

Representation, Attribution and Perspectivation in EU Diplomatic Discourse Addressed to Iraq

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ABSTRACT

Internationally, politicians, practice power, spread ideology, and effect changes in the world through language. World events are prompted by the words and actions of State leaders and politicians. Diplomats normally manipulate symbolism in diplomatic practice to convey various messages. This paper aims at uncovering how foreign policy objectives, identities and ideologies are communicated in the EU discourse. Drawing on Ruth Wodak's (2001) Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) which is an interdisciplinary eclectic approach, the researchers focus on the discursive skills of persuasion and convincing a diplomat enjoys. The study answers a set of empirical questions: 1) how have individuals, objects, events, processes and actions been named and referred to linguistically in the selected data? 2) What traits and features have been attributed to them? 3) From what perspective have these nominations and attributes been expressed? This study fills a gap in scholarship in using speeches to study the diplomatic relationships between the EU and Iraq from a critical discourse analysis perspective. The study concludes that EU actors perceived of Iraq as a partner, an immediate neighbor and a peer. Meantime, they attempt to construct an identity for EU as an actor to establish peace, democracy and human rights. Being demographically diverse, EU tries to influence Iraq's perception to follow the suit. Some of the aforementioned perspectives were expressed through narration, quoting or metaphors.

1. Introduction

Politicians practice power, spread ideology, and effect changes in the world through language. World happenings are prompted by the words and actions of State leaders and politicians. Verbal diplomatic communication involves giving speeches, offering toasts and expressing positions through press conferences, statements and declarations. Hence, it is imperative to realize what purposes diplomats exactly employ the language for. Diplomatic rhetoric analysis does not require identifying linguistic features alone, it entails a full consideration of the social, political, cultural and historical contexts of the communication (Pehar, 2001, p. 15). A careful examination of the setting and the causal triggers assist in recognizing how diplomats frame their discourse. This paper aims to clarify how nomination, predication and perspectivation strategies are utilized by three EU diplomats to represent actors, process and events in their discourse. It also determines the linguistic devices through which these strategies are realized in order to uncover how foreign policy objectives, identities and ideologies are communicated in the EU discourse addressed to Iraq.

1.1 Methodology and Data Collection

Due to the nature of the topic, this paper is essentially qualitative, rather than quantitative. Yet, there are some references to the repeated usage of some discursive patterns and linguistic constructions, such as nouns, pronouns or expressions. Data sets in the spoken genre of the diplomatic discourse (DD) represents three selected speeches delivered by three EU actors at

three separate events in the period from May 2016 to Jan. 2020. For easy reference, names, positions, events along with the venues and dates are listed in Table 1) below. The conferences are arranged in chronological order:

Table 1: Three Selected Speeches for Analysis

Event, Venue & Date	Speaker	Position of the Speaker
On the Europe Day Baghdad (May 9, 2016)	Patrick Simonnet	Ambassador of EU to Iraq
International Reconstruction of Iraq Conference City of Kuwait- Kuwait (Feb. 2018)	Federica Mogherini	(Former) EU High representative/ Vice-President (HR/VP)
European Parliament Plenary Debate on the Situation in Iran and Iraq Strasbourg- France (Jan. 2020)	Josep Borrel	EU High representative/ Vice-President (HR/VP) (incumbent)

Introductory historical and contextual backgrounds about the three events are given prior to the analysis of each speech to unmask events and actions that motivate them. Full texts of the selected speeches are available at the relevant official websites and attached herewith. The subjects/actors of the paper are diplomats/politicians as they are the decision makers who can exert leverage over the public opinions, as, according to Wodak (2001b: 64), politicians are viewed as the “shapers of public opinions and interests and as seismographs, that reflect and react to the atmospheric anticipation of changes in public opinion and to the articulation of changing interests of specific social groups and affected parties.”

2. Diplomatic Communication

People, organizations and States communicate through codes and rituals. Verbal and nonverbal actions that bear and transmit messages and meanings allow the actors and observers to enter into a common cognitive process, unite or divide people and countries, creating emotional ties between them (Faizullaev, 2013, p. 106). States are the principal actors of diplomatic intercourse, and people can comprehend them conceptually or conventionally. Representatives of States, diplomats of various ranks (ambassadors, attachés, consuls, and other members of the foreign ministries), are often perceived as the main actors to communicate between governments (Walzer, 1967, p. 194). When a government expresses dismay over another government’s actions, it is the ambassador who is summoned for a clarification meeting in the country of residence. The challenge of realizing shared meanings is vital to diplomatic communication. It entails locating a mutual language both in the purely linguistic sense and, more importantly, in a broader sociological sense (Jönsson, 2016, p. 81). Thus, messages appear as practical instrument of inter-state communication and interaction.

States do not always openly express their true intentions, thus, every detail of the diplomats’ physical appearance, facial expression, gestures and tones are perceived through the ‘symbolic detectors’ of the public and individuals’ minds. Diplomatic communication in its varied means, through demonstrating military might, paying visits, organizing cultural events, sending note-verbales, making media statements, or negotiating around the table, entails from the communicating parties some ‘encoding’ and ‘decoding’ of meaning (Cohen, 1987, p. 22). Diplomats and State leaders, in various contexts, manipulate symbolism in diplomatic practice; sometimes the very fact of a high-level meeting and the issues discussed become less important than where the meeting is held. Thus, through manipulating the meeting venue symbolism, the receiving party can send a diplomatic signal to the visitor and others (ibid). The verbal as well as nonverbal encoded message needs to, conveniently, be interpreted by the receivers, because signals have no inherent meaning or credibility (Jönsson, 2016, p. 79). Diplomatic practice can be highly interpretative, so diplomats need to care about the significance of their words and actions.

2.1 Diplomatic Discourse (DD)

Berridge (2003, p. 74) identifies the diplomatic language (DL) as: “Special language employed in an effort to minimize the provocation likely to be caused by delivery of a sharp or unavoidably threatening message. It is typically mild, euphemistic, and circumlocutory.” Four decades earlier, Harold Nicolson commented on this sense by saying it is a guarded mitigation which permits diplomats and ministers to say sharp things to each other without becoming confrontational or impolite (Nicolson, 1942). The words and style which diplomats use depend on the situation (context) they face. Sometimes diplomats have precise instructions about which language to use or to avoid (Kleiner, 2008, p. 321). DD is constructed to maintain and smooth relationships in an expanding hardcore international system with a minimum level of misunderstanding. Its principal constituent, i.e. ceremonial DL, is featured with “courtesy, non-redundancy and constructive ambiguity” (Jönsson, 2016, p. 79). Jönsson maintains that the diplomats know how to read between the lines of constructed diplomatic ambiguity which

decisively rules out rough and tough phrases and conveys softened signals in the political setting. Ambiguity pave the way for international agreement and allocates room to maneuver politically, internally and internationally (ibid). The meanings of diplomatic exchanges are not immediately obvious to outsiders. Diplomats know too the supplementing silent language of gesture and signal integral to the performance of diplomacy on the world stage (Cohen, 1987). According to (Matos, 2004:283), DL can be described as a “peace-building, peace-making and a peace-promoting force.”

2.2 Diplomatic Speeches

Public diplomatic speeches/addresses/remarks are a sub-genre of the genre-colony of political speeches (Bhatia, 2004, p. 7); accordingly, they share most of their characteristic features. Diplomatic corps who are familiar with the international DD usually pen the speeches that are performed by the State leaders. The rhetorical genre of diplomatic addresses can be defined according to Donahue and Prosser (1997, p. 4) as: “epideictic oratory for ceremonial occasions which may include deliberative aspects”. Nevertheless, Navratilova (2009, ps. 132-3) contends that diplomatic speeches serve various communicative purposes, in addition to their ceremonial function, such as: 1) Drawing the attention of the audience to the significance of the event and establish a social relationship; 2) Enhancing the feeling of belonging to a community which shares the ideology supported by the organizers; 3) Providing an appraisal of a situation, process or event of regional or ;international interest from the point of view of the institutional ideology. 4) Offering solutions and suggestions pertaining to the scope of action of the forum; and 5) Encouraging the audience to participate actively in the event and to persevere in their efforts to contribute to the realization of common goals. Thus, addresses have a persuasive function related to the necessity of urging the audience to support the suggested course of action.

Speeches in the international diplomacy domain, according to (Burhanuddin, 2006), generally consist of four sections: the opening salutation; the greetings and praise; the summoning cooperation; and the closure.

3. Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA)

DHA is pioneered by Wodak and Reisigl (see Reisigl and Wodak, 2001, 2009; Wodak, 2001) and it belongs to the broadly defined field of critical discourse studies. Wodak (2011, p. 39) defines four layers of context to be taken into account when doing systematic qualitative analysis in DHA: First, the intertextual and interdiscursive relationships between utterances, texts, genres and discourses; Second, the extra-linguistic social/sociological variables; Third, the history and archaeology of texts and organizations; and Fourth, the institutional frames of the specific context of a situation. Thus, the analyst will be able to explore how discourses, genres and texts change due to socio-political contexts. On the other hand, DHA focuses on pragmatic meaning (Reisigl, 2017, p. 51). The full sense of a text only becomes accessible when its manifest and latent meanings (inter alia implicature, presupposition, allusion) are made sense of in relation to one’s wider knowledge of the world (Wodak, 2011, p. 39).

3.1 DHA Discursive Strategies

Wodak (2001) is especially interested in five types of discursive strategies, all are involved in positive self- and negative other-presentation, which underpin the justification/ legitimization of inclusion/ exclusion and of the construction of identities. According to Wodak (2011, p. 42), the concept of ‘strategy’ generally refers to “a more or less accurate and more or less intentional plan of practices, including discursive practices, adopted to achieve a particular social, political, psychological or linguistic goal. The five strategies as developed by Reisigl & Wodak (2009, p. 104) are as follows:

First, *referential* or *nomination* strategy, by which social actors are constructed and represented through the creation of in-groups and out-groups. Linguistically, referential strategies may be realized in the form of explicit and deictic noun phrases. Second, *Predicational* strategies are another ‘essential aspect of self- and other-presentation’ (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001, p. 46). These strategies aim to label social actors in a more or less positive or negative manner, and are thus closely related to nomination strategies. Although referential and predicational strategies are often realized in noun phrases and their predicates respectively, they cannot always be analyzed as distinct structures within sentences, or sentence-level structures at all because some referential strategies could be considered as predicational as well (Reisigl and Wodak 2001, p. 45). Presupposition and implicatures also provide predications (Hart, 2010, p. 60).

Third, *Argumentation* strategies and a fund of topoi through which positive and negative traits, discrimination, inclusion, exclusion, and suppression are justified and attributed to the interstate relations (Wodak, 2011:42). Topoi are defined as parts of argumentation which belong to the obligatory, either explicit or inferable, premises. As such they justify the transition from the argument or arguments to the conclusion (Kienpointner 1996, 562).

Fourth, one may focus on the *perspectivation*, framing or discourse representation by means of which speakers express their involvement in discourse, and position their point of view in the reporting, description, narration or quotation of relevant events or utterances that justify their claim (Wodak, 2011, p. 42).

Fifth, there are *intensifying* strategies on the one hand and mitigation strategies on the other. Both of these help to qualify and modify the epistemic status of a proposition by intensifying or mitigating the illocutionary force of utterances (Wodak, 2011, p. 42). Due to the space limit this paper is to confine to the referential, predication and perspective strategies only.

4. Data Analysis

Preliminary Facts:

Cooperation between the European Union (and its Member States, on the one part) and the Republic of Iraq, on the other, takes the form of a Partnership and Cooperation Agreement² (PCA) which was signed in 2012 and entered into force only in August 2018 (EAAS EU-Iraq Factsheet of 2019).

Steffen B. Rasmussen (2009, p. 2) labels EU as “*an international actor under construction*”, thus it “*operates at the margin of official foreign policy and material capabilities*.” (Noya, 2007, p. 322). A few studies have focused on how the EU communicates with the world and seeks to influence foreign public opinion, and these generally focus on branding the external image of the EU (Ham 2005, ps. 3-4). This is done by, inter alia, establishing an identity for the EU as an actor and a model for peace and giving policy recommendations to the foreign partners for improvement (Gouveia, 2005). It is important not only for external policy to be seen as legitimate, but also to facilitate the cooperation on the ground in third States upon which the effectiveness of EU public diplomacy depends (Rasmussen, 2009). In the way to execute the PCA, EU communicates the aforementioned identity and ideological constructions as articulated by its actors in the analysis herein. EU also expresses its perception of Iraq as a partner and a peer, as in the statement below:

“*Our security depends on the stability of our neighbours, and Iraq is our immediate neighbour,*” stated the EU ambassador to Iraq, Ramon Blecua, during a conference held in the Kurdistan Region, North of Iraq 13 Nov., 2017.

4.1 Speech of the EU Ambassador to Baghdad Patrick Simonnet on the Europe Day on 9 May 2016

4.1.1 Context and Historical Background

Annually held on 9 May, Europe Day celebrates peace and unity in Europe. The date marks the anniversary of the historic 'Schuman Declaration'. At a speech in Paris in 1950, Robert Schuman, then French foreign minister, set out his idea for a new form of political cooperation in Europe, which would make war between Europe's nations unthinkable (EU Official Website, May: 2020). Schuman's vision was to create a European institution. A treaty creating such a body was signed less than a year later. Schuman's proposal is considered to be the beginning of what is now the European Union. Patrick Simonnet, a French, EU ambassador to Baghdad who served early in 2016 till August 2017 convened a reception at the European Delegation headquarter in Baghdad to celebrate Europe Day with the Iraqi government representatives as well as foreign diplomatic corps in Iraq.

4.1.2 Discursive Strategies

Referential Strategies in the Salutation Section

Referential strategies are intrinsically ideological (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001). Patrick Simonnet attempts to grab the attention of his audience from the beginning by duly addressing them in accordance with the diplomatic protocol:

Your Excellences,

Nazar Khairallah, Deputy Foreign Minister of the Republic of Iraq,

Dr. Mahdi Al Alak, Chief of Staff of the Prime Minister,

Ambassador Ahmad Berwari, Head of the Europe Department in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs,

Jan Kubis, Special representative of the Secretary General of the United Nations in Iraq,

Fellow Ambassadors,

Distinguished Guests,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

² The Agreement provides a legal framework for further engagement and cooperation between the EU and Iraq across a broad range of areas, including political dialogue, trade, energy, transport, investment, human rights, education, science and technology, justice, migration and asylum.

People addressed as ‘Excellency’ or ‘Excellence’ (Collins COBUILD DIC.) are heads of states, heads of governments, governors, ambassadors, Catholic bishops and high ranking ecclesiasts and others holding equivalent ranks (e.g., heads of international organizations) (Borisova, 2013). Due to the relatively huge number of senior officials who are entitled to the ‘Excellence’ address among the audience, Simonnet salutes them collectively with the honorific formal address ‘Your Excellences’. Then, he clearly recognizes each of the Iraqi government representatives by their proper names and official positions to move afterwards to the foreign diplomatic corps, starting with UN SRSG in Iraq following the same style in referral and nomination. The adjective FELLOW in ‘*fellow Ambassadors*’ denotes a ‘peer’ or an equal in rank, power, or character (MeriamWebster.com). Fellow collectively identifies the ambassadors, attending the reception, including the speaker himself, to suggest that they are sharing particular activity, quality, and condition; thus, there is no offense in not using the honorific formal address ‘Excellences’ too. It also serves to consolidate the in-group construction. Speeches in receptions normally starts with the standard salutations ‘*distinguished guests*’ and ‘*Ladies and Gentlemen*’ unless there are some prominent dignitaries who deserve mentioning separately, in this case, the Iraqi guests and the UN SRSG among the audience.

4.1.2.2 Predicational and Referential Strategies

Some referential strategies could be considered as predicational as well, due to the involvement of denotatively as well as connotatively deprecatory or appreciative labeling the social actors (Reisigl and Wodak 2001, p. 45). People are not only represented in Simonnet’s discourse through their names, but via the name of the profession, organization, State or area to which they belong or affiliated to. They are named after the ideology they advocate, their political orientation and many other partial discursual ways to represent actors that the language offers.

Table 2: Referential & Predicational Strategies in Simonnet’s Speech

Strategy/ devices		Examples
Organizationalization		EU MS (Military Staff) , UN, EU-Iraq Cooperation Council, WTO (World Trade Organization), Union of Sovereign States
Collectivization	Deictics	We (16 times), Us, Our (13 times), You (3 times)
	Collectives	500 million people from 28 European countries
Spatialization	Toponyms	UK, Iraq, France
	Nationalization	Iraqi, Europeans
Professionalization		the President of the Republic, Prime Minister, the Speaker of the Parliament, UNSRSG, Ministers, Chief of Staff , Deputy Foreign Minister, Ambassadors, Chargés d'affaires, Head of the Europe Dept.
Collocations		Europe migrants' crisis, Eurozone debt crisis, global terrorism, political divisions, political tensions, humanitarian needs, humanitarian response
Politicization	Rough political alignment	the anti-European or nationalist sentiment. (L 34)
Actionalization	praxonym	Migrants

4.1.2.2.1 Presupposition

Presupposition is one of the pragmatic devices used to realize predicational strategies (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009, p. 104). Simonnet in the following extract presupposes that Iraq lacks essential prerequisites to sustain real democracy:

“I value very much our longstanding cooperation with Iraqi institutions and civil society which aims for example at strengthening the accountability of the police forces, setting-up a human rights compliant counterterrorism strategy or building an Independent Commission for human rights etc.”

Presuppositions have significant properties regarding the triggering of audience agreement to the message communicated. Wodak (2011, p. 49) noticed that “Presupposed content is, under ordinary circumstances, and unless there is a cautious interpretive attitude on the part of the hearer/reader/viewer, accepted without (much) critical attention”. Contemplating the three processes *strengthening*, *setting-up* and *building* in the above extract triggers two interpretations: the first concerns the noun *strengthening*. The proper interpretation for this process presupposes that somehow, there is a kind of accountability within the police force but it needs to be strengthened. Yet, the other two processes, namely *setting-up* and *building* do not accept other interpretation than vacancy of such mechanisms in Iraq such as *human rights counterterrorism* oretc. because by default these two nouns have the potential of initiating something from scratch. Presupposition of the first type is called Existential while the second is lexical (Yule, 1996, p.73 cited in Wodak, 2011).

4.1.2.3 Perspectivation Strategies

Speakers express their involvement in discourse through demonstrating their perspectives and positioning their point of views in the reporting, description, narration or quotation of relevant events or utterances (Renkema, 2009). In the following example, Simonnet quotes from Schuman's Declaration³ in 1950, when he recalls Europe's history and the idea behind forming the European Union. In fact this is an instance of intertextuality.:

"Making war not merely unthinkable but materially impossible". This declaration marked the first move towards a united Europe", (L 23-24)

To clarify his point, Simonnet continues giving a brief idea about Schuman's proposal:

"the creation of a Union of Sovereign States that would replace the apparent fatality of war by the logic of cooperation, integration and solidarity." (L 21-22).

With respect to the self-image of the '*EU as a peace project*' (Carta, 2007, p. 135), the identity that EU seeks to communicate to the world, Simonnet not only promotes the image of EU as a peace actor, but adds a further element. He presents EU as a model to be followed by Iraq since the European experience has clearly demonstrated the success of the model. Given the occasion is to celebrate EU foundation, a prudent listener of such a statement will determine that Simonnet attempts, through quotation/ intertextuality, to influence the Iraqi audience conceptions to adopt the same principles in order for Iraq to *cooperate, integrate* and achieve *solidarity* with other Arab and Middle East environment on the external level and with Kurdistan Region Government (KRG) on the internal level⁴. This encouragement entails that the Iraqi Government's role is still not enough towards such a process.

So, we can maintain that Intertextuality is a persuasive strategy to market the speaker's views via others' speeches or written works and get the audience to consider what he/she calls for. It becomes as super-evidence for what they say (Waaijman, 2010).

4.2 Mogherini's Speech at The International Conference for the Reconstruction of Iraq in Kuwait 14 Feb. 2018

4.2.1 Context and Historical Background

Reflecting the key role it plays in the reconstruction of Iraq, the EU co-chaired the International Conference for the Reconstruction of Iraq, in Kuwait, 12 to 14 Feb. 2018. The three-day event with over 2500 participants, from official institutions and the private sector from all over the world, aimed at mobilizing additional international support for Iraq following the territorial defeat of Da'esh in Dec. 2017. On Wednesday 14 Feb., Iraqi Prime Minister Haider al-Abadi co-chaired the high level segment of the Conference, along with High Representative Mogherini, the Emir of Kuwait Sheikh Sabah Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah, UN Secretary General António Guterres and World Bank President Jim Yong Kim.. **Mogherini** participated also in the Meeting of the Ministers of the Global Coalition against Da'esh on Thursday 13 Feb. On Monday 12 Feb. EU commissioner Stylianides chaired a session focusing on the important remaining humanitarian and protection priorities in Iraq and the essential links towards early recovery and mid-longer term assistance⁵.

Federica Mogherini, an Italian politician who served as HR/VP from Nov. 2014 to Nov. 2019, before delivering her opening remarks in the conference, said: "*Iraq is at a crossroads in its history - it is now crucial to act quickly and rebuild the country with the participation of all the components of Iraqi society. The EU will remain a key partner to Iraq and the Iraqi people in reconstruction, stabilization and longer term sustainable development*".

4.2.2 Discursive Strategies

4.2.2.1 Referential Strategies in Salutation

"Your Highness the Emir of Kuwait,
Prime Minister al-Abadi,
Secretary General,
Dear friends,"

Federica Mogherini, HR/VP, the co-chair of the conference, in her opening remarks, referred to the senior dignitaries, according to the European practical register in salutation: acknowledging first, the leader of the host country, *Emir of Kuwait*,

³ Robert Schuman is one of the most prominent diplomatic figures, twice Foreign Minister of France, whose sayings are much respected and considered inspirational by the European politicians and people (Margriet, 2012:43).

⁴ The researcher noticed that the EU ambassador reiterates the same components of the current speech, in a lecture he delivered eight months later, at the American University of Iraq in Sulaimaniya (AUIS, Jan. 2017), when he talked about the state of relations between the European Union and Iraq.

⁵ The reason for mentioning details about the events of 12 and 13 Feb. is to show EU's efforts in making the Int. Conference for the Reconstruction of Iraq succeed.

by position only. Afterwards, observing the prime minister of Iraq by position and by surname too, *Prime Minister al-Abadi*, prior to the UN *Secretary General* to whom she referred to by position only, evoking the topos of incumbency from the outset, to specifically support her argument that PM al-Abadi has achieved victory over Da'esh. This will be candidly stated in the body of her speech, on one hand, and on the other hand to draw the attention of the audience to the leader of the country they are gathering to celebrate victory of and contribute to the reconstruction and investment therein. Although, the term '*Dear*' is uncommon in the speeches as its main use is in the letter salutations, Mogherini subsumed all the people assembled before her and those who watched the speech on Satellite channels in one salutation, referring to them with the collective 'sociativization': '*Dear Friends*' to reflect EU's ideology in conferring high consideration for equality among humans.

4.2.2.2 Predicational and Referential strategies

To identify predication strategies, we restricted ourselves to the most distinguished features of predicate structures used for positive/negative representation of social actors, events, objects or actions; namely, predicative adjectives, nouns, noun phrases, pronouns, prepositional phrases and relative clauses which were used to either attribute characteristics to individuals or to provide unique identities for them. The following are examples of attributions that include metaphor and implicature:

Table 3: Referential Representations in Mogherini's Speech

Strategy	Linguistic Means	Examples
Collectivization	Deictics	We , Us, Our, You
	Collectives	The people of Iraq, our member states
Spatialization	Toponyms	Iraq , Kuwait, Middle East
	Anthroponyms	Iraqis, Europeans,
Politicisation	Professionalization	Prime minister al-Abadi, UN Secretary General
	Nationalization	Baghdad, Erbil
	Organizationalization	EU, UN, European civilian mission, Iraqi Government
	Rough political alignment	Radicalization, Da'esh
	Temporalization	New Iraq, today's Iraq
Culturalization	Ethnification	Arabs, Kurds
	Religionization	Muslims, Christians, Sunni, Shia
Relationalization	Relationyms/ Sociatives	Friends, Neighbors
Militarisation	Militarionyms	Iraqi security forces, Military staff,
Somatisation	Engendering/genderonyms	Men, women
	Enaging/ geronotonyms	Young people, children
Economization	Professionyms	Un-employed, Students

Table 4: Predicational Strategies in Mogherinis Speech

Social actors, objects, events or actions (Positively qualified)	Linguistic devices	Social actors, , events or actions (Negatively qualified)	Linguistic devices
the fundamental role that Kuwait has played in the humanitarian efforts and in building bridges	Relative clause	new dangerous tensions are arising	Participial phrase (implicature) of old tensions
This comes from the European institution's budget, that means on top of individual contributions from our Member States.	Prepositional phrase	the rise of Da'esh seemed almost impossible to stop	Metaphor of harmful weed
We are training the Iraqi security forces with our military staff and with a European civilian mission so that the people of Iraq can rely ...	Conjunctional clauses	our common region is far from peaceful.	Locative adverbial

4.2.2.2.1 Predicational Strategy through Metaphor Intertextuality

"As we meet here in Kuwait - and let me join the UN Secretary General on his acknowledgment of the fundamental role that Kuwait has played in the humanitarian efforts and in building bridges" (L 12-41).

"Again let me thank Kuwait for making this possible, and for being a force for peace and dialogue in our troubled region, and troubled times." (L36-38).

In the greeting and praise section, Mogherini hails Kuwait for hosting the conference. *Kuwait* is an example of toponym used as metonymy and personification to stand for the nation, government ruler and the people of Kuwait. In addition, the metaphor '*a force for peace*⁶' which is recurrent in the rhetoric of the United Nations, the European Union and even in the tourism domain as well⁷ is a central metaphor of multi-addressing nature. This metaphor serves to suggest that Kuwait is (economically) a powerful neighbor to Iraq which can cross-over the past hostile experience with the former regime in Iraq and can harness peace and dialogue instead of war discourse. Metaphors can be transferred from science, religion and art to the social and political arena and vice versa. The combination of three elements: *the force for peace* with the '*bridge*' that crosses over '*troubled region and troubled time*' metaphors, the latter are taken from Simon and Garfunkel's popular song, "Bridge over troubled water", are typical examples of intertextuality. Metaphors are intertextual devices by default as they bring new terminology to a certain issue or object (Großklaus, 2015, 2017). Established metaphors appear in different texts and thus create connections beyond those texts (Großklaus & Remmert, 2016). The point is, Mogherini, through the re-textuality strategy, attempts to indicate that peace and dialogue have been made possible thanks to Kuwait for having a true intention to cross-over troubles. She aims also to encourage more cooperative moves from Kuwait toward the new Iraq.

4.2.3 Perspectivation Strategies

4.2.3.1 Intertextuality, elaboration and Metaphor

Mogherini's use of Intertextuality arises when she needs to market her ideas in her speech which are completely or partially compatible with the listeners (Waaijman, 2010). There are two instances in this regard; the first instance appears in line (L 21) when she attempts to prove that Iraqis themselves achieved victory over Daesh:

"An old proverb says that "victory has a thousand fathers". (L 21)

Originally this proverb⁸ was coined by the Italian diplomat, and son-in-law of Mussolini, Count Galeazzo Ciano (1903- 44) in 1942. It has a complimentary clause, "and defeat is an orphan" "*La vittoria trova cento padri, e nessuno vuole riconoscere l'insuccesso.*" (Oxford Dictionary of Proverbs, 2009). Since then, many politicians, including the US president Kennedy, made use of this proverb to convey the following meaning: 'Many people will seek credit for success, but few will accept responsibility for failure'. Mogherini conveys her point of view through intertextuality strategy that: victory over Da'esh is solely attained by the Iraqi people, forces and administration, although they were backed by the International Coalition Forces. She affirmed her claim in:

"It is first and foremost thanks to its own people, its men and women. This victory belongs to you, and at the same time, it can bring some much needed hope to an entire region. (L 28-30)

"Your story tells us that victory against terrorism is indeed possible"

(L 31).

Mogherini, also, uses the strategy of elaboration as noted above to emphasize her previously stated claim in the proverb as well.

The second instance represents a reappearance of another text's main argument in the current text. This process is labeled by Wittgenstein as re-contextualization. By taking an argument and implement it in a new context of re-contextualization, the element then acquires a new meaning, because, as Wittgenstein (1967) demonstrates, meanings are formed in use, as follows:

"We want toand help you "win the peace", after you managed to win the war against Da'esh." (L 40-42).

It is noticed that Mogherini tends to back her rhetoric with sayings, proverbs, idiomatic expressions and metaphors to invite the audience use their imagination to connect the event with the speaker's intention. In terms of metaphor, Mogherini represents war and peace as competitive games like chess, or as a sport, like football. In the war/ peace metaphor there is a clear winner and a clear end to the game (Lakof, 1991, p. 30). The metaphor highlights a set of characteristics and morals, such as (ibid);

⁶ The (Collins English Dictionary) defines it as "a force designated to the maintenance of peace, especially the prevention of further fighting between hostile forces".

⁷ Anyone can just google the phrase 'a force for peace' and will be met with multiple links in business, politics, literature and diplomacy.

⁸ . A Proverb is a short, generally known sentence of the folk which contains wisdom, truth, morals, and traditional views in a metaphorical, fixed and memorial form and which is handed down from generation to generation (Mieder, 2004: 3).

	Strategic thinking:	"the leadership of Prime Minister al-Abadi"	(L 26)
	Team work:	"we must acknowledge everyone's contribution to the territorial defeat of Daesh in Iraq."	(L 22-23)
	Preparedness:	"the daily work of his government, and the resilience of millions of ordinary Iraqis"	(L 27-28)
	Spectators in the world arena	Middle East, and for the whole of us	L 135
	The glory of winning:	"This victory belongs to you, and at the same time, it can bring much-needed hope to an entire region."	(L 30-31)
	The shame of defeat:	"The territorial defeat of Daesh in Iraq"	(L 23)

4.3 Borrel's Speech at The European Parliament Plenary Debate on the Situation in Iran and Iraq Strasbourg- France 14 Jan. 2020

4.3.1 Context and Historical Background

On 1 Dec. 2020, Josep Borrel, former Foreign Minister of Spain assumed the post of EU's (HR/VP). European diplomats were trying hard to pacify tensions between Iran and the United States after the U.S. killed a top Iranian military commander in Iraq, Qasem Soleimani, 3 Jan. 2020, raising fears of war in the Middle East. The European MEPs gathered in Strasbourg-France, to debate the consequences of the confrontation between the US and Iran, on Tuesday 14 Jan. 2020, with EU Foreign Policy Chief Josep Borrel (NBC NEWS, 06 /01/2020).

Iran threatened the US with severe retaliation after Soleimani was killed by the US drone strike in Baghdad on Friday, and on Sunday announced that it was going to abandon limitations on enriching uranium that were negotiated under the 2015 nuclear deal, which the U.S. withdrew from in 2018. President Donald Trump threatened to attack cultural sites in Iran if Tehran retaliates for the killing of Gen. Qasem Soleimani, some questioned whether a diplomatic solution to the crisis was still possible (CNBC News 06/01/2020).

Shortly after, the Iraqi parliament adopted a resolution to end the presence of foreign troops in the country, in a clear riposte to the US after the killing of Soleimani and al-Muhandis, an Iraqi politician and deputy chief of the Popular Mobilisation Committee (CNN, 05/01/2020).

For years, US-Iran conflict has been taking the shape of proxy war to hit interests belonging to both powers in many areas, among which Iraq and Syria. The reintegration of Tehran into the global and regional communities will surely be in the benefit of Iraq. If Iran's relations with key players in the Middle East and around the world such as the United States, Russia, and other regional powers improved, these key powers may be more willing to step back from their proxy wars and find a negotiated outcome to the conflicts (Paul Salem 2013:31). Iraqi protesters chanted counter to both Iran and USA during a demonstration against the State corruption, failing public services and unemployment in Baghdad on Oct. 2, 2019. Many Iraqis were furious that the United States violated their country's sovereignty by carrying out airstrikes on Iraqi soil. In a diplomatic effort to ease the tensions, EU's foreign policy chief, Josep Borrel, invited Iranian Foreign Affairs Minister Javad Zarif to Brussels to discuss the crisis. On the other hand the EU Parliament listened to Mr. Josep Borrel speech in the aforementioned debate⁹.

4.3.2 Discursive Strategies

4.3.2.1 Referential Strategies in Salutation

Mr. President,

Honourable Members of the European Parliament,

The expected language choices in all of the opening salutations so far analyzed were the norm for the five speeches thus surveyed, albeit the in hand Josep Borrel's speech which is addressed to the EU Parliament where the entire members are of the same rank. The speaker salutes the president of the parliament with the formal title 'Mr.' and the official position (professionalization), then the members with the complimentary expression '*Honourable*' plus the inclusive collective referential means (*Members of the European Parliament*) to consolidate construction of the in-group identity.

Borrel's referential strategies in the body of his speech are realized through personification of actions and events as follows :

⁹ The reason for giving this bulk of background details, in the context section, is to pave the way for the reader to grasp the allusions and tropes used by the speaker to realize the discursive strategies in his speech.

“the recent tensions..... have the potential to erase the hard-won progress”

“The current situation could generate a number of dangerous consequences”

“the resumption of Da’esh would have a catastrophic humanitarian impact”

“Such a situation would also risk diverting attention from”

These events were given the potentials of an entity or a human-being who is capable of affecting harmful impacts. This claim is supported by the past conjugation of the modal verbs, *could* and *would*, that are used hypothetically, to anticipate negative outcomes in the future, should an urgent action was not taken and confirm obligation. In fact, evaluating the aforementioned actions and events negatively involves referential strategy where the actors of the group are back-grounded to represent the group.

4.3.2.2 Predicational and Referential Strategies

“First of all, let me thank the European Parliament for its ongoing concern about the situation in the two countries that are featured in this debate as well as in the wider region.” (L 3-5).

While Borrel, the current HR/VP of the EU commission, greets and praises EU parliament, he performs two pragmatic referential strategies, they are as follows:

First, utilizing the adjective ‘*ongoing*’ to describe ‘*concern*’ that EU parliament pays, Borrel presupposes that this is not the first time EU does so. Presupposition is to do with what kinds of meanings are assumed as given in a text, what Fairclough calls the ‘pre-constructed elements’ (1995a:107).

Second, using the quantifier ‘TWO’ to define the “*countries that are featured in this debate*”, Borrel connotes ‘*Iraq and Iran*’ through implicature. Thus, Josep Borrel seeks to affirm that the EU parliament constantly pursues ‘*the situation*’ in Iraq and Iran ‘*as well as in the wider region*’, although, they are not member states in the EU parliament, they are merely economic partners. The NP ‘*the situation*’ itself connotes an array of problems and challenges in these two countries. Here, the speaker tries to depict EU as a benevolent international actor that by means of its good intentions and resources helps its partners to achieve security and stability goals; thus, making the world a better place (see Preliminary_Facts) .

4.3.2.3 Perspectivation Strategies

Diplomats in public speeches, try to introduce themselves as principled and trustworthy (Lui & Standing 1989:17). They do so through selective discourse, i.e. they position their involvement and detachment and express their points of view in accordance with their political perspectives and agendas. In Borrel’s discursive practices, the pronominal ‘I’ is connected to his role as HR/VP:

“I am committed as High Representative, and as the EU, we are committed all of us to working to stop the current cycle of violence in Iraq”(L 11-13).

Borrel discursively locates himself as a medium to an end, a porte-parole. ‘I’ is always in search of involvement and connected to a role of intermediation. In terms of the pronominals, the aforementioned example is particularly illustrative of the overlap of individual and collective subjectivities, whereas Josep Borrel, firstly makes a move toward an ego (I am committed as HR/VP), he instantly refers to a situation that urges action upon a collective and sympathetic ‘we’ (*as EU, we are committed*). First person pronoun ‘I’ implies a personal level: it enables the diplomat to show, not only, his/ her personal involvement and commitment, but it assists in authority and personal responsibility (Karapetjana, 2011:43). There are only 3 occurrences of ‘I’ in Mogherini’s speech against 18 in Borrel’s speech. The reason behind this frequent use of the pronoun ‘I’ in the latter’s discourse is that: It either expresses 1) personal opinion or belief (De Fina, 1995: 396), as in;

“I want to extend my condolences” (L 73), and “my deepest condolences to all of them.” (L 79)

“I believe that Iran is not meeting its nuclear commitments ...” (L 103-104);

“I am looking forward to work with you...”(L 156), etc. ;

Or, 2) to highlight personal qualities in a positive way as the most motivating reasons for a diplomat is to use the pronoun ‘I’ in a speech (Bramley, 2001: 28). These may have an explicit reference to the identity as:

being responsible, “*I will guarantee that*” (L 105);

being a person of principles, “*I personally, have... been active in urging calm*” (L 30); and “*I intend to work hard to preserve it (unity)*” (L 119);

being a person of action, “*I will oversee, and I will be in touch ...*” (L 108);

being a person of power, which has an explicit reference to the politician’s leadership “*I received a strong mandate to carry out all necessary diplomatic efforts*” (L 16), and “*I convened the extraordinary meeting of the Foreign Affairs Council.*” (L 14-15).

As has been noted from the above illustrations, the speaker uses ‘I’, ‘me’ and ‘my’ for various diplomatic discursive purposes: for thanking, for condolence, for assuring, and for asserting. In DD, to be assertive is indispensable to the diplomatic speaker

for its socio-psychological effects. Cap (2014) believes that the speech act of assertion is a cornerstone not only for legitimization but also for persuading the hearers. For instance, in the above quoted lines 14-15, and 16 the former lines contents were repeated in the lines (138-139) of the same speech, the speaker asserts that he has “*a strong mandate*” accordingly he mentioned “*I convened the extraordinary meeting*” “*twice*”. Reisigl & Wodak (2017:88) confirm that “*language is not powerful on its own, it is a means to gain and maintain power by the use powerful people make of it. This explains why the DHA critically analyses the language use of those in power who have the means and opportunities to improve conditions.*” By this chain of assertive speech acts, the speaker expresses his or his EU’s power and ideological commitments, which are in line with the audience’s psychological, political, social inclinations. Through the perspectivation strategy, the speaker not only establishes the acceptability but also accomplishes his goal of soliciting the audience and getting their active participation.

4. Conclusions and Findings

Owing to the ritualistic nature of DD, Iraqi – EU orators convey interpersonal meanings. They constantly appeal to the audience and text consumers claiming common grounds and shared ideology. Texts of diplomatic speeches focused on delivering subjective information, supported by evaluation of social actors, their actions and relations but the emotional evaluation is left with the receivers.

The analysis highlighted the mandatory sections a speech needs to contain in international domain. In the speech genre, these sections are essentials of any address at any context, with the opening salutations, the introduction, the body and the closure. The salutation and the closure of the speeches, which aim at attracting attention, appealing to the audience and claiming common ground, convey phatic, conative and expressive meanings. The language devices realizing this function are cliché phrases used in diplomatic rituals, ceremonies and greetings. They consist of polite formulae, terms of address, and the inherently polite speech acts of thanking and apologizing (Brown and Levinson, 1987). The introductory ‘mutual concern’ phase typically highlights the common and explicit situations plaguing Iraq, the region and the world, These have been demonstrated in negative referential terminology, presuppositions and metaphors: cycle of violence, tensions, terrorism, attacks, un-employment, Da’esh, displacement, migration, foreign interferences...etc. These situations are used to intensify the state of the affairs. Negative words are all used to elicit collective action by portraying negative images.

Speeches in the diplomatic milieu very often draw on intertextually to form what Fairclough (1995) has referred to as a hybrid genre. Thus, diplomatic language herein surveyed steadily contains discourse that promotes mutual cooperation over disagreement and discord and requires plans of action. Undeniably, linguistic standards and ethics drive EU diplomats to interconnect cordially with Iraq manifesting courtesy even with issues of variances to cajole differences in attitudes.

The researcher finds out the following:

It is noticed that the referential and predication strategies are working hand in glove with Perspectivation strategies. People are not only represented in the EU discourse through their names, but via the names of the profession, organization, State or area to which they belong or affiliate to. They are named after the religion they believe in or ideology they advocate, their political orientation, or ethnicity and many other partial discursive ways to represent actors that the language offers.

Inclusive and exclusive ‘we’ are regularly used with ‘our’ and ‘us’, all to inspire shared responsibility, collaboration, accord and action, though sometimes the use of ‘we’ becomes authoritative with the aim to express power. Personal pronoun ‘I’ can be classified into such semantic referents: ‘I’ as a diplomat, ‘I’ as a leader and ‘I’ as a person with the pragmatic functions that express personal belief or opinion and highlight personal quality.

EU speakers attempt to construct an identity for the EU as an actor to establish peace democracy and human rights.

EU speakers diplomatically represent EU as an internally diverse political entity of different but collaborated States. Thus they communicate this concept in their arguments and statements to influence Iraq’s perception to follow the suit and overcome tensions, apply equality and prevail the rule of law.

EU speakers assign Iraqi actors and actions positive attributes through appreciating Iraqi sacrifices and triumph over ISIS and its terroristic ideology. In this regard EU external policy is demonstrated by its actors via offering effective assistance in promoting stability, prosperity, democracy and human rights in Iraq to deliver concrete results in the fight to eradicate conflicts and achieve sustainable development.

5. Suggestion for further research

Public diplomacy (PD), an updated version of the conventional diplomacy, invites manifold research. Accessibility of data in PD makes analysis more available and revealing. All States nowadays tend to communicate their actions and reactions toward multiple issues in the world utilizing refined language with the aim to brand their policies and governance.

Signaling and diplomatic protocol demand linguistic research to explore responsibility and deniability of certain issues in foreign relations.

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