aspirations and concerns of Syria’s population. (SD02V, SD04, SD08, and SD09V)

The first paragraph (example 31) appears again only in the third draft (example 34). The paragraph in example (33) is reproduced in four subsequent drafts (SD03R, SD04, SD08, and SD09V<sup>189</sup>). During its travel, paragraph in (33) is modified only in the third draft (example 34). One of the modifications that are made to the last part of both paragraphs (example 31, 33) in SD03R (examples 34, 35) affects the representation of Syrian people (*its entire population* –

<sup>189</sup> It should be noted that the paragraph in example (33) is reproduced in SD04, SD08 without any changes. In SD09V, the same paragraph is also repeated in the draft by adding the phrase *without prejudging the outcome* at the end of the text. It is also reused in SD03R where it receives some modifications that are illustrated in example (35).



*Syria's population – for all without distinction – Syria's people*) which is explored in the next chapter.

- (34) The Security Council [...] Stressing that the only solution to the current crisis in Syria is through an inclusive and **Syrian-led** political process with the aim of effectively addressing the legitimate aspirations and concerns of the population which will allow the full enjoyment of fundamental human rights and freedoms for all without distinction, including that of the rights of freedom of expression, peaceful assembly and association; (SD03R)
- (35) The Security Council [...] Calls for an inclusive **Syrian-led** political process conducted in an environment free from violence, fear, intimidation, and extremism, and lead to the full implementation of the reforms that will effectively address the legitimate aspirations and concerns of Syria's people (SD03R)

Even though the modifications made in SD03R to these paragraphs do not affect the representation of Syrian Authorities, they still show differences between the draft proposed by the Russian Federation and other ones introduced by the remaining member states.

The compound form *Syrian-led* is also used in SD09V, SD10, SD11, ResI and ResII with the nominal group *political transition* and it is embedded in a 'new' co-text that receives transformations as it travels to subsequent documents. It should be noted that this 'new' co-text is also present in SD04 (example 36) and SD08 (example 37); however, it does not include the compound form *Syrian-led* before the nominal group *political transition* and it is added in SD09V (example 38). Moreover, the textual travel of the paragraph from SD04 (example 36) to SD08 (example 37) also includes significant transformations which are explained in the previous section about the referential expression *the President*.

- (36) The Security Council [...] Supports in this regard the League of Arab States' initiative set out in its 22 January 2012 communiqué to facilitate a **political transition** leading to a democratic, plural political system, in which citizens are equal regardless of their affiliations or ethnicities or beliefs, including through the transfer of power from the President and transparent and fair elections under Arab and international supervision, in accordance with the timetable set out by the League of Arab States, (SD04)
- (37) The Security Council [...] Fully supports in this regard the League of Arab States' 22 January 2012 decision to facilitate a **political transition** leading to a democratic, plural political system, in which citizens are equal regardless of their affiliations or ethnicities or beliefs, including through commencing a serious political dialogue between the Syrian government and the whole spectrum of the Syrian opposition under the League of Arab States' auspices, in accordance with the timetable set out by the League of Arab States, (SD08)
- (38) The Security Council [...] Fully supports in this regard the League of Arab States' 22 January 2012 decision to facilitate a **Syrian-led political transition** to a democratic,

plural political system, in which citizens are equal regardless of their affiliations or ethnicities or beliefs, including through commencing a serious political dialogue between the Syrian government and the whole spectrum of the Syrian opposition under the League of Arab States' auspices, in accordance with the timetable set out by the League of Arab States; (SD09V)

The paragraph, in (38), travels to SD10, SD11R, ResI and ResII where it is further modified. The last part of the paragraph in (38), *under the League of Arab States' auspices, in accordance with the timetable set out by the League of Arab States*, is deleted in subsequent uses in SD10, SD11R and in both resolutions. Moreover, another modification is also observed concerning the adjective modifying the nominal group *political dialogue (serious vs. comprehensive)* (for a detailed explanation of the latter modification see the analysis of the term *the President* examples 15 and 16). The verbs and the details used by the SC at the beginning of the paragraph to introduce this measure are also transformed. Such modifications are dealt with in the section about the representation of social actors' (re)actions.

#### ***IX.3.1.4. Anaphoric Reference as Representational Choice***

Anaphoric reference is also used in the material to refer to the social actors representing the group of Syrian Authorities. This intratextual relationship between some textual elements, which is useful to avoid repetition in texts, can be used for another significant and strategic purpose. Opting for anaphoric reference instead of using a nominal group, such as *Syrian authorities*, can be a strategy to avoid recalling the direct association between *Syrian authorities* and bad actions. In this way, drafters can reduce the chance of/activating the linkage in the reader's mental picture about this social actor and negative representations.

The results in Table 24 show that anaphoric reference is employed variably by drafters. Indeed, its use decreases after the second draft and it increases again to reach 8.6 in SD10, and 10.4 in SD11R. It is also strongly used in the first resolution, but its presence is reduced in ResII. It is significant to check the type of words with which the possessive determiners are used and in which co-text they are embedded.

**Table 24: Anaphoric reference used to refer to Syrian Authorities in fpthw**

	SD01	SD02V	SD03R	SD04	SD08	SD09V	SD10	SD11R	ResI	ResII
<b>Anaphoric Reference</b>	5	6	1	2.4	2.8	2.8	8.6	<b>10.4</b>	7.4	3.9

These observations concerning the use of anaphoric reference also correlate with the pattern of inclusion of Syrian Authorities in the material (Table 25). Therefore, anaphoric reference, which

is normally used to avoid repetition, is highly used in the eleventh draft because the latter has the highest frequency of inclusion of the group of Syrian Authorities (31.3).

**Table 25: Inclusion of Syrian Authorities in fpthw**

	SD01	SD02V	SD03R	SD04	SD08	SD09V	SD10	SD11R	ResI	ResII
<b>Included</b>	24.1	28.8	24.9	15.7	15.2	15.45	24.9	<b>31.3</b>	24.5	17.5

More importantly, the instances of anaphoric references realized by the possessive determiners *its* or *their* show some differences between drafts at the level of the noun that is possessivated by these determiners. For example, in the first and second drafts, the possessive determiner *its* is used with *people*, *(entire) population* and *violent offensive*. Only the possessivated expression *its (entire) population* is reproduced again during the drafting process. Moreover, the noun *obligations* is used in instances of anaphoric references either with *its* or *their* from the first to the ninth draft. Yet, none of the aforementioned instances of anaphoric reference is present in the last two drafts or in the resolutions. The pronoun *its* is rather used with *commitments* and *communication* in SD10, SD11, ResI and ResII. It should be noted that there is only one instance of anaphoric reference where *its* is used with *troops and heavy weapons* in SD10.

The textual travel of the co-text of the possessivated expressions in the first and second drafts (i.e., *its people*, *its population*, and *its violent offensive*) also shows significant transformations. The possessivated expressions *its people* and *its population* are similar to possessivated relational identifications which, in Van Leeuwen's (2008) words, "signify the 'belonging together,' the 'relationality' of the possessivated and possessing social actors (as in 'my daughter' or 'my mother')" (p. 43). Such relationality between the Syrian authorities and Syrian people which is emphasized by the realization of possessivation contradicts the representation in which the expression *its people* is used in SD01 (examples 39, 40). Indeed, Syrian people are presented as being attacked by the Syrian authorities who should normally protect them. Such contradiction can be said to intensify the negative representation about the Syrian authorities who are represented as attacking Syrian people.

(39) The Security Council [...] Expressing grave concern at the situation in Syria and condemning the violence and **use of force against its people**, (SD01)

(40) The Security Council [...] Considering that the widespread and systematic attacks currently taking place in Syria by the authorities **against its people** may amount to crimes against humanity, (SD01)

This explanation can be justified by the fact that *its people* disappeared from the material even though its co-text is used again in subsequent drafts. By tracking the textual travel of the co-text

(i.e., *the use of force against*) of the expression *its people* in SD01 (example 39), the following modification is observed. The expression *its people* is deleted in SD03R, and it is replaced by *civilians (the use of force against civilians)* in four subsequent drafts (SD02V, SD04, SD08 and SD09V). With these two modifications, the negative representation of Syrian authorities that is emphasized in the first draft through the possessivated noun *its people* is absent from SD03R and can be said to be reduced in the new subsequent co-text.

The possessivation of the nominal group *its violent offensive* (SD02V) is another way of representing the Syrian Government as an activated participant that is responsible for committing violence (example 42). Indeed, this representational choice can be considered to be a recontextualization of a previous representation from SD01 (example 41). The difference between (41) and (42) is that the representation in the former is more elaborated than the latter. The representation in (41) includes the type of violence committed (*targeting*) and the affected social actor (*innocent civilians*) which are absent in (42) (i.e., SD02V). By opting for this formulation in SD02V, drafters avoid recalling the whole action schema as in SD01 and establishing a juxtaposition between the elements *Syrian authorities* and *violence*. Consequently, the intensity of the representation in SD01 (example 38) can be said to be mitigated by drafters in SD02V (example 42) in a way to reach consensus.

(41) The Security Council [...] called upon the Syrian security forces to show restraint and refrain from targeting innocent civilians, (SD01)

(42) The Security Council [...] calling on the Syrian Government to halt its violent offensive at once, (SD02V)

Another possessivated noun that is used for anaphoric reference to the group of Syrian Authorities is *its population*. It is used in the same co-text in the first and second drafts (example 43)<sup>190</sup>. Other uses of such anaphoric reference are present in the fourth, eighth and ninth drafts in similar contexts (examples 44, 45).

(43) The Security Council [...] Recalling the Syrian authorities' primary responsibility to protect its population, (SD01, SD02V)

(44) The Security Council [...] Demands that the Syrian Government immediately put an end to all human rights violations and attacks against those exercising their rights to freedom of expression, peaceful assembly and association, protect its population, and fully comply with its obligations under applicable international law including with resolutions S-16/1, S-17/1, S-18/1 of the HRC and resolution A/RES/66/176 of the UNGA; (SD04, SD08, SD09V)

<sup>190</sup> It should be noted that the paragraph used in SD02V includes the *Syrian Government* instead of *the Syrian authorities*.

- (45) The Security Council [...] Demands that the Syrian government [...]: (a) cease all violence and protect its population; (SD08, SD09V)

The second draft also includes two other instances of anaphoric reference through the expression *its entire population* which are mentioned in the following co-text *the full exercise of (human rights and) fundamental freedoms (by) for its entire population*. This co-text is also present in subsequent drafts, but the anaphoric reference is either deleted or replaced by another nominal group such as *all* used as a pronoun in SD03 (*the full enjoyment of fundamental human rights and freedoms for all without distinction*). These issues will be brought up again in the section about the representation of Syrian people.

The group of Syrian Authorities is referred to anaphorically through the expression *its/their obligations* which is present from SD01 to SD09V. Using possessive determiners and not the referential expression *Syrian authorities* with the negative word *obligations* may have significant effects. Indeed, the less frequent the association between Syrian authorities and bad things, the less likely that the linkage in the reader's mental picture about this social actor and a negative representation is established. Its co-text in the first draft (example 46) is transformed in SD02V (example 47). In the third draft, the Russian Federation uses *their obligations*, as in SD02V, in a further recontextualized co-text (example 47). Interestingly, example (48) is the only instance of anaphoric reference used in SD03R. The possessivated expression *its obligation* travels to subsequent drafts and it is used in a similar co-text that is part of a more complex paragraph (example 49).

- (46) The Security Council [...] Calls upon the Syrian authorities to: [...] launch a credible and impartial investigation in accordance with its international obligations and hold to account those responsible for attacks against peaceful demonstrators, including by forces under the control of the Syrian Government; (SD01)
- (47) The Security Council [...] Demands that the Syrian authorities immediately: (a) cease violations of human rights, comply with their obligations under applicable international law, (SD02V)
- (48) The Security Council [...] Recalling the Syrian authorities responsibility to comply with **their obligations** under applicable international law (SD03R)
- (49) The Security Council [...] Demands that the Syrian Government immediately put an end to all human rights violations and attacks against those exercising their rights to freedom of expression, peaceful assembly and association, protect its population, and fully comply with its obligations under applicable international law including with resolutions S-16/1, S-17/1, S-18/1 of the HRC and resolution A/RES/66/176 of the UNGA; (SD04, SD08, SD09V)

In the representations of Syrian Authorities in the last two drafts and the adopted resolutions, none of the aforementioned instances of anaphoric references is reproduced. It should be noted that there is only one instance of anaphoric reference where *its* is used with *troops and heavy weapons* in SD10 (negative representation) which is explained in the analysis of Syrian Forces. More importantly, the pronoun *its* is rather used with positive nouns, *commitments*, and *communication* in SD10, SD11R, ResI and ResII. By referring to the Syrian authorities in terms of *its commitments*, drafters picture them as responsible social actors. Not using *its people* in a negative co-text and opting for positive nouns with the possessive determiners is a way to further mitigate the representation of the Syrian Authorities.

Example (50) is introduced in SD10 and re-used in SD11R, ResI and ResII. In (50), there are three instances of anaphoric reference which are realized by the possessivated expressions *its commitments* and *its communication* and the personal pronoun *it* which is not used in preceding representations of the Syrian Authorities. The realizations of these anaphoric references in such co-texts are used in SD10, SD11R more than once.

(50) The Security Council [...] Noting the Syrian government's commitment on 25 March 2012 to [...] implement urgently and visibly **its** commitments, as **it** agreed to do in **its** communication to the Envoy of 1 April 2012 (SD10, SD11R, Res I, ResII)<sup>191</sup>

Furthermore, the possessivated expression *its commitment* is used in other co-texts in the tenth (examples 50, 51, and 52) and eleventh (example 50) drafts and the resolutions (examples 50 and 53). The paragraph in (52) is reproduced in the resolutions (example 53); but example (51) is not employed again by drafters in subsequent documents. During its travel from SD10 to the resolutions, a significant modification is made to (52) at the level of the verbal process used by the SC (i.e., the substitution of *demands* for *calls upon*). Such transformations have important effects which are explained in more details in the section about the representation of the SC reaction.

(51) The Security Council [...] echoing the Envoy's call for an immediate, full, and indisputable implementation by the Syrian government of **its** commitments in their entirety, (SD10)

(52) The Security Council [...] **Demands** the Syrian government implement visibly **its** commitments in their entirety (SD10)

(53) The Security Council [...] **Calls upon** the Syrian government to implement visibly **its** commitments in their entirety (ResI, ResII)

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<sup>191</sup> It should be noted that the information concerning the year 2012 is absent in the drafts and it is added in both resolutions which shows a stylistic difference between informal drafts and official resolutions.

Another paragraph in which this possessivated expression is also used shows an interesting textual travel from SD10 (example 51) to SD11R (example 52) and ResI (example 50) which involves various transformations. One of them is about the position of the time information *on 12 April 2012* in the paragraph which changes in every use. The representational choice of the *assessment by the Envoy* in SD10 is substituted by *the Envoy's assessment* in SD11R and ResI. More information are added in (52) and (53) while the adverb *partially*, used in SD10 (example 51), is deleted from the co-text in SD11R and ResI. The latter transformation leads to a positive representation of the Syrian Government since *partially* can add a slight negative meaning to the representation once it is used. In other words, starting to implement its commitments **partially** means that it is not complete and by deleting the adverb, the reader would not be forced to have this information part of her/his mental representation of the event.

- (54) The Security Council [...] Noting the assessment by the Envoy that on 12 April 2012 the Syrian government had started partially to implement **its** commitments (SD10)
- (55) The Security Council [...] Noting the Envoy's assessment that the parties appeared to be observing a cessation of fire as of 12 April 2012 and that the Syrian government had started to implement **its** commitments (SD11R)
- (56) The Security Council [...] Noting the Envoy's assessment that, as of 12 April 2012, the parties appeared to be observing a cessation of fire and that the Syrian government had started to implement **its** commitments, (ResI)

To conclude, it is necessary to point out that using anaphoric reference instead of a referential expression, such as Syrian authorities, might be followed by drafters to reduce the frequency of recalling the association between Syrian authorities and bad things. More importantly, the negative representations in which the instances of the anaphoric references are used in the first and second draft, which are sometimes reproduced in a recontextualized co-text in subsequent drafts (i.e., SD04, SD08 and SD09V), are not reproduced in the third draft (except for the instance *their obligations*). This is another evidence for the big differences between the representations provided by the Russian Federation, on one hand, and the remaining member states, on the other hand. Moreover, the possessivated expressions and their co-texts used at the end of the drafting process differ from the ones employed in the first drafts which give more negative representation of the Syrian Authorities. This change in representing this group of social actors can be said to go in the same direction which is to mitigate the representation of Syrian Authorities. One explanation for the use of this discursive strategy can be the need to avoid the possibility of Russia and China's use of the veto in case of disagreement.

### IX.3.1.5. Syrian Authorities and Syrian Government

The expressions *Syrian authorities* and *Syrian Government* are used by drafters more often than all the other expressions listed in Table 23 that are used to refer to the group of Syrian Authorities. A slight difference between the former expressions can be taken into consideration in the analysis. The expression *Syrian authorities* can be said to have a more general meaning than the nominal group *Syrian Government* which refers to a particular authority in Syria. Table 26 shows how *Syrian authorities* is more frequently used in the first drafts than in later ones while it is the opposite way for the expression *Syrian Government* which becomes more present at the end of the drafting process.

**Table 26: Presence of the expressions Syrian authorities and Syrian Government in fpthw**

	SD01	SD02V	SD03R	SD04	SD08	SD09V	SD10	SD11R	ResI	ResII
<b>Syrian authorities</b>	6.3	6	7.2	4.9	4.7	4.8	2.8	1.7	4.2	3.1
<b>Syrian Government</b>	2.5	4.8	5.2	2.4	2.8	2.8	10.5	13.9	9.6	7.9

The textual travels of the paragraphs in which these two expressions are mentioned reveal significant transformations that are made during the drafting process. In the following analysis, not all instances of expressions *Syrian government* and *Syrian authorities* are provided since they are dealt with in the section about the representation of social action. Moreover, some instances of *Syrian government* are examined earlier in this chapter (see section IX.3.1.2. The government of Syria, the Syrian government and Security forces).

The travel of some of the five paragraphs in which *Syrian authorities* is used in the first draft is illustrated in previous sections. For instance, in example (57) *Syrian authorities* is presented as the receiver of arms in Syria. This representation as well as its travel is explained in the section about the impersonalized representations through the term *Syria*. Another paragraph from SD01 which also includes *the Syrian authorities* is illustrated in (58). Its textual travel is examined in the section about the representation of social actors' (re)actions since most transformations made to its co-text are related to either the representation of SC reaction (i.e., how the verbal process *calls upon* changes) or the conceptualization of the aggressor's actions.

- (57) The Security Council [...] Calls upon all States to exercise vigilance and prevent the direct or indirect supply, sale or transfer **to the Syrian authorities** of arms and related materiel of all types; (SD01)
- (58) The Security Council [...] Calls upon the Syrian authorities to: [...] (c) immediately release all prisoners of conscience and arbitrarily detained persons (SD01)



The paragraph in (59) includes a negative representation of the authorities whose violent actions are compared to *crimes against humanity*. Such a comparison positions *Syrian authorities* as ‘a threat to international peace and security’. This harsh judgement is not reused in subsequent representations of this social actor.

- (59) The Security Council [...] Considering that the widespread and systematic attacks currently taking place in Syria **by the authorities** against its people may amount to crimes against humanity, (SD01)

Example (60), on the other hand, is reproduced and recontextualized in almost all drafts (with the exception of SD011R) as well as in the resolutions. In the first draft (example 60), the *Syrian authorities* are condemned by the SC for various violent actions which are mentioned later in the fourth, eighth and ninth drafts (example 63). However, the co-text is reduced in the second, third and tenth drafts (examples 61, 62, 64) as well as in the resolutions (example 65) as it includes less detail about the type of violations committed by this social actor. Moreover, an explicit reference to the affected social actor is deleted from the recontextualized co-texts in SD03R (example 62), SD10 (example 64), ResI and ResII (example 65).

- (60) The Security Council [...] Condemns the systematic violation of human rights, including the killings, arbitrary detentions, disappearances, and torture of peaceful demonstrators, human rights defenders and journalists **by the Syrian authorities**, (SD01)
- (61) The Security Council [...] Strongly condemns the continued grave and systematic human rights violations and the use of force against civilians by **the Syrian authorities**, (SD02V)
- (62) The Security Council [...] Strongly condemning continuing violence coming from **all parties**, including disproportionate use of force by **Syrian authorities**, (SD03R)
- (63) The Security Council [...] Condemns the continued widespread and gross violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms by **the Syrian authorities** such as the use of force against civilians, arbitrary executions, killing and persecution of protestors and members of the media, arbitrary detention, enforced disappearances, and interference with access to medical treatment, torture, sexual violence, and ill-treatment, including against children; (SD04, SD08, SD09V)
- (64) The Security Council [...] Condemning the widespread, systematic, and gross violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms by **the Syrian authorities**, (SD10)
- (65) The Security Council [...] Condemning the widespread violations of human rights by the **Syrian authorities**, as well as any human rights abuses by **armed groups**, (ResI, ResII)

More importantly, when forced to report Syrian authorities’ violence, Russian Federation presents the responsibility for violence as shared by other groups. In its draft, the Russian Federation condemns not only *the Syrian authorities* but also *all parties* for violence (example 62) in a way to mitigate the representation. This strategy is also observed in the resolutions as

*armed groups* are added in the same paragraph where *Syrian authorities* are reproached by the SC (example 65)<sup>192</sup>.

Another paragraph that is introduced in SD01 (example 66) and reused in subsequent documents deals with reminding *Syrian authorities* of its responsibility to protect the Syrian population and grant unhindered access for humanitarian organizations. It travels to SD02V (example 67) where the expression *Syrian authorities* is substituted by *Syrian Government*. In addition, the social actor, *the Secretary-General*, is added to the co-text. Yet, the aforementioned responsibilities are not reproduced in SD03R and they are replaced by a general reference to the duty to comply with obligations under international law (example 68).

- (66) The Security Council [...] Recalling **the Syrian authorities'** responsibility to protect its population, and to allow unhindered and sustained access for humanitarian aid and humanitarian organisations, (SD01)
- (67) The Security Council [...] Recalling **the Syrian Government's** primary responsibility to protect its population, and the Secretary-General's call for the Syrian Government to allow unhindered and sustained access for humanitarian aid and humanitarian organizations, (SD02V)
- (68) The Security Council [...] Recalling **the Syrian authorities** responsibility to comply with their obligations under applicable international law and to bring justice to account all those responsible for violence, (SD03R)
- (69) The Security Council [...] recalling **the Syrian authorities'** responsibility to protect the observers, (SD04)
- (70) The Security Council [...] Demands that **the Syrian government** immediately [...] protect its population, fully comply with its obligations under applicable international law [...] (SD04, SD08, SD09V)

In the co-text of the reproduced paragraph in the fourth draft (example 69), Syrian population is replaced by another social actor, *the observers*, who should be protected by *the Syrian authorities*. It should be noted that in the operative part of the same draft (i.e., SD04) there is a reference to the importance of protecting Syrian population and complying with the obligations under international law (example 70). The latter example is also present in SD08 and SD09V. None of the aforementioned paragraphs are reproduced in SD10, SD11R or in ResI and ResII. However, similar representations are used in these documents which either have *Syrian government* (SD10) instead of *Syrian authorities* (example 71) or include the latter expression with other ones that refer to different social actors such as *all parties* and *opposition* in SD11R (example 72) and *the parties* in ResI and ResII (example 73).

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<sup>192</sup> For more details about the addition of other social actors that are categorized as aggressors besides Syrian Authorities, check the section VIII.3.3. The inclusion of Vague Social Actors is in the previous chapter.

- (71) The Security Council [...] stresses in particular **the Syrian government**'s responsibility to ensure freedom of movement throughout the country for journalists and to respect the right of the Syrian people to demonstrate peacefully as legally guaranteed and to freedom of association (SD10)
- (72) The Security Council [...] Calls upon **all parties**, including **opposition**, to guarantee the safety of the advance team without prejudice to the freedom of movement and access, and stresses that the primary responsibility in this regard lies with **the Syrian authorities**; (SD11R)
- (73) The Security Council [...] Calls upon **the parties** to guarantee the safety of the advance team without prejudice to its freedom of movement and access, and stresses that the primary responsibility in this regard lies with **the Syrian authorities**; (ResI, ResII)

To sum up, examining the textual travels of the personalized representations of the group Syrian Authorities and its co-texts show how and in what way recontextualization occurs during the drafting process. Most of the transformations made by drafters are shown to be ideologically motivated and have different effects. Generally, negative representations of Syrian Authorities in the first and second drafts are either positively (re)evaluated or mitigated mainly in the third and eleventh drafts as well as in the adopted resolutions. For example, this social actor is evaluated positively as they are represented as the victim with whom we should sympathize in SD03R (examples 25, 26).

Moreover, later drafts and resolutions include more mitigated personalized representations than in the first drafts. To reach agreement, the deligitimation of the Syrian Authorities is handled carefully such as by either mitigating representations (as when the victim is deleted from subsequent representation or reducing the intensity of the violent event) or deleting them and making responsibility for violent actions shared by other actors with Syrian authorities. The next sub-section shows how representations can be further mitigated by opting for impersonalized representations of the Syrian Authorities.

### **IX.3.2. Impersonalized Representation**

The group of Syrian Authorities is rarely represented through impersonalization (Table 26) in comparison with personalization (Table 22). Impersonalized representations are realized through expressions that do not include the feature of human and they have a functional effect of backgrounding the identity of the social actors. As shown in Table 27, its use decreases during the drafting process and becomes almost absent in the resolutions.

**Table 27: Impersonalized representation of the group Syrian Authorities in fpthw**

	SD01	SD02V	SD03R	SD04	SD08	SD09V	SD10	SD11R	ResI	ResII
<b>Impersona- lization</b>	<b>7.6</b>	4.8	5.2	3.3	2.8	1.9	0.9	1.7	1.06	0.7

Among the seven types of impersonalization, explained in the sixth chapter, EVENT for participant metonymy, INSTITUTION for participant metonymy, spatialization, abstraction and instrumentalization are used by drafters in the representation of Syrian Authorities. Somatization and utterance autonomization are not employed to represent this group of social actors.

Event for participant metonymies are realized by the following nominals *the/from violence, the impact of violence, an aggravation of the situation*, and *addressing the legitimate aspirations and concerns of the population* which are used instead of an explicit reference to social actors. Two referential expressions *High Security Court* and *state institutions* realize INSTITUTION for participant metonymies in the material under scrutiny. Spatialization is also present through the noun *Syria* that is used in different contexts and the nominal group *the situation in Syria* in SD01. Abstraction is realized only once in the material through the nominal *the risks*. Instrumentatization is used through the nouns *reforms* and *measures*. Table 28 illustrates the textual travel of the aforementioned expressions.

The first six referential expressions are used in the first draft but they are reproduced differently. For example, while the violence is used again in three subsequent drafts, the nominal groups *the impact of violence, an aggravation of the situation, the situation in Syria* and *High Security Court* are not reemployed again in the material. It should be noted that the referential expression *Syrian judicial committee* (personalized representation) is included in Table 28 as a recontextualized form for the nominal group *High Security Court* (impersonalized representation) because they are two different referential representations of the Syrian judicial system<sup>193</sup>.

*Reforms* is reproduced in the third draft while *the risks* is used again in SD03R, SD04, SD08 and SD09V but with other recontextualized phrases *the role which Syria plays, the stability in Syria*. The prepositional phrase *to Syria* which is used for the first time in the second draft is a substitution for a personalized representation realized by the referential expression *Syrian authorities* in the first draft. The spatialization *to Syria* is replaced by another personalized representation realized by the nominal group *armed groups* in the third draft.

<sup>193</sup> The adjective, *Syrian* (classification), and the noun, *committee* (assimilation), in the expression *Syrian judicial committee* express a personalized representation since they include the feature of human in their meanings unlike the expression *High Security Court* (spatialization).

**Table 28: Textual travels of the referential expressions used in the impersonalized representations of Syrian Authorities**

	SD01	SD02V	SD03R	SD04	SD08	SD09V	SD10	SD11R	ResI	ResII
<b>The violence</b>	✓	✓	From violence	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>The impact of violence</b>	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>High Security Court</b>	✓	-	Syrian judicial committee	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>An aggravation of the situation</b>	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>The situation in Syria</b>	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>The risks</b>	✓	-	The role which Syria plays	Stability in Syria	✓	✓	-	-	-	-
<b>Reforms</b>	✓	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Measures</b>	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>To Syria</b>	Syrian authorities	To Syria	Armed groups	<u>Into</u> Syria	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>the legitimate aspirations and concerns of the population</b>	-	✓	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>State institutions</b>	-	-	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	-	-	-

Drafters of SD04 reuse the spatialization that is employed in SD02V through another prepositional phrase *into Syria*. The nominal group *political process* is introduced in the second draft and reproduced in subsequent drafts (SD03R, SD04, SD08 and SD09V). In the last two drafts (SD10 and SD11R) and resolutions, the nominal *process* is substituted for *transition*. It should be noted that both nominal groups are used with the compound *Syrian-led* which is considered to invoke a personalized representation (see previous section). The last nominal group *state institutions* is introduced in the third draft and is reproduced in the fourth, eighth and ninth drafts. The textual travel of these expressions and their co-texts are further studied in the next sections.

### ***IX.3.2.1. Violence, The Impact of Violence, Addressing The Legitimate Aspirations and Concerns of The Population***

The nominalization *violence* is used by drafters as an EVENT-FOR-PARTICIPANT metonymy instead of a direct reference to the social actor who is causing violence twice in the first draft but only one of them (example 74) travels to SD02V, SD03R, and SD04 (examples 75, 76, and 77). The instance of EVENT-FOR-PARTICIPANT metonymy in these drafts is represented as the reason why people are fleeing the country. By using the nominalization *violence*, drafters manage to conceal the identity of the agent who is responsible for the violent actions especially that in the third and fourth drafts different social actors are referred to as being aggressors.

- (74) The Security Council [...] Expressing concern [...] at the reports of numerous civilians trying to flee **the violence**; (SD01)
- (75) The Security Council [...] Demands that the Syrian authorities immediately: [...] (e) ensure the safe and voluntary return of those who have fled **the violence** to their homes; (SD02V)
- (76) The Security Council [...] Underscoring the importance of ensuring the voluntary return to their homes in safety and security of those who have fled **from violence**, (SD03R)
- (77) The Security Council [...] Underscoring the importance of ensuring the voluntary return to their homes in safety and security of those who have fled **from violence**, including Syrians who have fled to neighboring countries, (SD04)
- (78) The Security Council [...] Expressing its appreciation of the significant efforts that have been made by the States bordering Syria to assist **Syrians who have fled** across Syria's borders as a consequence of the violence, (ResII)

The textual travel of the paragraph from SD01 (example 74) to its three subsequent drafts (examples 75, 76, and 77) as well as to ResII (example 78) reveals that the co-texts of the representations differ from one draft to another. For instance, the paragraph is included in the operative part of the second draft unlike in SD01, SD03R, SD04 and ResII. Moreover, different referential expressions are used to represent the social actors that are fleeing from violence. These modifications are further explained in detail in the section about the representation of Syrian People.

The other instance of the nominalization *violence* that is used as an EVENT-FOR-PARTICIPANT metonymy in the first draft is not reproduced in subsequent drafts (example 79). In this impersonalized representation, the event *violence*, which is substituted for the social actor who is committing it, is represented as causing humanitarian damage on *a number of Syrian towns*. The latter, which is also an impersonalized representation of the victim, is further analysed in the chapter about the representation of Syrian people.

- (79) The Security Council [...] Echoing the Secretary-General's concern at the humanitarian impact of **the violence** on a number of Syrian towns, and fully supporting the UN's humanitarian assessment mission to Syria, (SD01)

The action of *addressing the legitimate aspirations and concerns of the population* is used in SD02V as the subject of a material process (*allow*) (example 80). This non-human agent that is employed by drafters instead of a direct reference to the social actor realizes an EVENT-FOR-PARTICIPANT metonymy, which is one type of objectivation. The paragraph in (80) is reproduced in its subsequent draft (i.e., SD03R) with minor modifications. The co-text after the material process *allow* is modified in SD03R and it is analysed in the section about the representation of social action related to the Syrian people.

- (80) The Security Council [...] Stressing that the only solution to the current crisis in Syria is through an inclusive and Syrian-led political process with the aim of effectively **addressing the legitimate aspirations and concerns of the population** which will allow the full exercise of fundamental freedoms for its entire population, including of the rights of freedom of expression, assembly and peaceful protest, and further stressing that such a political process can only be advanced through an environment free from any sort of violence, fear and intimidation; (SD02V)

This impersonalization is present because the social actor has not been identified in the whole paragraph<sup>194</sup>. Moreover, *the political process* is a non-human agent that is expected to be the backgrounded subject for the action of addressing. By opting for the prepositional phrase *with the aim of*, which has the role of providing more postmodification details, drafters allow for more vagueness about the identity of the agent that should address the legitimate aspirations and concerns of the population in Syria. Such vague constructions are considered by Scotto di Carlo (2013) as a characteristic of legal discourse which makes it difficult to find a reference to the human agent that should allow the full exercise of fundamental freedoms. In this way, the whole action of addressing becomes the grammatical subject of the material process *allow*.

### ***IX.3.2.2. Reforms, Measures***

Instrumentalization as one type of objectivation is also used by drafters to impersonally refer to the group of Syrian Authorities by means of the terms *reforms* and *measures*. Indeed, the latter instruments with which social actors normally carry out actions to either bring change (*reform*)

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<sup>194</sup> It should be noted that the expression *Syrian-led* can, to some extent, give us an idea about the social actors being referred to in the paragraph through the adjective *Syrian*. However, this expression is also vague since it does not specify which entities i.e., whether *Syrian authorities* or *Syrian opposition* are intended by the speaker.

or impose some restrictions (*measures*) are used in the material as two alternatives to refer to the Syrian authorities (example 81)<sup>195</sup>.

(81) The Security Council [...] Calls upon the Syrian authorities to: (b) take concrete measures to meet legitimate popular demands, including by adopting comprehensive **reforms** aimed at allowing genuine political participation, inclusive dialogue and effective exercise of fundamental freedoms, [...] and the lifting of **measures restricting the exercise of fundamental freedoms**; (SD01)

(82) The Security Council [...] Calls for an inclusive Syrian-led political process to be conducted in the environment free from violence and lead to the full implementation of **the reforms** that will effectively address the legitimate aspirations and concerns of Syria's people. (SD03R)

The term *measure* is used in such an impersonalized representation only once, even though it has been used 22 times in the whole corpus. From four uses of the term *reforms* in the material, two instances realize impersonalized representations of the Syrian authorities. The first instance of *reforms* which is present in the first draft (example 81) is reproduced in the third draft (example 82) in a 'new' co-text with two major modifications. The first transformation is about the co-text that comes after the term *reform*. The details provided in SD01 (example 81), *genuine political participation, inclusive dialogue and effective exercise of fundamental freedoms*, are replaced by a general and vague description *the legitimate aspirations and concerns of Syria's people* in SD03R (example 82).

More importantly, by opting for a different type of process (*address* vs. *allow*) for the term *reform* in SD03R has significant implications. By replacing a transactive material process with a verbal one, drafters bring a difference in the whole representation. In other words, unlike *address*, the transactive material process (*allow*) is supposed to invoke a force dynamic pattern or letting of action in which *the reforms*, which stand for *Syrian authorities*, should let Syrians (they are not linguistically represented in example 82) practice their rights and freedoms. In such representation, *the Syrian authorities*, impersonally referred to through the expression, *reforms*, are conceptualized as the Antagonist who should stop blocking the Agonist (Syrians). This negative image of *Syrian authorities* is mitigated in SD03R, as the Russian Federation changes the material process, *allow*, with the verbal process, *address*, in its draft to avoid delegitimizing this social actor.

It should be noted that other paragraphs like the ones in (81 and 82) are present in almost all the drafts but without the term *reforms*. Instead of using the latter, drafters of SD02V, for example,

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<sup>195</sup> The action of *aiming at allowing genuine political participation* is assigned to *reforms* and not to *Syrian authorities*.



opt for an EVENT for participant metonymy *addressing the legitimate aspirations and concerns of the population* as a non-human agent who will allow the population to exercise its fundamental freedoms (example 80). In other instances, neither personalized nor impersonalized references to the social actor that should address Syrian population's legitimate aspirations is explicitly mentioned. In other words, because of the complex structure of the paragraph, the social actor is backgrounded and hence left vague and unspecified (example 83).

(83) The Security Council [...] Calls for an inclusive **Syrian-led political process** conducted in an environment free from violence, fear, intimidation, and extremism, and aimed at **effectively addressing** the legitimate aspirations and concerns of Syria's population, and encourages the Syrian opposition and all sections of Syrian society to contribute to such a process; (SD02V)

The textual travels reveal the process of producing vaguer texts as they go from an impersonalized representation to a complete concealment of the social actor. This aspect is explored in more details in the chapter about the backgrounding of social actors.

### ***IX.3.2.3. The Risks, The Situation in Syria, an Aggravation of The Situation***

The three nominal groups *the risks* (abstraction), *the situation in Syria* (spatialization), and an *aggravation of the situation* (EVENT for participant metonymy) which realize three different types of objectivation are analysed in the same section for they are used in the same paragraph (example 84). The latter is a very significant portion from the operative part of SD01: first it invokes a negative representation of the Syrian authorities, which is mitigated through the use of impersonalized references of the aforementioned social actor, and second it includes a direct involvement of the SC in the conflict.

(84) The Security Council [...] Concerned **by the risks** to regional peace and stability posed **by the situation in Syria**, mindful of its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security under the Charter of the United Nations, and determined to prevent **an aggravation of the situation**; (SD01)

The paragraph in (84) starts by assigning the quality of being dangerous, by means of the term *risks* (abstraction), to the *Syrian authorities* who are impersonally referred to through a spatialization, *the situation in Syria*. By substituting *the situation in Syria* for *Syrian authorities*, drafters probably attempt to avoid face-threatening acts. Yet, even though the negative representation is alleviated and mitigated by using impersonalizations, this paragraph in (84) can be interpreted as a first step toward the adoption of a resolution under the Chapter VII of the UN Charter. The latter which is related to "Action with Respect to Threats to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace and Acts of Aggression" would make the resolution binding and allow for a probable

intervention in the future. Even though drafters do not directly mention the common phrase “Acting under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter”, they opt for a similar formula in the rest of the paragraph (example 84). Indeed, the SC considers “its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security under the Charter of the United Nations [...]” when taking further actions against the Syrian authorities.

The same paragraph (example 84) includes another impersonalized representation, *an aggravation of the situation* (EVENT for participant metonymy), to refer to *the Syrian authorities*. Indeed, the SC expresses its determination to put an end to what is happening in Syria which is caused by Syrian authorities. This impersonalization is used instead of a more congruent representation that should involve a personalized reference to the social actor such as “*attacks currently taking place in Syria by the authorities*” which are used elsewhere in the same draft. By opting for an indirect reference to the *Syrian authorities*, the SC tries to save the latter’s face.

This impersonalized representation as well as its co-text is not used again during the drafting process. As a matter of fact, this is the only instance where the SC explicitly expresses its determination to put an end to the violent actions of the aggressor (who is the Syrian Authorities in SD01) in order to avert a crisis in Syria. This direct involvement of the SC in the conflict is not repeated during the drafting process as it becomes more detached from the situation. However, the first part of the paragraph in (84) which represents Syria as playing a negative role in the region (it poses risks to the peace and stability of the region) can be compared with a paragraph from SD03R which also evokes the role of Syria (example 85). Indeed, in contrast to the destructive role that *Syrian authorities* are represented to play in SD01 (example 84), the third draft rather talks about the positive role played by Syria in the maintenance of peace and stability in the region (example 85).

(85) The Security Council [...] Mindful of the role which **Syria** plays in the maintenance of peace and stability in the region, (SD03R)

(86) The Security Council [...] Mindful **that stability in Syria** is key to peace and stability in the region, (SD04, SD08, SD09V)

In example (85), the Syrian authorities are also impersonalized by referring to them by the impersonal term *Syria* which realizes a spatialization. The positive representation of the group Syrian Authorities in SD03R (example 85) is modified in the subsequent draft and it is replaced by a more neutral representation (example 86). The fourth draft considers that *stability in Syria* is a key factor to peace and stability in the region. With opting for the nominalization *stability*,

drafters manage to conceal the identity of the social actor more than in the aforementioned impersonalizations. This representation in SD04 (example 86) is reused in SD08 and SD09V without any further modifications.

Briefly, the examples and the analysis of the textual travels of the term *the risks* show the differences in attitudes between the Russian and the other member states in the council. While the latter negatively represents the Syrian Authorities, the Russian Federation refers to the same social actor positively. More importantly, the textual travels reveal two important findings. The Russian Federation imposes its agenda by contradicting the representations of previous drafts. To reach consensus on subsequent drafts, drafters opt for the avoidance strategy. In other words, they do use neither the negative or positive representations from SD01 and SD03R respectively. They rather use a mitigated and neutral representation in SD04, SD08, and SD09V (example 86). Moreover, the group of Syrian Authorities is impersonalized through the term *Syria* in other instances which are explored in the next section.

#### ***IX.3.2.4. To Syria***

Other impersonalized representations of Syrian Authorities in the material are realized through spatialization. The impersonal term *Syria* (as a geographical space) is used, in SD02V, as an alternative to refer to the social actors who are receiving weapons (example 88). This impersonalization is the result of a recontextualization process. Indeed, the first draft contains a paragraph with a similar co-text in which the receiver of weapons is directly referred to through the personalized referential expression, *the Syrian authorities* (classification and functionalization), (example 87). These divergent representational choices show that identifying the receiver of the weapons seems to be a contentious issue in the council. Therefore, to mitigate disagreement and reach consensus in the second draft, drafters opt for an impersonalized representation in SD02V instead of a personalized one.

(87) The Security Council [...] Calls upon all States to exercise vigilance and **prevent the direct or indirect supply, sale or transfer to the Syrian authorities of arms and related materiel of all types**; (SD01)

(88) The Security Council [...] Calls upon all States to exercise vigilance and **restraint over the direct or indirect supply, sale or transfer to Syria of arms and related materiel of all types, as well as technical training, financial resources or services, advice, or other services or assistance related to such arms and related material**; (SD02V)

This issue of supplying weapons is invoked again in the third and fourth draft. Like in SD01 (example 87), the drafter of SD03R (i.e., the Russian Federation) opts for a personalized representation of the receiver of arms (example 89). However, the identity of the social actor in

SD03R (*armed groups*) is different from the one in the first draft (*Syrian authorities*). Changing the group of social actors by another one can be considered to be a radical type of substitution during the recontextualization process which shows a drastic difference in attitudes between the Russian Federation and the other member states concerning the Syrian conflict.

(89) The Security Council [...] Expressing great concern at the illegal supply of weapons to the armed groups in Syria [...], (SD03R)

(90) The Security Council [...] Expressing grave concern at the continued transfer of weapons into Syria which fuels the violence [...], (SD04)

In the fourth draft, an impersonalized representation is employed to refer to the receiver of weapons through the spatialization *into Syria* (example 90). This alternation between personalized and impersonalized representations from the first to the fourth draft is a good example of how “[...] discourse can also be the focus of struggle, i.e., a struggle for the power of representation” (Wenden, 2005, p 89) in the Security Council and how member states opt for impersonalization as a mitigation strategy to overcome their disagreement. These interpretations that come out of the analysis given here can be also affirmed by the fact/the finding that these divergent representations concerning the receiver of weapons as well as the issue of supplying weapons disappear after the fourth draft and they are totally absent in the adopted resolutions.

As the paragraph in (87) travels from SD01 to the three subsequent drafts (88, 89, and 90), its position in the draft as well as its co-text changes. The paragraphs about supplying weapons are listed in the operative parts of the first and second draft (examples 87, 88). Their position give them more prominence as they are part of the measures that are introduced by the SC. In the third and fourth drafts, the paragraphs are moved to the preamble part in which the SC expresses its concern about the issue of supplying arms without calling upon the states to stop the direct transfer of weapons into Syria (examples 89, 90). In addition, the co-texts in SD01 and SD02V (examples 87, 88) include more details than in the third and fourth drafts (examples 89, 90). It should be noted that in the latter draft (i.e., SD04), *the continued transfer of weapons*, which is an impersonalized representation of the social actor that is supplying arms<sup>196</sup>, is conceptualized as being one of the reasons for causing violence (example 90). The textual transformations that are made to the co-text of the paragraphs as well as changing their positions in the third and fourth drafts can also be part of the mitigation strategies.

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<sup>196</sup> The social actor who is responsible for supplying arms is absent in the representations about this issue in the first four drafts. Indeed, the supplier is a suppressed entity because it is not mentioned elsewhere in the drafts (see section VIII.3.2. Inclusion, exclusion, and suppression of Supplier of Weapons, Syrian opposition, Extremists and Armed Groups during the drafting process).

The material includes other instances of the impersonal term *Syria* that is used in other contexts. In the second draft, it is employed instead of a personalized reference to the social actor that should review the implementation of the resolution (i.e., the draft) (example 92). In the fourth draft, the impersonal term *Syria* realizes two impersonalizations (example 93). The first one coincides with the impersonalization in SD02V (example 92) about reviewing the implementation of the resolution while *Syria* is also employed to impersonally refer to the social actor who does not comply with the measures (example 93).

- (91) The Security Council [...] Requests the Secretary-General to report on **implementation** of this resolution within 14 days of its adoption; (SD01)
- (92) The Security Council [...] Expresses its intention to review **Syria**'s implementation of this resolution within 30 days and to consider its options, including measures under Article 41 of the Charter of the United Nations; (SD02V)
- (93) The Security Council [...] Decides to review **Syria**'s implementation of this resolution with 15 days and, in the event that Syria has not complied, to adopt further measures; (SD04)
- (94) The Security Council [...] Decides to review **implementation** of this resolution within 21 days and, in the event of non-compliance, to consider further measures, in consultation with the League of Arab States. (SD08, SD09V<sup>197</sup>)
- (95) The Security Council [...] Expresses its intention to assess the implementation of this resolution and to consider further steps as appropriate (ResI, ResII)

Interestingly, the same paragraph that travels from SD02V to SD04 is also present in almost all drafts but they do not include impersonalizations of the social actors. Indeed, the latter are backgrounded since drafters of SD01, SD08, SD09V, ResI and ResII opt for one of the nominalizations *implemetation* and *non-compliance* without elaborating the participant (example 91, 94, 95). It should be noted that while impersonalization blurs the identity of the social actor to some degree, backgrounding has the effect of completely concealing the identity of the social actors. True that the reader can infer with reasonable certainty who the backgrounded social actors are since they should be mentioned elsewhere in the text, but in impersonalization the social actors can still be inferred from the impersonal term without making extra effort of retrieving the social actor from the text. Moreover, inferring who the backgrounded social actor is can be problematic in some texts of the material that include more than one group of social actors that are doing the same actions.

It is important to tackle to textual travel of these instances from the first draft till the adopted resolutions. The paragraph of the impersonalization in SD02V has its equivalent in the first draft

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<sup>197</sup> The same paragraph employed in the eighth draft travels to SD09V where its co-text is slightly modified as the last part *in consultation with the League of Arab States* is deleted in SD09V.

(example 91). The latter includes a more simple paragraph in comparison with the one in SD02V to which the following non-finite clause is added *to consider its options, including measures under Article 41 of the Charter of the United Nations* (example 92). This addition is highly significant as the SC activates *Article 41* which is part of Chapter VII Action with respect to the Peace. It states that:

The Security Council may **decide what measures not involving the use of armed force are to be employed** to give effect to its decisions, and it may call upon the Members of the United Nations to apply such measures. These may include **complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio, and other means of communication, and the severance of diplomatic relations** (UN Charter; emphasis added)<sup>198</sup>.

This article does not authorize an intervention or the use of armed force but it allows the Security Council to impose sanctions on Syria which can be a step toward adopting another resolution that activates other articles under the same chapter especially *Article 42*.

This reference to Article 41 in (92) is deleted in subsequent drafts. More importantly, in its draft, SD03R (example 96), the Russian Federation expresses its total rejection of what is mentioned in the second draft. Moreover, even though the nominalization *implementation* is used five times in SD03R, it is not employed at the end of the third draft (example 97). Unlike all the other drafts (examples 91-94) and the adopted resolutions (example 95), SD03R uses the nominal *the situation* (example 97) instead of *the implementation*. In this way, the Russian Federation further alleviates the measure and puts no pressure on the Syrian Authorities<sup>199</sup>.

(96) The Security Council [...] Decides that **nothing** is [sic!] **this resolution shall be interpreted as an authorization of any sort of military interference in Syria** by anyone (SD03R)

(97) The Security Council [...] Decides to consider **the situation** again 30 days after the adoption of the present resolution. (SD03R)

The paragraph in the fourth draft (example 93) is a recontextualization of the one from SD02V (example 92). Indeed, the deleted clause about Article 41 in the second draft is replaced by the following part in SD04 “in the event that Syria has not complied, to adopt further measures”. As it has already been mentioned, the impersonalization which is added in SD04 (*in the event that Syria has not complied*), is replaced by a nominalization in SD08 (*in the event of non-compliance*) by replacing the *that-construction* by the preposition *of*, which requires a nominal

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<sup>198</sup> Source: <http://legal.un.org/repertory/art41.shtml> (Last accessed: April 2018).

<sup>199</sup> Another paragraph that can be considered as an additional recontextualized formulation of the paragraph in SD02V is present in SD10 “The Security Council [...] Expresses its determination, in the event that the Syrian government does not implement its commitments to consider further measures as appropriate”.

after it which led to the concealment of the participant. The same paragraph employed in the eighth draft travels to SD09V where its co-text is slightly modified as the last part *in consultation with the League of Arab States* in SD08 (example 94) is deleted in SD09V.

This paragraph continues its travel to SD10, SD11R and the adopted resolutions. The paragraphs in the latter documents are clear examples of recontextualization processes as their co-texts are composed of different portions from their previous drafts. In SD10 and SD11R, the first part of the paragraph in which the SC “requests the Secretary-General to report to the council on the implementation of this resolution” is taken from SD01 (example 91)<sup>200</sup>. The paragraphs in the resolutions are composed of portions from SD02V “The Security Council [...] Expresses its intention” (example 92) and the textual fragment “and to consider further measures” that is taken from SD08 and SD09V (example 94).

It should be noted that another slight difference between the paragraphs is related to the period of time set by the SC within which the implementation of the resolution should be reported or reviewed. From SD01 to SD09V, drafters use the phrase *within [...] days*, with different number of days<sup>201</sup>. In SD10, the date is left unspecified, *on [XX April]*, and it is set in SD11R *by April 19, 2012*. The latter specific date is also used in the first adopted resolution while the phrase *within 15 days* and *every 15 days thereafter* are employed in ResII. These modifications concerning time expressions show how drafters attempt to provide more specific dates in the adopted resolutions.

### ***IX.3.2.5. The High Security Court, State Institutions***

Another impersonalized representation is present in the first draft, and it is realized by another type of objectivation which is INSTITUTION FOR PARTICIPANT metonymy. The latter is used to impersonally refer to the social actors working for one department of the Syrian judiciary by means of the referential expression *the High Security Court* (example 98).

(98) The Security Council [...] Calls upon the Syrian authorities to take concrete measures to meet legitimate popular demands, including by [...] promptly implementing the abolition of the High Security Court (SD01)

In (98), the Security Council asks *the Syrian authorities* to take concrete measures, including the abolition of *the High Security Court*. Such a negative representation, which serves to delegitimize this essential branch of authority, is an indirect attempt to discredit the social actors

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<sup>200</sup> There is only one difference between the paragraph in SD01 and the ones in SD10 and SD11R. In the latter, the social actor *the council*, to whom the Secretary-General should report, is added.

<sup>201</sup> In SD03R, another formulation is used to refer to the date when the situation should be again considered **30 days after the adoption of the present resolution**.

working for it. Opting for an impersonalized reference instead of directly identifying the social actors<sup>202</sup> in (98) can be considered to be a mitigating strategy used by drafters to avoid causing face-threatening acts. Still, the first draft is considered to include more negative representations about the group of the Syrian Authorities than the other drafts, even though it employs some mitigating strategies.

The Russian Federation proposes a positive representation of another organ of the Syrian Judiciary in its draft. In SD03R, the Syrian government is urged to “complete without delay investigations carried out by the Syrian judicial committee into all events in which civilians and security personnel were killed or injured”. These different representations of these two Syrian judiciary organs in SD01, on one hand, and in SD03R, on the other hand, is another indication of the opposing attitudes in the council concerning the legitimacy of the Syrian Judiciary system. More importantly, the positive representation in SD03R can be interpreted as a response to the negative representation of the Syrian Judiciary authority provided in SD01. This re-evaluation by the Russian Federation illustrates the recontextualization process during drafting resolutions which can be used by member states to impose their agendas.

The third draft includes another positive impersonalized representation of the group of Social Authorities which is realized by INSTITUTION FOR PARTICIPANT metonymy (example 99). The expression *state institutions* is used in SD03R, SD04, SD08 as well as in SD09V to impersonally refer to the social actors working at these institutions. They are represented as victims of attacks by different groups (examples 99, 100, 101). Victimizing the group of Syrian Authorities contradicts the mostly used representations about the social actors of this group who is rather conceptualized as Aggressor. This representation, which is first introduced in SD03R, is embedded in three subsequent drafts (SD04, SD08 and SD09V). This shows that drafters of the fourth, eighth and ninth drafts seem to be willing to reach consensus and avoid the Russian and Chinese vetoes again.

(99) The Security Council [...] Calling for an immediate end to all violence and provocations and condemning the activity of extremist groups, including attacks against state institutions, law enforcement personnel and urging all sides to act with utmost restraint. (SD03R)

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<sup>202</sup> It should be noted that using *the High Security Court* may look like a normal way of referring to this authority; however, another possibility to referring to it can also be through including the names or exact functions of the social actors working for the High Security Court. For example, the referential scope of *the Syrian Judicial committee*, which is employed in SD03R, is more specific and expresses a personalized representation.



- (100) The Security Council [...] **Demands** that all parties in Syria, including **armed groups**, immediately stop any violence or reprisals, including attacks against State institutions, irrespective of where it comes from, in accordance with LAS initiative; (SD04)
- (101) The Security Council [...] **Condemns all violence**, irrespective of where it comes from, and in this regard demands that all parties in Syria, including armed groups, immediately stop all violence or reprisals, including attacks against State institutions, in accordance with **the League of Arab States** initiative; (SD08, SD09V)

Furthermore, the textual travel of the first paragraph (example 99) from SD03R to SD04 and then to SD08 and SD09V shows interesting transformations that include deletions, additions and even substitutions of some lexical terms for other ones. First of all, the last part in (99), which includes a personalized representation of another victim, *law enforcement personnel*, (see section IX.3.1.2. The government of Syria, the Syrian government and Security forces) as well as another non-finite clause, that starts with *urging*, are absent in (100) and (101).

Instead of these textual elements that are deleted, drafters add the following phrases *irrespective of where it comes from, in accordance with LAS initiative* in SD04 (example 100), SD08 and SD09V (example 101). In the latter two drafts, the first phrase *irrespective of where it comes from* is added at the beginning of the paragraph (example 101) whereas it is embedded at the end of the paragraph in SD04 (example 100). Changing its position is important as it helps reduce the complexity of the paragraph. In other words, in (101), the entity that is intended to be postmodified by the aforementioned phrase is clear to the reader as *irrespective of where it comes from* is added directly after the nominalization *violence* which is not the case in (100). This transformation reveals an important aspect during the process of drafting resolutions: drafters also pay attention to the readability of the text and make efforts to make it clearer.

Instead of using the abbreviation *LAS*, as in SD04 (example 100), the full name, *the League of Arab States*, is used in SD08 and SD09V (example 101). This correction can be part of the graphological features that should be respected when drafting resolutions. This shows that drafters are aware of such errors during the drafting process and try to introduce a draft that is 'ready' to be voted on.

In the same line with the previous observation, drafters of SD04, SD08 and SD09V also change the position of the paragraph in the text in comparison with its position in SD03R. In the latter draft, the paragraph is included in the preamble part (example 99) whereas it is moved to the operative part in the three subsequent drafts (examples 100, 101). This transformation can be explained by the fact that *demands* should be used in the operative part for listing the measures introduced by the SC. It is probable that this transformation is made to abide by the writing and

style guidelines that are set by the UN for drafting UNSC resolutions. This transformation is another type of rearrangement since drafters change the location of paragraphs from one draft to another.

Moreover, the directive verbs *calling for* and *urging* used in SD03R are replaced by another directive that has a stronger force of imposition, *demand*, in SD04, SD08 and SD09V (examples 100, 101). Again, this shows the difference between drafts proposed by the Russian Federation and other ones introduced by the rest of member states. While the former tries to reduce the intensity of the measures in its draft, the other member state opts for intensification strategies through the use of directives with stronger force of imposition.

One more modification that is made during the travel of paragraph (example, 99) from SD03R to its subsequent drafts is related to the representation of the social actors who are responsible for the attacks against *state institutions*. In the third draft, the Russian Federation considers the attacks to be caused by *extremist groups* (example 99). The drafters of SD04, SD08 and SD09V replace the aforementioned referential expression by *armed groups* (example 100, 101). Both expressions invoke negative appraisal but with different degrees of negativity. *Extremist groups* can be said to invoke a stronger negative connotation than *armed groups*. This shows how intensification strategies are present in SD03R, but they used by the Russian Federation only when representing another group of social actors as Aggressors and not the Syrian Authorities.

#### **IX.4. Backgrounding of Syrian Authorities and Vague Social Actors**

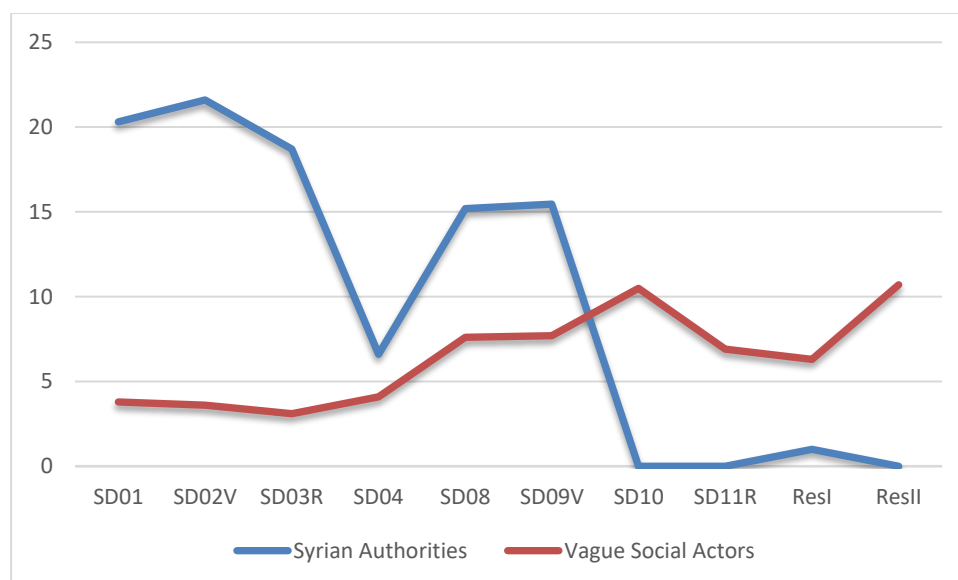
In this section, the backgrounding of the Syrian Authorities and Vague Social Actors is analysed in relation to each other. According to Van Leeuwen (2008), backgrounding which is a less radical type of exclusion, is when social actors that are excluded from a given action are mentioned elsewhere in the text and can be inferred with reasonable (though never total) certainty who they are.

As shown in Table 29, the frequencies of backgrounding the groups of Syrian Authorities and Vague Social Actors vary from one draft to another. Moreover, the patterns of these groups differ from each other. Indeed, while the group of Syrian Authorities is more backgrounded at the beginning of the drafting process than at its end, the group of Vague Social Actors is backgrounded more in the last drafts and the adopted resolutions (Table 29).

**Table 29: Backgrounding of Syrian Authorities and Vague Social Actors in frequencies pthw**

	SD01	SD02V	SD03R	SD04	SD08	SD09V	SD10	SD11R	ResI	ResII
<b>Syrian Authorities</b>	20.3	21.6	18.7	6.6	15.2	15.45	0	0	1	0
<b>Vague Social Actors</b>	3.8	3.6	3.1	4.1	7.6	7.7	10.5	6.9	6.3	10.7

In the backgrounding pattern of the group Syrian Authorities, there are two phases of drastic decline (Figure 33). The frequencies decrease from 18.7, in SD03R, to 6.6 in SD04 and after SD09V, the backgrounding pattern declines to the zero level. On the contrary, the backgrounding pattern of the group Vague Social Actors slightly decreases in SD03R and SD11R (Figure 33). However, it is more frequently employed in the middle of the drafting process (SD08, SD09V and SD10) as well as at the end of the drafting process (ResII) (Figure 33).

**Figure 33: The backgrounding patterns of Syrian Authorities and Vague Social Actors**

It seems that the group of Syrian Authorities is not backgrounded in the last two drafts and both resolutions. However, possible instantiations backgrounding this group of social actors are classified in the group of Vague Social Actors since they can also refer to the Syrian Authorities as well as to other groups of social actors. In other words, in drafts that include more than one group of social actors in the category of Aggressor, a nominalization such as *violence* (used without specifying the cause i.e., the actor responsible for violence) can be problematic. Indeed, in such cases, it is difficult to infer which one of the groups, that are presented as the Aggressors elsewhere in the same text, is backgrounded. In this way, the drafter has the possibility to keep the identification of the agent blurred in order to avoid assigning responsibility.

### IX.4.1. The Realizations of Backgrounding of Syrian Authorities and Vague Social Actors

Backgrounding can be realized by passive agent deletion, non-finite clauses (that function as a grammatical participant), beneficiary deletion, nominalizations, process noun, processes realized as adjectives or past participle (epithets/resultant state of an action schema), an action in the middle voice, and simple ellipses in non-finite clauses with participles and in infinitival clauses with *to*.

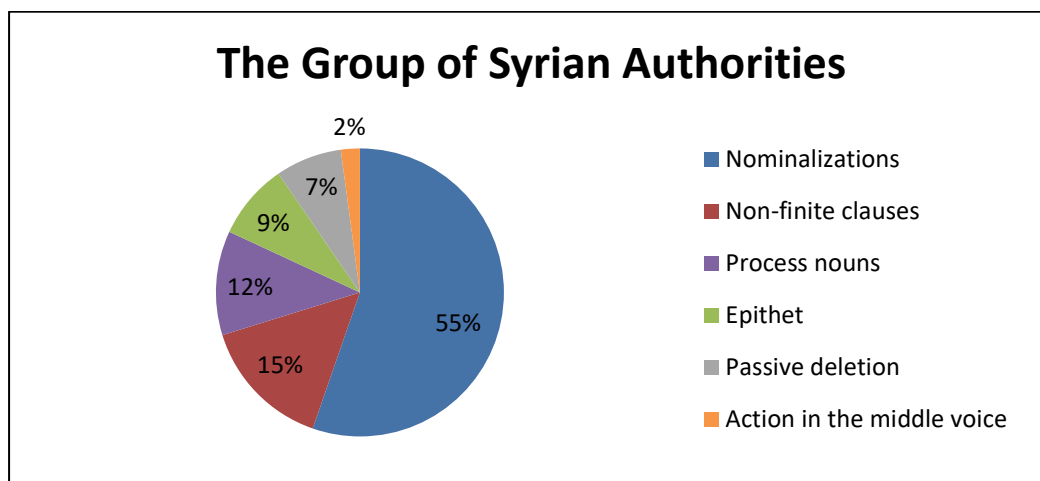
Drafters employ six types from the aforementioned realizations to background the groups of Syrian Authorities and the Vague Social Actors in the material. They are nominalizations (example 102), simple ellipses in non-finite clauses (example 103), process noun (example 104) passive agent deletion (example 105), an action in the middle voice (example 106), and resultant state of an action schema (example 107). It should be noted that the examples (102- 107) are selected instances from the material that illustrates the backgrounding of the Syrian Authorities.

- (102) The Security Council [...] Welcoming the Secretary-General's statements articulating continued concerns about the on- going **violence** and humanitarian needs, and calling for an independent investigation of all **killings** during recent demonstrations, (SD01)
- (103) The Security Council [...] Underlining the need **to respect** the freedoms of peaceful assembly and of expression, including freedom of the media and access for international media, (SD01)
- (104) The Security Council [...] Stressing that the only solution to the current crisis in Syria is through an inclusive and Syrian-led political process with the aim of effectively **addressing** the legitimate aspirations (SD02V, SD03R)
- (105) The Security Council [...] Welcoming also Human Rights Council resolution AIHRCIRES/S- J6/1 of 29 April 2011, including the decision [...] to establish the facts and circumstances of [...] the crimes **perpetrated**, [...], (SD01)
- (106) The Security Council [...] Stressing that the only solution to the current crisis in Syria is through an inclusive and Syrian-led political process [...] and further stressing that such a political process **can only be advanced** through an environment free from any sort of violence, fear and intimidation, (SD02V, SD03R)
- (107) The Security Council [...] Expressing concern at the reports of shortages of medical supplies to treat **the wounded**, (SD01)

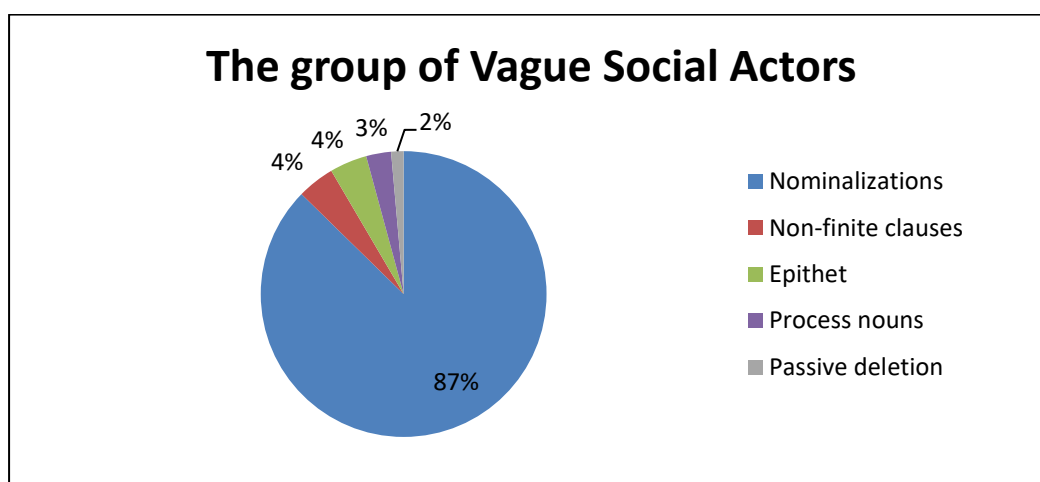
The type of realization that is frequently used by drafters in the material to background both groups is nominalization (Figures 34, 35). Non-finite clauses resulted from simple ellipses are the second type of realization that is mostly employed. The realizations of process nouns and epithet have the third and fourth positions respectively in the group of Syrian Authorities. However, while process nouns take the third position in the type of realizations that background the group of Vague Social Actors, epithet comes after the former. Passive deletion comes in the

fifth position in the types of realizations that background both groups. The realization action in the middle voice is the least often used to background the group of Syrian Authorities. It is not frequently present as it is employed only in the second and third drafts.

The material contains a varied set of nominalizations that backgrounds these two groups of social actors. They can be classified according to their meanings and the representations they invoke. The first group of nominalizations denotes violence and conceptualizes the backgrounded social actor as an Aggressor. It is composed of *violence, violations, killings, deaths, fear, intimidation, attacks, suppression, an immediate end to violence, obstruction, sustained cessation*. Other nominalizations, such as *implementation* and *non-compliance*, also background social actors that are categorized as Aggressors who refuse to abide by the rules and should implement the measures introduced by the Security Council. Social actors that belong to the category of Helper are also backgrounded through the following nominalizations: *investigation*, etc.



**Figure 34: The realizations of backgrounding of the group of Syrian Authorities**



**Figure 35: The realizations of backgrounding of the group of Vague Social Actors**

Three other realizations also represent the violent actions besides the nominalizations that are mentioned above. These are the passive deletion (*were killed and injured*, etc.), the resultant state of an action schema (*the wounded, the casualties*, etc.). It should be noted that all of these aforementioned realizations can also cause the backgrounding of the Victim (i.e., Syrian people), once it is not mentioned in the co-text. Such cases that conceptualize the violent actions are analysed in the chapter about the representation of social action for two reasons. First, these realizations invoke conceptualizations of the actions that should be studied in that section.

Added to that, since they can background the aggressor as well as the victim, it is better to study both in the same chapter to avoid being repetitive and to show how they are foregrounded or backgrounded relative to each other.

#### **IX.4.2. Backgrounding and Vagueness**

Signs of vagueness are present in the instances in which the social actor who should take a particular action is backgrounded. They become more frequent after the second draft and especially at the end of the drafting process since more groups are represented as responsible for similar actions and vague and all-inclusive referential expressions are employed (see section VIII.3.3. The Inclusion of Vague Social Actors). For example, in (108), the social actor that should implement the measures of introduced in the draft (i.e., of SD01) is vague because more than one group of social actors are addressed by drafters in the first draft to carry similar actions. For example, the group of Other States is called upon by the SC, in SD01, in order to “exercise vigilance and prevent the direct or indirect supply, sale or transfer to the Syrian authorities of arms and related materiel of all types” (SD01). Therefore, this measure that should be implemented by the group of Other States is invoked through the nominalization *implementation*. The latter can refer to not only to the Syrian Authorities who is addressed several times to carry out some actions but also to other groups that are asked to execute some actions.

(108) The Security Council [...] Requests the Secretary-General to report on **implementation** of this resolution within 14 days of its adoption; (SD01)

(109) The Security Council [...] and calling for an independent **investigation** of all killings during recent (SD01)

(110) The Security Council [...] Stressing the need **to hold to account** those responsible for attacks, including by forces under the control of the Government of Syria, (SD01)

The nominalization *investigation* in (109) is used without specifying the actor who is responsible for carrying out the action which is also mentioned elsewhere in the same text with two different groups of social actors. Indeed, besides the Syrian authorities who are called upon by the SC “to

launch a credible and impartial investigation in accordance with its international obligations”, a mission is dispatched to Syria “to investigate all alleged violations of international human rights law and to establish the facts and circumstances of such violations and of the crimes perpetrated” (SD01). Similarly, the backgrounded social actor in (110) who is assigned the responsibility to hold to account the ones causing violence can be *the Syrian authorities* or *the mission* which belongs to the group of UN Team.

In this case, it is difficult to infer which one(s) of the social actors, that are presented as the Aggressors or Helper elsewhere in the same text, is or are backgrounded. In this way, the drafter has the possibility to keep the identification of the agent blurred in order to avoid assigning responsibility.

### **IX.5. Conclusion**

The different attitudes in the council manifest through the representational choices of drafters to refer to the Syrian Authorities. While SD01 includes more direct and negative representations of this group than in any other draft, the Russian Federation tries to impose its opposite attitude by providing positive representations of the Syrian Authorities. These are shown through the transformation of rearrangement for the role allocated to this group. It is presented as Victim for the first time in SD03R. Moreover, when forced to report on the violent actions of Syrian Authorities they opt for mitigated representations. Transformations made by Russia are mostly done to fulfil its interests and impose its agenda while modifications by other drafters are rather made to mitigate some representations in order to reach consensus. Mitigation strategies by using impersonalization, neutral lexical terms or vague language and backgrounding.

## THE REPRESENTATION OF SYRIAN PEOPLE DURING THE DRAFTING PROCESS

### X.1. Introduction

This chapter provides an analysis of the group Syrian people which is classified under the category of Victim that is represented as either suffering from violence (patient) or in need of help (beneficiary). It includes six sections. It starts with a quantitative overview about the inclusion of this group of social actors. In the third and fourth part, the personalized and impersonalized referential expressions that are used by drafters to represent the Syrian People are qualitatively analysed respectively. The same parts also tackle the textual travels of these representational choices and their co-texts throughout the drafting process. Finally, this chapter also includes a more detailed examination of the backgrounding pattern of the Syrian People.

### X.2. Inclusion of Syrian People

This group is most frequently represented in the first draft with 30.4 occurrences while the draft proposed by the Russian Federation at the end of the drafting process (SD11R) has the lowest frequency concerning the presence of Syrian People (Table 30). Interestingly, the third lowest frequency, after 8.6 in SD11R and 9.5 in SD10, is 13.5 in the third draft which is also introduced by the Russian Federation at the beginning of the drafting process.

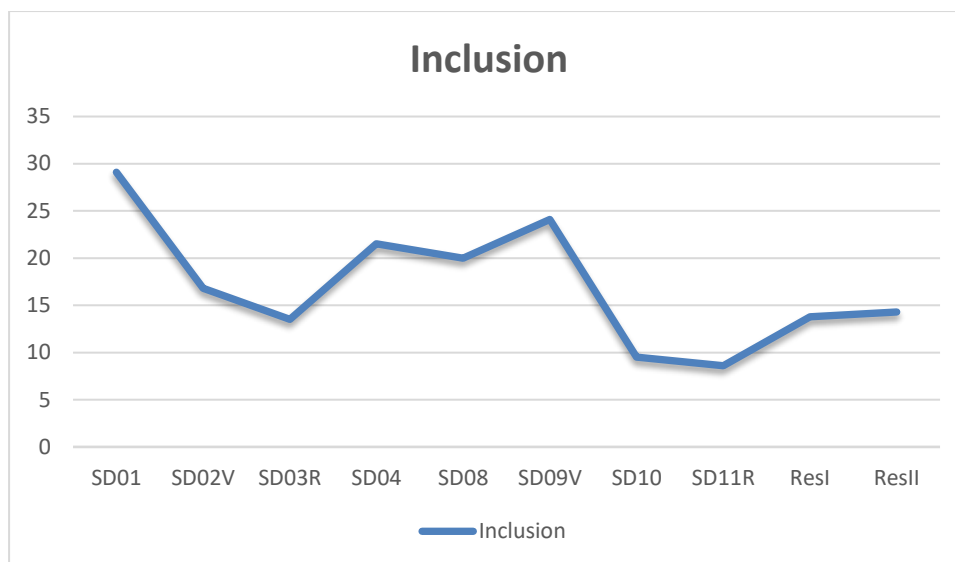
**Table 30: Inclusion of Syrian People in frequencies pthw**

	SD01	SD02V	SD03R	SD04	SD08	SD09V	SD10	SD11R	ResI	ResII
<b>Inclusion</b>	<b>29.1</b>	16.8	13.5	21.5	20	24.1	9.5	<b>8.6</b>	13.8	14.3

As shown in Figure 36, the inclusion pattern is characterized by two phases of sharp decline. After SD01, the frequencies concerning the inclusion of Syrian People decrease to the half (16.8 in SD02V and 13.5 in SD03R) in comparison with the first draft. The second phase of a drastic decline in the inclusion pattern is observed after SD09V. Not only is there variance in the frequencies of inclusion of the social actors representing Syrian People but also in the lexical jargon used to represent them.

The analysis reveals a difference in the referential scope within which the group of Syrian People is represented (Table 31). Personalization is used more often than impersonalization to refer to this group of social actors in the whole material in general. However, while impersonalization is absent from the representations of Syrian People in SD02V and SD03R and it is rarely used in SD04, SD08 and SD09V, it becomes strongly present at the end of the drafting process. Indeed,



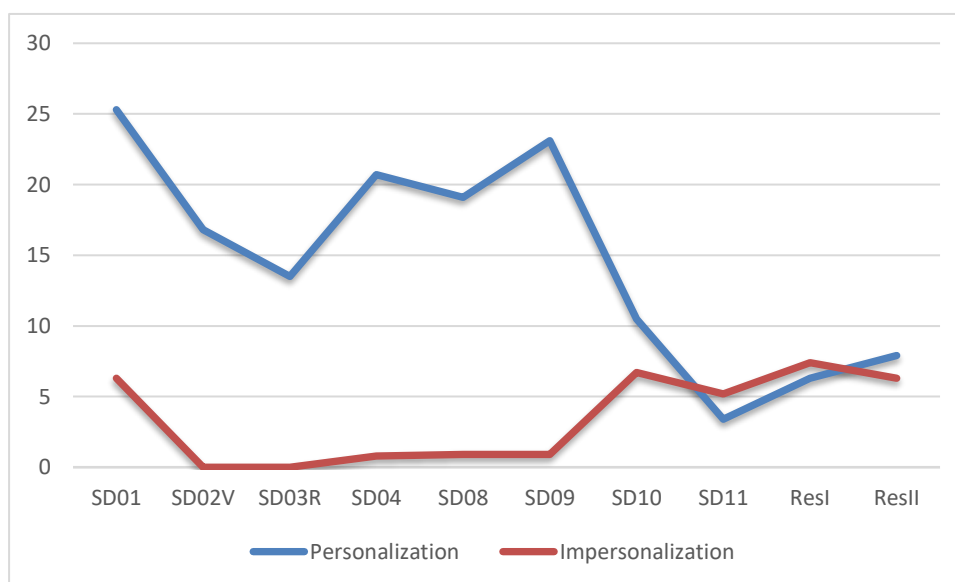


**Figure 36: The inclusion pattern of Syrian People in frequencies pthw**

it is opted for more frequently than personalization in SD11R and ResI while both types of inclusion are used equally in ResII (Table 31). These two types of inclusion are illustrated in Figure 37.

**Table 31: Inclusion of the group Syrian People and their referential scope**

	SD01	SD02V	SD03R	SD04	SD08	SD09	SD10	SD11	ResI	ResII
<b>Personalization</b>	25.3	16.8	13.5	20.7	19.1	23.1	10.5	3.4	6.3	7.9
<b>Impersonalization</b>	6.3	0	0	0.8	0.9	0.9	6.7	5.2	7.4	6.3



**Figure 37: Personalization and impersonalization patterns of Syrian People**

The decrease in the frequency of personalized representations of Syrian People at the end of the drafting process, which is correlated with an increase in the pattern of impersonalization (Figure

37), is an evidence that transformations at the referential level take place in the drafting process. Moreover, this shows a relationship between both types of inclusion. In other words, the usage of impersonalization increases at the expense of the decrease of personalization at the end of the drafting process which portrays the backgrounding of the Syrian authorities.

In the next sections, personalized representations are first explored which is followed by an analysis of the impersonalized representations.

### X.3. Personalization

Personalized representations of Syrian People are realized through various representational choices (Table 32). All of the categories (see appendix for short definitions) are strongly used in the first drafts, but they decrease throughout the drafting process to be scarcely present or almost absent in the adopted resolutions. Moreover, they often co-occur with each other.

**Table 32: The realizations of the group Syrian People**

	SD01	SD02V	SD03R	SD04	SD08	SD09V	SD10	SD11R	ResI	ResII
<b>Functionalization</b>	8.8	2.4	3.1	5.8	4.7	4.8	0.9	0	0	0.7
<b>Classification</b>	7.6	9.6	4.1	5.8	6.6	6.7	2.8	1.7	1	3.1
<b>Positive Appraisalment</b>	7.6	3.6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Relational</b>	0	1.2	5.2	4.1	2.8	2.8	0.9	1.7	1	0.7
<b>Physical identification</b>	1.2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.7
<b>Unspecific Collectivization</b>	10.1	8.4	6.2	4.9	6.6	6.7	2.8	0	2.1	2.3
<b>Unspecific Aggregation</b>	3.8	6	1	2.4	2.8	2.8	1.9	0	2.1	1.5
<b>Genericization</b>	0	0	0	4.1	1.9	1.9	3.8	0	2.1	1.5
<b>Association</b>	5	3.6	1	4.1	2.8	2.8	0.9	0	0	0

However, while the frequencies for most of the categories decrease after the first draft, they show a slight increase in the middle of the drafting process before they decrease again at its end (Table 32). Interestingly, the use of one category remarkably increases in the second draft in comparison to its presence in the first draft. It is unspecific aggregation which provides vague representations of the group of Syrian People. More importantly, to clearly show the difference between the use of all categories, they are classified into two main groups (Table 33): determination (functionalization, classification, appraisalment, physical identification, relational identification) and indetermination (genericization, unspecific collectivization, and unspecific

aggregation) (see appendix). The former group includes categories that specify the identity of social actors in one way or another whereas the second group is composed of categories that leave the identity and description of social actors unclear, general or anonymous.

**Table 33: Vagueness in the representations of the group Syrian People<sup>203</sup>**

	SD01	SD02V	SD03R	SD04	SD08	SD09V	SD10	SD11R	ResI	ResII
<b>Determination</b>	<b>25.2</b>	16.8	12.4	15.7	14.1	14.3	4.6	3.4	2	5.2
<b>Indetermination</b>	18.9	18	8.2	15.5	14.1	14.2	<b>9.4</b>	0	<b>6.3</b>	<b>5.3</b>

As illustrated in Table 33, the representations of Syrian People in the first and third drafts are characterized by being more specific than vague. Interestingly, it is the opposite at the end of the drafting process. Indeed, apart from SD11R, which includes only few specific representations of Syrian People, indetermination is more present than determination especially in SD10 and ResI.

More importantly, by comparing the difference between the frequencies of determination and indetermination in the first draft and the last resolution, a significant divergence can be observed. In other words, while determination is more present than indetermination in the first draft, there is almost no difference in the frequencies of both categories in ResII (Table 33).

Moreover, the Syrian People are less represented in SD03R and SD11R, in general, when compared with their preceding and subsequent drafts respectively (Figure 38). This may suggest that the Russian Federation avoids representing the Syrian People as a victim to not put emphasis on the gravity of the situation and hence to not stress the negative representation of the aggressor.

Figure 38 provides a clear illustration of the aforementioned observations. The quantitative findings show that the first drafts include many and specific representations of the Syrian People more than the last drafts and the adopted resolutions. They also suggest that vagueness characterizes the representations used at the end of the drafting process which is further studied in the following qualitative analysis.

<sup>203</sup> It should be noted that the total of determination and indetermination does not correspond to the one of inclusion. This is due to the fact that expressions that are composed of more than one lexical term (*numerous civilians*) are counted only once in the inclusion pattern. However, *numerous civilians* is supposed to invoke indetermination (*numerous*=unspecific collectivization) and determination (*civilians*=classification). Therefore, the same expression that is counted only once in Inclusion pattern is counted twice in the analysis for determined and indetermined representations.



**Figure 38: Determination and indetermination patterns of Syrian People**

It should be noted that lexical terms that realize different subcategories often co-occur together. For example, *peaceful* or *innocent* (appraisement) as well as *thousands* or *all* (unspecific aggregation) are used to premodify nouns that realize functionalization (*peaceful demonstrators*) or unspecific collectivization (*thousands of people*). Therefore, the lexical expressions realizing appraisement and unspecific aggregation are analysed in the sections about functionalization, classification, unspecific collectivization and genericization.

### X.3.1. Functionalization

Functionalization (see appendix) is invoked through ten referential expressions (Table 34) which are either nouns (*protestors*), group nouns (*members of media*) or clauses that represent Syrian People as active social actors who are demonstrating, exercising their rights or trying to flee violence (*those that have taken part in peaceful demonstrations*) (Table 34). Few cases are further identified through classifiers such as *Syrian* (*Syrian stakeholders*) and *civilians* (*numerous civilians trying to flee the violence*) or include adjectives such as *numerous* and *peaceful* that are used as unspecific aggregation and positive appraisement respectively in the representation of Syrian People.

All referential expressions that realize functionalization and used to represent Syrian People during the drafting process are not present in the adopted resolutions except for the finite clause, *Syrians who have fled [...]*, as it is indicated in Table 34. These observations suggest that radical transformations are made to the different representations of Syrian People during the drafting process which makes it important to study the textual travels of their co-texts. Interestingly, some

referential expressions realizing functionalization invoke the context of the revolution such as *demonstrators*, *protestors*, *journalists*, and *those exercising their rights of freedom of expression*. The term *demonstrators*, for instance, is used twice in SD01 (examples 1, 8) but only once in SD02V (example 11).

**Table 34: The travel of the Lexical terms realizing functionalization**

	SD01	SD02V	SD03R	SD04	SD08	SD09V	SD10	SD11R	ResI	ResII
<b>Demonstrators</b>	✓	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Those that have taken part in peaceful demonstrations</b>	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Protesters</b>	✓	-	-	✓	✓	✓	-	-	-	-
<b>Journalists</b>	✓	-	-	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-
<b>Members of media</b>	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓	-	-	-	-
<b>Lawyers</b>	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Numerous civilians trying to flee the violence</b>	✓	<u>Those</u> who have fled the violence	Those who have fled <u>from</u> violence	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Syrians who have fled etc.</b>	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	✓
<b>Those exercising their rights</b>	-	-	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	-	-	-
<b>Who has communicated with the mission</b>	-	-	-	✓	Who has cooperated with the mission	Who has cooperated with the mission	-	-	-	-
<b>Stakeholders</b>	-	-	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	-	-	-

The paragraph in which the term is used for the first time in SD01 (example 1) travels to the second draft (example 2). However, not only is the noun *demonstrators* absent in example (2) but also the co-text of the paragraph is modified in comparison with the one in SD01. In addition, the social actors, *demonstrators*, are associated with *human rights defenders* and *journalists* (association) in SD01 (example 1). The former social actors belong to the group of the UN team that is also represented as a victim of Syrian authorities' violent actions. Instead of *demonstrators*, *human rights defenders* and *journalists*, the lexical term *civilians* (classification) is used to represent the victim in SD02V (example 2). This classification can be said to have a more general meaning than *demonstrators* and *journalists* since it can refer to them.

- (1) **demonstrators, human rights defenders and journalists** by the Syrian authorities, [...], (SD01)<sup>204</sup>
- (2) The Security Council [...] **Strongly condemns** the **continued grave** and systematic **human rights violations** **and the use of force against civilians** by the Syrian authorities, [...]; (SD02V)

Concerning the co-text, the paragraph in the first draft (example 1) lists different types of violent actions that are committed by *the Syrian authorities* while they are replaced by *the use of force* in the second draft (example 2). It is clear that the representation in SD02V includes less information about the identification of the victim as well as the types of violent actions made by *the Syrian authorities*. This transformation might be made in order to mitigate the representation and hence avoid the use of veto.

The Russian Federation also condemns such violations and violence in its draft in two different paragraphs (examples 3, 4) which do not have similar co-texts like the ones in SD01 and SD02V (examples 1, 2). The textual travel of the paragraphs in which the SC condemns acts of violence from the first two drafts to the third draft involves important transformations concerning the social actors that are identified as victims. Interestingly, the group of Syrian People is not represented in both paragraphs as being the victim undergoing violence in SD03R (examples 3, 4). In (3), the patient remains backgrounded while in example (4) social actors belonging to the group of Syrian Authorities (*state institutions, law enforcement personnel*) are represented as the victim. Substituting Syrian People by Syrian Authorities for the role of the victim in SD03R is a significant form of recontextualization that can be said to be ideologically motivated. These modifications represent the opposing attitudes in the council concerning the identity of the victim.

- (3) The Security Council [...] **Strongly condemning** continuing violence coming from all parties, including disproportionate use of force by Syrian authorities, and expressing grave concern over the potential for a further deterioration of the situation, (SD03R)
- (4) The Security Council [...] Calling for an immediate end to all violence and provocations and **condemning** the activity of extremist groups, including attacks against **state institutions, law enforcement personnel** and urging all sides to act with utmost restraint, (SD03R)

In subsequent drafts, drafters also condemn violations of human rights (examples 5 to 7). The same paragraph that is used in SD04 is reproduced in SD08 and SD09V (example 5). In these drafts, the lexical term *civilians*, which is used in SD02V (example 2), is reemployed to represent

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<sup>204</sup> It should be noted that the remaining co-text that is not included at the end of examples (1, 2, and 7) is similar. It is about the SC expressing regret about the death of many people. It is not included here because it is analysed in details in the section that deals with the referential expression *people*.

the Syrian People as the victim. Moreover, the paragraph includes more co-text which provides more details and description about the type of violations that are inflicted on the victim. More importantly, other referential expressions, *protestors and members of the media* (functionalization) and *children* (classification), are added to the representation to refer to more victims. This intense representation is a case in point of the intensification strategies that are used by drafters to put emphasis on the gravity of the situation and show their opposing view to the previous representation of the Russian Federation (example 4). On the other hand, this representation might be one of the reasons why SD09V was vetoed by Russia and China.

- (5) The Security Council [...] Condemns the continued widespread and gross violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms by the Syrian authorities such as the use of force against civilians, arbitrary executions, killing and persecution of protestors and members of the media, arbitrary detention, enforced disappearances, and interference with access to medical treatment, torture, sexual violence, and ill-treatment, including against children (SD04, SD08, SD09V)
- (6) The Security Council [...] Condemning the widespread, systematic, and gross violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms by the Syrian authorities, and recalling that those responsible for human rights violations shall be held accountable, (SD10)
- (7) The Security Council [...] Condemning the widespread violations of human rights by the Syrian authorities, as well as any human rights abuses by armed groups, recalling that those responsible shall be held accountable, [...], (ResI, ResII)

The first part of the paragraph in (5) is reproduced in SD10 (example 6) with the adjective *continued* replaced by *systematic*. The latter invokes a more intensified description about how human rights and fundamental freedoms are violated<sup>205</sup>. The paragraph in SD10 (example 6) does not include the detailed description about the violations committed by the Syrian authorities as in the three preceding drafts (example 5). As it travels to ResI and ResII (example 7) more textual fragments are deleted (*fundamental freedoms* and *for human rights violations*). Another transformation is the addition of a textual portion which includes another social actor (*armed groups*) who is responsible for human rights abuses in ResI and ResII (example 7).

The analysis of the textual travels of the paragraphs in which the SC condemns the violations of human rights and acts of violence from the first draft to the adopted resolutions show variance in the representations of the victim and different conceptualizations of the violent actions. This reveals how the drafting process is characterized by a struggle for the representation of the

<sup>205</sup> In other words, the adjective *continuous* describes the time period during which the violations are committed. According to Collins COBUILD advanced dictionary (2009), “a continuous process or event continues for a period of time without stopping” (p. 331). On the other hand, the adjective *systematic* has in its meaning the idea that these violations are planned by the agent. It is defined as when something “is done according to a fixed plan, in a thorough and efficient way” (p. 1588).

victim as drafters try to impose their divergent attitude and agenda through their divergent representational choice of the victim.

The term *demonstrators* is also used in another paragraph in SD01 (example 8) which travels to SD02V where it receives significant transformations (example 9). First of all, while the paragraph in SD01 is mentioned in the operative part, the one in SD02V is moved to the preamble. More importantly, the social actors representing the victim is backgrounded in SD02 (example 9) and it is substituted by the nominalization *demonstrations* that is used in a prepositional phrase to refer to the time frame. Similarly, the agent who is responsible for human rights violations is also deleted from the modified paragraph in SD02 (example 9).

- (8) The Security Council [...] **Calls upon** the Syrian authorities to: [...] (f) launch a credible and impartial investigation in accordance with its international obligations and hold to account those responsible for attacks against **peaceful demonstrators**, including by forces under the control of the Syrian Government; (SD01)
- (9) The Security Council [...] calling for an independent investigation of all human rights violations **during recent demonstrations**, and stressing the need to hold to account those responsible for human rights violations, (SD02V)

The only instance of the term *demonstrators* in the second draft (example 11) is embedded in a modified version of a textual fragment from a paragraph taken from the first draft (example 10). The expression *demonstrators* is used with the premodifier *detained* (classification) besides to the adjective *peaceful* (positive appraisal) and associated with *all political prisoners* in the second draft (example 11). *All political prisoners and detained peaceful demonstrators* is used by drafters in SD02V as a substitution to *all prisoners of conscience and arbitrarily detained persons* in SD01 (example 10).

- (10) The Security Council [...] **Calls upon** the Syrian authorities to: [...] (c) **immediately release all prisoners of conscience and arbitrarily detained persons**, and cease any intimidation, persecution, torture and arbitrary arrests of individuals, including lawyers, human rights defenders and journalists; (SD01)
- (11) The Security Council [...] **Demands** that the Syrian authorities **immediately**: [...] (b) allow the full exercise of human rights and fundamental freedoms by its entire population, including rights of freedom of expression and peaceful assembly, **release all political prisoners and detained peaceful demonstrators**, (SD02V)

By comparing both representations of the social actors and their co-texts in the first and second drafts, three significant transformations can be observed: addition, deletion, and substitution. In SD02V, the classifier *political* is added to the representation of the victim at the expense of deleting the postmodification *of conscience* whereas the referential expression *peaceful demonstrators* is used instead of the vaguer lexical term *persons* (indetermination). Added to



that, the paragraph in SD02V starts with the strong directive *demands* which substitutes *calls upon* in SD01. Unlike previous modifications made during the travel of example (1) from the first draft to the second one (example 2), the paragraph in SD02V (example 11) can be considered to provide a more precise description of the victim as well as invoke a stronger imposition on the addressee (i.e., the Syrian authorities) than in SD01 (example 10).

Moreover, the same social actors (i.e., *demonstrators*) are also invoked by another referential finite clause which includes the nominalization *demonstrations* (example 12). This referential expression, which is used in SD01, is not reproduced in the next drafts. The co-text in which it is embedded in the first draft travels to subsequent drafts and witnesses various transformations. Obviously, the most significant modification is the deletion of the victim from the representations in SD02V and SD03R which also include fewer details about the violent actions (examples 13, 14). In the first draft, the Syrian authorities are asked *to refrain from any reprisals* against demonstrators (example 12) while drafters in SD02V opt for a more general description about the violent actions (*violations of human rights*) that Syrian authorities should stop committing (example 13). In SD03R, the representation is further generalized as the Russian Federation addresses *all the parties* instead of Syrian authorities to respect the international law (example 14) without referring to violence as in SD01 and SD02V<sup>206</sup> (examples 12, 13).

(12) The Security Council [...] Calls upon the Syrian authorities to: (a) act with the utmost restraint, respect human rights and international humanitarian law, refrain from any reprisals against **those that have taken part in peaceful demonstrations**, [...] (SD01)

(13) The Security Council [...] Demands that the Syrian authorities immediately: (a) cease violations of human rights, comply with their obligations under applicable international law, (SD02V)

(14) The Security Council [...] Demands that all the parties insure respect for and act in accordance with applicable international law, (SD03R)

It should be noted that SD04, SD08, SD09V and SD10 also include references to the demonstrations that were taking place in Syria but in different co-texts (examples 15, 16). Indeed, in the fourth, eighth and ninth drafts, drafters opt for the nominalization *demonstrations* which is considered to be used as an impersonalization (example 15). The latter has the effect of backgrounding the agent (i.e., the demonstrators). The issue of demonstrating is mentioned in the tenth draft through the non-finite verb *to demonstrate* (example 16). Indeed, drafters of SD10 ask *the Syrian government to respect the right of the Syrian people* [classification and indetermination] *to demonstrate peacefully*.

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<sup>206</sup> Similarly, SD04 also includes a general description like in SD03R “The Security Council [...] demands that all parties ensure respect for, and act in accordance with, applicable international law” (SD04).

- (15) The Security Council [...] Demands that the Syrian Government, [...]: (d) **guarantee the freedom of peaceful demonstrations**; (SD04, SD08, SD09V)<sup>207</sup>
- (16) The Security Council [...] stresses in particular the Syrian government's responsibility to ensure freedom of movement throughout the country for journalists and to respect the right of **the Syrian people to demonstrate peacefully** as legally guaranteed [...]; (SD10)

The co-text in which the reference to demonstrations is embedded in SD04, SD08 and SD09V is like the one in SD10 but with another verbalization. While both paragraphs in (15) and (16) are about granting freedom to peaceful demonstrators, they have a different force of imposition. Drafters use *demands* (strong force of imposition) when addressing the Syrian Government in SD04, SD08 and SD09V (example 15) while the force of imposition is reduced in SD10 (example 16). In the latter, *stresses* which has an emphasis effect is used instead. More importantly, in these two co-texts and formulations, the demonstrators, whether foregrounded or backgrounded, are not represented as victims, as in SD01 (example 12), as much as beneficiaries.

To conclude, the use of the term *demonstrators* and other references to the demonstrations that swept Syria varies during the drafting process. More importantly, the co-texts, in which the aforementioned expression is embedded, witness different transformations. On one hand, by opting for less information and unspecific identification of social actors (especially of the victim as well as of the agent and his violent actions) in some examples, drafters seem to follow a mitigation strategy to reach agreement on the draft. On the other hand, when drafters use stronger imposition on the addressee and provide determinate identification of the victim such as in SD02V, it is a way to impose their agenda. That is why using the veto against the second draft by the Russian Federation and China might have been a reaction to such strong language and definite identification of the victim. More importantly, references to demonstrations and protests which mark a significant phase of the Syrian conflict are totally absent in the adopted resolutions.

Another lexical term that represents the group of Syrian People and invokes the subject of revolution and demonstrating is *protestors*. The latter is first used in SD01 (example 17) and is reproduced in SD04, SD08, and SD09V (example 19). It should be noted that the term *protestors* is embedded in different co-texts and it is associated with other lexical terms that represent Syrian People (examples 17, 19). For example, in (18), the expression *peaceful protestors* is associated with *innocent individuals* (positive appraisal and unspecific collectivization) and

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<sup>207</sup> The Security Council [...] Demands that the Syrian Government, [...]: (d) **guarantees the freedom of peaceful demonstrations**; (SD08). In SD08, the 's' for *guarantee* is added.

such an association is not repeated in subsequent drafts. A similar formulation of the first part of the paragraph in (17) is reproduced in subsequent drafts, however without any reference to *protestors*<sup>208</sup>. It should be noted, however, that the second draft invokes the idea of protesting through the nominalization *protest* (example 18).

(17) The Security Council [...] Stressing the need to hold to account those responsible for attacks, including by forces under the control of the Government of Syria, on peaceful **protesters** and **other innocent individuals**, (SD01)

(18) The Security Council [...] Stressing that the only solution to the current crisis in Syria is through an inclusive and Syrian-led political process with the aim of effectively addressing the legitimate aspirations and concerns of the population which will allow the full exercise of fundamental freedoms for its entire population, including of the rights of freedom of expression, assembly and peaceful **protest**, (SD02)

The second appearance of the term *protestors* in the drafting process is in SD04 (example 19). The same paragraph also travels to SD08 and SD09V. Its co-text is a modified version of example (17) from SD01. Unlike in the latter, the paragraph used in SD04 and its two subsequent drafts includes more details concerning the different types of violence. Moreover, a significant difference between both paragraphs is related to the representational choices employed to represent the victim. In SD01, the term *journalists* (functionalization) is associated with *peaceful demonstrators* (functionalization) and *human rights defenders* (functionalization) who represent the group of UN team (example 17). None of these lexical terms are reproduced in SD04, SD08 and SD09V (example 19). While *peaceful demonstrators* and *journalists* are replaced by *protestors* (functionalization) and *members of media* (functionalization) respectively, the referential expression about the UN team is deleted in (19). Moreover, two classifications (*civilians*, *children*) are added to paragraph in (19) to identify more social actors from the group of Syrian People as victims.

(19) The Security Council [...] Condemns the continued widespread and gross violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms by the Syrian authorities such as the use of force against civilians, arbitrary executions, killing and persecution of protesters and members of the media, arbitrary detention, enforced disappearances, and interference with access to medical treatment, torture, sexual violence, and ill-treatment, including against children (SD04, SD08, SD09V)

(20) The Security Council [...] Condemns the systematic violation of human rights, including the killings, arbitrary detentions, disappearances, and torture of peaceful demonstrators, human rights defenders and **journalists** by the Syrian authorities, and expresses deep regret at the deaths of hundreds of civilians, (SD01)

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<sup>208</sup> For example, in SD02, the following verbalization is used “The Security Council [...] stressing the need to hold to account those responsible for human rights violations”.

The representation in SD09V is very precise and involves various details concerning the violence being committed or the social actors that are suffering from it. This intensified representation might have been one of the reasons that made Russia and China use the veto against this draft.

The referential term *journalists*, which refers to another aspect of the Syrian revolution (the role of media and how its members are treated by the Syrian authorities) is employed twice in SD01 (example 20, 21) and once in SD10 (example 22). Besides to the fact that this referential term is embedded in different co-texts, *journalists* are represented as victims in SD01 (examples 20, 21) but as a beneficiary in SD10 (example 22). In some examples, different types of social actors representing Syrian People as victims are grouped together (association such as in example 17) which extends the group of Syrian People to include more types of social actors. In (20) and (21), *journalists* are lumped with social actors that belong to the group Syrian People such as *peaceful demonstrators* (functionalization), *individuals* (unspecific collectivization) and *lawyers* (functionalization) as well as other social actors that represent the UN team, *human rights defenders* (functionalization). In this way, drafters of SD01 intend to create further groups of social actors that belong to the category of Victim besides the Syrian People.

(21) The Security Council [...] Calls upon the Syrian authorities to: [...] immediately release all prisoners of conscience and arbitrarily detained persons, and cease any intimidation, persecution, torture and arbitrary arrests of **individuals**, including **lawyers**, **human rights defenders** and **journalists**; (SD01)

(22) The Security Council [...] stresses in particular the Syrian government's responsibility to ensure freedom of movement throughout the country for **journalists** and to respect the right of the Syrian people to demonstrate peacefully as legally guaranteed (SD10)

One of the realizations of functionalization is through the referential term *lawyers* which is present only in the first draft (example 21). It further shows how drafters, at the beginning of the drafting process and especially in SD01, employ a wide range of lexical terms to represent the various social actors from the group of Syrian People who suffered from violence. By deleting them from subsequent drafts shows that representing the victim and the consequence of violence seems to be a contentious issue in the council.

Noteworthy, the victim, who is often represented as a passivated social actor in discourse (i.e., as undergoing the activity/violence), is represented as an active social actor who is doing an activity in some instances in the drafting process. In other words, in the following clauses, *numerous civilians trying to flee the violence*, *Syrians who have fled etc.*, *those exercising their rights* and *who has communicated with etc.*, Syrian People are represented as active and dynamic entities in a particular activity (fleeing, exercising, and communicating). However, they are still considered

as victims since they are doing the aforementioned activities as a consequence of the violence that is inflicted on them.

The clause *numerous civilians trying to flee the violence* is used in the first draft (example 23) and is reproduced in SD02V, SD03R, SD04 and ResII (examples 24, 25, 26 and 27) with some modifications. The nominalization *violence*, which is an EVENT for participant metonymy that is used to impersonally refer to the aggressor<sup>209</sup>, is represented as the reason why Syrian People are fleeing the country in the first four drafts as well as in ResII (examples 23-27). Yet, an analysis of the textual travel of the paragraph from SD01 (example 23) to its three subsequent drafts (examples 24, 25 and 26) and to ResII (example 27) reveals that different representational choices are employed to refer to the victim. Moreover, besides the different transformations that are made to co-texts, the paragraphs are not included in the same part of each draft.

- (23) The Security Council [...] Expressing concern [...] at the reports of numerous civilians trying to flee the violence; (SD01)
- (24) The Security Council [...] Demands that the Syrian authorities immediately: [...] (e) ensure the safe and voluntary return of those who have fled the violence to their homes; (SD02V)
- (25) The Security Council [...] Underscoring the importance of ensuring the voluntary return to their homes in safety and security of those who have fled from violence, (SD03R)
- (26) The Security Council [...] Underscoring the importance of ensuring the voluntary return to their homes in safety and security of those who have fled from violence, including Syrians who have fled to neighboring countries, (SD04)
- (27) The Security Council [...] Expressing its appreciation of the significant efforts that have been made by the States bordering Syria to assist Syrians who have fled across Syria's borders as a consequence of the violence, (ResII)

The representation of the victim or the social actor that is doing the action of fleeing is transformed during its travel from SD01 to SD02V, SD03R and SD04. Apart from the first draft (example 23), where the personalized referential expression *numerous civilians* (unspecific aggregation and classification) is used, the deictic demonstrative pronoun *those* is employed to refer to the social actors fleeing violence in the three subsequent drafts (examples 24, 25 and 26). Such a transformation has the effect of blurring the identity of the social actors who are identified only through their action of fleeing. It should be noted that in the fourth draft (example 26), a postmodifying clause *including Syrians who have fled to neighboring countries* is added to the co-text to refer to a particular group (*Syrians*) that is part of *those who have fled from violence*. This referential expression realizing a classification (i.e., *Syrians*) is also employed in

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<sup>209</sup> For more details about the use of impersonalization see section IX.3.2.1. Violence, the impact of violence, addressing the legitimate aspirations and concerns of the population.

ResII (example 27) instead of the deictic demonstrative, *those*, or the noun group *numerous civilians*.

A major difference that is related to the conceptualization of the action of fleeing is noticed between the first draft on one hand and its three subsequent ones (SD02V, SD03, SD04) and in ResII on the other hand. In the first draft, civilians are represented as *trying to flee* (example 23) while in the next draft the verb *flee* is used in the present perfect which shows that the action has already taken place and might continue in the future (example 24). This representation is also used in the third and fourth drafts as well as in the adopted resolution (examples 24, 25, 26). Such divergence in the way of representing the action of fleeing can be said to be made to adapt to the external context i.e., the changes in the situation of the ongoing conflict in Syria at the time of proposing the drafts.

Another transformation is made to the first part of the paragraphs in which the representation is embedded. First of all, the paragraphs of the first, third and fourth drafts as well as the second adopted resolution are mentioned in the preamble part in which the SC is represented as *expressing concern* (example 23), *underscoring the importance of [...]* (examples 25 and 26) or *expressing its appreciation of [...]* (example 27) respectively. Yet, the expressive phrases differ in the message they invoke. While in SD01 drafters highlight the gravity of the situation of Syrian People by *expressing concern at reports of numerous civilians trying to flee violence*, drafters in SD03R and SD04 rather put emphasis on the measure of *ensuring the voluntary return to their homes in safety and security of those who have fled from violence*. Drafters of SD02V move the paragraph to the operative part and embed it in a list of measures headed by the clause “The Security Council [...] demands that the Syrian authorities immediately: [...]”. By modifying the position of the paragraph to the operative part, drafters change its function and give it more importance.

It should be noted that the paragraphs in SD03R and SD04 (examples 25, 26), which are almost identical, are the result of a recontextualization process from the first (example 23) to the second draft (example 24). Examples (25 and 26) are mentioned in the preamble parts of the third and fourth drafts like in SD01 (example 23). Yet, the content in (25) and (26) is similar to the one of the second draft (example 23) as they introduce a similar measure but with different formulations (e.g., *demand* vs. *underscoring the importance* and *ensure* vs. *ensuring*).

Not only do drafters reduce the degree of imposition in SD03R and SD04 (examples 25, 26) by using an emphatic phrase instead of a strong directive but also manage to conceal the agent in

SD03R and SD04 unlike in SD02V (example 24) where the agent is explicitly mentioned (*Syrian authorities*). Most of the transformations that are made from the first to the fourth draft have significant effects which are mainly related to the concealment of social actors' identities (either the aggressor or the victim) and to mitigating the force of imposition expressed by the SC.

In ResII (example 27), drafters opt for another formulation as SC expresses *its appreciation of the significant efforts that have been made by the States bordering Syria* in assisting Syrians. Unlike in previous representations, the paragraph in ResII does not refer to the gravity of the situation or invoke the importance of carrying a measure, as in SD02V, SD03R and SD04 (examples 24, 25, 26). Instead, drafters start the paragraph by praising States neighboring Syria for assisting *Syrians who have fled across Syria's borders [...]* in ResII (example 27). With such a positive formulation, drafters further mitigate the co-text of the representation of Syrian People in the second adopted resolution in comparison with the representations in previous drafts.

The clause *exercising their rights* is used as a relative clause to postmodify the deictic demonstrative *those* in SD03R, SD04, SD08 and SD09V (examples 28, 29). It is considered as functionalization since the social actors are further identified through what they are doing. While the referential expression does not witness any modifications in SD04, SD08 and SD09V (example 29), its co-text is transformed as it travels from the third draft (example 28) to its three subsequent drafts (example 29).

- (28) The Security Council [...] **Urges** the Syrian government to put an end to suppression of those exercising their rights to freedom of expression, peaceful assembly and association and complete without delay investigations carried out by the Syrian judicial committee into all events in which civilians and security personnel were killed or injured, (SD03R)
- (29) The Security Council [...] **Demands** that the Syrian Government immediately put an end to all human rights violations and attacks against those exercising their rights to freedom of expression, peaceful assembly and association, protect its population, and fully comply with its obligations under applicable international law including with resolutions S-16/1, S-17/1, S-18/1 of the HRC and resolution A/RES/66/176 of the UNGA; (SD04, SD08, SD09V)

The directive verb, *urges* (middle force of imposition), used at the beginning of the paragraph to address the Syrian Government in SD03R (example 28), is replaced by *demands* (strong force of imposition) in SD04, SD08, SD09V (example 29). Moreover, the aggression committed against *those exercising their rights* is also represented differently. In SD03R, the nominalization *suppression* invokes a force schema while in the fourth, eighth and ninth drafts, aggression is represented through a general referential expression (*all human rights violations*) as well as in terms of an action schema (*attacks*) which increases the intensity of the conceptualization. It is

clear that the Russian Federation attempts to mitigate the representation in its draft by opting for the aforementioned representational choices (directive verb with a middle force of imposition and a force schema). On the other hand, the latter are substituted for other representational choices that increase the illocutionary force of the utterance as well as the intensity of the conceptualization of the violent actions in SD04, SD08 and SD09V. These modifications in the latter three drafts have the effects of making the measure more binding and delegitimizing the actions of the aggressor.

Another difference between the paragraph in SD03R and the ones in SD04, SD08 and SD09V concerns the coordinated clause. The clause used in the third draft (example 28) is deleted and replaced by another one in the fourth, eighth and ninth drafts (example 29). It should be noted that the co-text of the coordinated clause in SD03R in which the SC urges the Syrian Government to complete investigations about the violent incidents is originally used in SD01 and SD02V<sup>210</sup>. Interestingly, there are no references to launching such investigations after the third draft.

In SD04, drafters use another relative clause, *who has communicated with the mission or provided testimonies or information to the mission*, to further identify anonymous social actors (*any person, his relatives or associates*) that represent the group of Syrian People (example 30). The paragraph in which this relative clause is embedded is reproduced in SD08, SD09V with some modifications (example 31).

(30) The Security Council [...] Calls upon the Syrian authorities, in accordance with the League of Arabs States' Protocol of 19 December 2011, immediately to: [...] (e) guarantee not to punish, harass or retaliate against any person, his relatives or associates, who has communicated with the mission or provided testimonies or information to the mission; (SD04)

(31) The Security Council [...] Calls upon the Syrian authorities, in the event of a resumption of the observer mission, to cooperate fully with the League of Arab States' observer mission, in accordance with the League of Arabs States' Protocol of 19 December 2011, including through [...], guaranteeing also not to punish, harass, or retaliate against, any person who has cooperated with the mission; (SD08, SD09V)

For example, some textual segments are added to the paragraph in the eighth and ninth drafts while others are deleted from SD04 and are not reused in the co-text of SD08 and SD09V. More importantly, the relative clause is used in SD04 to modify the group of noun *any person, his*

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<sup>210</sup> For example, the SC calls "[...] for an independent investigation of all killings during recent demonstrations" in SD01 while in SD02V drafters takes the decision "[...] to dispatch an independent international commission of inquiry to investigate all alleged violations of international human rights law since March 2011 in Syria" (SD02V).



*relatives or associates* (unspecification and relational identification) while in the eighth and ninth draft only the vague referential expression *any person* is reproduced. Moreover, in the relative clauses, the victim is represented through his actions but by using two different verbs in the present perfect. In the fourth draft, the verb *communicate* is used (example 30) while it is replaced by the prediacte *cooperate* in the following drafts (example 31). In SD04, the activity of the victim is then specified whereas it is more general in SD08 and SD09V. In this way, even though the referential terms *his relatives* and *associates*, which invoke further identifications of social actors, are deleted from the representation in SD08 and SD09V, drafters try to include all possible social actors by opting for a general description of their activity in the latter drafts.

The last lexical term that is found in the material as a realization of functionalization is *stakeholders* which is defined as the people who have an interest in a company's or organization's affairs. It is present four times in the whole material, and it is premodified by the classifier *Syrian* and the all-inclusive determiner *all* which adds more scope to the referential expression. *All Syrian stakeholders* is first used in the third draft (example 32) and is reproduced in SD04 (example 33), SD08 and SD09V (example 34).

- (32) The Security Council [...] Encourages the League of Arab States to continue efforts in cooperation with **all Syrian stakeholders** [...], (SD03R)
- (33) The Security Council [...] encourages the League of Arab States to continue its efforts in cooperation with **all Syrian stakeholders**; (SD04)
- (34) The Security Council [...] Encourages the League of Arab States to continue its efforts in cooperation with **all Syrian stakeholders**; (SD08, SD09V)

All in all, the different types of lexical terms realizing functionalization provide precise identification of different social actors that represent the group of Syrian People. Most of them are very significant as they provide various aspects of the revolution. The textual analysis of these expressions and their travel during the drafting process show how their deletion from the representations of Syrian People in the last drafts and resolutions lead to a reduction in the representation of the group of Syrian People and the category of victim in general. This can be explained by the fact that representing the victim in the resolution was a contentious issue in the council. Moreover, the negative representation of the Aggressor and its deligitimation can be intensified by using representational choices (such as *those who have fled from violence*) that show how Syrian People are undergoing different types of violence because of exercising their rights or cooperating with the mission.

### X.3.2. Classification

Eleven lexical expressions that are used to represent Syrian People realize classification (Table 35) (see appendix). Most of them are employed in the first nine drafts. The adjective *Syrian*, which is also used with other expressions to represent Syrian Authorities, is employed nine times in the first ten drafts as a premodifier for different nouns that realize unspecific collectivization (*society, people*), functionalization (*stakeholders*) and impersonalization (*towns*). In the eleventh draft and the adopted resolutions, this premodifier is not reproduced in the representations of Syrian People. A similar expression realizing classification is the noun *Syrians*. It is used for the first time in SD04 and travels to ResII (Table 35). Its textual travels is mentioned as part of functionalization because they co-occur together (examples 23-27).

**Table 35: The travel of the Lexical terms realizing classification**

	SD01	SD02V	SD03R	SD04	SD08	SD09V	SD10	SD11R	ResI	ResII
Syrian	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	-	-
Syrians who have fled etc.	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	✓
Citizens	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Civilians	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Civilian personnel	-	-	Civilian component
Prisoners	✓	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Detained	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	-	-	-
Displaced	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	-	-	-	✓
Refugees	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	-	-	-	-
Women	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Children	-	✓	-	✓	✓	✓	-	-	-	-
Political	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Another referential expression that can be said to be related to the meaning expressed by *Syrian* or *Syrians* is *citizens* since it invokes the sense of the people living in the country (i.e., Syria). It is first used in the fourth draft (example 35) and travels to all subsequent drafts as well as to ResI and ResII.

- (35) The Security Council [...] Supports in this regard the League of Arab States' initiative set out in its 22 January 2012 communique to facilitate a political transition leading to a democratic, plural political system, in which citizens are equal regardless of their affiliations or ethnicities or beliefs, including through the transfer of power from the President and transparent and fair elections under Arab and international supervision, in accordance with the timetable set out by the League of Arab States, and encourages the

League of Arab States to continue its efforts in cooperation with all Syrian stakeholders;  
(SD04)

The co-text in which the lexical term *citizens* is embedded (i.e., *in which citizens are equal regardless of their affiliations or ethnicities or beliefs*) is not modified from the fourth draft to SD08, SD09V, SD10, SD11R, ResI and ResII. However, the larger co-text is indeed transformed. For the transformations in this example, check section VIII.5. Representation of Syrian Authorities during the drafting process because they co-occur together.

Classification is also realized through the noun *civilians*, which is present in the first ten drafts. It should be noted that drafters of SD10 and ResII employ the adjective *civilian* as a premodifier for the nouns *personnel* and *component* respectively. The referential term (i.e., *civilians*) is present in the first draft three times. For example, it is used as part of the complex referential expression *numerous civilians trying to flee the violence*. While the representation of social actors, who are fleeing violence, travels to subsequent drafts, the noun *civilians* is deleted and replaced by other referential expressions (see examples 23-27 in section VIII.7.1.1. Functionalization).

It is also used in the first draft to refer to the casualties of violence when “The Security Council [...] expresses deep regret at the deaths of hundreds of **civilians**,” (SD01). This paragraph is reproduced in almost all drafts and in the adopted resolutions but without the term *civilians* which is replaced by *people* (unspecific collectivization) in almost all cases<sup>211</sup>. The third use of this referential term in SD01 is illustrated in example (36). The co-text (*refrain from targeting innocent civilians*) in which the word *civilians* is embedded in the first draft is not reproduced in subsequent drafts.

(36) The Security Council [...] called upon the Syrian security forces to show restraint and refrain from targeting innocent **civilians**, (SD01)

The same term is employed twice in SD02V. One of its uses is explained at the beginning of functionalization section<sup>212</sup>. The paragraph in (38) provides the second use of *civilians* in SD02V which is a modified version of a previous one used in SD01 (example 37). The lexical term *civilians* is opted for in the second draft as a substitution for four different referential expressions *individuals* (unspecific collectivization), *lawyers*, *human rights defenders* and

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<sup>211</sup> The textual travels of the paragraph and the referential expressions used instead of *civilians* are further explained in the section that tackles unspecific collectivization.

<sup>212</sup> It is present in a paragraph where the SC condemns acts of violence and violations (example 2). It is opted for in SD02V (example 2) as a substitution for the term *demonstrators*, which is employed in SD01 (example 1), and it is reproduced again in SD04, SD08 and SD09V (example 5). The textual travels of the paragraphs in which the lexical term *civilians* is embedded are explained in details in examples (1-7) in the section 8.7.1.1 1. Functionalization.

*journalists* (functionalization). Added to that, the different acts of violence mentioned in SD01 (example 37) are deleted in SD02V and they are replaced by *the use of force against*. These replacements shows how drafters of SD02V try to provide a more general representation about the identity of the victim and the types of violence committed.

(37) The Security Council [...] **Calls upon** the Syrian authorities to: [...] (c) immediately release all **prisoners of conscience** and **arbitrarily detained persons**, and cease **any intimidation, persecution, torture and arbitrary arrests of individuals, including lawyers, human rights defenders and journalists**; (SD01)

(38) The Security Council [...] **Demands** that the Syrian authorities immediately: [...] (b) [...] release all **political prisoners** and **detained peaceful demonstrators**, and lift restrictions on all forms of media; (c) cease **the use of force against civilians**; (SD02V)

On the other hand, besides the difference in the choice of the directive verb at the beginning of the paragraphs (*calls upon* vs *demands*), the referential expressions that refer to Syrian People are modified. In both drafts (SD01 and SD02V), the term *prisoners*, which presents another classification, is used (examples 37, 38). It should be noted that this lexical term is not reproduced in subsequent representations (Table 35). In SD01, it has a premodifier *all* (unspecific aggregation) as well as a postmodification *of conscience* (example 37). The latter is replaced by a premodification in SD02V that is expressed through the adjective *political*<sup>213</sup> (example 38), which also realizes classification (Table 35). In addition, both nominal groups are associated with two different referential expressions that also represent the group of Syrian People. The nominal group *arbitrarily detained persons* whose head realizes unspecification in SD01 is replaced by *peaceful demonstrators* (functionalization) in SD02V. The analysis of the paragraphs in (37) and (38) shows that transformations are made to either mitigate (using *the use of force against civilians* instead of a more detailed representation of the violent actions and the victim) or intensify (e.g., using *demand* instead of *calls upon*) the representation.

The material includes another instance of the term *civilians*. It is present in SD03R (example 41). Interestingly, it is associated with the referential expression *security personnel* which presents the group of Syrian Authorities. Like in example (41), the Russian Federation considers the group of Syrian Authorities as a victim.

(39) The Security Council [...] calling for an independent investigation of all **killings during recent demonstrations**, (SD01)

<sup>213</sup> The adjective *political* is used 38 times in the whole corpus to premodify the following inanimate nouns or entities: *crisis, dialogue, participation, pluralism, process, roadmap, system* and *transition*. It is used only once with an animate entity that refers to the social actors *prisoners* in SD02V.

- (40) The Security Council [...] calling for an independent investigation of all human rights violations during recent demonstrations, (SD02V)
- (41) The Security Council [...] Urges the Syrian government to [...] complete without delay investigations carried out by the Syrian judicial committee into all events in which civilians and security personnel were killed or injured (SD03R)

The last part of the paragraph in SD03R (example 41) is a recontextualized version of previous textual parts used in SD01 (example 39) and SD02V (example 40). First of all, drafters in SD01 and SD02V use two nominalizations (*killings, violations*) that represent the violent actions. In its draft, on the other hand, the Russian Federation opts for the congruent form by using the verb *kill* together with the verb *injur* in the passive voice. Both forms (i.e., nominalization and passive voice) are linguistic tools that can be used to conceal the agent who is responsible for the action which is the case in the three drafts (examples 39, 40, 41). However, using the passive voice requires the inclusion of the patient while it is optional when using nominalization. Thus, by opting for the passive form instead of the nominalization, the Russian Federation includes the patient in the representation. Through recontextualization, this member state manages to represent the group of Syrian Authorities as a victim together with the group of Syrian People. This shows how language can be used or manipulated to express one's attitude.

Another textual fragment that has been recontextualized is the time expression *during recent demonstrations* which is used in SD01 and SD02V (examples 39, 40). This prepositional phrase is replaced by a general expression *into all events in which [...]* in SD03R (example 41). This transformation has the effect of making the representation more neutral as it hides an important aspect of the revolution by conceptualizing demonstrations as mere events.

At the end of the drafting process, the adjective *civilian* is used in two similar co-texts but with different nouns. In SD10, "The Security Council [...] **Demands** that the Syrian government (a) facilitate the deployment of the number of unarmed military observers, **civilian personnel**, and the capabilities [...]". This measure is reproduced in ResII with another formulation as "The Security Council [...] **Decides** to establish for an initial period of 90 days a United Nations Supervision Mission in Syria (UNSMIS) [...] comprising an initial deployment of up to 300 unarmed military observers as well as an appropriate **civilian component** [...]". It should be noted that the expressions refer to different social actors. According to the glossary of humanitarian terms, *civilian personnel* is defined as "UN non-military staff members who form part of a peacekeeping operation and perform duties, among other things, relating to the human rights, humanitarian or political situation on the ground, and the financial and administrative

management of a mission”<sup>214</sup>. The term *personnel* is replaced by *component* in ResII which simply means one part of the Syrian population<sup>215</sup>. Not only is *civilian personnel* replaced by a more neutral expression, *civilian component*, but also the verb *demand*, which has a strong force of imposition, is substituted by a neutral verb (*decides*) in the second adopted resolution. These substitutions are made to further mitigate the representation in order to avoid the use of veto.

The past participle *detained* is considered to realize classification since it refers to the legal status of the social actor that is referred to. It is used in different groups of nouns in the first nine drafts (examples 42-46) but none of them is reproduced again at the end of the drafting process (Table 35). It is first introduced in SD01 in the expression *arbitrarily detained persons*. It is used in the latter expression as a premodifier of the noun *persons* (unspecification) which are premodified by the adverb *arbitrarily* which describes the action of detaining. Interestingly, this adverb which makes “you think that it [the action] is not based on any principle, plan or system” (Collins COBUILD advanced dictionary, 2009, p. 67) is not used in SD02V and SD03R. This is part of mitigating the representation of the agent who is detaining people. Drafters of SD02V opt for this strategy to avoid the use of veto while the Russian Federation attempts to reduce the intensity of the negative representation of the agent (*the Syrian authorities*) in SD03R. This interpretation can be confirmed by the fact that this strong adverb is not employed again in the tenth and eleventh drafts or in the resolutions.

- (42) The Security Council [...] Calls upon the Syrian authorities to: [...] (c) immediately release all prisoners of conscience and **arbitrarily detained persons**, [...] (SD01)
- (43) The Security Council [...] Demands that the Syrian authorities immediately: (b) [...] release all political prisoners and **detained peaceful demonstrators**, [...]; (SD02V)
- (44) The Security Council [...] Calling upon the Syrian authorities to release **all those detained** for expressing their rights to freedom of expressions, peaceful assembly and association, (SD03R)
- (45) The Security Council [...] Demands that the Syrian Government, [...], without delay: [...] (b) release **all arbitrarily detained persons** due to the recent incidents; (SD04, SD08)
- (46) The Security Council [...] Demands that the Syrian Government, [...], without delay: [...] (b) release **all persons detained arbitrarily** due to the recent incidents; (SD09V)

Furthermore, in SD02V (example 43), the positive noun phrase *peaceful demonstrators* is used instead of the neutral unpecific head *persons*. The Russian Federation rather employs *all those* (unspecific aggregation, differentiation) with *detained* in its draft. The message of being part of

<sup>214</sup> [https://definedterm.com/civilian\\_personnel](https://definedterm.com/civilian_personnel) (Last accessed February 2019).

<sup>215</sup> According to the Collins dictionary, “the components of something are the parts that it is made of”. <https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/component>. (Last accessed February 2019).

demonstrations which is expressed through the nominal *demonstrators* in SD02V is transformed into a non-finite clause *for expressing their rights to freedom of expressions, peaceful assembly and association expression* in SD03R (example 44). Instead of being part of the referential scope that is used to represent the victim in SD02V, the formulation in SD03R conveys the reason behind the action of detaining people. The textual travel of the co-text of these referential expressions show that this aspect of demonstrating is totally absent in subsequent representation (i.e., SD04, SD08 and SD09V). Indeed, the noun *incidents* in the phrase *due to recent incidents*, which is used in the fourth, eighth and ninth drafts (examples 45, 46), refers to “something that happens, often something that is unpleasant” (Collins COBUILD advanced dictionary, 2009, p. 799). It is clear that the recontextualizing process goes in the direction of offering a general description that conceals a significant characteristic of the Syrian revolution which is the peaceful demonstrations.

In the fourth and eighth drafts (example 45), the same expression *all arbitrarily detained persons* is used which is similar to the one in SD01 (example 42). It should be noted that the all-inclusive determiner *all*, which is a non-specific type of aggregation and an intensifier that adds further weight to the representation, is added to the referential expressions *those detained* in SD03R (example 44) and is reused in SD04, SD08 and SD09V (example 45, 46). It should be noted that in SD03R and SD09V, the word *detained* is used as being part of the passive form in *all those [that are] detained* and *all persons [that are] detained arbitrarily* respectively instead of a past participle that is used as a premodifier of the noun *persons* in SD01, SD04 and SD08<sup>216</sup>. What should be mentioned here is that drafters of SD03R and SD09V choose to leave the agent, who is responsible for act of detaining, implicit even though the passive structure gives the option of explicitly representing the doer of the action.

Two other lexical expressions that refer to social actors belonging to the group of Syrian People in terms of their status are *refugees*<sup>217</sup> and *displaced persons*<sup>218</sup> which invoke almost the same meaning. They are first used in SD08 and SD09V (example 47) but only *displaced persons* is reproduced in ResII (example 48). Interestingly, while the term *refugees* per se is not employed again, its meaning is paraphrased in ResII, *Syrians who have fled across Syria’s borders as a consequence of the violence* (example 48). The referential expression *displaced persons*, in

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<sup>216</sup> This transformation also affects the position of the adverb, *arbitrarily*, which is used after the verb in the passive voice to modify the action in SD09V.

<sup>217</sup> Refugees “are people who have been forced to leave their homes or their country, either because there is a war there or because of their political or religious beliefs” (Collins COBUILD advanced dictionary, 2009, p. 1306).

<sup>218</sup> A displaced person is “someone who has been forced to leave the place where they live, especially because of a war” (Collins COBUILD advanced dictionary, 2009, p. 444).

SD08 and SD09V (example 47), is premodified by the adverb *internally* which restricts the reference to persons who are forced to leave the place where they live and move to another place inside of Syria. The same expression is employed in ResII together with the demonstrative determiner *these* which refers back to the *Syrians who have fled across Syria's borders* (example 48). The difference between example (47) and (48) is that the referential expressions in the former refer to two groups that are displaced externally (*refugees*) and internally (*internally displaced persons*) while in ResII only the former group is referred to.

(47) The Security Council [...] Underscoring the importance of ensuring the voluntary return of **refugees** and internally **displaced persons** to their homes in safety and with dignity, (SD08, SD09V)

(48) The Security Council [...] Expressing its appreciation of the significant efforts that have been made by the States bordering Syria to assist **Syrians who have fled across Syria's borders as a consequence of the violence**, and requesting UNHCR to provide assistance as requested by member states receiving **these displaced persons**, (ResII)

Classification is also realized through two nouns that invoke the concept of gender and age (*women*, and *children*). The first term is used only once in the material. It is employed in SD02V together the term *children* which travels to SD04, SD08, and SD09V (example 49, 50).

(49) The Security Council [...] expresses profound regret at the deaths of thousands of people including **women and children** (SD02V)

(50) The Security Council [...] Condemns the continued widespread and gross violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms by the Syrian authorities such as the use of force against civilians, arbitrary executions, killing and persecution of protestors and members of the media, arbitrary detention, enforced disappearances, and interference with access to medical treatment, torture, sexual violence, and ill-treatment, including against **children**; (SD04, SD08, SD09V)

*Women and children* are included in a postmodification to the the noun *people* in the second draft (example 49). It should be noted that the same co-text is used in almost all drafts but without the postmodification (see examples 53-56 in the next section VIII.7.1.2. Classification). It might have been deleted in subsequent drafts to avoid representations that raise empathy towards the victim which serves to intensify the negative representation of the aggressor. The postmodification that is used in the fourth draft and reproduced in the eighth and ninth drafts (example 50) is also deleted from subsequent drafts. The absence of such postmodifications in drafts that are proposed after the vetoed draft (i.e., SD02V and SD09V) is a sign that drafters are trying to mitigate the representation and aim to reach consensus.



### X.3.3. Unspecific Collectivization

Unspecific collectivization (see appendix) also occurs in the material and it is realized by the following five referential expressions *people* (17 hits), *population* (16 hits), *persons*<sup>219</sup> (10 hits), *all sections of Syrian society* (3 hits) and *individuals*<sup>220</sup> (2 hits). These lexical terms are more frequently used in the first nine drafts than at the end of the drafting process like other terms that realize functionalization and classification (Table 36). Yet, while functionalization is almost absent at the end of the drafting process, unspecific collectivization as well as classification, still occur in SD10, ResI and ResII, even though with low frequencies (Table 37). Table 37 illustrates the travel of the lexical terms that realize unspecific collectivization during the drafting process. It should be noted that the instances of *individuals* are dealt with in section VIII.7.1.1. Functionalization (examples 17, 21).

**Table 36: The travel of the Lexical terms realizing unspecific collectivization**

	SD01	SD02V	SD03R	SD04	SD08	SD09V	SD10	SD11R	ResI	ResII
<b>People</b>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	✓
<b>Population</b>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	✓
<b>Persons</b>	✓	-	-	✓	✓	✓	-	-	-	✓
<b>All sections of Syrian society</b>	-	✓	The Syrian society	All sections of <u>the</u> Syrian society	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Individuals</b>	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

**Table 37: Unspecific Collectivization in comparison with functionalization and classification**

	SD01	SD02V	SD03R	SD04	SD08	SD09V	SD10	SD11R	ResI	ResII
<b>Functionalization</b>	8.8	2.4	3.1	5.8	4.7	4.8	0.9	0	0	0.7
<b>Classification</b>	7.6	9.6	4.1	5.8	6.6	6.7	2.8	1.7	1	3.1
<b>Unspecific Collectivization</b>	10.1	8.4	6.2	4.9	6.6	6.7	2.8	0	2.1	2.3

The referential expressions *people* and *population* are present in almost all drafts (except SD011R) and in the adopted resolutions. Five instances of the term *people* are used to refer to the casualties caused by the conflict (examples 52- 56). It should be noted that the term *people* is

<sup>219</sup> The lexeme PERSON is used 15 times in the material. Ten instances realize unspecific collectivization through the plural form *persons* while the singular form *person* is used five times and realize genericization.

<sup>220</sup> The lexeme INDIVIDUAL is present 12 times in the material. It is used twice to realize unspecific collectivization while the remaining ten instances realize genericization.

employed in SD02V (example 52) and reproduced in subsequent drafts as a substitution to the word *civilians* which is employed in SD01 (example 51). This transformation might be made because the term *people* is more general than *civilians*. In other words, through the former term's all-inclusive meaning, drafters can refer to not only civilians but also non-civilians and other social actors that do not belong to the group of Syrian People<sup>221</sup>. The representational choice opted for in the material to refer to the casualties of war vary from one draft to another as different lexical terms are used to pre- or postmodify the referential expressions (*civilians* and *people*). Besides replacing *civilians* by *people*, the numerative noun *hundreds* (unspecific aggregation), used in SD01 (example 51), is substituted by *thousands* (unspecific aggregation) in subsequent representations (examples 52-56).

- (51) The Security Council [...] Condemns the systematic violation of human rights, including the killings, arbitrary detentions, disappearances, and torture of peaceful demonstrators, human rights defenders and journalists by the Syrian authorities, and expresses deep regret at the deaths of hundreds of civilians, (SD01)
- (52) The Security Council [...] Strongly condemns the continued grave and systematic human rights violations and the use of force against civilians by the Syrian authorities, and expresses profound regret at the deaths of thousands of people including women and children (SD02V)
- (53) The Security Council [...] Expressing profound regret at the death of thousands of people, (SD03R)
- (54) The Security Council [...] Expressing grave concern at **the deterioration of the situation** in Syria, and profound regret at the death of thousands of people, (SD04, SD08, SD09V)
- (55) The Security Council [...] Expressing its gravest concern at the **crisis** in Syria which has resulted in a serious human rights **crisis** and a deplorable humanitarian situation, and expressing its profound regret at the death of many thousands of people in Syria, (SD10)
- (56) The Security Council [...] Condemning the widespread violations of human rights by the Syrian authorities, as well as any human rights abuses by armed groups, recalling that those responsible shall be held accountable, and expressing its profound regret at the death of many thousands of people in Syria (ResI, ResII)

Moreover, in SD10, drafters add the quantifier *many* to the expression *thousands of people* (example 55) which is also adopted in ResI and ResII (example 56). These revisions, which intensify the gravity of the situation, are probably made as adaptations to the actual state of the death toll of the conflict in Syria when every draft is proposed. Drafters of SD02V adds a

<sup>221</sup> Indeed, in some drafts, the category of VICTIM includes social actors that belong to other groups such as the UN Team or Syrian Authorities. For example, in SD02V, drafters refer to *diplomatic personnel* as being victim of attacks while the Russian Federation condemns attacks against *state institutions* in its draft. The latter representation is also embedded in SD04, SD08 and SD09V. Thus, the term *people*, unlike *civilians*, can refer to all these groups of social actors when the SC expresses regret at the death of thousands of people.

postmodification, *including women and children*, to the expression *thousands of people* (example 52). It further specifies the classes of social actors that are tragically affected by violence in Syria. Yet, this postmodifier is not reproduced in subsequent representations. In SD10 (example 55), the prepositional phrase *in Syria* postmodifies the referential expressions *many thousands of people* and it is reused in ResI and ResII (example 56).

The co-text, in which the terms *civilians* and *people* are embedded, changes especially from the first to the third draft. The noun *regret*, which is premodified in SD01 with the adjective *deep*<sup>222</sup> (example 51), is premodified by *profound*<sup>223</sup> in subsequent drafts. Again, this revision made to the co-texts represent intensification strategies. The larger co-texts of the clauses under analysis are also worth analysing. In all example (51-56), except for example (53)<sup>224</sup>, the larger co-texts provide background information of what is happening in Syria that caused many casualties. However, they are differently formulated. One major difference is between SD01 and the remaining drafts. Indeed, drafters use nominalizations for specific types of violent actions and mention the aggressor (*Syrian authorities*) in SD01 (example 51). Yet, in the other drafts, the background information is formulated in terms of either general nominalizations, such as *use of force*, *violations of human rights* and *human rights abuses* or deagentialization. According to Van Leeuwen, the latter is about actions that are “represented as brought about in other ways, impervious to human agency—through natural forces, unconscious processes, and so on” (2008, p. 67). For example, in SD04, SD08, and SD09V, drafters use the abstract noun *situation* and describe it as deteriorating as if it is simply taking place without the involvement of human agents (example 54). Similarly, in SD10 drafters refers to the violent actions as a crisis which is represented as a natural process that *has resulted in a serious human rights crisis and a deplorable humanitarian situation* (example 55) without mentionin the agents that are responsible for such an outcome.

The word *people* is used six times in almost the same co-text which is about addressing their legitimate aspirations (example 57-60). The classifier *Syrian* employed in SD01 to premodify the term *people* (example 57) is replaced by *Syria’s* in SD03R, SD04, SD08 and SD09V (example

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<sup>222</sup> It is normally used “to emphasize the seriousness, strength, importance, or degree of something” (Collins COBUILD advanced dictionary, 2009, p. 399).

<sup>223</sup> It is used “to emphasize that something is very great or intense” (Collins COBUILD advanced dictionary, 2009, p. 1239).

<sup>224</sup> It should be noted that the Russian Federation includes background information in SD03R but in another paragraph that precedes the one in example (53). It is formulated as follows “The Security Council [...] Strongly condemning continuing violence coming from all parties, including disproportionate use of force by Syrian authorities, and expressing grave concern over the potential for a further deterioration of the situation” (SD03R).

58-60). Moreover, the paragraph in SD04, SD08 and SD09V (example 60) is first used in SD02V where drafters refer to *Syria's population* instead of *Syria's people*.

- (57) The Security Council [...] regretting that the Syrian Government has not responded to the legitimate aspirations of **the Syrian people**, (SD01)
- (58) The Security Council [...] Calls for an inclusive Syrian-led political process to [...] lead to the full implementation of the reforms that will effectively address the legitimate aspirations and concerns of **Syria's people**, (SD03R)
- (59) The Security Council [...] Calls upon the Syrian government to expedite the implementation of the announced reforms, [...], in order to effectively address the legitimate aspirations and concerns of **Syria's people**; (SD03R)
- (60) The Security Council [...] Calls for an inclusive Syrian-led political process [...] aimed at effectively addressing the legitimate aspirations and concerns of **Syria's people**, (SD04, SD08, SD09V)

Interestingly, other instances about addressing their legitimate aspirations are included in SD01, SD02V and SD03R but with another referential expression, *the population* (examples 61, 62). The co-text of the paragraph in SD02V (example 62) also includes another reference to *population* with is modified by the adjective *entire* (unspecific aggregation). It should be noted that this second reference is deleted from the paragraph in SD03R and it is replaced by the more general expression *for all without distinction* (genericisation) (example 63). The referential expression *its entire population* is employed for a second time in SD02V in a similar co-text that tackles the human rights and freedoms of Syrian people (*The Security Council [...] Demands that the Syrian authorities immediately: [...] (b) allow the full exercise of human rights and fundamental freedoms by its **entire population***). The travel of the paragraph from SD02V (example 62) to SD03R (example 63) is featured by other transformations (substitution and addition). One of the most significant modifications is the use of a general term *association* in the third draft (example 63) to replace the specific word *protest* that is employed in SD02V (example 62). This is another evidence for the stand of the Russian Federation towards the revolution (protesting and demonstrating) and the Syrian People.

- (61) The Security Council [...] Demands an immediate end to the violence and for steps to address the legitimate aspirations of **the population** (SD01)
- (62) The Security Council [...] Stressing that the only solution to the current crisis in Syria is through an inclusive and Syrian-led political process with the aim of effectively addressing the legitimate aspirations and concerns of **the population** which will allow the full exercise of fundamental freedoms **for its entire population**, including of the rights of freedom of expression, assembly and peaceful **protest**, [...]; (SD02V)
- (63) The Security Council [...] Stressing that the only solution to the current crisis in Syria is through an inclusive and Syrian-led political process with the aim of effectively

addressing the legitimate aspirations and concerns of **the population** which will allow the full enjoyment of fundamental human rights and freedoms **for all without distinction**, including that of the rights of freedom of expression, peaceful assembly and association, [...], (SD03R)

- (64) The Security Council [...] stresses in particular the Syrian government's responsibility [...] to respect the right of **the Syrian people** to demonstrate peacefully as legally guaranteed and to freedom of association (SD10)

These paragraphs that include one of the measures that the SC lists are not reproduced in subsequent representations after the ninth draft. However, SD10 includes a paragraph to remind the Syrian government of the importance of respecting the right of demonstrating and freedom of association of *Syria's people* (example 64). The aforementioned examples show how the expressions *people* and *population*, which can be considered to be synonymous, are used interchangeably in similar co-texts. This is probably made to avoid reiteration especially when the same formulation is repeated in the same draft. Thus, such transformation are related to the cohesion of readability of texts.

The two remaining instances of the referential term *people* are used in the first draft (examples 65, 66). They are both employed with the possessive pronoun *its* which refers back (anaphoric reference) to the *authorities* in (65) while it refers forward (cataphoric reference) to the same entity in (66). The co-texts of the expression *its people* are reproduced in subsequent drafts with significant transformations concerning the referential expressions used to represent social actors as well as their actions. Their textual travels is tackled in the chapter about the representation of social actions.

- (65) The Security Council [...] Considering that the widespread and systematic attacks currently taking place in Syria by the authorities against **its people** may amount to crimes against humanity, (SD01)

- (66) The Security Council [...] Expressing grave concern at the situation in Syria and condemning the violence and use of force against **its people** (SD01)

Besides the six instances of the term *population* that are mentioned in the analysis of the word *people*, the former referential expression is also present seven times in analogous co-texts. Indeed, the SC asks the Syrian Authorities *to protect its population* in SD01, SD02V, SD04, SD08, and SD09V (examples 67-70). The latter two drafts include two instances of the same co-text (examples 68, 69)<sup>225</sup>. The textual travels of the paragraph from the first draft (example 67) to

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<sup>225</sup> Interestingly, SD02V and SD04 also include other instances in which the SC recalls the Syrian authorities to protect *the embassy premises* and *the observers* respectively.

subsequent ones is interesting in a number of respects. They show various transformations that are made to the larger co-text in which the measure *to protect its population* is reembedded.

- (67) The Security Council [...] **Recalling** the Syrian **authorities'** responsibility to protect its population, and to allow unhindered and sustained access for humanitarian aid and humanitarian organisations, (SD01)
- (68) The Security Council [...] **Recalling** the Syrian **Government's** primary responsibility to protect its population, and the Secretary-General's call for the Syrian Government to allow unhindered and sustained access for humanitarian aid and humanitarian organizations (SD02V)
- (69) The Security Council [...] **Demands** that the Syrian Government immediately put an end to all human rights violations and attacks against those exercising their rights to freedom of expression, peaceful assembly and association, protect its population [...], (SD04, SD08, SD09V)
- (70) The Security Council [...] **Demands** that the Syrian Government, [...] : (a) ceases all violence and protect its population; (SD08, SD09V)

The paragraphs in SD01 and SD02V are part of the preamble sections and start with the same non-finite verb *recalling* to remind the Syrian Authorities of their responsibility to protect its population. Rather than adopting this formulation, drafters of SD04, SD08, SD09V use another verbalization that gives the paragraphs a strong illocutionary force through the directive verb *demands* (strong force of imposition). Another modification that is worth mentioning is between the first and second drafts. Besides adding the intensifier *primary* as a premodification to *responsibility* in SD02V (example 68), drafters include the textual fragment *the Secretary-General's call for the Syrian Government* to put more emphasis on the importance of granting access for humanitarian aid and humanitarian organizations. All in all, the textual travels from the first to the ninth draft (examples 67-70) reveal how changes are made in the direction of intensifying the representation to make the measure more urgent and binding. This can be one of reasons why the second and ninth drafts are vetoed.

Unspecific collectivization is also realized through the lexical term *persons* which is used ten times in the whole material. Seven of them are analysed in the section that deals with classification since the lexical term *persons* is premodified by the classifier *detained* (examples 42, 45, 46 in VIII.7.1.2. Classification). The three other instances of the word *persons* are present in the fourth (example 71), eighth and ninth drafts (example 72). Interestingly, a subsequent draft (SD10) and the adopted resolutions (example 73) include a modified version of the paragraphs in SD04, SD08, and SD09V (examples 71, 72) with another referential expression which is *populations*.

The general and collective terms are postmodified by the prepositional phrase *in need of assistance* which further specifies the type of social actors drafters are referring to (example 71-73). Before dealing with the textual travels of these instances, it is worth stating that the paragraph in the fourth draft is a modified version of a similar textual fragment ( [...] *to allow unhindered and sustained access for humanitarian aid and humanitarian organisations*) that is first used in SD01 and then in SD02V. The major difference is that, in the first and second drafts, the social actors that is expected to benefit from the humanitarian assistance is not included. Moreover, while the paragraphs in SD04, SD08 and SD09V (examples 71, 72) are embedded in the operative part of the drafts, the ones in SD01 and SD02V (examples 67, 68) are part of the preamble section.

- (71) The Security Council [...] Calls upon **all parties** to allow **full** and unimpeded access for humanitarian **relief personnel** in order to ensure the timely delivery of humanitarian aid to **persons in need of assistance**; (SD04)
- (72) The Security Council [...] Calls upon **the Syrian authorities** to allow **safe** and unhindered access for humanitarian **assistance** in order to ensure the delivery of humanitarian aid to **persons in need of assistance**; (SD08, SD09V)
- (73) Reiterates its call for the Syrian authorities to allow **immediate, full** and unimpeded access of **humanitarian personnel** to **all populations in need of assistance, in accordance with international law and guiding principles of humanitarian assistance** (SD10, ResI ResII)

Drafters of SD08 use almost the same paragraph from SD04 by modifying some of its parts. First of all, the addressee that is called upon by the SC to carry the measure changes from being *all parties* (general reference) in SD04 (example 71) to *the Syrian authorities* (specific reference) in SD08 (example 72). In addition, the adjective *full* modifying *access* is substituted by *safe* in SD08 which can imply that UN team did not have safe access to help people and faced violence. In the fourth draft, the expression *humanitarian relief personnel* is employed to refer to the social actors that should have safe and unhindered access. On the other hand, drafters of SD08 use a non human agent instead. Indeed, they replace *humanitarian relief personnel* by *humanitarian assistance*. Such a substitution that conceals the social actor to some extent can be due to the characteristic of legal language that is featured by the excessive use of nominalizations. The formulation that is employed in SD08 is also adopted in SD09V.

Besides the substitution of *persons* for *populations* in SD10, ResI and ResII (example 73), some modifications mainly additions are also made. The paragraph in the aforementioned draft and resolutions starts with *reiterates its call for* instead of using the directive *call upon* like in the preceding representations (examples 71, 72). In SD10, ResI and ResII, drafters calls for *securing*

*humanitarian access* early in the text which explains why they opt for the verb *reiterates* as they are referring to the same measure (but with more details) later in the text. After its replacement by the adjective *safe* in SD08 and SD09V, *full* is employed again with *immediate* in the tenth draft and the adopted resolutions. Instead of the nominalization *assistance*, the referential expression *humanitarian personnel*, which is very similar to the one used in SD04, is used at the end of the drafting process. A textual fragment that refers to international law is added at the end of the paragraph in (73) which further highlights the importance of the measure.

The referential expression, realizing unspecific collectivization, that is less frequently used in the material is *society*. It is used for the first time in SD02V and it is reproduced in SD03R and SD04 (examples 74, 75, 76). Interestingly, this expression has the same premodification as well as the co-text in SD02V and SD04 (examples 74, 75). However, it is employed differently in SD03R which lead to totally different representations of the Syrian society.

(74) The Security Council [...] encourages the Syrian opposition and **all sections of Syrian society** to contribute to **such a** process; (SD02V)

(75) The Security Council [...] encourages **Member States** to work with the Syrian opposition and **all sections of the Syrian society** to contribute to **this** process; (SD04)

(76) The Security Council [...] Urges also all groups of Syrian opposition to dissociate themselves from extremists, accept LAS initiative and to engage without preconditions in political dialogue with the Syrian authorities with a view to holding a substantial and in-depth discussion on the ways of reforming **the Syrian society**; (SD03R)

In the second and fourth drafts (example 74, 75), drafters refer to *all sections of Syrian society* as an active actor who is encouraged to be involved in *the inclusive Syrian-led political process*. Therefore, in this representation, the Syrian People are not considered as victims but rather as dynamic and effective social actors that can help in solving the conflict. On the contrary, in its draft, the Russian Federation urges the Syrian opposition to work with the Syrian authorities on finding ways to reform *the Syrian society* (example 76). In other words, the latter is construed as being a problem more than as a solution in SD03R. Again, these contradictory representations reflect the opposing attitudes of member states concerning the different groups of social actors.

### X.3.4. Genericization

Genericization (see appendix) is present in the material to refer to the group of Syrian People through five expressions: *any individual*, *individuals*, *group of individuals* or *body*<sup>226</sup>, *any*

<sup>226</sup> A body of people “is a group of people who are together or who are connected in some way” (Collins COBUILD advanced dictionary, 2009, p. 162).



*person, for all*. It should be noted that some of the expressions that are in the plural form are not classified under the category unspecific collectivization for twofold reasons: either the use of the indefinite determiner *any*<sup>227</sup> (*any group of individuals*) or its co-text that includes simple present. Unlike other expressions that realize functionalization, classification and even unspecific collectivization, the aforementioned ones are more present in the middle and mainly at the end of the drafting process. Table 38 illustrates their usage in drafts and travel from one draft to another.

**Table 38: The travel of the Lexical terms realizing Genericization**

	SD01	SD02V	SD03R	SD04	SD08	SD09V	SD10	SD11R	ResI	ResII
<b>Any individual</b>	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	-	-
<b>Individuals</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	✓	✓
<b>Any individual, group of individuals or body</b>	-	-	-	✓	-	-	✓	-	-	-
<b>Any person</b>	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓	-	-	✓	✓
<b>For all</b>	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

The lexeme INDIVIDUAL is used in different forms to realize genericization. It is employed in the singular form four times with the determiner *any* to refer to any social actor that is interviewed by the mission or communicate with it (example 77, 78, 79). Moreover, the plural form is also used four times. It is used with the noun *group* which can be said to realize unspecific collectivization in SD04 and SD10. The expressions *any individual* and *group of individuals* are associated with *body* and are all postmodified by the prepositional phrase *in Syria* in SD04 and SD10 (examples 77, 79). Two other instances of the plural form of the lexeme INDIVIDUAL are used in the adopted resolutions (example 80). Moreover, the general expression *any person* is present five times in the material (examples 77, 78, 80).

- (77) The Security Council [...] **Calls upon** the Syrian authorities, [...], immediately to: [...]
- (d) **guarantee** the mission its right to **interview**, freely or in private, **any individual** in any region of Syria, and **to receive** communications from **any individual, group of individuals or body in Syria**, as well as the right to hold meetings;
- (e) **guarantee not to punish, harass or retaliate** against **any person, his relatives or associates, who has communicated with the mission or provided testimonies or information** to the mission; (SD04)

<sup>227</sup> *Any* can be used as a determiner “in statements with negative meaning to indicate that no thing or person of a particular type exists, is present, or is involved in a situation” (Collins COBUILD advanced dictionary, 2009, p.58).

- (78) The Security Council [...] **Calls upon** the Syrian authorities, [...], to cooperate fully with the League of Arab States' observer mission, [...], including through [...] **guaranteeing** the mission's rights to **interview**, freely or in private, **any individual** and **guaranteeing** also **not to punish, harass, or retaliate** against, **any person** who has **cooperated** with the mission; (SD08, SD09V)
- (79) The Security Council [...] **Demands** that the Syrian government [...] (d) **guarantee** the mission's ability to **interview**, freely or in private, **any individual** in any region of Syria, and to **receive** communications from **any individual, group of individuals or body in Syria**, as well as the unobstructed communications both within the mission and between the mission and United Nations headquarters [...], (SD10)
- (80) The Security Council [...] **Calls upon** the Syrian government to ensure the effective operation of the mission, including its advance team, by: [...] **allowing** it to freely and privately **communicate** with **individuals** throughout Syria **without retaliation** against **any person** **as a result of interaction** with the mission; (ResI, ResII)

The textual travels of the paragraph in which the aforementioned general expressions are used from the fourth draft to the adopted resolutions reveal significant transformations and transfer of some textual fragments which are highlighted in different colors (examples 77 to 80). First of all, all paragraphs are part of the operative section in the drafts. However, while drafters of SD08 and SD09V (example 78) use the same directive verb (*calls upon*) at the beginning of the paragraph, like in SD04 (example 77), drafters of SD10 (example 79) change the verb and opt for *demands* which has a strong force of imposition. The latter is not used in the adopted resolutions (example 80) as drafters choose the weaker verb *calls upon* over *demands*. This modification which tends to mitigate the force of imposition given to the utterance and the measure through the directive verb might be opted for in the adopted resolutions to achieve consensus.

Besides using different directives to address the group of Syrian Authorities<sup>228</sup>, drafters also differ in their choice of the verb that is used to introduce the measure. Indeed, in SD04, SD08, SD09V and SD10, the verb *guarantee* is employed while it is substituted for the verb *allow* in the adopted resolutions. The significance behind this transformation is that the latter verb construes the measure in terms of a force schema. According to force dynamics, the Syrian government is represented as an antagonist that is used to block the way of the mission, the agonist, (i.e., not letting it carry its duties) but now the antagonist should disengage himself and allow the agonist to perform its intrinsic tendency (i.e., to carry its duties). Such a

<sup>228</sup> It should be noted that the same group of social actors (i.e., the Syrian Authorities) is addressed in all the paragraphs through two representational choices (*Syrian authorities* and *Syrian government*). This is explained in details in the chapter about the representation of Syrian Authorities.

representational choice pictures the Syrian government negatively as it is construed as an aggressor that should change its behaviour.

Furthermore, what should be guaranteed is formulated differently in the drafts and the adopted resolutions. For example, the textual fragment *to receive communications from any individual, group of individuals or body in Syria* (SD04) is deleted from the representations in SD08 and SD09V but it is reproduced in SD10. The paragraph, employed in ResI as well as ResII, includes the verb *communicate* which can express the meanings of the verbs (i.e., *to interview* and *receive communications*) that are used in preceding drafts. The second issue that should be guaranteed is *not to punish, harass or retaliate against any person* (SD04) (example 77). This textual fragment travels to the eighth and ninth drafts but it is deleted from the representation in SD10. In ResI and ResII, on the other hand, drafters also refer to the same issue but with a much-reduced formulation, *without retaliation against any person* (example 80).

Similarly, the co-texts of the term *any person* receive transformations which lead to a concise formulation in the adopted resolutions. In SD04, *any person* is further defined through his actions of communicating with and providing testimonies to the mission (example 77). These acts are reduced to only one by using the verb, *cooperate*, whose meaning can imply any kind of action in SD08 and SD09V (example 78). Interestingly, in the adopted resolutions, the aforementioned formulations are further reduced to *as a result of interaction with the mission*. Unlike in SD04, SD08 and SD09V (examples 77, 78), which include relative clauses that further identify the social actor, the formulation in ResI and ResII has the effect of backgrounding the social actor to some extent (example 80).

### **X.3.5. Physical Identification and Relational Identification**

Physical identification (see appendix), which is about representing social actors “in terms of their physical characteristics which uniquely identify them in a given context” (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p.44), is the least frequent in the material with only two instances. They are realized by the lexical terms *the wounded*<sup>229</sup> in SD01 (example 81) and *casualties*<sup>230</sup> in ResII (example 82). Both expressions identify social actors in terms of what happened to their bodies i.e., they are hurt physically. These terms provide a specific identification and are powerful as they may activate

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<sup>229</sup> The wounded a plural noun derived from the noun the wound which is defined as “damage to part of your body especially a cut or a hole in your flesh, which is caused by a gun, knife, or other weapon” (Collins COBUILD advanced dictionary, 2009, p. 1814).

<sup>230</sup> A casualty is “a person who is injured or killed in a war or in an accident” (Collins COBUILD advanced dictionary, 2009, p. 231).

the frame of an action schema in the reader's mind. While both terms are used only once, the expression *the wounded* can be said to be replaced by the general references *persons in need of assistance* in SD04, SD08 and SD09V (examples 71, 72) or *populations in need of assistance* in SD10, ResI and ResII (example 73) in order to mitigate the representation.

(81) The Security Council [...] Expressing concern at the reports of shortages of medical supplies to treat **the wounded** (SD01)

(82) The Security Council [...] Expressing concern over ongoing violence and reports of **casualties** which have escalated again in recent days (ResII)

The relational identification is mostly realized through possessive determiners (anaphora) in the material. Only one instance includes two lexical expressions (*his relatives or associates*) that realize this subcategory (example 30)<sup>231</sup>. The possessive determiner *their* is used with different nouns (Table 39) to refer back to social actors that represent the group of Syrian People.

**Table 39: The travel of the Lexical terms realizing relational identification**

	SD01	SD02V	SD03R	SD04	SD08	SD09V	SD10	SD11R	ResI	ResII
<b>Their affiliations or ethnicities or beliefs</b>	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
<b>Their homes</b>	-	-	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	-	-	-
<b>Their rights</b>	-	-	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	-	-	-
<b>Syria's people</b>	-	-	✓	✓	-	✓	-	-	-	-
<b>Syria's population</b>	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Moreover, other instances that are considered to realize relational identification are *Syria's people* and *Syria's population* since the relationality is established by the genitive form (Table 39). The textual travel of the co-texts in which the aforementioned expressions is clarified in previous sections.

Interestingly, the first two drafts do not include instances of relational identification realized by possessive determiners. This can be explained by the fact that the group of Syrian People is represented through various lexical expressions. Moreover, drafters in the first draft opt for a direct reference to this group of social actors unlike in subsequent drafts where representations about Syrian People decrease. In other words, opting for anaphoric reference in the middle of the drafting process is a strategy to avoid mentioning the victim as much as possible. This discursive

<sup>231</sup> Associates are "the people you are closely connected with, especially at work" (Collins COBUILD advanced dictionary, 2009, p. 82).

approach is also noticed through the excessive use of impersonalization at the end of the drafting process.

#### X.4. Impersonalization

Impersonalization is more present at the end of the drafting process than at its beginning (Table 40).

**Table 40: Impersonalization during the drafting process**

	SD01	SD02V	SD03R	SD04	SD08	SD09	SD10	SD11	ResI	ResII
<b>Impersonalization</b>	6.3	0	0	0.8	0.9	0.9	6.7	5.2	7.4	6.3

All impersonalized representations are realized by spatialization apart from two instances (*peaceful demonstrations* and *the exercise of fundamental freedoms*) that realize EVENT for participant metonymy. In the first draft, four lexical expressions that refer to different places and locations in Syria are used to indirectly refer to the group of Syrian People (examples 83-85). For example, instead of mentioning to the Syrian People that suffer from and are affected by violence, drafters refer to *a number of Syrian towns* and *other affected towns* (examples 84, 85).

- (83) The Security Council [...] Expressing concern also at reports of the discovery of **a mass grave** in Deraa, (SD01)
- (84) The Security Council [...] Echoing the Secretary-General's concern at the humanitarian impact of the violence on **a number of Syrian towns**, and fully supporting the UN's humanitarian assessment mission to Syria, (SD01)
- (85) The Security Council [...] Calls upon the Syrian authorities to: [...] (d) immediately lift **the siege of Deraa** and **other affected towns**, restore medical, fuel and electricity supplies and communications, [...] (SD01)

Even though they are not reproduced during the drafting process (Table 41), the message of some expressions can be said to be expressed through other formulations in subsequent drafts. For instance, the lexical term *casualties* which is used in ResII (example 82) can be considered as a substitution for the expression *a mass grave* (example 83) especially that they are employed in similar co-texts. Moreover, different clauses in subsequent drafts about allowing access to either the UN team to provide assistance to the victims or to the latter to be able to move and exercise their rights (examples 86, 87) can be considered as paraphrased versions of the measure mentioned in SD01 about lifting *the siege of Deraa* (example 85).

- (86) The Security Council [...] Demands that the Syrian authorities immediately: [...] (b) **allow the full exercise of human rights and fundamental freedoms by its entire population, including rights of freedom of expression and peaceful assembly** (SD02V)

- (87) The Security Council [...] Calls upon the Syrian authorities to **allow safe and unhindered access for humanitarian assistance** in order to ensure the delivery of **humanitarian aid to persons in need of assistance**; (SD09V)

**Table 41: Textual travels of lexical terms realizing impersonalization**

	SD01	SD02V	SD03R	SD04	SD08	SD09V	SD10	SD11R	ResI	ResII
A mass grave	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
A number of Syrian towns	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
The siege of Deraa	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other affected towns	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
The exercise of fundamental freedoms	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Peaceful demonstrations	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓	-	-	-	-
Population centres	-	-	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓	✓
In such centres	-	-	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓	✓
To Syria	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	✓

Another expression that is used to impersonally refer to Syrian People is *peaceful demonstrations* which is first used in SD04 and reproduced in SD08 and SD09V (Table 41) (example 87). This EVENT for participant metonymy is a recontextualized textual fragment. In other words, in preceding representations, drafters opt for a personalized reference as they mention *peaceful demonstrators* in SD01 and SD02V even though in different co-texts. More importantly, in the second draft, drafters also refer to right of peaceful protest that should be granted to Syria's *entire population* (example 88).

It is clear that drafters of SD04, SD08 and SD09V attempt to mitigate the representations that are used in the first drafts by opting for an impersonalization. In SD10, drafters rather use a personalized representation in which they refer to *the right of the Syrian people to demonstrate peacefully* (example 90). The latter differs from the representations in the first drafts as it includes a general reference to the social actors (*Syrian people*).

- (88) The Security Council [...] Stressing that the only solution to the current crisis in Syria is through an inclusive and Syrian-led political process with the aim of effectively addressing the legitimate aspirations and concerns of the population **which will allow the full exercise of fundamental freedoms for its entire population, including of the rights of freedom of expression, assembly and peaceful protest** (SD02V)

- (89) The Security Council [...] Demands that the Syrian Government, [...], without delay: [...] (d) **guarantee the freedom of peaceful demonstrations**; (SD04, SD08, SD09V)

(90) The Security Council [...] stresses in particular the Syrian government's responsibility to ensure freedom of movement throughout the country for journalists and to respect the right of the Syrian people to demonstrate peacefully as legally guaranteed and to freedom of association (SD10)

The transformations that are made during the travel of these textual fragments show that referring to demonstrators and protests is a contentious issue in the council. Moreover, SD11, ResI and ResII do not include representations about these aspects of the Syrian Revolution. It should be noted that their absence at the end of the drafting process can be also due to a shift in the situation in Syria. In other words, after almost one year of issuing the first draft, the Syrian revolution has become a serious conflict between different political sections which made the SC focus on this more than on the previous demonstrations that took place a year before.

Another instance of EVENT participant metonymy is realized in SD01, "The Security Council [...] Calls upon the Syrian authorities to: [...] (b) take concrete measures to meet legitimate popular demands, including by [...] promptly [...] the lifting of measures restricting **the exercise of fundamental freedoms**;" Indeed, instead of referring to the social actors that are not allowed to exercise their fundamental freedoms, draftsmen of SD02V impersonally refer to them through a nominal group. Possible recontextualized versions of this representation in SD01 are the ones in (88), (89) and (90) which provide either personalized or impersonalized references to Syrian People.

The remaining expressions realize spatialization and are present at the end of the drafting process (Table 41). Of these are the expressions *population centres* and *such centres* that are first used in SD10 and travel to SD11R, ResI and ResII (Table 41). They are considered to realize impersonalized representations since they are used in co-texts that invoke some personalized representations that are referred to in preceding drafts. For example, the presence of *troops* and *heavy weapons* in *population centres* imply the ideas of the use of force and violence against civilians. Moreover, *the military concentrations* in such centres can be seen as indirect formulation of the personalized representation about arresting people or releasing detained persons which are employed at the beginning of the drafting process.

The textual travel of the paragraphs in which the impersonalized representations are embedded is significant in various aspects even though they share similar co-texts. The paragraph in SD10 (example 91), which travels to the subsequent draft as well as to the adopted resolutions, receives transformations only in SD11R (example 92). The significant difference between the paragraph in (91) and the one in (92) is that in the latter the Russian Federation add the verb *had started* to

the representation. This shows that *the Syrian government* abides by its commitments and agreements with the international community. Through such a positive representation of *the Syrian government*, the Russian Federation attempts to legitimize the role of Syrian Authorities.

- (91) The Security Council [...] Noting the Syrian government's commitment on 25 March 2012 [...] to implement urgently and visibly its commitments, [...], to (a) cease troop movements towards **population centres**, (b) cease all use of heavy weapons **in such centres**, and (c) begin pullback of military concentrations in and around **population centres**, [...], (SD10, ResI, ResII)
- (92) The Security Council [...] Noting [...] that the Syrian government had started to implement its commitments to (a) cease troop movements towards **population centres**, (b) cease all use of heavy weapons in such centres, and (c) begin pullback of military concentrations in and around population centres [...], (SD11)

The other instances of the impersonalized representations are included in the operative sections of the documents. Interestingly, the directive *demands* (a strong force of imposition) which is used at the beginning of the paragraph in SD10 (example 93) is replaced by *calls upon* (a weak force of imposition) in ResI and ResII (examples 94, 96). Added to that, the same paragraph in SD10 includes another instance of the verb *demands* to introduce another measure. This verb is substituted by an emphatic expression, *underlines the importance*, which is used in a separate paragraph in ResI to introduce the second measure (example 95), whereas drafters in ResII opt for a paractic structure (*as well as*) to coordinate both measures that are addressed through *calls upon* (example 96). It is then clear how a weaker force of imposition is adopted in the resolutions to address the Syrian government in order to mitigate the representation and reach agreement.

- (93) The Security Council [...] Demands the Syrian government implement visibly its commitments in their entirety, as it agreed to do in its communication to the Envoy of 1 April, to (a) cease troop movements towards **population centres**, (b) cease all use of heavy weapons **in such centres**, and (c) begin pullback of military concentrations in and around **population centres**, and demands further that the Syrian government withdraw its troops and heavy weapons from **population centres** to their barracks; (SD10)
- (94) The Security Council [...] Calls upon the Syrian government to implement visibly its commitments in their entirety, as it agreed to do in its communication to the Envoy of 1 April 2012, to (a) cease troop movements towards **population centres**, (b) cease all use of heavy weapons **in such centres**, and (c) begin pullback of military concentrations in and around **population centres**; (ResI)
- (95) The Security Council [...] Underlines the importance attached by the Envoy to the withdrawal of all Syrian government troops and heavy weapons from **population centres** to their barracks to facilitate a sustained cessation of violence; (ResI)
- (96) The Security Council [...] Calls upon the Syrian government to implement visibly its commitments in their entirety, as it agreed to do in the Preliminary Understanding and as stipulated in resolution 2042 (2012), to (a) cease troop movements towards **population**



**centres**, (b) cease all use of heavy weapons **in such centres**, (c) **complete** pullback of military concentrations in and around **population centres**, as well as to withdraw its troops and heavy weapons from **population centres** to their barracks or temporary deployment places to facilitate a sustained cessation of violence; (ResII)

Another difference is related to the verb that is used to refer the measure that is introduced under point (c) in the paragraphs. In SD10 as well as ResI, the Syrian government is asked to *begin* pulling back military concentrations from population centres (examples 93, 94). Yet, in ResII, the verb *complete* is employed to introduce the same measure (example 96). Even though this shows progress in implementing the actions proposed by the SC, it can also suggest that Syrian government did not carry the actions in its entirety.

The second adopted resolution includes another instance of an impersonal reference to the group of Syrian People. It is realized through the term *Syria* which invokes a spatialization (example 97). Indeed, the country of *Syria* is represented as the receiver of the humanitarian assistance which is normally provided to persons in need of help.

(97) The Security Council [...] Expressing also its appreciation of the humanitarian assistance that has been provided to **Syria** by other States (ResII)

All in all, the quantitative findings show how determined personalized references are less frequently used at the end of the drafting process while impersonalized representations of the group of Syrian People increase in number at the end of the drafting process like indetermined personalized representations. Added to that, the qualitative analyses reveals how transformations are made to mainly mitigate representations or impose one's attitude about the group of Syrian People. Thus, it can be concluded that the final drafts and the adopted resolutions are characterized by more indirect and vaguer references to the Syrian People than in the first drafts. This shift in the inclusion pattern and the representational choices confirm the assumption that member states opt for vague language that should satisfy all interests in order to reach agreement.

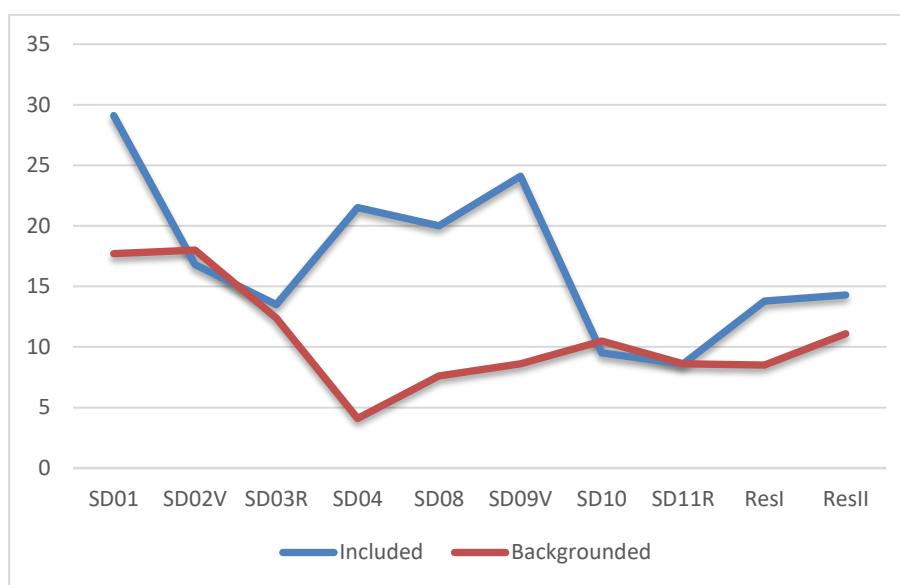
## **X.5. Backgrounding of The Group Syrian People**

The group of Syrian People is neither included nor backgrounded in the same way in all drafts and the adopted resolutions. As it is indicated in Table 42, the frequencies of backgrounding the group Syrian People vary during the drafting process. Indeed, social actors representing Syrian People are mostly backgrounded in the first two drafts with 17.7 in SD01 and 18 in SD02V. The lowest frequency in the pattern of backgrounding is in the fourth draft with 4.1.

**Table 42: The inclusion and backgrounding of the group Syrian People in frequencies pthw**

	SD01	SD02V	SD03R	SD04	SD08	SD09V	SD10	SD11R	ResI	ResII
<b>Included</b>	<b>29.1</b>	16.8	13.5	21.5	20	24.1	9.5	<b>8.6</b>	13.8	14.3
<b>Backgrounded</b>	<b>17.7</b>	<b>18</b>	12.4	<b>4.1</b>	7.6	8.6	10.5	8.6	8.5	11.1

Moreover, after the decrease in the instances that background Syrian People in the middle of the drafting process (i.e., in SD03R, SD04 and SD09V), the backgrounding pattern increases again in the final drafts and the adopted resolutions. The quantitative findings are illustrated in Figure 39. The most obvious trend in the graph (Figure 39) is that the inclusion and backgrounding patterns of the group of Syrian People fluctuate during the drafting process. This finding indicates that drafters had different attitudes about how to represent this group of social actors.

**Figure 39: The inclusion and backgrounding patterns of the Syrian People**

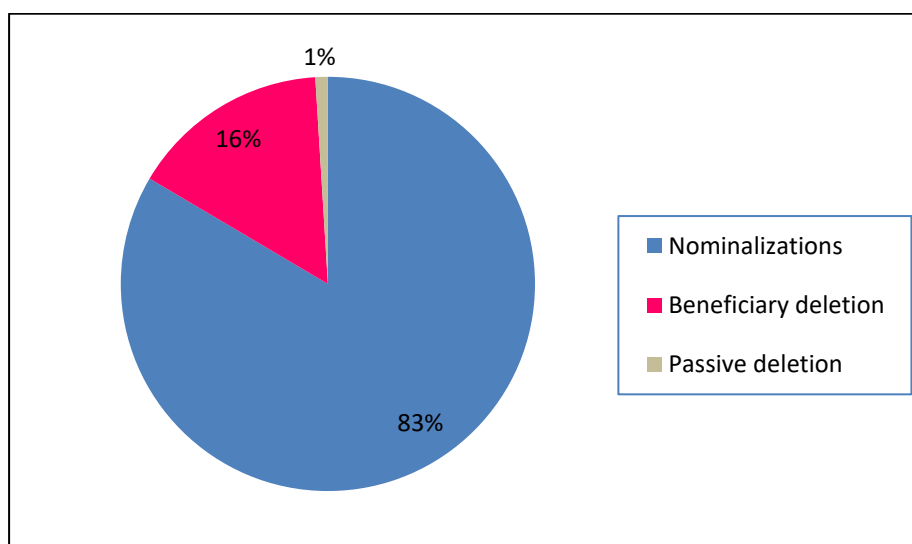
It should be noted that the inclusion and backgrounding of the Syrian People in the adopted resolutions decline to almost half of their number of occurrences that are observed in the first draft (Table 42). As outlined in Figure 39, the inclusion pattern is characterized by two phases of sharp decline. After SD01, the frequencies concerning the inclusion of Syrian People decrease to the half (16.8 in SD02V and 13.5 in SD03R) in comparison with the first draft. There is only one phase of a significant decrease in the backgrounding pattern of the Syrian people; it is observed after the second draft (Figure 39). This decline in the patterns of inclusion and backgrounding is evidence that the group of Syrian People tends to be less represented during the drafting process. The representation of Syrian People was a contentious issue in the council that triggered tension between member states. Not only is there variance in the frequencies of inclusion of the social actors representing Syrian People but also in the lexical jargon used to represent them. The next

section deals with the different referential expressions that are employed to represent the group of Syrian People.

The backgrounding of Syrian People in the material is realized through three types from the realizations discussed in chapter VI. A Grammar of Recontextualization for a Critical Discourse Analysis of the Process of Drafting UNSC Resolutions. They are nominalizations (example 98), beneficiary deletion (example 99) and passive agent deletion (example 100).

- (98) The Security Council [...] call for an immediate and visible implementation by the Syrian government of all elements of the Envoy's six point proposal in their entirety to achieve a sustained cessation of armed **violence** in all its forms by all parties, (ResI)
- (99) The Security Council [...] Demands that the Syrian authorities immediately: [...] (d) alleviate the humanitarian situation in crisis areas, including by [...] restoring basic services including **access to hospitals**; (SD01)
- (100) The Security Council [...] Welcoming also Human Rights Council resolution AIHRCIRES/S- J6/1 of 29 April 2011, [...], to establish the facts and circumstances of such violations and of the crimes **perpetrated**, (SD01)

The type of realization that is frequently used by drafters in the material to background this group of social actors is nominalization (Figure 40). Beneficiary deletion is the second type of realization that is mostly employed. Passive deletion is the least often used to background Syrian People. Interestingly, the realization that is mostly used to background the Syrian Authorities as well as the group of Vague Social Actors is nominalization. This is another evidence for the claim that nominalization is a feature of legal language.



**Figure 40: The realizations of the backgrounding of Syrian People**

The material contains a varied set of nominalizations that backgrounds this group of social actors. Most of them are also referred to in the section about backgrounding Syrian Authorities

and Vague Social Actors since they denote violence and background the agent (Aggressor) as well as the patient (Victim). The material also contains other nominalizations that denote Syrian People's actions and hence background only this group such as *demonstrations* in (101), *humanitarian need* in (102) and *interaction with the mission* in (103).

(101) The Security Council [...] calling for an independent investigation of all killings during recent **demonstrations** (SD01, SD02V),

(102) The Security Council [...] Welcoming the Secretary-General's statements articulating continued concerns about the ongoing violence and **humanitarian needs**, (SD02V)

(103) Calls upon the Syrian government to ensure the effective operation of UNSMIS by: [...] allowing it to freely and privately communicate with individuals throughout Syria without retaliation against any person as a result of **interaction** with UNSMIS (ResII)

The only instance of passive deletion is in SD01 (example 100) which backgrounds Syrian People as well as Syrian Authorities. Instances realized through beneficiary deletion background only the Syrian People (example 102). It should be noted that they are classified as also beneficiary deletions, even though they contain different nominalizations, because the latter are used in co-texts that imply the meaning of someone who is going to benefit from the action mentioned. For instance, the answer to the question who is supposed to benefit from *allowing genuine political participation* would be the Syrian People<sup>232</sup> (example 104).

(104) The Security Council [...] Calls upon the Syrian authorities to: (b) take concrete measures to meet legitimate popular demands, including by adopting comprehensive reforms aimed at allowing **genuine political participation**, inclusive dialogue and effective exercise of fundamental freedoms, [...] and the lifting of measures restricting the exercise of fundamental freedoms; (SD01)

To conclude, the investigation on the backgrounding patterns of Syrian People reveals that the latter are still glossed over at the end of the drafting process, though less frequently than in the first drafts, as patients that are undergoing violence, active social actors or as beneficiary participants.

## X.6. Conclusion

To conclude, the analyses show how the representations of the group Syrian People in the first drafts significantly differ from the ones employed at the end of the drafting process. Not only is the group Syrian People less frequently included in the last drafts and the resolutions but it is

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<sup>232</sup> It should be noted that SD04, SD08 and SD09V include explicit references to Syrian People that are represented as beneficiary participant such as in "The Security Council [...] Calls upon the Syrian authorities to allow safe and unhindered access for humanitarian assistance in order to ensure the delivery of humanitarian aid to *persons in need of assistance*;" (SD09V).

also referred to in vague terms more at the end of the process. Interestingly, the quantitative findings reveals that the less this group is represented, the more it is impersonally referred to and backgrounded. Moreover, through association, new groups composed of different social actors representing Syrian People with social actors from UN Team or Syrian Authorities are frequent in the material especially in the first drafts. The group Syrian People, which is considered to be the main grouping of social actors that falls under the category of Victim, is less represented in the drafts proposed by the Russian Federation when compared to other drafts. The analysis of the textual travels demonstrate how representations of Syrian People becomes more mitigated as they are embedded in subsequent drafts especially in SD03R and SD11R. These observations are good indications of how member states can use language to impose their views about the conflict as they opt for particular representational choices that suit their aims when referring to Syrian People and the category of Victim.

Besides studying the representation of social actors, the thesis also tackles their actions and reactions. In other words, how these social actors relate to and interact with each other. The present chapter analyses the representations of violent events and the reactions of SC towards the Syrian crisis. In the first section, the violent actions are classified according to the three types of image schemas: action, force, and motion schemas. Events that are conceptualized in terms of action schema are further studied to show the profiling the social actors in the same part. The second section of this chapter deals with the reactions of the SC and what actions (i.e., measures) the addressees are asked to fulfil.

## THE REPRESENTATION OF THE CONFLICT AND THE REACTION OF THE SC

### XI.1. Introduction

This chapter consists of two main parts that include different analyses about the representation of the conflict and the reaction of the SC. The first section provides an analysis about the conceptualization of the violent actions in which the participants are represented as engaged. The second part examines the way how the addressees are directed by the SC. The construal operations and the classification of directives are used to explore the aforementioned aspects.

### XI.2. The Representation of The Conflict

Drafters provide different conceptualizations of the violent actions and events that took place during the Syrian conflict. Action<sup>233</sup>, Force<sup>234</sup>, and Motion<sup>235</sup> schemas as well as empty vessels<sup>236</sup> are present in the material. The analysis shows how Action and Force schemas are frequently used in the first draft while empty vessels and especially motion schemas are less frequently employed in the same draft. At the end of the drafting process, Action schemas become rarely present especially in SD11R (Table 43). This decline co-occurs with an increase in the usage of empty vessels in the same draft.

<sup>233</sup> Conceptualizing a given scene as an Action event means to describe the interaction as a transfer of energy from an AGENT (the source of the transfer) to a PATIENT (the target of the energy transfer). Moreover, the PATIENT witnesses a change in state as a result of the interaction; for example, they can be injured or killed etc. A case in point of conceptualizing the event in terms of an ACTION schema in the material is “The Security Council [...] Called upon [the Syrian security forces Agent] [...] to refrain from [targeting Action schema] [innocent civilians Patient] [...]” (SD01).

<sup>234</sup> In a Force schema, the interaction between the social actors is characterized by the exertion of force which can be physical, psychological, social, political etc. Two participants are involved in this force interaction: an AGONIST (AGO, affected entity) who has an intrinsic tendency toward either rest (inaction) or motion (action) and an ANTAGONIST (ANT, the affecting entity) who either acts against the tendency of the AGONIST or lets it manifest its tendency. A case in point is “The Security Council [...] Condemns the systematic violation of human rights, including the killings, arbitrary [detentions Force schema], [...] of [peaceful demonstrators, human rights defenders and journalists Agonist] by [the Syrian authorities Antagonist]” (SD01).

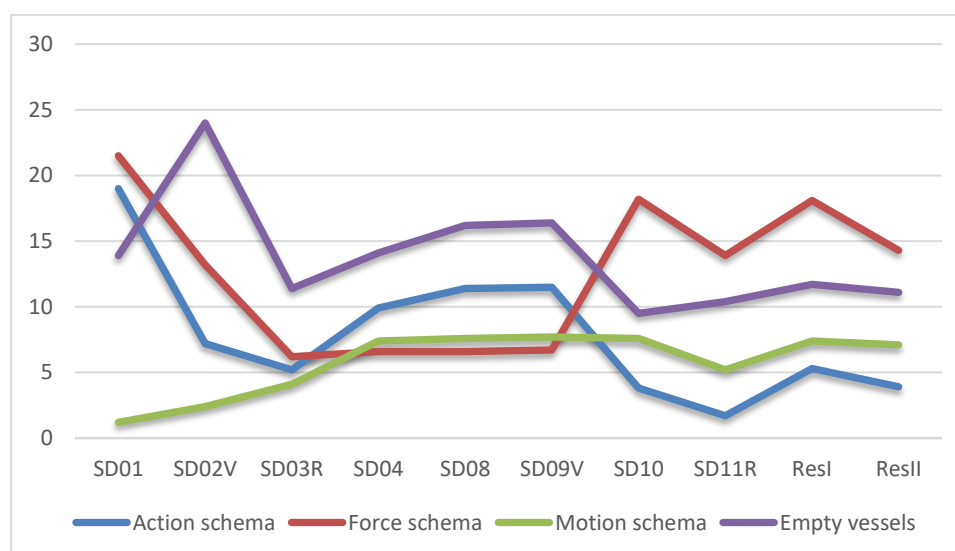
<sup>235</sup> Unlike Action and Force schemas, Motion schemas involve only one participant (the trajector) who is conceptualized as moving along a path relative to an ‘inanimate’ landmark (e.g., towards it, away from it or around it) (Hart, 2014b, p. 116). Therefore, a spatial trajectory with a location is the vector in the conceptualization of MOTION event instead of a transfer of energy with a participant at its head or a force interaction between two participants. A case in point of conceptualizing the violent actions in terms of Motion schema in the data of the present study is “The Security Council [...] Expressing concern at [...] the reports of [numerous civilians trajector] trying [to flee motion] [the violence Landmark]” (SD01).

<sup>236</sup> Empty vessels are vague nominalizations that provide a representation of the conflict and cannot be classified into one of the schemas because of their vague meanings. For example, the nominal form *violations* in “The Security Council [...] Condemns the systematic [violation of human rights Empty vessel], including the [killings Action schema], arbitrary [detentions Force schema], [...] of peaceful demonstrators, human rights defenders and journalists by the Syrian authorities” (SD01) is vague as it can refer to the ACTION as well as FORCE schemas that are included in the same paragraph.

**Table 43: The conceptualization of the conflict and social (re)actions**

	SD01	SD02V	SD03R	SD04	SD08	SD09V	SD10	SD11R	ResI	ResII
<b>Action Schemas</b>	<b>19</b>	7.2	5.2	9.9	11.4	11.5	3.8	<b>1.7</b>	5.3	3.9
<b>Force Schemas</b>	<b>21.5</b>	13.2	6.2	6.6	6.6	6.7	18.2	13.9	18.1	14.3
<b>Motion Schemas</b>	1.2	2.4	4.1	7.4	8.5	<b>8.6</b>	7.6	5.2	<b>7.4</b>	<b>7.1</b>
<b>Empty Vesels</b>	13.9	<b>24</b>	11.4	14.1	16.2	<b>16.4</b>	9.5	10.4	11.7	11.1

Force Schemas are less frequently employed in the middle as well as at the end of the drafting process in comparison with their strong presence in the first draft (Table 43). Moreover, the representations conceptualized in terms of Force schemas remains more present than the other ones at the end of the drafting process. The third type of schemas, which is considered to reduce the intensity of the event being conceptualized, increases in number and reaches its peak in SD08 with 8.5 and 8.6 in SD09V (Table 43). It should be noted that this increase coincides with a decrease in the Action schemas that are used in the tenth draft. Added to that, the increase in the usage of Motion schemas starts from SD03R (Figure 41). The presence of the empty vessels in the adopted resolutions remains almost the same as in the first draft. Yet, it should be noted that they are mostly used in the vetoed drafts (i.e., SD02V and SD09V) (Table 43). This increase in the pattern of empty vessels in the second draft coincides with a significant decrease in the presence of Action and Force schemas in the same draft.

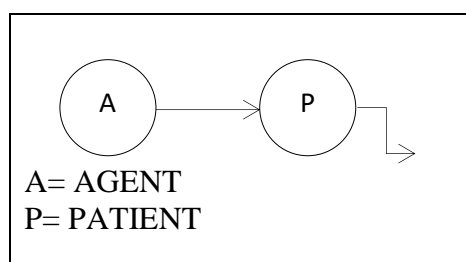
**Figure 41: The patterns of the image schematic conceptualization of the conflict and social (re)actions during the drafting process**

The quantitative analysis reveals that drafters opt for strong representations of the conflict and social actions at the beginning of the drafting process. However, these representations are less

frequently used in the vetoed drafts, the ones proposed by the Russian Federation and especially in the adopted resolutions. It should be noted that even though the intense representations seem to be mitigated in SD02V and SD11R, these drafts are still vetoed because of other reasons such as the disagreement about the representation of social actors and assigning responsibility. This shift from using intensification to mitigation strategies is further illustrated through a qualitative analysis of the textual travels of the representations of actions in the remainder of the present chapter.

### XI.2.1. Action Schemas

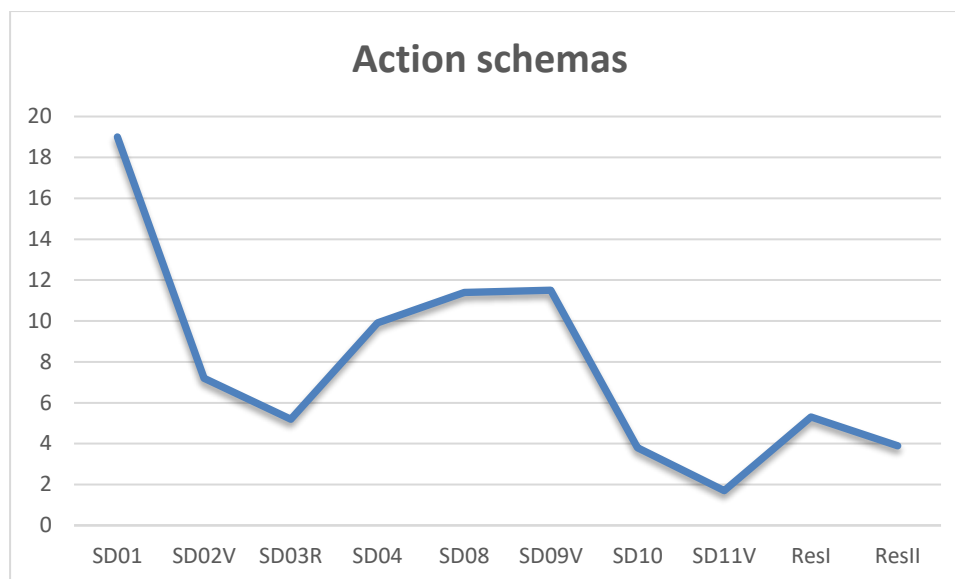
Action schemas are considered to invoke intense representations of the events in the mind of the reader as it is about two social actors that are involved in an asymmetrical or a reciprocal violent interaction. All Action image-schematic conceptualizations used in the material are characterized by an asymmetrical interaction (Figure 42). In other words, the social actors in this type of ACTION schemas are construed according to two major roles: an AGENT who is committing violence against a PATIENT. It should be noted that in some instances the resultant state is also included in the representation, and it is illustrated with a stepped arrow.



**Figure 42: Asymmetrical Action schemas**

The pattern of Action schemas can be divided into four main phases (Figure 43). After SD01 (first phase), the presence of these schemas declines in SD02V and SD03R (second phase) and increases again in the middle of the drafting process (SD04, SD08 and SD09V) which corresponds to the third phase. In the last stage (from SD10 to the adopted resolutions), the pattern of Action schemas witnesses a sharp decline and they become rarely present.





**Figure 43: Action schemas in the drafting process**

The textual travel of the expressions that conceptualize the conflict in terms of action events (Table 44) further illustrates the decline in the frequencies in the pattern of Action schemas as many expressions disappear at the end of the drafting process. They are mainly realized by nominalizations that are derived from transactive material verbs. Moreover, Action schemas are also invoked through the use of passive voice (*crimes perpetrated, killed and injured*). The last three expressions, together with the first nominalization (*deaths*) in Table 45 are considered to represent the resultant state of interaction of Action schemas.

**Table 44: the presence of vague expressions during the drafting process**

	SD01	SD02V	SD03R	SD04	SD08	SD09V	SD10	SD11R	ResI	ResII
<b>Violence</b>	7.6	12	8.3	6.6	7.6	7.7	6.7	8.6	8.5	8.7
<b>Violations</b>	3.8	7.2	1	2.4	2.8	2.8	2.8	1.7	2.1	1.5
<b>Fire/Abuses</b>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1.7	2.1	1.5
<b>Total</b>	11.4	19.2	9.4	9	10.4	10.5	9.5	12	12.7	11.7

The absence of Action schemas at the end of the drafting process can be said to be replaced by the excessive use of the vague nominals *violence* and *violations* (empty vessels). The latter are the only expressions that remain present at the end of the drafting process (Table 45). Moreover, two other nominals, *fire*, and *abuses*, are used for the first time at the end of the drafting process (Table 45).

**Table 45: The textual travels of expressions that invoke Action schemas**

	SD01	SD02V	SD03R	SD04	SD08	SD09V	SD10	SD11R	ResI	ResII
Death(s)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	✓
Use of force	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Use of heavy weapons	Use of heavy weapons	Use of heavy weapons	Use of heavy weapons
Attacks	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	-	-	-
Killing(s)	✓	-	Killed and injured	✓	✓	✓	-	-	-	-
Torture	✓	-	-	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	-	-
Intimidation	✓	✓	-	✓	✓	✓	-	-	-	-
Persecutions	✓	-	-	✓	✓	✓	-	-	-	-
Executions	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓	-	-	-	-
Not to punish, harass or retaliate	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓	-	-	retaliation	retaliation
Crimes perpetrated	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Targeting	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
The wounded	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
A mass grave	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Casualties	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	✓

In the next section, the textual travels of actions schemas and their substitution by vague expressions at the end of the drafting process are tackled.

### ***XI.2.1.1. Textual Travels of Action Schemas***

The conflict is represented differently during the process of drafting the first two resolutions concerning the Syrian war. The action schematic conceptualizations of the conflict at the beginning of the process (examples 1-5) are substituted for other vaguer and more general representations mainly in SD10, SD11R and the resolutions (examples 6, 7). From SD01 to SD09V, the conflict is conceptualized in terms of Action<sup>237</sup> and Force<sup>238</sup> schemas. The latter are in most cases used after one of the vague nominals, *violations*, or *violence*. The nominals realizing image schematic conceptualizations of the events either postmodify or coordinate with

<sup>237</sup> Conceptualizing a given scene as an ACTION event means to describe the interaction as a transfer of energy from an AGENT (the source of the transfer) to a PATIENT (the target of the energy transfer).

<sup>238</sup> In a FORCE schema, the interaction between the social actors is characterized by the exertion of force which can be physical, psychological, social, political etc. Two participants are involved in this force interaction: an AGONIST (AGO, affected entity) who has an intrinsic tendency toward either rest (inaction) or motion (action) and an ANTAGONIST (ANT, the affecting entity) who either acts against the tendency of the AGONIST or lets it manifest its tendency.

an empty vessel which are characterized by being vague (examples 1, 2, 4, 5). The nominal *abuse*, for instance, is vague since it can refer to *killings* and *torture* (Action schema) or to *detentions* (Force schema).

- (1) The Security Council [...] Condemns the systematic [**violation of human rights** Empty vessel], including the [**killings** Action schema], arbitrary [**detentions** Force schema], [**disappearances** Empty vessel], and [**torture** Action schema] of peaceful demonstrators, human rights defenders and journalists by the Syrian authorities, (SD01)
- (2) The Security Council [...] Strongly condemns the continued grave and systematic [**human rights violations** Empty vessel] and [**the use of force** Action schema] against civilians by the Syrian authorities, (SD02V)
- (3) The Security Council [...] Strongly condemns [**attacks** Action schema] on diplomatic personnel [...] (SD02V)
- (4) The Security Council [...] Strongly condemning continuing [**violence** Empty vessel] coming from all parties, including disproportionate [**use of force** Action schema] by Syrian authorities [...] (SD03R)
- (5) The Security Council [...] Condemns the continued widespread and gross [violations of human rights Empty vessel] and fundamental freedoms by the Syrian authorities such as [**the use of force** Action schema] against civilians, arbitrary [**executions, killing and persecution** Action schemas] of protestors and members of the media, arbitrary [**detention** Force schema], enforced [**disappearances** Empty vessel] , and [**interference** Empty vessel] with access to medical treatment, [**torture** Action schemas], sexual [**violence** Empty vessel] , and [**ill-treatment** Empty vessel], including against children; (SD04, SD08, SD09V)

After the ninth draft, the intense and detailed conceptualizations of the violent events are omitted (examples 6, 7). Only vague nominals (*violations*, *abuses*) are used in subsequent representations instead. By mitigating the conceptualization of the conflict, drafters attempt to reach agreement and avoid the possibility of using the veto a third time.

- (6) The Security Council [...] Condemning the widespread, systematic, and gross [**violations of human rights** Empty vessel] and fundamental freedoms by the Syrian authorities [...] (SD10)
- (7) The Security Council [...] Condemning the widespread [violations of human rights Empty vessel] by the Syrian authorities, as well as any [**human rights abuses** Empty vessel] by armed groups, [...] (ResI, ResII)

Moreover, the measures that are introduced by the SC also include reference to the violent actions that should be stopped. In the first nine drafts, Action schemas are used to represent the actions that the addressees (*Syrian authorities*, *all parties* and *armed groups*) must refrain from doing (examples 8-13). Some representations also include Force schemas such as in SD01 (example 9), SD03R (example 11) or empty vessels such as in SD04, SD08 and SD09V (examples 12, 13).

- (8) The Security Council [...] called upon the Syrian security forces to show restraint and refrain from [**targeting** Action schema] innocent civilians (SD01)
- (9) The Security Council [...] Calls upon the Syrian authorities to: [...] (c) cease any [**intimidation** Action schema], [**persecution** Action schema], [**torture** Action schema] and arbitrary [**arrests** Force schema] of individuals, including lawyers, human rights defenders and journalists; (SD01)
- (10) The Security Council [...] Demands that the Syrian authorities immediately: [...] (c) cease [**the use of force** Action schema] against civilians; (SD02V)
- (11) The Security Council [...] Urges the Syrian government to put an end to [**suppression** Force schema] of those exercising their rights to freedom of expression, [...] (SD03R)
- (12) The Security Council [...] Demands that all parties in Syria, including armed groups, immediately stop any [**violence or reprisals** Empty vessels], including [**attacks** Action schema] against State institutions, irrespective of where it comes from, [...] (SD04, SD08, SD09V)
- (13) The Security Council [...] Demands that the Syrian Government immediately put an end to all [**human rights violations** Empty vessel] and [**attacks** Action schema] against those exercising their rights to freedom of expression, [...] (SD04, SD08, SD09V)

Such measures are also mentioned in SD10, SD11R, ResI and ResII, but only empty vessels are used to represent the actions that must be ended such as in (14).

- (14) The Security Council [...] Reaffirms its full support for [...] all elements of the Envoy's six-point proposal [...] aimed at bringing an immediate end to all [**violence and human rights violations** Empty vessels], (SD10, SD11R, ResI, ResII)

Drafters also use the following verbalizations as substitutions for the action-schematic representations at the end of the drafting process: *cease all use of heavy weapons in such [population] centres* (7 hits), *cessation of fire* (3 hits), *cessation of violence* (8 hits) and *cessation of armed violence in all its forms by all parties* (13 hits). In the latter formulation, the postmodification *in all its forms* can be a general description that is used as a substitution for the preceding representations that include a mixture of Action and Force schemas (examples 8-13) to conceptualize the actions.

Moreover, the Action schemas that are realized through the expression *the use of force against civilians* in the first drafts (examples 2, 4, 5, 10) is replaced by the textual fragment *all use of heavy weapons in such centres* at the end of the drafting process. Interestingly, this formulation also affects how the patient is represented. In other words, while *civilians* are referred to as being the victims of such *use of force* at the beginning of the drafting process, draftsmen of SD10, SD11R, ResI and ResII gloss over the social actors that are affected by *the use of heavy weapons*.

Another paragraph about holding to account the social actors that are responsible for violent actions is present in almost all drafts and resolutions. Its textual travel reveals how drafters opt for different representational choices to refer to their violent events. In the first draft, two Action schemas are invoked by the nominalization *attacks* (example 15, 16). Moreover, both representations include references to the agent and patient.

(15) The Security Council [...] Stressing **the need to** hold to account those responsible for **[attacks Action schema]**, including by forces under the control of the Government of Syria, on peaceful protesters and other innocent individuals (SD01)

(16) The Security Council [...] **Calls upon** the Syrian Authorities to: [...] (f) [...] hold to account those responsible for **[attacks Action schema]** against peaceful demonstrators, including by forces under the control of the Syrian Government; (SD01)

The paragraph in (15) also travels to SD02V but the Action schema is replaced by an empty vessel (example 17). The same draft contains a similar paragraph in which the violent actions are conceptualized in terms of two empty vessels *all violence* and *human rights violations*. All subsequent drafts and resolutions, apart from SD11R, also have one of the vague nominals to refer to the violent actions in general terms. The textual travel of these paragraphs is also interesting in another aspect. Indeed, the force of imposition used when stating this measure is different. In SD01 (examples 15, 16), SD02V (example 17) and SD03R (example 18), drafters use a moderate force of imposition through the expressions *the need to* or the weak directive *calls upon*. The measure in the fourth, eighth and ninth drafts is imposed through the strong modal *must* (examples 19, 20). However, this strong imposition is not adopted at the end of the drafting process. The modal *must* is replaced by *shall*, which has a vaguer sense and can be considered to be more neutral than its former (examples 21, 22). Again, this shows how drafters opt for mitigated representations at the end of the process to reach consensus.

(17) The Security Council [...] stressing **the need to** hold to account those responsible for **[human rights violations Empty vessels]**, (SD02V)

(18) The Security Council [...] Recalling the Syrian authorities responsibility to comply with their obligations under applicable international law and to bring justice to account all those responsible for **[violence Empty vessels]** (SD03R)

(19) The Security Council [...] Recalls that all those responsible for **[violence and human rights violations Empty vessels]** **must** be held accountable (SD04)

(20) The Security Council [...] Recalls that all those responsible for **[human rights violations Empty vessels]**, including acts of **[violence Empty vessels]**, **must** be held accountable; (SD08, SD09V)

(21) The Security Council [...] recalling that those responsible for **[human rights violations Empty vessels]** **shall** be held accountable, (SD10)

(22) The Security Council [...] Condemning the widespread [**violations of human rights** *Empty vessels*] by the Syrian authorities, as well as any [**human rights abuses** *Empty vessels*] by armed groups, recalling that those responsible **shall** be held accountable, (ResI, ResII)

Table 45 shows how the textual fragment *not to punish, harass or retaliate*, which is used in the fourth, eighth and ninth drafts, is reduced to only one nominalization, *retaliation*, in the resolutions. The expressions *the wounded, mass grave*<sup>239</sup>, which are used only in the first draft, together with the verbs *killed and injured* (SD03R), the nominalization *death(s)*, which is used in almost all drafts and resolutions, and the term *casualties* (ResII) are considered to represent either the patient or the resultant state of Action schemas (see next section VIII.9.1.2. Profiling of participants in Action schemas).

To conclude, these asymmetrical Action schemas, which are considered to invoke intense representations of the events in the mind of the reader, are highly present in the first drafts. This confirms the findings in the previous chapter about the use of intense representations to refer to social actors at the beginning of the drafting process. To unveil the differences between the conceptualizations used in the first nine drafts, the next sub-section includes a further analysis about the profiling of participants and the resultant state in the Action schemas.

### ***XI.2.1.2. Profiling of Participants in Action Schemas***

The participants of asymmetrical Action schemas are represented with different degrees of attention in the material i.e., they are foregrounded and backgrounded differently during the drafting process (Table 46)<sup>240</sup>.

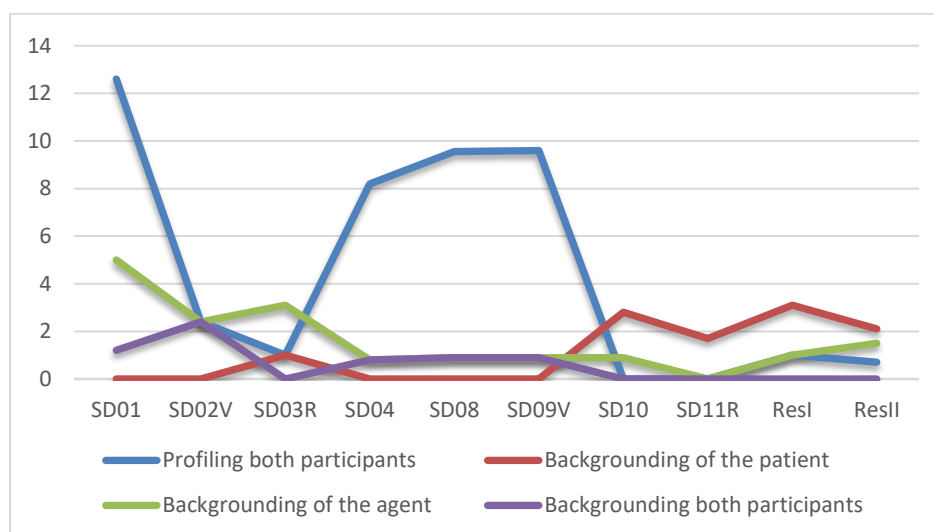
**Table 46: Profiling of participants in the Action schemas**

	SD01	SD02V	SD03R	SD04	SD08	SD09V	SD10	SD11R	ResI	ResII
<b>Profiling both participants</b>	<b>12.6</b>	2.4	1	<b>8.2</b>	<b>9.55</b>	<b>9.6</b>	0	0	1	0.7
<b>Backgrounding of the patient</b>	0	0	1	0	0	0	<b>2.8</b>	<b>1.7</b>	<b>3.1</b>	<b>2.1</b>
<b>Backgrounding of the agent</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>2.4</b>	<b>3.1</b>	0.8	0.9	0.9	0.9	0	1	1.5
<b>Backgrounding both participants</b>	1.2	2.4	0	0.8	0.9	0.9	0	0	0	0

<sup>239</sup> *Mass grave* is analysed in the chapter concerning the representation of Syrian people as an impersonalization that is used to indirectly refer to the victim.

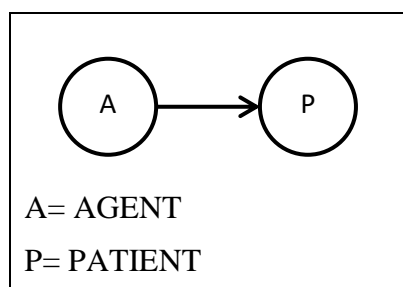
<sup>240</sup> It should be noted that the material include more instances in which either both participants are or only one of them is explicitly mentioned. Such representations are realized by empty vessels that is why they are not included in this analysis.

Not only do drafters conceptualize the events in terms of Action schemas more frequently at the beginning of the drafting process but they also foreground both participants more in the first drafts than at the end of the process (Figure 44).



**Figure 44: Profiling patterns of the participants**

Explicitly profiling the agent and patient of action events is another evidence for the intensified representations that characterize the first nine drafts. Yet, it should be mentioned that some instances that foreground both participants (Figure 45) differ in the roles that are ascribed to them. The action events realized through the nominalization *attacks* in SD01, SD03R, SD04, SD08 and SD09V differ in the identity of social actors that are assigned the roles of Agent and Patient (examples 23-27). While *the Syrian authorities* are identified as the agent in SD01 (examples 23-24), *extremist groups* (SD03R) and *all parties, including armed groups* (SD04, SD08, SD09V) are allocated the role of the agent in the action events (examples 25-27).



**Figure 45: Profiling of Agent and Patient in the asymmetrical Action schemas**

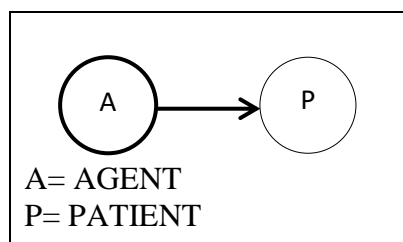
- (23) The Security Council [...] Stressing the need to hold to account **those** responsible for **attacks**, including by **forces under the control of the Government of Syria**, on **peaceful protesters and other innocent individuals**, (SD01)
- (24) The Security Council [...] Calls upon the Syrian authorities to: [...] (f) launch a credible and impartial investigation in accordance with its international obligations and hold to account those responsible for **attacks** against **peaceful demonstrators**, including by **forces under the control of the Syrian Government**; (SD01)
- (25) The Security Council [...] Calling for an immediate end to all violence and provocations and condemning the activity of **extremist groups**, including **attacks** against **state institutions, law enforcement personnel** (SD03R)
- (26) The Security Council [...] Demands that **all parties** in Syria, including **armed groups**, immediately stop any violence or reprisals, including **attacks** against **State institutions**, irrespective of where it comes from, in accordance with LAS initiative; (SD04)
- (27) The Security Council [...] Condemns all violence, irrespective of where it comes from, and in this regard demands that **all parties** in Syria, including **armed groups**, immediately stop all violence or reprisals, including **attacks** against **State institutions**, in accordance with the League of Arab States' initiative; (SD08, SD09V)

This difference in the representational choice has a significant effect on the process of decision-making. In other words, the deletion of the explicit reference to Syrian authorities in SD03R shows how Russian Federation attempts to impose its attitude and show its rejection of the representations in the preceding draft (i.e., SD01).

More importantly, the identity of the patient in these action schemas is totally altered as it belongs to different groups. In SD01, social actors that belong to the group of Syrian People are conceptualized as patients. However, state institutions, law enforcement personnel are allocated the role of patient in SD03R (example 25). These two expressions refer to social actors that represent the group of Syrian Authorities which is conceptualized as the agent in SD01 (example 23). This shift in the representational choice and role allocation made by the Russian Federation is also adopted in SD04, SD08 and SD09V (examples 26, 27). Embedding the conceptualization of the Russian Federation in subsequent drafts is a clear example of submission to the will of this member state to reach agreement.

After SD09V, a shift in the profiling of the participants is observed. Indeed, drafters tend to background the patient more frequently at the end of the drafting process than at its beginning (Table 46, Figure 44). Figure 46 illustrates how the conceptualization of the Action events changes in terms of profiling in SD10, SD11R, ResI and ResII in comparison with the first drafts.





**Figure 46: Backgrounding of the Patient and Profiling only the Agent**

Moreover, the instances that background the patient at the end of the drafting process (examples 29- 32) are recontextualized versions of some instances from the first, second, fourth, eighth and ninth drafts. In the latter, drafters refer to *the use of force against its people* (SD01) and *civilians* (SD04, SD08, SD09V). Not only do drafters change the representational choice of the action (*use of force* is replaced by *use of weapons*) but they also modify the profiling of the participants as only the agent remains foregrounded at the expense of pushing the patient to the semantic background. This significant transformation is first made by the Russian Federation in its draft where the patient is backgrounded (example 28).

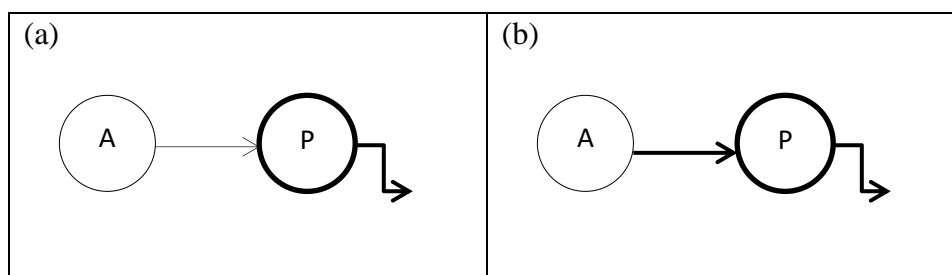
- (28) The Security Council [...] Strongly condemning continuing violence coming from **all parties**, including disproportionate **use of force** by **Syrian authorities**, (SD03R)
- (29) The Security Council [...] Noting **the Syrian government's** commitment [...] to implement urgently and visibly its commitments, [...], (b) cease all **use of heavy weapons** in such centres, (SD10, ResI, ResII)
- (30) The Security Council [...] Demands **the Syrian government** implement visibly its commitments [...] (b) cease all **use of heavy weapons** in such centres, (SD10)
- (31) The Security Council [...] Noting [...] that **the Syrian government** had started to implement its commitments to [...] (b) cease all **use of heavy weapons** in such centres, (SD11R)
- (32) The Security Council [...] Calls upon **the Syrian government** to implement visibly its commitments [...] (b) cease all **use of heavy weapons** in such centres (ResI, ResII)

It should be noted that Action schemas invoked in SD03R are characterized by backgrounding more the agent (3.1) than the patient (1) (Table 46). Besides to the instance in which the Russian Federation expresses *profound regret the death of thousands of people* in its draft, two other event actions (33) are invoked in the same draft that also background the agent.

- (33) The Security Council [...] Urges the Syrian government to [...] complete without delay investigations carried out by the Syrian judicial committee into all events in which **civilians and security personnel** were **killed or injured**, (SD03R)

The instance in (33) profiles the patient as well as the resultant state of interaction since the result of violence is also expressed through the meanings of the verbs *kill* and *injure*. The conceptualization of the action event in SD03R is modeled in Figure 47 (b). The expressions *the*

wounded, mass grave<sup>241</sup>, which are used only in the first draft, together with the term *casualties* employed in ResII are considered to represent the resultant state as well as the patient of Action schemas (Figure 47, (a)). Added to that, the same conceptualization is also supposed to be invoked by the nominalization *death(s)* in *the death of thousands of people*, which is present in almost all drafts. The straight arrow going from the agent to the patient is made in bold only in Figure 47 (b) because the interaction is invoked and profiled only by the verbs *killed and injured*.



**Figure 47: Profiling of the Patient and Resultant state**

The few instances that invoke action schemas without profiling both participants are present in SD01 (example 34), SD02V (examples 35, 36), SD04 (example 35), SD08 and SD09V (example 36).

- (34) The Security Council [...] Welcoming also Human Rights Council resolution AIHRCIRES/S- J6/1 of 29 April 2011, including the decision to request the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights to dispatch a mission to Syria [...] to establish the facts and circumstances of such violations and of the crimes **perpetrated**, (SD01)
- (35) The Security Council [...] and further stressing that such a political process can only be advanced through an environment free from any sort of violence, fear and **intimidation**, (SD02V, SD04)
- (36) The Security Council [...] Calls for an inclusive Syrian-led political process conducted in an environment free from violence, fear, **intimidation** and extremism (SD02V, SD08, SD09V)

The nominalization *intimidation* is first used in SD01 in a co-text in which both participants are linguistically expressed (example 37). Its travel to subsequent drafts (examples 35, 36) is featured by leaving both participants implicit.

- (37) The Security Council [...] Calls upon **the Syrian authorities** to: (c) and cease any **intimidation**, persecution, torture and arbitrary arrests of **individuals**, including **lawyers, human rights defenders and journalists**; (SD01)

<sup>241</sup> *Mass grave* is analysed in the chapter concerning the representation of Syrian people as an impersonalization that is used to indirectly refer to the victim.

The instance in (37) does not only profile the patient but also adds more focus to it by putting more emphasis on specific social actors (*lawyers, human rights defenders and journalists*) that belong to *individuals*. Such instances are further studied in the following sub-section.

### ***XI.2.1.3. Focus in Action Schemas***

The construal operation of focus is used in the present study to show how a conceptual shift of reference is invoked when using a postmodification (figure) that further specifies the identity of social actors or the type of the action that are referred to in general terms (dominion). This profiled relation is expressed through the adverb *including* in some instances of the Action schemas in the material<sup>242</sup>. Table 47 shows that the construal operation of focus, which may be used as an intensification strategy, is absent in the few instances of Action schemas at the end of the drafting process.

**Table 47: Participants of Action schemas in Focus<sup>243</sup>**

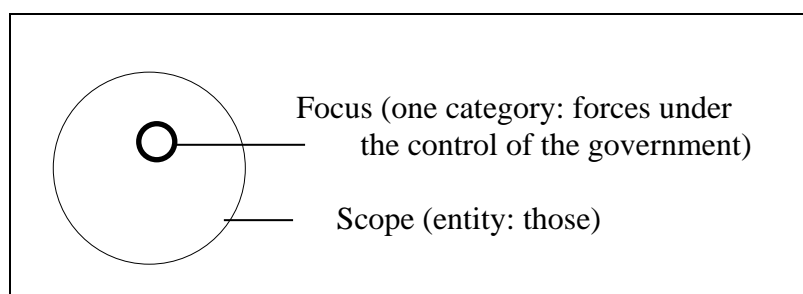
	SD01	SD02V	SD03R	SD04	SD08	SD09V	SD10	SD11R	ResI	ResII
<b>Agent and Patient in Focus</b>	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Agent in Focus</b>	2	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
<b>Patient in Focus</b>	1	1	1	2	2	2	0	0	0	0

The four instances of focus in the first draft are employed to give more attention to the agent twice (38, 39) (Figure 48), to the patient once (example 37) (Figure 48) and to the whole action schema once (example 41) (Figure 50). In subsequent drafts mainly in SD04, SD08 and SD09V, the patient is more frequently put in focus than the agent (Table 47). These instances of focus are analysed in relation to their textual travel to show how the conceptual shift in reference changes during the drafting process.

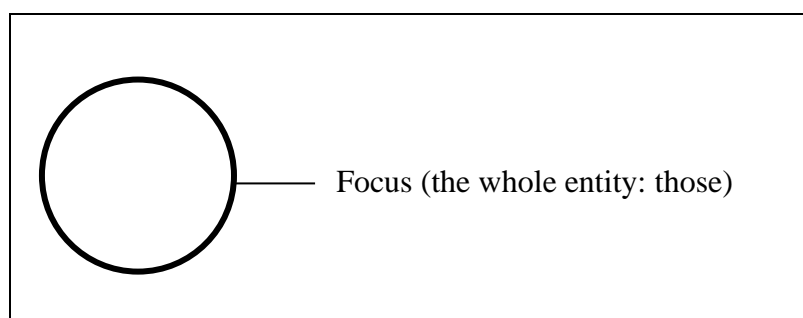
Both instances in which the agent is given more attention in the first draft (examples 38, 39) are reproduced in subsequent drafts but without the postmodification that puts the agent in focus. For example, in SD02V (example 40), only the vague expression *those responsible* is used by drafters. The significant difference between both conceptualizations can be respectively illustrated by Figure 48, in which the categories (figures) get more attention than the entity (dominion), and Figure 49 which has only the dominion in focus.

<sup>242</sup> The adverb *including* is used 60 times in the whole material and 14 instances are part of the conceptualizations of action events.

<sup>243</sup> The instances of focus are presented in the Table in number of hits and not in frequencies per thousand words because they are very low and are present only in few drafts.



**Figure 48: Intrinsic metonymy of the entity**



**Figure 49: Focus of the whole entity**

- (38) The Security Council [...] Stressing the need to hold to account those responsible for attacks, **including by forces under the control of the Government of Syria**, on peaceful protesters and other innocent individuals, (SD01)
- (39) The Security Council [...] Calls upon the Syrian authorities to: [...] (f) hold to account those responsible for attacks against peaceful demonstrators, **including by forces under the control of the Syrian Government**; (SD01)
- (40) The Security Council [...] Recalls that **those responsible for all violence and human rights violations** should be held accountable; (SD02V)

Such conceptual shift in reference allows drafters to generalize which lead to vaguer representations. Such transformations can be said to be made to reach agreement; however, such unclear references cannot be useful in changing the situation once they are included in adopted resolutions.

Another instance of *including*, in SD01 (example 41), is used to specify an empty vessel *violation of human rights* and hence provide a complete and precise conceptualization of the violent actions and the participants that are involved (Figure 50). However, even though SD02V represents the violent events through an action schema in which both participants are profiled (example 42), the construal operation of focus is not used. In SD03R (example 43), the drafter opts for a representation in which the Action schema and only the agent are put in focus (Figure 51). Interestingly, drafters of SD04, SD08 and SD09V refer to the violent actions through various image schematic conceptualizations and more importantly they give the patient more

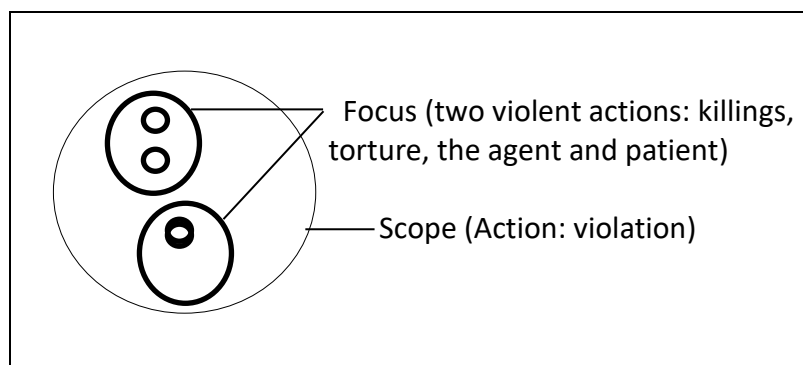
attention (example 44). The latter is illustrated in Figure 48 with *children* (figure) are put in focus.

- (41) The Security Council [...] Condemns the systematic violation of human rights, **including the killings, arbitrary detentions, disappearances, and torture of peaceful demonstrators, human rights defenders and journalists by the Syrian authorities,** (SD01)
- (42) The Security Council [...] Strongly condemns the continued grave and systematic human rights violations and **the use of force against civilians by the Syrian authorities,** (SD02V)
- (43) The Security Council [...] Strongly condemning continuing violence coming from all parties, **including disproportionate use of force by Syrian authorities,** (SD03R)
- (44) The Security Council [...] Condemns the continued widespread and gross violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms by the Syrian authorities such as the use of force against civilians, arbitrary executions, killing and persecution of protestors and members of the media, arbitrary detention, enforced disappearances, and interference with access to medical treatment, torture, sexual violence, and ill-treatment, **including against children;** (SD04, SD08, SD09V)
- (45) The Security Council [...] Condemning the widespread, systematic, and gross violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms by **the Syrian authorities,** (SD10)
- (46) The Security Council [...] Condemning the widespread violations of human rights by the **Syrian authorities,** as well as any human rights abuses by **armed groups,** (ResI, ResII)

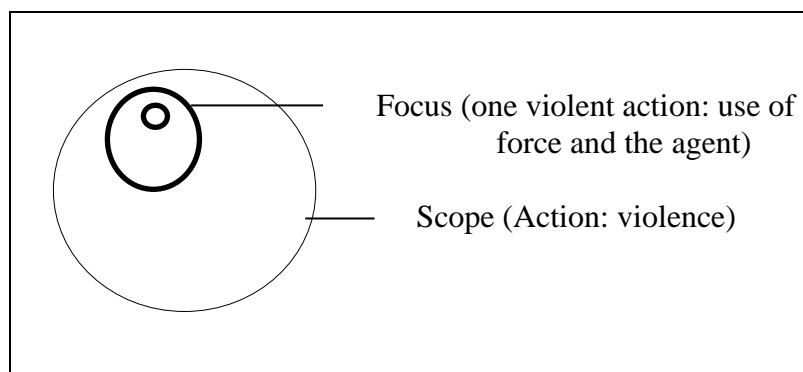
The textual travel shows how these conceptualizations that are characterized by giving more attention to one or two elements of the representation are reduced to normal ones in SD10 and the resolutions (examples 45, 46). What is worth mentioning is that even though the agents are referred to at the end of the drafting process, the patient is totally absent in the final representations (example 45, 46).

Drafters of the first draft use the construal operation of focus for the fourth time to give more attention to the patient (example 47) (Figure 48). Such a conceptualization of these social actors is not reproduced in subsequent drafts. While *journalists* is replaced by *members of the media* in SD04, SD08 and SD09V (example 44) and reproduced in SD10, they do not receive the same attention as in SD01.

- (47) The Security Council [...] Calls upon the Syrian authorities to: [...] (c) [...] cease any intimidation, persecution, torture and arbitrary arrests of individuals, **including lawyers, human rights defenders and journalists;** (SD01)



**Figure 50: Intrinsic metonymy of the action**



**Figure 51: Intrinsic metonymy of the action**

While more attention is given more frequently to the agent in SD01, the conceptual shift of reference is invoked in subsequent drafts more often in relation to the patient. In SD02V, (example 48), the adverb *including*, profiles two elements or categories *women and children* (figure) that belong to the entity *people* (dominion) (Figure 48). Example (49) can be said to profile only the dominion as a whole i.e., only the dominion (*people*) (Figure 49). The latter conceptualization is opted for in the rest of drafts as well as in the resolutions. The conceptualization of the patient in SD03R (example 49), which is first used in SD01, is adopted in all subsequent drafts, except for SD11R, and in the resolutions. Such an intensified representation of the patient in SD02V (example 48) is supposed to raise empathy for the victims and hence provides negative feelings towards the aggressor from whom the reader would detach himself.

(48) The Security Council [...] expresses profound regret at the deaths of thousands of people **including women and children**; (SD02V)

(49) The Security Council [...] expresses profound regret at the deaths of thousands of **people**; (SD03R)

The action schema and the patient are put in focus in the third draft (example 50). Indeed, *attacks* and *state institutions, law enforcement personnel* in (50) become the figures of the dominion, *the*

*activity*. This conceptualization is also reemployed in SD04, SD08 and SD09V (example 51). These instances can be illustrated as in Figure 50.

- (50) The Security Council [...] Calling for an immediate end to all violence and provocations and condemning the activity of extremist groups, **including attacks against state institutions, law enforcement personnel** (SD03R)
- (51) The Security Council [...] Demands that all parties in Syria, **including armed groups**, immediately stop any violence or reprisals, **including attacks against State institutions**, (SD04, SD08, SD09V)

Moreover, in (51) another participant receives more attention. *All parties* (dominion) are further specified through the postmodification *including armed groups*. Unlike the postmodifications for the patient, which are deleted at the end of the drafting process, the agent also receives more attention in SD11R, ResI and ResII (examples 52, 53). It should be noted that these three instances are not included in Table 47 because they are not part of Action schemas.

- (52) The Security Council [...] Calls upon all parties, **including opposition**, to guarantee the safety of the advance team without prejudice to the freedom of movement and access (SD11R)
- (53) The Security Council [...] calls upon all parties in Syria, **including the opposition**, immediately cease all armed violence in all its forms; (SD11R, ResI, ResII)

The difference between the conceptualizations in (52, 53) and the ones that also give more attention to the agent in preceding drafts is that these agents do not belong to the same groups. In other words, while the Syrian Authorities are put in focus in the first drafts, the group of Opposition receives more attention at the end of the process of drafting the resolutions.

One last example of this construal operation in the material is part of a Motion schema in SD04 (example 54). The patient, who is first referred to through *those* (dominion) and conceptualized as fleeing violence, is further put in focus, *Syrians* (figure). This image schematic of motion is first invoked in SD01 and reused in SD02V and SD03R. Yet, the patient is not put in focus like in SD04 and it is just referred to through *civilians* (SD01) and *those who have fled* (SD02V, SD03R). At the end of the drafting process, a recontextualized version from preceding conceptualizations is used. Indeed, while the vague reference to the patient through *those* is not used, the term *Syrians* from SD04 is employed in ResII (example 55).

- (54) The Security Council [...] Underscoring the importance of ensuring the voluntary return to their homes in safety and security of those who have fled from violence, **including Syrians who have fled to neighboring countries**, (SD04)
- (55) The Security Council [...] Expressing its appreciation of the significant efforts that have been made by the States bordering Syria to assist **Syrians who have fled across Syria's borders as a consequence of the violence**, (ResII)

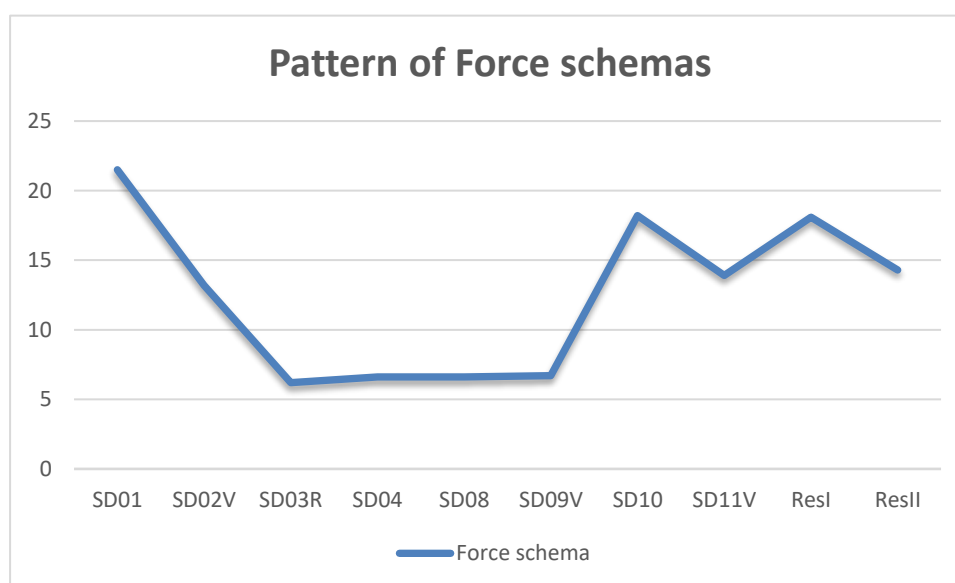
The analysis of the construal operation in the material unravels significant differences and transformations that can be said to be made to fulfil certain interests. First of all, while the agent gets more attention than the patient at the beginning as well as at the end of the drafting process, different groups of social actors that are conceptualized as Agents (Syrian Authorities vs. Opposition) are put in focus. This shows how the same linguistic tool can be employed to invoke different conceptualizations and hence fulfil opposing interests. The conceptualizations of the patient that receives more attention in the middle of the process are deleted in the final drafts and the adopted resolutions as part of the mitigation strategies to reach agreement.

### XI.2.2. Force Schemas

FORCE schemas, which are about conceptualizing the events in terms of force interactions between two participants, are frequently used by drafters to account on what is happening in Syria as well as the reactions that the aggressor should carry out. Force schemas are highly employed in the first draft as it is shown in Table 48. After their decrease in the middle of the drafting process, the usage of Force schemas increases again especially in SD10 and ResI (Figure 52).

**Table 48: Force schemas in the drafting process**

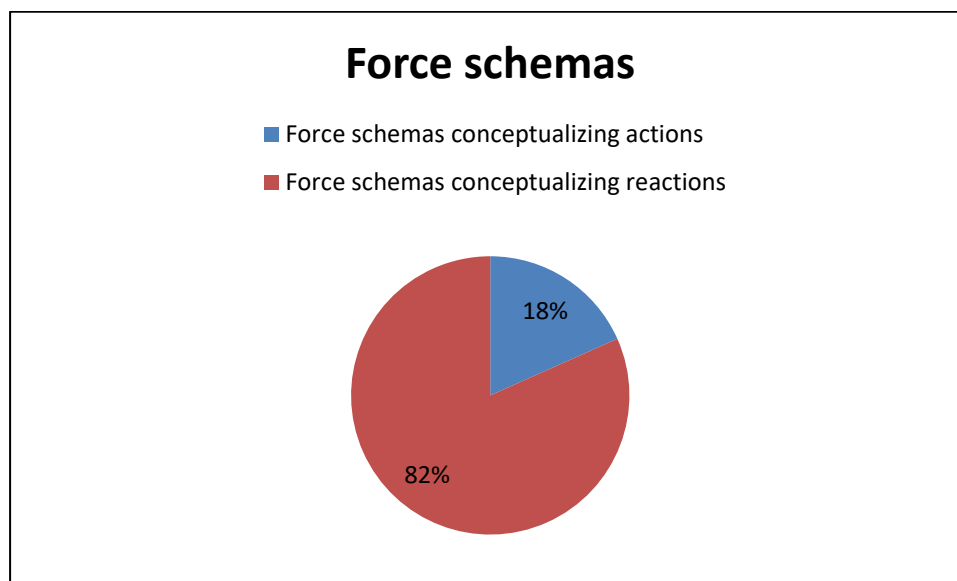
	SD01	SD02V	SD03R	SD04	SD08	SD09V	SD10	SD11V	ResI	ResII
<b>Force schemas</b>	<b>20.3</b>	12	6.2	6.6	6.6	6.7	17.2	13.9	18.1	14.3



**Figure 52: Pattern of Force schemas in the drafting process**



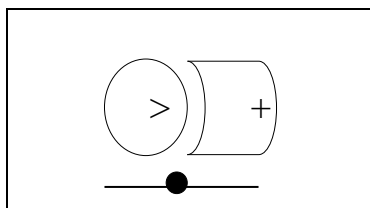
Moreover, they are rarely used to provide a conceptualization of the events. They are rather often invoked in the operative part of each draft to conceptualize the action that should be committed by the addressee in the future (Figure 53).



**Figure 53: Force schemas invoking conceptualizations for actions and reactions**

In this section, force schemas that conceptualize the actions that took place during the Syrian conflict are analysed. The remaining instances, which are used to account on the reaction of the addressee in the future, are studied later in the section that deals with the social reaction. In general, the material includes 118 instances of force schemas. Most of them (82%) are employed in the context of addressing the aggressor to inform him about what to do in the future (Figure 53). The rest of the instances (18%) invoke conceptualization of the events (Figure 53).

All instances that invoke conceptualizations of the actions are of causation type. In other words, the event is conceptualized in terms of a force interaction between a stronger Antagonist who is acting against a weak Agonist and not allowing it to manifest its intrinsic tendency to move. In most cases, the Syrian Authorities is the group that is conceptualized as the Antagonist who is blocking the way of other social actors from the group of Syrian People or UN team (Agonist) and not letting them move or act freely. This force interaction is modeled in Figure 54.



**Figure 54: Causation of rest (blocking concept)**

Table 49 demonstrates that the force dynamic pattern of Causation of rest is mostly used in the first draft. This finding coincides with previous observations concerning action schemas in SD01. A decline in this type of force dynamic pattern is witnessed twice: in the middle and at the end of the drafting process. A qualitative analysis of the instances realizing this pattern is useful to show the variance in its usage along the process of drafting the resolutions.

**Table 49: The conceptualization of events in terms of the force dynamic pattern causation of rest**

	SD01	SD02V	SD03R	SD04	SD08	SD09V	SD10	SD11R	ResI	ResII
<b>Causation of rest</b>	6.3	2.4	1.04	1.6	1.9	1.9	3.8	1.7	1.06	0.7

Table 50 illustrates the textual travels of the lexical terms realizing the force dynamic pattern of causation. The nominalization detention(s) is used for the first time in SD01 (example 56) and reproduced in SD04, SD08, SD09V (example 57) and SD10 (example 58) (Table 50). The co-text, in which the nominalization is embedded in the fourth draft, is like the one in SD01 and it is also reused in the eighth and ninth drafts. In these three subsequent drafts, more details about the violent actions are added to the co-text and different referential expressions are used to represent the patients (example 57). However, the detailed representations are not adopted in SD10. In the latter, the drafters include the intensifier *all* to the expression *arbitrary detentions*, which is used with two other nominalizations, *abductions* and *torture*, that conceptualize the event in terms of Force schema and Action schema respectively.

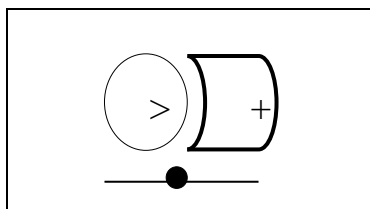
**Table 50: Textual travels of the lexical terms invoking the force dynamic pattern causation of rest**

	SD01	SD02V	SD03R	SD04	SD08	SD09V	SD10	SD11R	ResI	ResII
<b>Detention(s)</b>	✓	-	-	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	-	-
<b>Detained</b>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	-	-	-
<b>Arrests</b>	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Restrictions</b>	✓	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Restricting</b>	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Abductions</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-
<b>Obstructions</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓	✓

The participants involved in the force interactions in SD01, SD04, SD08, and SD09 are explicitly mentioned. The *Syrian authorities* are the Antagonist that is acting against the Agonist which is represented as a group of different social actors (examples 56, 57). In the Force schemas that are invoked in SD10 through *detentions* and *abductions*, the Antagonist is the only

participant that is linguistically represented (*all parties*) (Figure 55). Like in the analysis of Action schemas and the conceptualization of the Agent, the Antagonist is more backgrounded in the instances of Force schemas at the end of the drafting process than at its beginning.

- (56) The Security Council [...] Condemns the systematic violation of human rights, including the killings, arbitrary **detentions**, disappearances, and torture of peaceful **demonstrators**, human rights defenders and **journalists** by the Syrian authorities, (SD01)
- (57) The Security Council [...] Condemns the continued widespread and gross violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms by the Syrian authorities such as the use of force against civilians, arbitrary executions, killing and persecution of **protestors** and **members of the media**, arbitrary **detention**, enforced disappearances, and interference with access to medical treatment, torture, sexual violence, and ill-treatment, including against children; (SD04, SD08, SD09)
- (58) The Security Council [...] Calls upon all parties in Syria immediately to cease all armed violence in all its forms and to cease all arbitrary **detentions**, abductions, and torture; (SD10)



**Figure 55: Profiling of the Antagonist in the pattern of Causation of rest**

These conceptualizations that invoke the concept of blocking are also intensified in some drafts through some nominals that refer to either the victims or places where they are detained and deprived from the right to move freely. For example, in SD04, *prisons, detention facilities, police stations* are included in the representation (example 59). In the first draft as well as in SD02V, the referential term *prisoners* is employed (example 60).

- (59) The Security Council [...] Calls upon the Syrian authorities, [...], immediately to: [...] (c) provide the mission full access to **prisons, detention facilities, police stations** and hospitals whenever the mission deems it necessary; (SD04)
- (60) The Security Council [...] Calls upon the Syrian authorities to: [...] (c) immediately release all **prisoners** of conscience and arbitrarily **detained** persons, and cease any intimidation, persecution, torture and arbitrary **arrests** of individuals, including lawyers, human rights defenders and journalists; (SD01)

In (60), two instances of Force schemas are included through the participle *detained* and the nominalization *arrests*; however, while the former travels to subsequent drafts (SD02V, SD03R, SD04, SD08, SD09V), the latter is not reproduced in subsequent representations. The textual travel of the co-text in which the participle *detained* is (re)used is explained in the chapter about the representation of Syrian People. Interestingly, the co-text used in the third draft (example 61)

includes a textual fragment that expresses the reason why they are detained. In the SD04, SD08 and SD09V, this explanation is reduced to *due to the recent incidents*.

- (61) The Security Council [...] Calling upon the Syrian authorities to release all those detained **for expressing their rights to freedom of expressions, peaceful assembly and association**, (SD03R)

The nominals *restricting* and *restrictions* invoke other conceptualizations of the event in terms of Force schemas in the first draft (examples 62-63). In (62), the Antagonist is referred to through a metonymical reference. In other words, *measures*, which are supposed to be tools that are set by governments to control societies, stand for the Syrian government. Moreover, the Agonist is left implicit but it is indirectly referred to through its actions, *the exercise of fundamental freedoms*. This conceptualization is not used again in subsequent drafts. The nominalization *restrictions*, on the other hand, travels to SD02V and it is used in a similar co-text. In both drafts, the Antagonist is expected to be the Syrian authorities who are hindering the Agonist (example 63). The latter is represented through the term *media* which should stand for *members of media*.

- (62) The Security Council [...] Calls upon the Syrian authorities to: [...] (b) take concrete measures to meet legitimate popular demands, including by [...] promptly [...] the lifting of measures **restricting** the exercise of fundamental freedoms; (SD01)
- (63) The Security Council [...] Calls upon the Syrian authorities to: [...] (e) immediately lift **restrictions** on all forms of media, [...], (SD01)

The conceptualization used in SD01 (example 63) and reproduced in SD02V is drastically transformed in SD03R (example 64). In the latter, the Russian Federation opts for a recontextualized representation that does not invoke a force schema. Indeed, the neutral reformulation does not imply that freedom of media has been restricted or hindered. Again, this member state attempts to provide a mitigated representation by reformulating an image schematic conceptualization of the events.

- (64) The Security Council [...] calling upon the Syrian government to expedite progress in promoting political pluralism through [...] **guaranteeing freedom of media**, ensuring for human rights, (SD03R)

None of the nominalizations realizing image-schematic conceptualizations of the events are used in the last drafts (Table 50). On the other hand, two expressions derived from the transactive material verb *obstruct* are used in the last two drafts as well as in the adopted resolutions. The nominalization *obstructions* is first employed in SD10 (example 65) and reproduced in SD11R, ResI and ResII (example 66) in a modified co-text. Besides replacing *mission* by *team*, some textual fragments, used in SD10, are deleted in the representations in the eleventh draft and the

adopted resolutions. Both participants are explicitly referred to: *any party* (Antagonist), *the mission* (Agonist).

- (65) The Security Council [...] Requests the Secretary-General to report immediately to the Security Council any **obstructions** to the effective operation of the **mission**, by any party, in connection with the provisions in paragraph 5 above, on the basis that such **obstructions** would impede the mission's ability to implement its mandate effectively and could give rise to its withdrawal; (SD10)
- (66) The Security Council [...] Requests the Secretary-General to report immediately to the Security Council any **obstructions** to the effective operation of the **team**, by any party; (SD11R, ResI, ResII)

To conclude, the analysis of Force schemas confirms previous findings. Not only are they less often used at the end of the drafting process in order to mitigate the representations, but they also receive some modifications as they travel. The significant transformations are made to the profiling of the participants as the Agonist gets backgrounded in some drafts while the Antagonist is represented through vague referential expressions (*all parties, any party*).

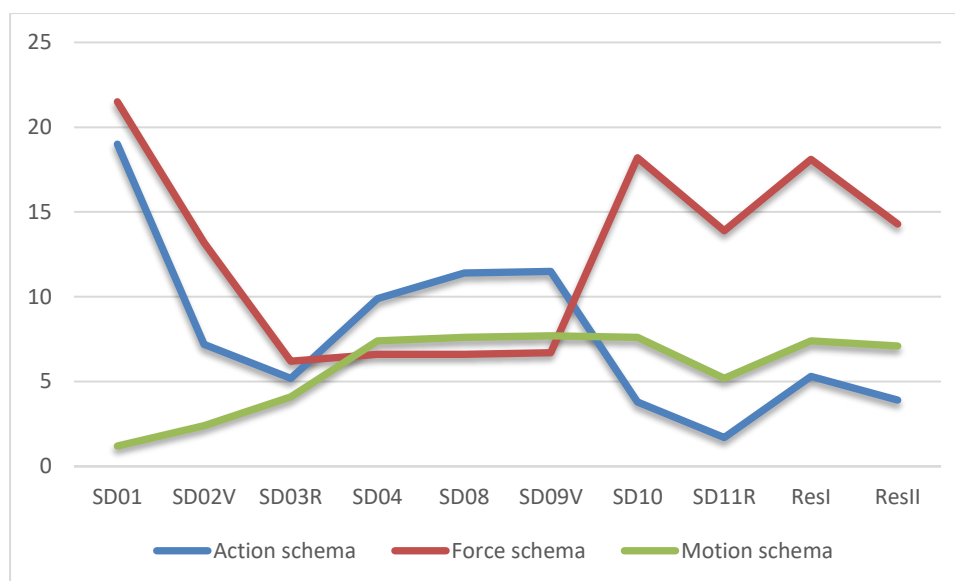
### XI.2.3. Motion Schemas

Image schematic conceptualizations invoked through Motion schemas are considered to reduce the intensity of the action by representing it as a mere event of motion and not as a force interaction (Force schemas) or violent action (Action schemas). The quantitative analysis reveals significant findings in relation to this type of schema (Table 51).

**Table 51: Three schemas in the drafting process**

	SD01	SD02V	SD03R	SD04	SD08	SD09V	SD10	SD11R	ResI	ResII
<b>Action schema</b>	<b>19</b>	7.2	5.2	9.9	11.4	11.5	3.8	<b>1.7</b>	5.3	3.9
<b>Force schema</b>	<b>21.5</b>	13.2	6.2	6.6	6.6	6.7	18.2	13.9	18.1	14.3
<b>Motion schema</b>	1.2	2.4	4.1	7.4	8.5	<b>8.6</b>	7.6	5.2	<b>7.4</b>	<b>7.1</b>

Indeed, the pattern of Motion schemas is different from the ones of Force and Action schemas (Figure 56). Unlike the latter type of schemas, the pattern of Motion schemas starts with very low frequencies in the first two drafts and then increases in the middle of the drafting process to reach its peak in SD09V with 8.6 (Table 51). More importantly, Motion schemas are more present than Action schemas in SD10 and SD11R as well as in both resolutions (Table 51, Figure 56).



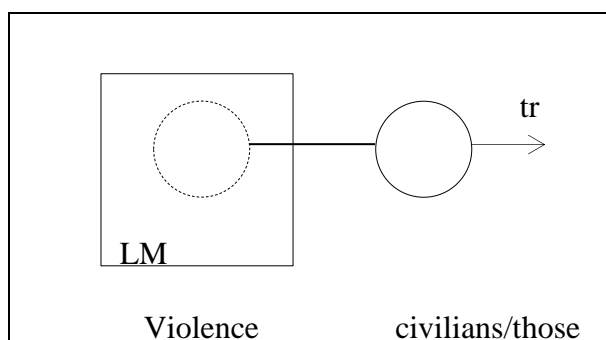
**Figure 56: Patterns of three schemas in the drafting process**

The textual travel of the instances is interesting in various ways as it further shows how mitigating strategies are opted for after vetoed drafts and at the end of the drafting process (Table 52). The only instance of Motion schema that is used in the first draft (example 67) and reproduced in some subsequent drafts (SD02V, SD03R, SD04) and in the second resolution (example 69) is realized through the verb flee (Table 52).

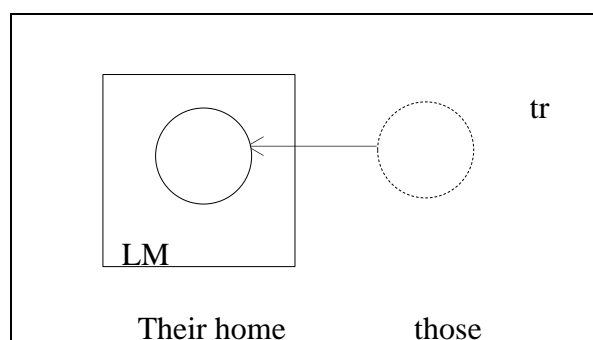
**Table 52: The textual travels of the lexical items that invoke Motion schemas**

	SD01	SD02V	SD03R	SD04	SD08	SD09V	SD10	SD11R	ResI	ResII
<b>To flee</b>	✓	Have fled	fled	fled	-	-	-	-	-	✓
<b>Return</b>	-	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	-	-	-
<b>Comes, coming from</b>	-	-	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	-	-	-
<b>Displaced persons</b>	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	-	-	-	-
<b>Entry of equipment</b>	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓	-	-	-	-
<b>Freedom of movement</b>	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
<b>Troop movements</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓	✓
<b>Withdraw(al) its troops</b>	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	✓
<b>Pullback</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓	✓

The co-texts differed from one draft to another<sup>244</sup>. The nominal form *violence* construed as the Landmark can be read as the violent event that is taking place in Syria<sup>245</sup>. In this Motion event, the trajectory (*civilians, those*) is construed as moving away from the Landmark (*violence*) (Figure 57). In this way, instead of putting emphasis on the AGENT and the violent interaction between the latter and the PATIENT, the drafter gives more attention to its negative impacts on the PATIENT, which is conceptually represented as a trajectory in a motion event.



**Figure 57: fleeing**



**Figure 58: returning them to their home**

In SD02V, SD03R and SD04, another Motion schema is invoked through the nominalization *return* (example 68). Indeed, the representations in these three drafts include specific conceptualizations about helping the people, who fled from violence, return to their homes (Figure 58).

- (67) The Security Council [...] Expressing concern at [...] the reports of numerous civilians **trying to flee** the violence (SD01)
- (68) The Security Council [...] Demands that the Syrian authorities immediately: [...] ensure the safe and voluntary **return** of those who have fled the violence **to their homes**; (SD02V)

<sup>244</sup> For a detailed description about the transformations that are made to the co-texts in which this Motion image-schematic conceptualization is used, check examples (23-27) in the Functionalization subsection of the chapter about the Representation of Syrian People.

<sup>245</sup> This action interaction between the participants and its circumstances are glossed over by the nominalization, *violence*.

- (69) The Security Council [...] Expressing its appreciation of the significant efforts that have been made by the States bordering Syria to assist Syrians who **have fled** across Syria's borders as a consequence of the violence, (ResII)

SD08 and SD09V have similar conceptualizations to the ones invoked in SD02V, SD03R, and SD04<sup>246</sup>. The action of fleeing is expressed through the participle *displaced* that premodifies *persons* (Motion schema) who should be also returned to their homes (Motion schema) in the eighth and ninth drafts (example 70). Both Motion schemas in these two drafts would be modeled as in Figures 57 and 58 respectively.

- (70) The Security Council [...] Underscoring the importance of ensuring the voluntary **return** of refugees and internally **displaced** persons to their homes in safety and with dignity, (SD08, SD09V)

Two interesting examples of recontextualization are invoked in the third draft and realized through the different forms of the verb *come* (examples 71, 72). The Trajector in these instances is construed as an inanimate entity, *violence*, that originates from a source (Landmark) which is identified once as an animate entity, *all parties*, in example (71), while it remains unspecified in (72).

- (71) The Security Council [...] Strongly condemning continuing violence **coming from** all parties, including disproportionate use of force by Syrian authorities, (SD03R)

- (72) The Security Council [...] Demands that all parties in Syria immediately stop any violence irrespective of **where it comes from** in accordance with LAS initiative (SD03R)

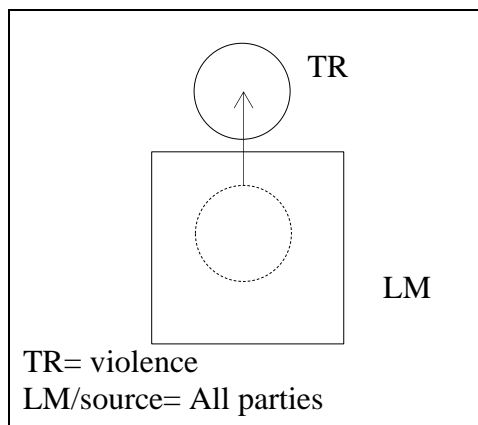
These Motion schemas are supposed to be opted for by the Russian Federation to avoid assigning responsibility to the Syrian authorities for causing violence. In other words, the examples from SD03R are recontextualized conceptualizations from SD01 such as “The Security Council [...] Condemns the systematic violation of human rights, including the killings, arbitrary detentions, disappearances, and torture of peaceful demonstrators, human rights defenders and journalists **by the Syrian authorities**”. The different types of actions schemas realized by the nominalizations in SD01 are replaced by an empty vessel, *violence*, in SD03R, and the idea of assigning responsibility through the preposition *by* is then reconceptualized in terms of Motion schemas.

These examples from the third draft evoking recontextualized conceptualizations are modelled in Figure 59. The LANDMARK is meant to be the spatial container or source from which the TRAJECTOR (*violence*). Not only does this CONTAINER conceptualization reduce the

<sup>246</sup> It should be noted that SD08 and SD09V include other instances of Motion schemas realized through the nominalization *return*. They are analysed later with the lexical terms *withdraw* since they are present in the same co-text.



intensity of a violent event but also functions as a mitigation strategy used to avoid attributing responsibility for the violent actions.



**Figure 59: MOTION schema**

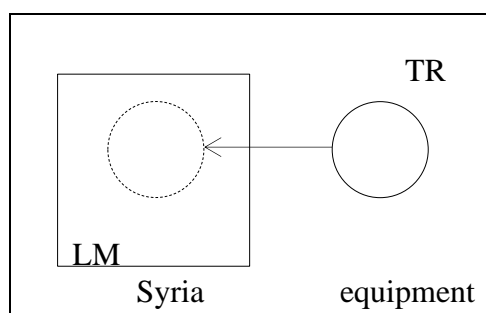
Example (72) is reproduced in the fourth, eighth and ninth drafts with modified co-texts (example 73, 74). This shows how subsequent representations of the conflict are the result of a recontextualized process that took place in preceding drafts.

- (73) The Security Council [...] Demands that all parties in Syria, including armed groups, immediately stop any violence or reprisals, including attacks against State institutions, irrespective of **where it comes from**, in accordance with **LAS** initiative; (SD04)
- (74) The Security Council [...] Condemns all violence, irrespective of **where it comes from**, and in this regard demands that all parties in Syria, including armed groups, immediately stop all violence or reprisals, including attacks against State institutions, in accordance with **the League of Arab States'** initiative (SD08, SD09V)

Another aspect of the conflict that concerns the actions of the Syrian authorities in relation to the UN team is expressed in SD04 in terms of Force as well as Motion schema (example 75). The verb *allow* invokes a force dynamic pattern of letting type which conceptualizes the Syrian Authorities as an Antagonist that should stop blocking *the entry of technical equipment* (Motion schema) for the mission.

- (75) The Security Council [...] Calls upon the Syrian authorities, [...], immediately to: [...]  
(a) **facilitate and allow the entry** of technical equipment necessary for the mission to successfully carry out its duties, [...]; (SD04)
- (76) The Security Council [...] Calls upon the Syrian authorities, [...], to cooperate fully with the League of Arab States' observer mission, [...], including through [...] **facilitating the entry** of technical equipment[s] necessary for the mission (SD08, SD09)
- (77) Demands that the Syrian government [...] (e) **grant immediate access** to its territory to all mission personnel and equipment; (SD10)

In (75), *the equipment* is conceptualized as the Trajectory that moves towards and enters the Landmark which should be Syria even though it is not explicitly mentioned (Figure 60). The reproduction of this conceptualization in subsequent drafts went through different modifications that affected the type of conceptualization that is invoked. In SD08, SD09V and SD10, the measure is represented through neutral verbs, *facilitate* and *grant*. Thus, the force schema is not reproduced in these drafts as the transactive material verb *allow* is deleted. While Motion schema is also invoked in the eighth and ninth drafts (example 76), the formulation of the same event in SD10 is more neutral and it shows neither the letting nor the motion concept (example 77).



**Figure 60: The entry of equipment**

Other instances that conceptualize the actions of the UN team in terms of Motion schemas are invoked through the expression *freedom of movement* (examples 79, 80). It is first used in SD04, and it is a recontextualized version of the formulation that invokes a Force schema through the verb *allow* and adjective *unfettered* in SD01 (example 78). This reconceptualization is adopted in all subsequent drafts (examples 79, 80) as well as in the adopted resolutions. Interestingly, in SD10 (example 80), the social actors that should be able to move freely in Syria are the journalists who are conceptualized at the beginning of the drafting process as an Agonist that is deprived the freedom to move by the Syrian authorities (arrests, detentions). Therefore, the motion schema used in the tenth draft can be considered as a reconceptualization of the force schemas that are invoked especially in the first draft.

- (78) The Security Council [...] Calls upon the Syrian authorities to: [...] (d) **allow** immediate and **unfettered** access by the UN's humanitarian assessment mission and human rights monitors; (SD01)
- (79) The Security Council [...] Demands that the Syrian government: [...] (e) allow full and unhindered access and **movement** for all relevant Arab League institutions and Arab and international media in all parts of Syria to determine the truth about the situation on the ground and monitor the incidents taking place; (SD04, SD08, SD09V)
- (80) The Security Council [...] stresses in particular the Syrian government's responsibility to ensure **freedom of movement** throughout the country for journalists (SD10)

The last two drafts and the adopted resolutions are featured by the use of nominalizations that invoke Motion schemas. For instance, in (81), which is first used in SD10 and then reproduced in SD11R (example 82) as well as in the resolutions (example 81), using military force against civilians or detaining people in military concentrations are conceptualized in terms of motion events. Indeed, instead of addressing *the Syrian government* to cease violence and human rights violations such as attacking, killing, and detaining people, drafters ask the addressee to cease moving its troops towards population centers and to stop setting such detention centers.

- (81) The Security Council [...] Noting the Syrian government's commitment on 25 March 2012 [...] to implement urgently and visibly its commitments, [...], to (a) cease troop **movements** towards population centres, [...], and (c) begin **pullback** of military concentrations in and around population centres, (SD10, ResI, ResII)
- (82) The Security Council [...] Noting the Envoy's assessment [...] that the Syrian government had started to implement its commitments to (a) cease troop **movements** towards population centres, [...], and (c) begin **pullback** of military concentrations in and around population centres (SD11R)
- (83) The Security Council [...] Calls upon the Syrian government to implement visibly its commitments in their entirety, [...], to (a) cease troop **movements** towards population centres, [...] and (c) begin **pullback** of military concentrations in and around population centres; (SD10, ResI, ResII)

The motion schemas realized through the verb *withdraw* or its nominalization *withdrawal*, at the end of the drafting process, originate from the fourth draft (example 84) (Table 52). In the latter, two motion schemas are invoked through the verb *withdraw* and the nominalization *return*. These conceptualizations also travel to SD08 and SD09V (example 84). In the subsequent draft (SD10) and in the resolutions, only one Motion schema is re-invoked through *withdraw* and *withdrawal* (examples 85, 86, 87). The deletion of the nominalization *return* might be made to avoid repetition since the same idea is expressed through the preposition *to* in *the withdrawal of [...] troops from population centers to their barracks*.

- (84) The Security Council [...] Demands that the Syrian Government [...]: [...] (c) **withdraw** all Syrian military and armed forces **from cities and towns**, and **return** them to their original home barracks; (SD04, SD08, SD09V)
- (85) The Security Council [...] demands further that the Syrian government **withdraw** its troops and heavy weapons from **population centres** to their barracks; (SD10)
- (86) The Security Council [...] Underlines the importance attached by the Envoy to the **withdrawal** of all Syrian government troops and heavy weapons from population centres to their barracks to facilitate a sustained cessation of violence; (ResI)
- (87) The Security Council [...] Calls upon the Syrian government [...] (c) [...] as well as to **withdraw** its troops and heavy weapons from population centres to their barracks or temporary deployment places to facilitate a sustained cessation of violence; (ResII)

The Motion schemas that are invoked at the end of the drafting process through the nominalizations in *troop movements*, *pullback of military concentrations* and *withdrawal of all Syrian government troops and weapons* are mitigated representations of the conflict which is rather conceptualized in terms of Action and Force schemas at the beginning of the drafting process.

### **XI.3. The Reaction of The SC: Directives in The Drafting Process**

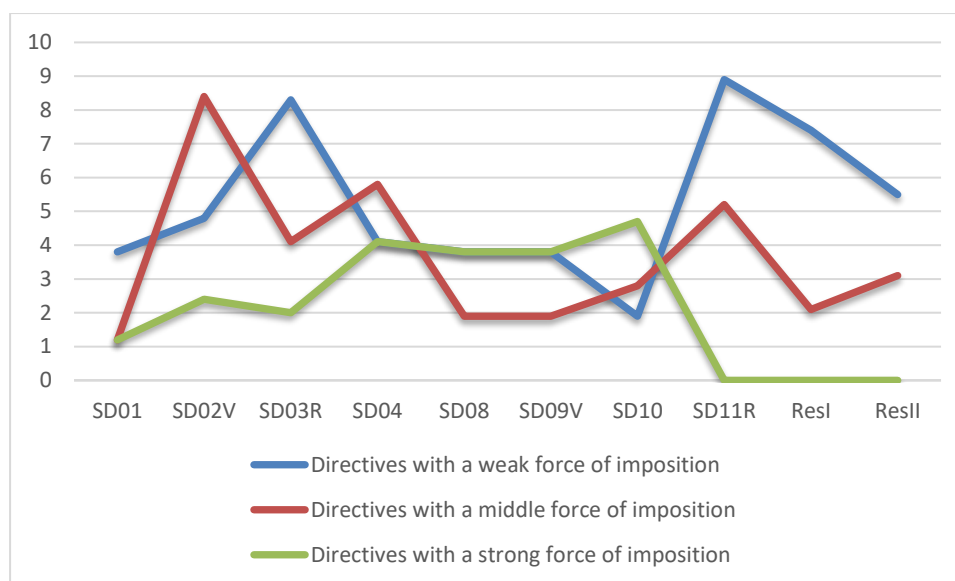
Directives are one type of performative verbs that are used to list actions which should be performed by the addressee in the future. These verbs have different degrees of force of imposition and hence the illocutionary force of utterances depends on which directive is used. Therefore, analysing the usage and travel of these verbs during the drafting process is useful to unravel the force of imposition employed by drafters to direct the addressees.

As indicated in Table 53, the usage of all types of directives increases after the first draft. For example, directives with a weak force of imposition are mostly used in the drafts proposed by the Russian Federation. The second type of directives reaches its peak in SD02V while directives with a strong force of imposition are mostly present in the fourth and tenth drafts (Table 53).

Figure 61 illustrates how the patterns of these verbs are characterized by various phases of increase and decline. Even though weak directives witness a drastic decrease in SD10, they increase again at the end of the drafting process. Indeed, they reach another peak in SD11R and remain the most frequent type of verbs that is used in the adopted resolutions (Table 53).

**Table 53: Directives in the drafting process**

	SD01	SD02V	SD03R	SD04	SD08	SD09V	SD10	SD11R	ResI	ResII
<b>Directives with a weak force of imposition</b>	3.8	4.8	<b>8.3</b>	4.1	3.8	3.8	1.9	<b>8.9</b>	<b>7.4</b>	<b>5.5</b>
<b>Directives with a middle force of imposition</b>	1.2	<b>8.4</b>	4.1	5.8	1.9	1.9	2.8	5.2	2.1	3.1
<b>Directives with a strong force of imposition</b>	1.2	2.4	2	<b>4.1</b>	3.8	3.8	<b>4.7</b>	0	0	0



**Figure 61: The patterns of directives in the drafting process**

More importantly, directives with a middle and strong force of imposition (*urge, demands*) are totally absent in SD11R, ResI and ResII (Table 54). This significant finding illustrates how drafters avoid invoking utterances or actions with a strong illocutionary force that impose more binding obligations on the addressees. This divergence in using directives during the drafting process becomes more apparent when their textual travels are studied in relation to two factors: the addressee and the measure that is introduced. For example, the measure concerning putting an end to violence, which is one of the most important ones, is introduced by directives that differ in the degree of force of imposition during the drafting process.

**Table 54: Textual travels of directives during the drafting process**

	SD01	SD02V	SD03R	SD04	SD08	SD09V	SD10	SD11R	ResI	ResII
<b>Call for/on/upon Request</b>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
<b>Invite</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	✓
<b>Encourage</b>	-	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	-	-	-
<b>Urge</b>	-	✓	✓	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Demand</b>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	-	-

In the first draft, the strong verb *demands* is used with a complex nominal group *an immediate end to the violence* (example 88). The same formulation is reproduced in SD02V with the addition of another measure that is introduced through the verb *urges* whose force of imposition is middle (example 89). The Security Council addresses *all sides*, which is a general and vague

referential expression, to reject violence and extremism in SD02V. These two measures are also reproduced in the third draft where they are expressed in the preamble instead of the operative section and a textual fragment is added to condemn actions by extremist groups against Syrian Authorities (example 90). More importantly, the verb *demands* is replaced by *calling for* (weak force of imposition) in SD03R<sup>247</sup>.

(88) The Security Council [...] **Demands** an immediate end to the violence and for steps to address the legitimate aspirations of the population; (SD01)

(89) The Security Council [...] **Demands** an immediate end to all violence and **urges all sides** to reject violence and extremism; (SD02V)

(90) The Security Council [...] **Calling for** an immediate end to all violence and provocations and condemning the activity of extremist groups, including attacks against state institutions, law enforcement personnel and **urging all sides** to act with utmost restraint, (SD03R)

(91) The Security Council [...] **Demands** that **all parties** in Syria immediately stop any violence irrespective of where it comes from in accordance with LAS initiative (SD03R)

Interestingly, the Russian Federation uses *demands* to address the same measure again in its draft but with another formulation (example 91). Indeed, *all parties in Syria* (a vague and general referential expression) are addressed to *immediately stop any violence*. The textual travel of this measure from SD01 to its two subsequent drafts shows that drafters try to avoid addressing a specific social actor when using a strong directive. They either opt for a combination of nominalizations (*an immediate end to the violence*) to not refer to social actors or use a vague and general referential expression for identifying the addressee like in SD03R.

The recontextualized versions of the measures in SD03R are also adopted in SD04, SD08 and SD09V (examples 92, 93). Only the first part of the paragraph in (90) is reproduced in the three subsequent drafts (example 92). The remaining co-text is replaced by two other clauses in which the SC expresses its concern and regret about what is happening in Syria. Yet, the formulation in SD04, which is also adopted in SD08 and SD09V, does not include a detailed description about the violent actions and the participants unlike in SD03R. The nominal group *the deterioration of the situation* is rather used in SD04, SD08, SD09V.

The paragraph in (91), in which the Russian Federation addresses *all parties* through *demands*, is reproduced in the three subsequent drafts. In the latter, drafters rather demand *the Syrian government* to put an end to violence in its different forms. Addressing this social actor by a strong verb can be one of the reasons why the Russian Federation used the veto against SD09V.

<sup>247</sup> It should be noted that directive verbs are normally used only in the operative section of resolutions and not in the preamble part.

(92) The Security Council [...] Expressing grave concern at the deterioration of the situation in Syria, and profound regret at the death of thousands of people and **calling for an immediate end to all violence**, (SD04, SD08, SD09V)

(93) The Security Council [...] **Demands** that the Syrian Government immediately put an end to all human rights violations and attacks against those exercising their rights to freedom of expression, peaceful assembly and association, protect its population, and fully comply with its obligations under applicable international law including with resolutions S-16/1, S-17/1, S-18/1 of the HRC and resolution A/RES/66/176 of the UNGA; (SD04, SD08, SD09V)

In the last two drafts as well as in the adopted resolutions, the same measure is not directly referred to through a directive verb. In other words, The Security Council rather reaffirms (emphatic verb) its support for the implementation of the Envoy's six-point proposal whose aim is to bring an immediate end to all violence and human rights violations. Such a reformulation confirms the idea that using directives with strong force of imposition or directly addressing the Syrian authorities is a contentious issue that can trigger the use of veto.

(94) The Security Council [...] Reaffirms its full support for all elements of the Envoy's six-point proposal aimed at bringing an immediate end to all violence and human rights violations, (SD10)

(95) The Security Council [...] Reaffirms its full support for and **calls for** the urgent, comprehensive, and immediate implementation of all elements of the Envoy's six-point proposal [...] aimed at bringing an immediate end to all violence and human rights violations, (SD11R, ResI, ResII)

Some drafts include a list of measures that is introduced with the same verb. This formulation is first used in SD01 and includes seven sub-measures which in turn contain other actions that should be carried out (example 96). Interestingly, while the weak directive *calls upon* is used to address the Syrian authorities in SD01, drafters opt for *demands*, in SD02V, to address the same social actor. Unlike SD01 and SD02V, in which most of the measures are listed under two different directives, the Russian Federation introduces its measures in separate paragraphs that mostly start with weak directives. This explains why weak directives increase in the third draft (Table 53). The presentation of the measures in SD01 and SD02V is reproduced twice in SD04 and SD10 and only once in SD08 and SD09V. Like in SD02V, the strong directive *demands* is also used in the aforementioned drafts to introduce such a list of measures with the exception that in SD04, the lists of measures are introduced by *demands* and *calls upon*.

(96) The Security Council [...] **Calls upon** the Syrian authorities to:

(a) act with the utmost restraint, [...]

(b) take concrete measures to meet legitimate popular demands, [...]

(c) [...], (d) [...], (e) [...], (f) [...]; (SD01)

SD10 contains two paragraphs that start with *demands* to address *the Syrian government*. Even though the adopted resolutions include such formulations to address *the Syrian authorities* as well as other different social actors such as *armed groups* or *all parties*, the directive *calls upon* is used instead of *demands* to introduce the measures. Substituting strong verbs by ones that have weak force of imposition provides an explanation to the increase in the latter type of verbs at the end of the drafting process (Table 53).

A case in point is the measure that is first introduced in the tenth draft (example 97) about the importance of ensuring that the advance team can carry its functions. Drafters of SD10 use the directive *demands* to address *the Syrian government* concerning the aforementioned issue. Similarly, the Russian Federation also includes this measure in its draft; yet, some transformations are made in comparison to the original formulation in SD10 (example 98). Two of the most significant changes are related to the choice of the directive and the representation of social actors. Indeed, the directive *demands* that is used in SD10 is replaced by *calls upon* in SD11R. Moreover, while the *Syrian government* is solely referred to in SD10, the Russian Federation adds other social actors who are referred to in general and vague terms, *all other parties*. These two transformations mitigate the representation by reducing the force of imposition and presenting the measure as a shared responsibility.

- (97) The Security Council [...] **demands** that the Syrian government ensure the advance element is able to carry out its functions according to the terms set forth in paragraph 5; (SD10)
- (98) The Security Council [...] **calls upon** the Syrian government and all other parties to ensure the advance team is able to carry out its functions; (SD11R)
- (99) The Security Council [...] **calls upon** the Syrian government and all other parties to ensure that the advance team is able to carry out its functions according to the terms set forth in paragraph 6; (ResI)

The measure introduced in SD10 and SD11R travels to ResI and the reformulation used in SD11D is adopted in the first resolution (example 90). Embedding the representation from the eleventh draft in the final resolution is one way of accepting the Russian Federation's view about the conflict.

One interesting finding is related to two directives from the second group whose usage does not change along the drafting process. Indeed, *requests*, which is present 20 times in the material, is used to address only the UN Team and more specifically the Secretary General. Similarly, the only instance of the verb *invites* in ResII addresses member States (example 100).



- (100) The Security Council [...] **Invites** all Member States to consider making appropriate contributions to UNSMIS as requested by the Secretary-General;
- (101) The Security Council [...] Expresses its intention, subject to a sustained cessation of armed violence in all its forms by all parties, to establish immediately, after consultations with the Syrian government, a United Nations supervision mission in Syria **and requests formal proposal** thereon from the Secretary-General by 16 April 2012; (SD10, SD11R)
- (102) The Security Council [...] Expresses its intention, subject to a sustained cessation of armed violence in all its forms by all parties, to establish immediately, after consultations between the Secretary-General and the Syrian government, a United Nations supervision mission in Syria to monitor a cessation of armed violence in all its forms by all parties and relevant aspects of the Envoy's six-point proposal, **on the basis of a formal proposal from the Secretary-General, which the Security Council requests to receive not later than 18 April 2012;** (ResI)

Generally, these verbs are followed by an explicit reference to the social actors that belong to the UN Team. Yet, in two instances of the verb *requests*, the latter is followed by an inanimate entity *formal proposal* that the SC needs from *the Secretary-General* (example 101). The paragraph from SD10 and SD11R is reproduced in ResI with some modifications (example 102). Besides adding the social actor, *the Secretary-General*, to the representation as the participant with whom *Syrian government* should carry out consultations, the reason for establishing *a United Nations supervision mission in Syria* is also added. More importantly, the action of requesting a formal proposal from *the Secretary-General* is modified. Using these two aforementioned verbs solely with the UN Team confirms Dontcheva-Navratilova's (2005) and Scotto di Carlo's (2013) claims that these directives are employed in UNSC resolutions for politeness strategies. In other words, these verbs are part of the formal language that is used between diplomats that belong to the UN.

Moreover, two other directives with a middle force of imposition, *urges* (six hits) and *encourages* (nine hits), are used in the material. They are employed only at the beginning of the drafting process (Table 54) to address different social actors. *Urge*, which is present only in the second, third and fourth drafts, is mostly used to direct the group of Syrian Authorities (four instances). In SD02V and SD03R, *all sides* and *all groups of Syrian opposition* are respectively addressed through the directive *urge*. *Encourage*, on the other hand is frequently used to address the League of Arab States (5 instances). It is also used to address *all States* twice, *member states* once and *the Syrian government* once.

Interestingly, the way of addressing the League of Arab States changes after the ninth draft. For example, instead of using a directive verb such as *encourages*, drafters opt for an emphatic expression through which they express their support to the League and Kofi Annan's work

(example 103). The same formulation is also adopted in the first and second resolutions (examples 104). In the latter, references to other relevant resolutions are added (intertextual relation).

(103) The Security Council [...] **Reaffirming its support** to Joint Special Envoy for the United Nations and the League of Arab States, Kofi Annan, and his work, (SD11R)

(104) The Security Council [...] **Reaffirming its support** to the Joint Special Envoy for the United Nations and the League of Arab States, Kofi Annan, and his work, following General Assembly resolution A/RES/66/253 of 16 February 2012 and relevant resolutions of the League of Arab States, (ResI, ResII)

Not only does the analysis show how the SC addresses the participants but it also reveals the change in the force of imposition during the drafting process. It also uncovers the alternative formulations that are used when directives are not employed. Indeed, it shows how drafters substitute one directive by another to either mitigate the representation or impose a particular viewpoint.

#### **XI.4. Conclusion**

Briefly, the resolutions include mitigated representations of the actions and (re)actions of social actors in comparison with the ones presented at the beginning of the drafting process. Indeed, Action schemas which are highly used in the first drafts are almost absent in the final resolutions. The textual travel of these image schematic conceptualizations shows that some of them are substituted by motion schemas or empty vessels. Profiling and focus are also used to fulfil member states' interests. For example, while Agents in Action schemas are frequently put in focus, the identity of this participant differs in drafts. More importantly, the analyses in the subsections of this chapter reveal that there is a significant difference between the conceptualizations present in the Russian drafts and the other ones proposed by the western countries. While Syrian Authorities is addressed through strong verbs in the first nine drafts, the Russian Federation avoids listing measures that direct only the *Syrian authorities*. Moreover, directives with a weak force of imposition are the most frequent ones in SD03R and SD11R. These different conceptualizations of the same conflict are significant form of recontextualization that can be said to be ideologically motivated.

## CONCLUSION

This part deals with the summary of the main findings of the study. It also states its implications and limitations.

### Summary of the main findings

In the first chapter, grouping and categorizing social actors show how drafts differ from each other in terms of the representation of social actors. Indeed, the exclusion, inclusion, suppression and backgrounding of groups of social actors vary from one draft to another as some suppressed social actors become totally excluded in subsequent drafts while others become less included at the end of the drafting process.

The difference between drafts and resolutions concerning the representation of social actors is highlighted in the tenth and eleventh chapters which provide detailed analyses about the representation of Syrian Authorities and Syrian People during the drafting process. They show a significant divergence between the different documents in terms of the representational choices that are opted for to refer to these group. Indeed, less lexical referential expressions are used in the last drafts and resolutions to represent both groups, especially the Syrian People. Moreover, analysing the textual travels of the representations of these groups reveal how indetermined personalization and impersonalization are sometimes used as substitutions for the personalized determined representations. Such mitigation strategies are also noticed through the use of neutral or vague lexical terms (unspecification) and the backgrounding of social actors.

The group of Syrian Authorities is less included at the end of the drafting process as vaguer terms (such as *all parties*) are used to refer to all groups that are categorized as Aggressors. The analysis about the representation of Syrian People reveals how this group is also less present at the end of the drafting process. Briefly, my adaptation of the Social Actors Network introduced by Van Leuven (2008) is a useful framework that can be used to analyse the textual travels of representations during such processes of decision-making in relation to the nomination strategies proposed by the DHA.

The last chapter demonstrates that the construal operations of schematization, profiling and focus are apt tools to study the representation of social actors and their (re)actions (predication strategies) and how they are (re)conceptualized during the drafting process as they capture the differences between drafts. While the patterns of ACTION and FORCE schemas decrease at the end of the drafting process, MOTION schemas, which reduce the intensity of the event being

conceptualized, become more present. More importantly, other lexical expressions such as the empty vessels (*violence* and *violation*) remain present in the last drafts and the adopted resolutions as they are often employed to replace image schematic conceptualization from preceding drafts.

Profiling and Focus reveal how social actors are (re)conceptualized according to the interests of member states. Both participants are profiled mostly in the first draft and in the middle of the drafting process; however, while the AGENT is mostly backgrounded in the Russian Federation's draft (SD03R), the PATIENT is mystified more at the end of the drafting process. The construal operation of Focus, which can be part of the intensification strategies, shows that there is a conceptual shift in reference when representing social actors as well as actions especially at the beginning of the drafting process. Interestingly, the few cases in SD11R and the adopted resolutions, in which the AGENT gets more attention in the conceptualization, are different from the ones that also give more attention to same participant at the beginning of the process. Indeed, the group of Syrian Authorities receives more focus in the first drafts while it is the group of Opposition that receives more attention in SD11R, ResI and ResII.

The classification of directives, which are part and parcel of the language used in legal discourse in general and in UNSC resolutions in particular, is significant to show one aspect of the process of recontextualization during the drafting process. Indeed, the analysis shows how directives with strong force of imposition are replaced by ones that have a weak degree of imposition or other predications, such as *reaffirms its full support*. Reducing the degree of imposition with which the measures are introduced is a discursive strategy that is used to mitigate the representation in order to reach consensus. Directives with a middle force of imposition such as *requests* and *invites* are used in the material to always address social actors that belong to the UN Team. This finding further confirms Dontcheva-Navratilova's assertion (2009) that directives are used as a politeness strategy to regulate the relationship between participants.

Applying the Grammars of recontextualization and (re)conceptualizations to the present data is very useful as it led to significant results and confirmed the different assumptions introduced at the beginning of the thesis. This approach reveals how and why different discursive strategies (nomination, predication, perspectivization, intensification and mitigation strategies) and macro-strategies (de/legitimization, mis/representation, and coercion) are used by draftsmen during the drafting process.

The findings in the analysis chapters reveal a significant divergence between the drafts proposed by the the Russian Federation, on one hand, and the ones introduced by the remaining member states, on the other hand. This confirms what is stated in the second chapter about the opposing attitudes that existed in the council concerning the Syrian conflict. The first chapter of the analysis shows that groups of social actors, in particular the Syrian Authorities and Syrian People are differently categorized during the drafting process. Indeed, unlike in the first two drafts, which represent Syrian Authorities as Aggressors, the Russian Federation refer to Syrian Authorities as Victims in SD03R. In addition, the Syrian People, who are conceptualized mainly as Victims and Helpers in few cases, are represented as a problem in the third draft. In other words, the Russian Federations beleieves that Syrian opposition and the Syrian authorities should discuss *the ways of reforming the Syrian society*. Such transformations shows how member states can use language to impose their agenda and fulfil their interests.

Moreover, another difference is noticed between the representations of social actors and (re)actions that are present at the beginning and at the end of the drafting process. Using general term, such as *all parties*, or referring to more than one group of social actors in the same clause in the last two drafts and the adopted resolutions shows how member states opt for vague representations to reach consensus and avoid the use of veto. This is further confirmed through the analysis about the representations of (re)actions. The conceptualization of violent actions in terms of ACTION and FORCE schemas, in the first drafts, are reformulated in subsequent drafts, especially at end of the drafting process, to reduce their intensity and produce more moderate or neutral representations. Another parameter that has shown the difference between drafts is the usage of directives. The stronger force of imposition of the directive, the less it is used in the resolutions. These transformations show one of the most remarkable results which is about how drafters use language to progressively mitigate the representation of the conflict during the drafting process.

All of the findings concerning the textual travels of representations illustrates how the process of drafting Syrian resolutions is characterized by an interesting process of recontextualization. Some transformations are supposed to be made to fulfil some strategies (either to intensify or mitigate representations) or interests. For example, to avoid re-invoking the negative image of the Syrian Authorities, which leads to its delegitimization, in the reader's mental representation drafters either background its identity or use all inclusive terms such as *all parties* to refer to it. Another possible explanation is that drafters change specific and determined references by vague

formulations to make the text open for various interpretations which will satisfy all the needs of member states.

Syrian Authorities is categorized as a Victim for the first time in SD03R which opposes the representations of the same group in preceding drafts. This is a good example of the processes of de- and re-contextualization which leads to new meanings and representations as Reisigl and Wodak (2001) suggest. More importantly, proposing different representations of the same conflict is a sign of exerting power to impose their attitudes since power is “[...] the possibility of having one’s own will within a social relationship against the will or interests of others” (p. 88). Moreover, Baker and Ellege (2011) states that “when dominant discourses ascribe certain subject positions to social subjects, those subject positions can be taken up, affirmed or rejected” (p. 120). The Russian Federation shows rejection and resistance by not only vetoing SD02V but also by proposing a different conceptualization of the conflict in its draft (SD03R). Such a reaction is caused by worries in the council that the Libyan scenario would be repeated in Syria. Indeed, Russia expressed its “[...] reluctance to include any threat-of-force language in subsequent resolutions” (Mintz & Wayne, 2016, p. 141).

More importantly, Such a significant transformation that changes the role of Syrian Authorities in SD03R is also adopted in subsequent drafts. Moreover, the mitigating strategy of using vague expressions to refer to a group of social actors as Aggressors and not only the Syrian Authorities in SD03R is also adopted in other drafts and especially in the resolutions. Embedding some representations from preceding drafts (especially from drafts proposed by the Russian Federation) in subsequent ones is a sign of submission to the will of other member states (i.e., accepting the Russian Federation’s view about the conflict to avoid the use of veto). This struggle for hegemony by the Russian Federation and China can be said to be successful since their “[...] previously marginalized discourses and practices successfully penetrate and change the dominant discourses, resulting in social change” (Baker & Ellege, 2011, p. 141).

In General, the analyses show that the same strategy of mitigation is used in relation to all linguistic devices that are investigated at the end of the drafting process in order to produce a less intensified representation of social actors. Drafters tend to use vague expressions to refer to the Aggressors, refer less to the Victim, reduce the intensified representation of the violent actions by opting for motion schemas instead of action or force schemas, and substitute directives that have strong force of imposition by others that have weaker force of imposition.

The analyses of the textual travels of the representations of the conflict, which show that recontextualization is made in the direction of producing more mitigated, general and vague representations in the resolutions, confirms Scotto di Carlo's (2013) claim that the SC uses vagueness as a political strategy. However, it should be noted that such a political or diplomatic strategy is used in the case of Syrian conflict to reach consensus and not to provide a vague formula that can be interpreted as a permission for intervention. Indeed, the process of decision-making when drafting the resolutions about the Syrian conflict is featured by an ideological struggle between members which manifests in a struggle for representation. This is clear especially between the Russian Federation and China, on one hand, and the western member states, on the other hand, for each group try to impose its attitude through a particular representation of the conflict. This confirms the claim by Wenden (2005) about how "discourse can also be the focus of struggle, i.e., a struggle for the power of representation" (p. 89). Consequently, to minimize disagreement and avoid the use of the veto for a third time, member states opt for politeness strategies (using mitigated and vague language) as a political and diplomatic policy to reach consensus.

The analyses performed identify positive and negative strategies. Positive politeness<sup>248</sup> strategies manifest in the material when western powers show that they want what the Russian Federation and China want to build a common identity and share same attitude towards the conflict to reach a consensus. For example, at the end of the drafting process, the western powers agreed to consider the Syrian authorities as a legitimate actor that can be part of the international community to help solve the conflict as Russia and China wanted that. When drafters mitigate the representation of the conflict and the measures introduced, we can say they are adopting negative face strategies in order to satisfy Russia and China's face and hence avoid the use of veto.

The findings support Leech (1983) 's suggestion about incorporating conflict in the theory of politeness as he considers Politeness as "[...] an antidote to 'conflict situations' in which there are conflicting wants: 'it is a means of avoiding conflict'" (Chilton, 1990, p. 204). Chilton (1990) summarizes Leech's view (1983) of The Maxim of Politeness as "[...] to 'prevent such incompatibilities from arising', and this is because it implies 'Do not [express the wish to] do what [the hearer] does not want'" (p. 204). In my view, drafters use politeness strategies to

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<sup>248</sup> Positive politeness is defined as when the speaker shows that s/he wants what the hearer's wants by treating him "as a member of the in-group, not as an alien or outsider, by indicating sharing of interests, values, reciprocal rights and obligations" (Chilton, 1990, p. 212).

alleviate the incompatibilities that emerged in the council at the beginning of the drafting process as they opted for mitigating strategies and redressive actions which can be considered as an 'avoidance strategy' (Chilton, 1990). However, even though these strategies helped member states overcome their disputes and reach agreement, opting for unclear references and representations as well as indecisive and not binding measures might not change the situation of the conflict once they are included in the adopted resolutions.

Briefly, the current study shows how examining the diachronic instability, that may exist during drafting process, is helpful to understand the final product (i.e., resolutions) as Heffer et al. (2013) and Wood (1998) proposed. The framework and methodology proposed in the current study demonstrates how, what Van Dijk (2013) calls *the general ideology* of the council (a set of principles), is reproduced in drafts as *a set of variable ideological attitudes* that are shared by the western member states or as *personally variable mental models* that represent the Russian Federation's views concerning the conflict. These shared or individual attitudes are unravelled by investigating how each group represents and conceptualizes the conflict.

### **Implication of the study**

Such an analysis about the recontextualization process that occurs during the drafting process of UNSC resolutions should be applied to other decision-making processes in such institutions. This would help understand how a decision, legal document etc. is agreed upon by politicians, diplomats, or members in the parliament that have divergent ideologies and agendas. Moreover, such studies would provide more insight to this field and confirm the results that are found in the present study.

In general, findings from linguistic studies on the language used in the different organs of the UN might be adopted in the future by the draftsmen in this international organization. More importantly, adopted resolutions continue their journey during the translation phase as they get translated into other five languages. This travel can be a new research setting to reveal possible transformations that might occur when presenting the same content in a different language.

### **Limitations of the study**

The section dealing with the representation of social actors could have been expanded to deal with all groups of social actors (i.e., the UN Team and Other States). Moreover, besides tackling the measures that are introduced through a directive verb, other ones proposed with other



formulations could have been examined and more emphasis could have been put on the use of expressives in the material.

Other tools for analyzing the corpus would have been used while dealing with the textual travels of the representation of the conflict. Grammatical structures (supplementive clauses and complementation) and modals were not taken into account in the present study because of time constraints.

The corpus was limited to one cause and narrowed down to the drafts that are proposed before the first two resolutions issued concerning the Syrian conflict. An analysis of other resolutions and possible drafts adopted about this conflict after April 2012 was not the focus of this study but it could have given more generalization to the findings. A comparison between the drafting process of resolutions about the Syrian conflict and the Libyan issue would further validate the results found in the present study especially the assumption that member states use language to fulfil their interests.

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## APPENDIX

### **The sociological categories in the adaptation of the Social Actors Network by Van Leeuwen (2008)**

**Abstraction** realizes impersonalized representations in which social actors “are represented by means of a quality assigned to them by and in the representation” (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 46). For instance, the abstract noun *problems* in “Australia is in danger of saddling itself up with a lot of unwanted problems” is used to refer to the “poor, black, unskilled etc. immigrants” (p. 46). Through this impersonalized form, the social actors are “assigned the quality of being problematic, and this quality is then used to denote them” (p. 46).

**Appraisalment** is a sub-category of *categorization*. In Van Leeuwen’s words, “social actors are appraised when they are referred to in terms which evaluate them as good or bad, loved or hated, admired or pitied” (2000, p. 45). This sub-category is realized by nouns and idioms that denote such appraisalment such as *the darling, the bastard, the wretch* or *thugs* (p. 45). In the adaptation of the Social Actors Network, two types of appraisalment are distinguished *negative appraisalment* and *positive appraisalment* which are identified according to whether social actors are appraised in terms of negative judgement or positive judgement<sup>249</sup>.

**Association** is a sub-category that realizes personalized determined representations through which social actors can be represented as groups. According to Van Leeuwen (2008), “in many texts, associations are formed and unformed (‘dissociation’) as the text proceeds” (p. 39). These groups are mostly formed through parataxis such as *civilians and security forces* and are referred to either in general or specific terms.

**Backgrounding** is a less radical type of exclusion. The social actors that are excluded from a given action are mentioned elsewhere in the text and can be inferred with reasonable (though never total) certainty who they are (Van Leeuwen, 2008, .29).

**Categorization** is one of the sub-categories that realize a personalized determined representation. Social actors are referred to in terms of identities and functions they share with others (Van

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<sup>249</sup> In relation to the sociological category of appraisalment is the sub-system of ‘judgement’ in the Appraisal theory proposed by Martin and White (2005). This sub-system constitutes resources to construe “our attitudes to people and the way they behave – their character” (p. 52). With this sub-system, drafters’ attitude towards social actors can be measured up by showing whether they evaluate social actors’ character and behaviour negatively (i.e., if it is criticized or condemned) or positively (i.e., if it is admired or approved) in the representation.

Leeuwen, 2008, p.40). Categorization occurs through *functionalization*, *identification* or *appraisement*.

**Classification** is about differentiating between classes of people in a given society or institution according to their age, gender, provenance, class, race, ethnicity, religion, etc. It provides a personalized determined representation of social actors.

**Differentiation** is a sub-category that realizes personalized determined representations. In this sub-category, the social actor's identity is determined but s/he is explicitly differentiated from a similar actor of a group "creating the difference between the "self" and the "other," or between "us" and "them,"" (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 40).

**Event for participant metonymy** is added to the Social Actors Network as it can function as one form of *objectivation*. Such metonymical references are illustrated by Hart (2014b) through the use of *student protest* in "student protest over fees turns violent" (p. 131), and *riot* in "when a riot broke out at the Conservative Party headquarters" (p. 133). This sub-category of *objectivation* expresses an impersonalized representation of social actors.

**Exclusion** leaves no traces in the representation i.e., the social actors as well as their activities are excluded from the whole text.

**Functionalization** one type of the sub-category nomination and provides a personalized determined representation of social actors. It is about nominating a social actor in terms of an activity, or something s/he does such as an occupation or a role. Van Leeuwen (2008) lists three main realizations of functionalization: (1) a deverbal noun, derived from a verb, with suffixes such as *-er*, *-ant*, etc. (*interviewer*, *correspondent* etc.), (2) a noun that refers to a place or tool closely associated with an activity through suffixes such as *-ist*, *-eer*, etc. (*pianist*, *mountaineer*), or (3) a compound noun (*cameraman*, *chairperson*) composed of words that denote a place or tool that is closely associated with an activity (*chair*, *camera*) and a generalized categorization (*man*).

**Genericization** or **unspecification** is expected to be part of indetermination<sup>250</sup>. It is about referring to social actors in general terms. It includes unspecific aassimilation.

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<sup>250</sup> It should be noted that genericization is considered by Van Leeuwen (2008) to be used in personalized as well as impersonalized representations. To adapt his framework to the purposes of the present study, this category is rather included under personalization. This slight modification to the framework is made for two reasons: (1)

**Identification** is a sub-category of *categorization* and it is about defining social actors “in terms of what they, more or less permanently, or unavoidably, are” (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 42). It can occur through three types: *classification*, *relational identification*, or *physical identification*.

**Impersonalized representations** are realized through expressions that do not include the feature of human and they have a functional effect of backgrounding the identity of the social actors. In an impersonalized representation, social actors are presented through abstraction or objectivation.

**Inclusion** is the opposite of exclusion and it means that a social actor is present in the text. It can be referred to through different types of expressions that represent one of the sociological categories that are mentioned in the adapted version of Van Leeuwen’s Social Actors Network.

**Individualization** is realized by singularity and it is the opposite of *assimilation* which is realized by plurality i.e., to refer to social actors as groups. *Individualization* which is part of *specification* expresses a personalized determined representation of social actors.

**Instrumentalization** is one type of *objectivation*. It means that the instrument with which social actors carry out the action is used as an alternative to refer to them. A case in point is the instrument *a 120mm mortar shell* that is used instead of the agent responsible for the action in “[a] 120mm mortar shell slammed into Sarajevo’s marketplace” (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 46). *Instrumentalization* expresses an impersonalized representation of social actors.

**Negative appraisalment** is about identifying social actors in terms of negative judgement. The adjectives *military* and *armed* are two illustrative realizations of acts of criticism of social actors.

**Nomination** realizes a personalized and determined representation in which social actors are represented in terms of their unique identity. In this sub-category, the speaker/writer has a range of representational choices. Nomination can be formal, semiformal or informal, and respectively realized by surname only, given name and surname or given name only (p. 41). Nomination can also be realized through the addition of titles (Dr.) or ranks (honorification), or functional position in an institution (affiliation).

**Objectivation** is one type of impersonalization that “occurs when social actors are represented by means of reference to a place or thing closely associated either with their person or with the

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genericization is found to be used only with personalized references to social actors in the material and (2) thus it is significant to clearly show the difference between the use of all categories that realize personalization.

action in which they are represented as being engaged” (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 46). There are mentions four types of objectivation that can be realized by metonymical references: *spatialization*, *utterance autonomization*, *instrumentalization* and *somatization* (Van Leeuwen, 2008). Moreover, *event for participant metonymy* is added as another type of *objectivation* and integrated in the Social Actors Network.

***Personalized (in)determined representations*** are realized through expressions that include the feature of human. In such type of representations, social actors can be either determined (determination) through nomination, categorization, association and dissociation, or left anonymous (indetermination).

***Physical identification*** is a sub-category of *identification* and it “represents social actors in terms of physical characteristics which uniquely identify them in a given context” (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 44). *Physical identification* expresses a personalized determined representation of social actors.

***Positive appraisalment*** is one type of the sub-category *appraisalment*. Instantiations of positive judgement can be *peaceful* and *innocent* in *peaceful demonstrators* and *innocent individuals* (far beyond reproach).

***Radical exclusion*** of social actors is another type of deletion that can take place during the drafting process. In other words, social actors can be said to be radically excluded or deleted from one representation if it has been included in a previous representation of a preceding draft but does not show up in the new draft either as suppressed or as backgrounded.

***Relational identification*** is a sub-category of *identification* in which social actors are referred to in terms of personal, kinship, or work relations to each other. It is realized through a closed set of nouns that denote such relations such as *friend*, *aunt*, and *colleague*. Manifestations of *relational identification* provide a personalized determined representation of social actors.

***Spatialization*** is form of *objectivation* “in which social actors are represented by means of reference to a place with which they are, in the given context, closely associated” (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p.46). An illustrative realization of *spatialization* provided by Van Leeuwen (2008) is the use of *Australia* as a substitution for *Australians* in “Australia was bringing in about 70,000 migrants a year”. By activating *Australia* in relation to the action of *bringing in migrants*, the writer “does not tell the reader who is responsible for the action, just as in the case of

nominalizations and passive agent deletions” (p. 47). *Spatialization* expresses an impersonalized representation of social actors.

*Specification* is supposed to invoke personalized determined representations<sup>251</sup>. In my adaptation of the Social Actors Network proposed by van Leeuwen (2008), *specification* is composed of two sub-categories *individualization* and *specific assimilation*.

*Specific aggregation* is about representing social actors in specific terms and statistics such as numbers and not general quantifiers such as *many*, *few*, *all* etc<sup>252</sup>. It expressed a personalized determined representation of social actors.

*Specific assimilation* is a sub-category of specification and it is realized by specific plural forms. Specific collectivization and specific aggregation are two types of specific assimilation. It expresses a personalized determined representation of social actors.

*Specific collectivization* can be realized by plural forms that stand for a particular group of people collected together, *civilians*<sup>253</sup>. It provides a personalized determined representation of social actors.

*Suppression* does leave a trace by including the relevant actions such as the killing of demonstrators but excluding some or all of the actors that are involved in them. More importantly, these excluded/suppressed social actors are not referred to anywhere in the text.

*Unspecific aggregation* is about representing social actors in terms of unspecified or general statistics through general quantifiers such as *many*, *few*, *all* etc.<sup>254</sup>. It expresses a personalized indetermined representation of social actors.

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<sup>251</sup> It should be noted that specification is considered by Van Leeuwen (2008) to be used in personalized as well as impersonalized representations. To adapt his framework to the purposes of the present study, this category is rather included under personalization. This slight modification to the framework is made for two reasons: (1) specification is found to be used only with personalized references to social actors in the material and (2) thus it is significant to clearly show the difference between the uses of all categories that realize personalization.

<sup>252</sup> In my adaptation to the Social Actors Network of Van Leeuwen (2008), I suppose that there is slight difference between using the definite and indefinite quantifiers functioning as numerative. Indeed, they can be classified according to a specificity scale. Using *thousands* and *all*, for example, instead of more specific number such as *2340* can be said to invoke a general representation of social actors. Therefore, a further distinction between *specific* and *unspecific aggregation* is made in my adaptation to Van Leeuwen’s framework (2008).

<sup>253</sup> In my adaptation to the Social Actors Network of Van Leeuwen (2008), I suppose that there is slight difference between the nouns *civilians* and *population* that realize collectivization. Indeed, the word *civilians* is more specific than *population* since the former is part of the latter. Therefore, a further distinction between *specific* and *unspecific collectivization* is made in my adaptation to Van Leeuwen’s framework (2008).

<sup>254</sup> In my adaptation to the Social Actors Network of Van Leeuwen (2008), I suppose that there is slight difference between using the definite and indefinite quantifiers functioning as numerative. Indeed, they can be classified

*Unspecific collectivization* can be realized by plural forms that stand for a general group of people collected together such as the expressions *groups of people* or *population*. It expresses a personalized indetermined representation of social actors.

*Unspecific assimilation* is a sub-category of genericization or unspecification and it is realized by general plural forms. Unspecific collectivization and unspecific aggregation are two types of unspecific assimilation. It expresses a personalized indetermined representation of social actors.

*Utterance autonomization* is another type of *objectivation* in which social actors are represented by means of reference to their utterance such as by using the terms *reports*, *surveys* in “[t]his concern, the report noted, was reflected in surveys which showed that the level of support for stopping immigration altogether was at a post-war high” (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 47). *Utterance autonomization* provides an impersonalized representation of social actors.

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according to a specificity scale. Using *thousands* and *all*, for example, instead of more specific number such as 2340 can be said to invoke a general representation of social actors. Therefore, a further distinction between *specific* and *unspecific aggregation* is made in my adaptation to Van Leeuwen’s framework (2008).