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CDA PERSPECTIVE ON THE REPRESENTATION OF POLITICAL ACTORS IN BIH IN THE POLITICAL DISCOURSE OF THE EU REPRESENTATIVES IN BiH

Abstract

The paper focuses on the role of language in a specific socio-political context. It offers a critical approach regarding the representation of political actors in Bosnia-Herzegovina (BiH) in press releases of the Office of the High Representative in BiH, for the period 2006 - 2011. The aim of the linguistic examination is to analyse the notion of the power imbalance between different actors and ideology which is subtly interwoven in the investigated discourse. There are three stages of analysis in the process of linguistic investigation. In the first stage of analysis, the linguistic investigation is carried out by the means of language tools provided by systemic functional grammar. At this stage, the text is analysed at three different levels: ideational, interpersonal, and textual. In the second stage, the logogentic patterns, which emerge as a result of the lexico-grammatical investigation, are further sifted by the analytical framework of critical discourse analysis. In the final stage of the investigation, the text, which is comprehended as a structure realized by clauses, undergoes a pragmatic investigation of presuppositions. The paper shows that the proposed threefold investigation of the text enables the deconstruction of the meaning of the text and at the same time provides an insight into the nature of the relationship between different actors involved in the discourse.

Key words: systemic functional grammar; critical discourse analysis; presupposition; the notion of power; ideology.

Introduction

The paper investigates the manner and means of representation of the political actors from BiH in the press releases of the Office of the High Representative (OHR) in BiH, in order to assess the notion of power and its distribution between political actors. To understand the nature of such complex relationships, which manifest through "power and asymmetry" (Roberts, 2011), "goal oriented encounters" (Drew and Heritage, 1992), "gatekeeping and labelling" (Mehan, 1993; Agar, 1985), it is necessary to conduct the investigation of language in context. Being aware of the power of language and its role in the process of communicating desired ideas, politicians use its power to promote, influence, and persuade others in order to support a certain political standpoint. From the perspective of the critical discourse analysis (CDA), the main feature of political discourse is argumentation, i.e. whether politicians argue for or against something (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012). A similar standpoint is taken by Chilton (2004: 4), who argues that a salient feature of a political discourse is the political process which usually involves "persuasion and bargaining". Since these processes are directly related to the use of language it is necessary to understand how the use of language invokes the positions of authority and legitimacy in the context of political discourse (Chilton, 2004). The importance of language in the political context rests in the fact that it maintains structures of domination and resistance and of power imbalance and of empowerment (Gelabert, 2004).

Language, discourse, and politics

People understand, experience and interpret the world they live in through the means of discourse due to the fact that "our knowledge and understanding of the world is socially constructed through discourse" (De Vos, 2003: 164). Context of discourse plays a vital role in deconstructing of the meaning and in this regard Schiffrin (1994: 419) argues that if someone wants "to understand the language of discourse" one needs to "understand the world in which it resides". Wodak (2001) claims that the significance of discourse resides in the fact that it yields social supremacy of one group over others, emphasizing the role of language in indexing and expressing social power. With regard to the political discourse, Wilson (2015: 783) claims that "language frequently becomes politicized because specific structures are used in particular contextualized discourses".

Theoretically, political discourse may take various forms, but considering its peculiarities, it is assumed that political discourse is mainly about politics and covers "meanings related to political systems, ideologies, institutions, the political process, political actors, and political events" (Van Dijk, 1997: 25). This approach to political discourse implies that "outside political context, the discourse of politicians or any other political actors is not political" (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012: 18).

Language and ideologies

Linguistic ideology may be defined as "the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests" (McElhinny, 2003: 255). The term "points to a theoretical commitment to the idea that people's views about language are shaped by political and economic interests, and by relations of domination and subordination" (Philips, 2015: 257). There is a semantic and ideological polarization present in political discourse since "descriptions and references to politicians, public figures and organizations" represent "politically and ideologically based opinions and attitudes" (Van Dijk, 1997: 28). Kroskrity (2004: 496) argues that language ideologies, when used in opposition to culture, represent a good alternative for studying dissimilarities "in ideas, ideals, and communicative practices". Ideologies manifest in discourse and operate through it by "mobilizing assumptions, presuppositions, and background knowledge in such a way that specific social, cultural structures ensue" (Tomi, 2001: 264). Critically speaking, ideologies carry pejorative meanings and serve to promote interest of specific groups (Hart: 2014). Even though ideological frameworks are most of the time concealed, they can be identified and revealed through critical analysis of language (Tomi, 2001).

Aim of the paper and hypothesis

The analysis covers the period from 2006 until 2011. The work explores lexico-grammatical and pragmatic features of the discourse of the EU officials and the manner they address and discuss about political actors from BiH. A part of the analysis is dedicated to the investigation of ideologies. In order to carry out the envisaged investigation, a discourse-analytic approach is used. The approach combines *micro* and *macro* analytical methods. The first relates to features of linguistic investigation of texts while the latter is concerned with social processes and their function within language (Baxter, 2010).

The working hypothesis of the paper is: The representation of political actors from BiH in press releases of the OHR in BiH is linguistically structured in a way that puts them into an inferior position compared to their counterparts from the EU institutions.

Corpus and methodology

The paper implements critical discourse analysis of press releases of the OHR in BiH in which the EU officials refer to political situation in BiH and to the political actors who carry out political policies in the country. The analysis encompasses 100 press releases issued over the period of five years.

To gather linguistic data, the systemic functional grammar (SFG) tools are used. A threefold analysis of every clause with respect to each main metafunction is conducted. The purpose of this analysis is to gather data which makes possible for the analysis of the transitivity system and the system of mood and modality. Every text and clause are marked for the sake of tracking clauses and assigning them to the right source. For example, *xy: a.b-c* where 'xy' stands for the speaker, 'a' stands for the clause number, 'b' stands for the number of text, and 'c' refers to the year. So the marking, CSS: 5.1-06 is read in the following way: Christian Schwarz-Schilling, clause number five, text one from 2006.

The obtained findings are used in conducting the critical discourse analysis. The data is examined using the analytical framework developed by Fairclough (1995). In the final stage of inquiry, an effort is invested in the investigation of implicitly transmitted messages, which are communicated but not said (Yule, 2010). In order to infer such messages, the analysis of presuppositions is conducted since "a presupposition is something the speaker assumes to be the case prior to making utterance" (Yule, 2010: 25).

Theoretical background

Succinctly, the rudimentary purpose of language is to allow interlocutors to get engaged in the process of the exchange of information. However, often neglected use of language resides in the fact that it is also used to do things and be things (Gee, 2011: 2). This function of language is particularly important when analysing context and identifying a speaker, what is being said and what the speaker is intending to accomplish (Gee, 2011: 2). According to Fairclough (1993: 134), the use of language implies a type of action that is "socially and historically situated", and as such should be investigated in regard to the context of its use. The key element in structuring methodology for discourse analysis rests in the relationship between *micro* and *macro* analytical approaches; the first being related to features of linguistic investigation of transcripts and the latter concerned with social processes and their function within language (Baxter, 2010: 119). In line with the research intention in this paper, an elaboration of the fundamental postulates of critical discourse analysis (*macro* analytical approach) and systemic functional grammar (*micro* analytical approach) is presented in the following sections.

Critical discourse analysis

Critical discourse analysis is a type of discourse analysis that takes critical approach towards language. It focuses on analysing different discourses with the aim of identifying ideologies and values interwoven in them (Koussouhon & Dossoumou, 2015). CDA originates from classical rhetoric, text linguistics, sociolinguistics, applied linguistics and pragmatics (Wodak, 2002: 6). Zienkowski (2011: 5) states that "the pragmatic dimension of CDA thus resides in its intersubjective stance, in its emphasis on the importance of socio-political and textual context, and in the emphasis on the process-based nature of discourse". Thus, discourse is not just a matter of language since it participates and takes an active role in creation of "the social systems, situations, institutions and ideologies in which it is embedded" (Hart, 2014: 3). The primal concern of CDA is the relationship between language and power (Wodak, 2002). Critical

discourse analysis focuses on the imbalance between participants in a social context and the ways in which different texts are used for investigation of power and ideology (Martin, 2000). CDA is significant for linguistic scholars since it investigates "real, and often extended, samples of spoken and written discourse" in its broadest sense (Baxter, 2010: 126). In the field of linguistics, researchers make use of CDA in order to "understand, expose, and ultimately challenge social inequality (Van Dijk, 2015: 466).

There has always been a close relationship between systemic functional grammar and critical discourse analysis because the former takes on multifunctional approach, it is suitable for text analysis and it is "concerned with relating language to social context" (Martin, 2000: 275). CDA approach is gaining on popularity among researchers investigating language use and more and more researchers are arguing that the study of language should be based on a sound socio-political intellectual basis allowing for better analysis of power in language and language use (Wodak, 2011).

Systemic functional grammar

The significance of grammar investigation rests in the fact that models of grammar help in developing "systemic, theoretically driven, comparative approaches to analysis" (Hart, 2014: 5). It empowers a researcher with a technical language needed for analysis, provides a close investigation of meaning, contributes to precision, and allows for engaging into quantitative analysis where necessary (Martin, 2000). Systemic functional grammar is a theory of language that focuses on purpose and choice (Halliday, 1994). It is specifically equipped and designed to relate language structure to its communicative function since it provides required descriptive tools (Fowler, 1991).

According to Eggins (2004: 3) there are four theoretical claims developed by SFG linguists:

i. The language use is functional,

ii. The function of language is to make meaning,

iii. The meanings are influenced by the social and cultural contexts,

iv. The process of using language is a semiotic process, a process of making meaning by choosing.

Systemic functional grammar allows for the description of language as a social and cultural phenomenon and sees language as a formal system for the expression of meaning (Young, 2011). Functional focus provides an opportunity for text analysis and offers an explanation for the meaning of the text. Language is seen as a system of choice. Systemic functional grammar explores the methods used by participating entities in the process of meaning exchange in diversified socially conditioned situations. Language system provides additional linguistic choices in a particular circumstance where interlocutors make lexical selections that fit the given context (Young, 2011). In this regard, SFG creates a theoretical framework, which offers to researchers, methodological tools for discourse analysis.

Linguistic analysis

In this part of the paper, a summary of the obtained data for the period 2006 - 2011 is provided. The focus of interest at this stage is on the ideational and representational strata. The tendency of such an endeavour is:

- to draw attention to different types of syntactic-semantic structures, and
- to identify and present the principal linguistics modes for communicating desired ideas.

Communicative modes in the experiential meanings

This section presents linguistic modes belonging to the experiential strand of meaning. The modes relay on lexico-grammatical choices made by the participating entities involved in the communicative process. At this level of investigation three dominant transitivity systems are identified, namely: process material, process verbal and relational processes.

Process material
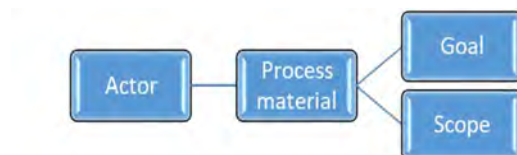
Figure 1. Mode 1, the transitivity system: Actor + process material + Goal/Scope

Figure 1 demonstrates the way in which the process type affects the choice of participating entities at the ideational stratum of representation. According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 179), "material clauses are clauses of doing-&-happening". It means that participating entities in this transitivity structure are involved in a sort of action which depends on the type of participants involved in it. The mode shows that the structure varies depending on the type of verb involved in the process. The type of the verb involved in the process makes possible for two transitivity structures:

a) Someone does something: Actor + Goal, or
b) Someone is involved in the realization of a process over a longer period of time: Actor + Scope.

Process verbal

Figure 2. Mode 2, the transitivity system: Sayer + process verbal + Receiver + Verbiage

Figure 2 shows the participating entities in the verbal processes. According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 252), verbal clauses contribute to following elements:

- the creation of narrative,
- to develop accounts of dialogue, and
- to attribute information to sources.

The mode shows two possibilities for this structure that is developed from the analysed data. The participating entity Sayer could choose between three options:

a) to address someone: Sayer + process verbal + Receiver,
b) to send the message, only: Sayer + process verbal + Verbiage, or
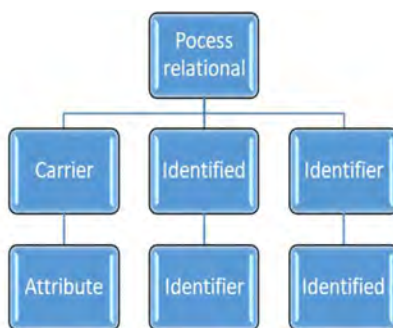c) to address someone and to state the intended message: Sayer + process verbal + Receiver + Verbiage.

Process relational

Figure 3. Mode 3, the transitivity system for relational processes

Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 210) argue that relational clauses "serve to characterize and to identify". The major types of relational clauses can be represented in the following way:

	(i) attributive '*a* is an attribute of *x*'	(ii) identifying '*a* is the identity of *x*'
(1) intensive '*x* is *a*'	Sarah is wise	Sarah is the leader; the leader is Sarah
(2) possessive '*x* has *a*'	Peter has a piano	the piano is Peter's; Peter's is the piano
(3) circumstantial '*x* is at *a*'	the fair is on a Tuesday	tomorrow is the 10th; the 10th is tomorrow

Table 1. The principal categories of relational clause, Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 216).

The obtained data, over the period 2006-2011, show that at the ideational level the participating entities in the relational processes used three different transitivity structures in order to:

a) point out that a participating entity possesses certain quality and that there is an entity in which that quality is recognized: Carrier + process relational + Attribute,

b) to find an entity that is to be recognized and the one that serves as identity in the process of **encoding** the ascribed quality: Identified + process relational + Identifier, and

c) to find an entity that is to be recognized and the one that serves as identity in the process of **decoding** the ascribed quality: Identifier + process relational + Identified.

Communicative modes in the interpersonal meaning

At the interpersonal level, or at the level of the exchange of information, the verb tense defines the dimension of time, i.e. the time when the exchange takes place, whereas modality defines the dimension of evaluation of what is being said (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004).

The importance of the Subject manifests in the fact that the success or failure of the propositions depends on it. In a nutshell, the Subject "is being held responsible […] for the functioning of the clause as an interactive event" (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004: 117).

The obtained data show that indicative is the prevailing grammatical category used in the exchange of information. The vast majority of clauses are expressed in declarative mood with a very few instances of the interrogative forms.

The mode of the clause provides an insight into the nature of the information flow from the subject to other participants at the level of exchange. The data show that the Subject is realised

in two ways, as a nominal group or as nominalised forms. The operator is also realised in two ways. The majority of operators are realised as temporal operators refereeing to the present, past or future with their active and passive forms. In all instances, active forms prevail over the passive ones.

A particular attention should be paid to the realisation of modality. It plays a key factor in differentiating between roles that participating entities take within the transitivity structures. The greatest distinction is noticed in material processes. Basically, it enables a reader to identify entities who 'do/act' upon something as active participants and those who 'do/act' because they were either told, ordered or suggested to 'do/act' upon something.

In regard to modal operators they actualise in the form of modalization and modulation. In SFG, modulation refers to meanings of obligation and inclination, while modalization refers to probability and usuality (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004).

The results of the linguistic analysis show that modulation is used significantly more than modalization. Figure 6 provides an insight into the nature of participating entities occupying subject positions, based on their distribution. It can be observed that the High Representatives and the EU representatives occupy most of the subject positions with 47% and 16% respectively. Political actors from Bosnia and Herzegovina, on the other hand, occupy only 12% of the overall subject positions.

These data are important because the subject element often conflates with the unmarked Theme element at the level of textual stratum.
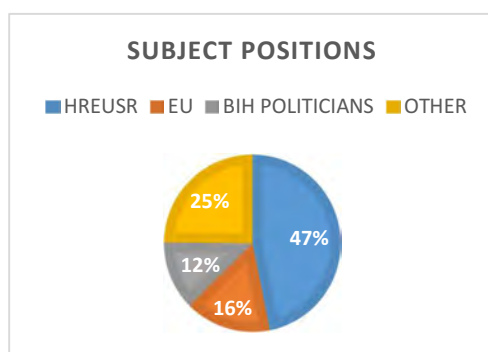
SUBJECT POSITIONS

■ HREUSR ■ EU ■ BIH POLITICIANS ■ OTHER

25%
47%
12%
16%

Figure 4. Participating entities in the subject position.

Being as such, as argued by Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 117-8), the subject takes on two functions:
- the starting point of the message, and
- the function of 'resting point' of the argument, or the entity "on which the validity of the information is made to rest".

The goal of the following section is to analyse the realization and nature of relationships between participating entities identified at the ideational and interpersonal level.

Critical discourse analysis

At this stage of analysis, the approach proposed by Fairlclough (1995) is used for the purpose of a critical assessment of the data provided by SFG descriptive tools. The participating entities that are identified in the subject positions in the previous section are the focus of investigation in this part of the analysis.

Description stage

This stage encompasses the findings for the period 2006 - 2011 obtained at the ideational and interpersonal strata.

Ideational stratum

The participating entity HR/EUSR in the Actor position appears 50 times. The reference to the EU and their officials, in the Actor position is made 61 times, while the entity political actors in BiH in Actor positions is realised 68 times. In the Sayer positon HR/EUSR appears 426 times, the EU officials 57 times and political actors from BiH 8 times. In the Carrier position the HR/EUSR is realised six times, in Identifier position four times and four times in the Identified positon. The entity EU and their officials are realised 33 times in the Carrier/Attribute positons, 18 times in the Identified positon and 16 times in the Identifier position. Political actors as participating entities are realised 12 times in the Carrier/Attribute position, 19 times in the Identified position and 17 times in the Identifier position.

Interpersonal stratum

In order to work on deconstruction of interpersonal meaning it is necessary to evaluate the mood system. The obtained data show that the declarative mood is the dominant choice of interlocutors. According to Martin et al. (1997: 58), "statements and questions involve exchanges of information" and such exchanges are known as propositions.

The analysed texts are abundant with propositions, which manifest in different ways, depending on type of participants in the process of communication. It can be observed that the HR/EUSR usually uses verbs like *makes [5.1-06], attends [1.3-06], provides [2.14-06], meets [2.6-06]* and so forth, when attending conferences and talking to other international representatives. As the High representatives they often *point out [8.1-06], stress [7.2-06], address [1.14-06], write [7.5-07],* but from time to time they also *warn [4.3-09], urge [16.6-09],* and *deplore [7.8-09].* However, the choice of verbs changes when they address political actors. In such cases they usually opt for modulation using verbs like *must allow [2.3-06], must adopt [15.6-06], must move [24.4-06],* or go for polarised forms such as *cannot make [9.1-07], have not formed [7.10-06], has not met [2.6-07]* and etc. An insight into this type of information enables the analyst to investigate different interpersonal dimensions such as, the power and solidarity between the speakers, the degree of intimacy, their attitudes and judgments (Eggins, 2004).

Interpretation

At this stage, the focus is on the nature of a relationship between the HR/EUSR and other EU officials on the one hand, and politicians from BiH on the other. The significance of this stage is reflected in an endeavour to show how wider social and cultural contexts, and relationships between them, can shape and mark understanding of the text (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999).

Participating entities as Actors

It is expected that as an Actor, the High Representatives would get involved into material processes of doing and happening. However, the data show that at this level they act as the HRs who *attend, participate, welcome and meet* other EU officials at international conferences. They assume the role of the institutional agents who argue for a particular position acting as gatekeepers and institutional representatives (Agar, 1985; Mehan, 1993). In a few instances only, they inform readers that they will actually do something *…will work to help Bosnia and Herzegovina make a*

progress [11.6-06], *...have sought to bring about a transition [9.7-07],* and *...would seek to play a key role [9.5-06].* It can be noticed that even when they state that they would actually do something, their statements are loaded with modalized forms which suggest *probability* rather than concrete actions.

Their role of the EU officials is more obvious compared to the role of the HRs. The international community *leaves no space for the BiH authorities [28.2-06]* to act destructively and on their own, because *the European Union will not put this country's hard-won security [10.9-06]* fall apart.

The entity European Union and the EU officials are used with verbs: *stipulate, take, reinforce, monitor, initialise, mark out, decide, can do,* and etc. The choice of verbs indicates that the EU and the international community are interested in being directly involved in the processes of doing and happening in Bosnia and Herzegovina. However, all activities relate to supervision without taking any concrete steps. The Subject position, which these entities occupy, enables them to negotiate their propositions and from this positon they *claim, reject, accept* and *tell* others what to do.

Political actors in Bosnia and Herzegovina are realised with verbs belonging to material processes in two ways. On the one hand, politicians are involved in processes of doing and happening themselves, while on the other, they are involved because someone else wants them to get involved. When they act on their own, BiH politicians *adopt, revert, fail, pass, contribute,* and etc., but when they act because someone else asks them to, they *must allow, must adopt and implement, have to do, must decide*, and etc. Such instantiation suggests that "the source of modality is the speaker of the sentence, not the putative agent of the action proposed" (Fairlough & Fairclough, 2012: 45).

The data show that political actors in BiH are portrayed as being poor partners in development of the country. They *have not formed a state-level government [7.10-06],* they *revert to aggressive yet and arid rhetoric of the 1990s [20.1-07], leaders have regressed into the arid rhetoric [13.9-07],* they *had failed to seize the opportunity [4.3-07], politicians reiterate impossible demands [9.6-07], they have failed to enact reforms [15.9-07],* and similar examples showing their political ineptness.

The lexical choices made by the HRs and the EU officials enable them to urge and criticize political actors by pointing out that they *must allow the Police Restructuring [14.4-06], they must adopt and implement the reform measures [15.6-06],* and they *must decide to get BiH's leaders to take responsibility [14.5-07].*

The HRs perceive political actors in Bosnia and Herzegovina as being unreliable partners because they *rejected a commitment [11.7-07] they made [12.7-07].* Political actors are perceived as being inefficient because they *have failed to forge a new consensus on Bosnia and Herzegovina's future [2.15-08]* and they *have not even launched [10.2-09]* the required procedures.

This kind of portrayal of political actors from BiH puts them in the subordinate position and points out to a power imbalance between BiH politicians and the EU officials. The EU and the HRs in this manner demonstrate their political domination and the position of authority. This approach is in line with the one that is proposed by Blagovčanin (2016) who claims that the EU representatives are using an intrusive approach depicting the position of authority.

Participating entities as Sayers

As the HR/EUSRs, they *point out, emphasize, stress, acknowledge, note, make clear, underline, write, conclude,* and etc. It can be observed that there is a slight difference in terms of the choice of verbs when used with definite lexical expressions and personal pronouns. As High Representatives they usually do not *warn, argue, insist or regret.* Their role, as the HRs, is to *emphasise, underline, acknowledge,* as they represent the position of the EU and argue in their favour. The direct receivers of their communique are international bodies or the Parliament of BiH, rarely individuals. The EU and EU officials in the Sayer position firmly express their views using verbs such as: *made clear, note,* and *stress*. They simply express their standpoints without addressing anyone in particular. Political actors from BiH appear in the Sayer position when they *reiterate impossible demands [9.6-07].* The data clearly points out to a power imbalance because political actors form BiH are never given Sayer roles, which would enable them to negotiate their positions.

Participating entities in relational structures

In the relational structures the HR/EUSRs appear to express their subjective observations like satisfaction *I am very pleased [6.6-06; 9.2-07].* In regard to the EU and the EU officials it is observed that *the International Community is to help the BiH authorities [30.2-06]* and that they *stand ready [11.3-06].* The European Union *will work* closely with the Unites States *[21.4-06]* and *the Western Balkans will be [11.10-07]* one of the Union's priorities. The EU officials teach BiH's leaders that *discussion, agreement and compromise is the European way [7.7-07],* and that *the international community's strategic goal in BiH is to see the country accede to both NATO and the EU as soon as possible [1.8-08].* The United States offer their *full support [20.4-06],* and the EU is *serious [47.1-07], ready [33.2-07]* and *open to Bosnia and Hercegovina [21.4-07].* It can be noticed here that the EU representatives establish relations at the institutional level with other foreign actors in order to demonstrate their political power and role at the international level. The HRs see that political actors in BiH are keen on sabotaging and citizens have to prevent them from doing it *[21.2-06].* The EU representatives are using the notion of empowerment here with the aim of allocating more power to the civil society. The role of *the International community is to help BiH authorities not to direct them [30.2-06].* When talking about BiH politicians, the HRs say that *their success will depend on the willingness of the BiH authorities to implement the required reforms [5.6-06].* There is a possibility for BiH politicians to bring about the positive change because they *can be leaders and healers [3.12-06],* and *they do have the capacity to take the country forward [13.13-06].* They argue that a great responsibility rests on the back of BiH politicians and that *they do not have the right to fail their citizens [13.6-07].*

Explanation

So far, two stages of descriptions are completed and in the third stage the aim of the analyst is to use the obtained data from previous stages to investigate the nature of relationships between text and discourse. CDA takes the position that any text can be interpreted in different ways depending on the properties of the text, as well as the interpreter (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999). At this stage, the role of shared background knowledge is very significant. In order to deconstruct and reveal messages which contain ideological load and identify power relationships, the investigation includes the analysis of presuppositions. The analysis covers utterances expressed at the ideational stratum with the aim of revealing the power relations between identified participating entities. Thus, the investigation focuses on how the representatives of the

EU perceive political actors from BiH. In order to identify presupposed meanings, the analyst follows the adapted model proposed by Levinson (1983) and Yule (2010) focusing on linguistic forms functioning as indicators of potential presuppositions. In order to complete the envisaged investigation, the analysis covers utterances conveyed over the period 2006 - 2011. Only those statements that are relevant to the aim of the study are considered for analysis.

The EU representatives and political actors in BiH

Throughout the discourse it can be observed that political actors from BiH are being held responsible for the political crisis and negative situation in the country *[13.3-06]*. One of the features that can be noticed here is that most of references to political leaders from BiH are loaded with modal verb forms. In particular, modulation is highly represented which makes possible for expressing judgments, attitudes, obligation, readiness, inclination and ability (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004; Eggins, 1994).

The data show that the EU officials treat BiH's politicians from the position of power and political authority. They refer to them using forms that denote obligations *[16.4-06]* leaving them no options for free political acting. Politicians are being judged for lacking willingness and readiness to implement required reforms *[5.6-06]* having an attitude of ignoring important issues *[25.10-06]*. BiH's politicians have not gone far away from 1990s since they still use inflammatory *[28.12-06]* and aggressive rhetoric *[20.1-07]* from the beginning of the war. The EU representatives perceive BiH political leaders as being immature and inapt of doing serious political work. They are not mature *[20.2-07],* not responsible enough *[14.5-07],* have impossible demands *[9.6-07],* and are blocking BiH on its road to the European Union *[1.8-07].*

The EU representatives describe BiH politicians as political actors who are not capable of reaching mutual goals *[2.15-08],* they do not trust each other *[4.1-09]* and are responsible for creating instability in the country *[7.3-09],* since they use negative and confrontational rhetoric *[16.3-09].* One of the problems is that politicians form the entity Republika Srpska (RS) do not make difference between the state and the entity *[10.4-09]* and are responsible for creating problems at the state level *[17.4-09].* The EU representatives point out that there is a clear distinction between the state and entity mandates and their responsibilities *[11.4-09]*, which should not be confused.

The obvious problem that relates to political leaders is that they are not paying attention to the needs of citizens *[20.4-09]*, they are deceiving them *[18.14-10]*, and aren't working on the creation of a functional state *[1.10-09].* Political leaders are playing power games *[1.5-11],* their current political approach is not functional *[2.6-11]*, and in a nutshell, they are responsible for the political crisis *[5.6-11].*

Inferences

From the discussion above, the following conclusions as underlying ideologies could be drawn:

1. Bosnia and Herzegovina is a country which is in a political crisis,
2. Political actors from BiH are the source of the current political crisis,
3. Political actors from BiH are not competent partners for the political dialogue with the EU in regard to the process of the accession of BiH into the EU,
4. Political actors from the entity RS disregard political organization of the country since they do not differentiate between the state and entity mandates,
5. Political actors are involved in 'power games' whose end product is a dysfunctional state.

Discussion

In this part of the paper an attempt is made to present a model of communication which points to interdependence of the context and lexico-grammatical choices, which participating entities make in the process of communicating desired lexical forms. In such a process, the speakers take turns and assume different roles that get realised through statements, questions, offers and commands. Such roles are known as speech functions (Eggins, 2004).

The model tries to explain the relationship between the language use that manifests through its functions. These language functions contribute to the meaning-making process which is influenced by the social and cultural context. The meaning-making is a semiotic process because it creates meanings by choosing.

Figure 5. The relationship between social context and language use in the meaning-making process.
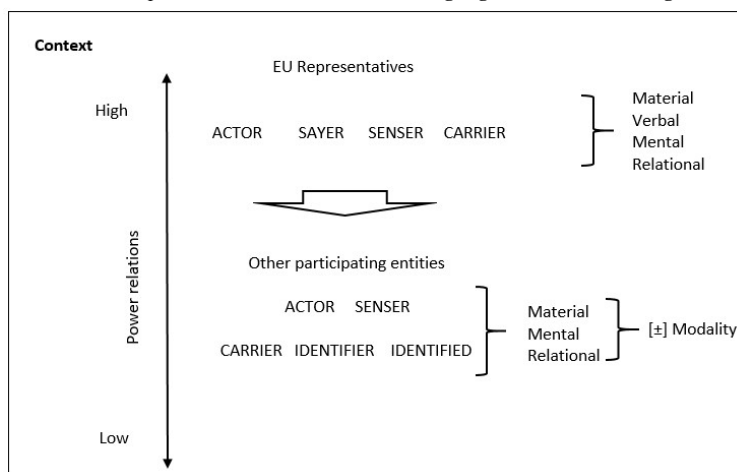
The model shows that lexical choices that the EU representatives make enable them to interact with other participating entities, namely politicians from BiH, from the position of power. Bosnian political representatives are also able to assume different language functions but their realization positions them in the subordinate position compared to the entity identified as the EU representatives.

While the former are able to get involved in processes of doing and happening, creation of the narrative, identification of their own qualities and identities, and expression of personal standpoints, the latter assume language functions that are realized through process types marked by modality. Thus, instead of doing and happening they are being suggested or ordered to get involved in a process; they are never given any possibility to create a narrative; their qualities and identities are being identified and evaluated by others; and lastly, their perception is marked by their inclination to be up to the task that they are required to complete. The presented model confirms the claims of Gelabert (2004), who argues that language can be used to maintain structures of domination and resistance as well as structures of power imbalance and empowerment.

According to Roberts (2011) any institutional discourse is interwoven with relations of power and assumes different stratification of knowledge and status which causes unbalanced positions. In the context of this investigation, after examination of the argumentation line of the EU representatives, it is clear that there is a power imbalance between them on the one hand and other actors on the other.

Finally, it could be observed that the EU representatives through the politics of representation intend to legitimize their efforts in achieving their goals. The concept of politics of representation (Mehan, 1993) helps the EU officials to present themselves and their policies superior over others that are involved in the negotiation process. From the analysis it can be observed that the international community is represented as supervisors *[2.14-06]*, help providers *[30.2-06]*, a capable force in BiH *[19.5-06]*, decision makers *[1.1.-07]*, supporters *[8.3-07]*, power agents *[6.12-11]*, and etc., while political actors in BiH are portrayed as reform obstructionists *[5.6-06]*, unmotivated *[25.10-06]*, a threat to stability *[28.12-06]*, aggressive speakers *[20.1-07]*, immature *[20.2-07]*, irresponsible *[19.4-08]*, and similar. In this way the legitimation of efforts done by the EU officials is achieved because they have the right authority to do so, what they want for BiH is the right thing to do, and their efforts have been rationalized (Leeuwen, 2007).

Conclusion

The language exploration in this paper is twofold. The first part deals with a linguistic investigation with the focus on the text, the system, and the elements of linguistic structures (Halliday, 1994). The tendency of the investigation is to draw attention to different types of syntactic-semantic structures and to present the dominant linguistic models for communicating desired ideas. The investigation encompasses two levels: ideational and interpersonal. Understanding of the environment or the ideational level is achieved by the analysis of the transitivity system which organizes the experience into a set of process types. Each of the process types provides "its own model or schema for construing a particular domain of experience" (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 170). The models of communication rely on lexico-grammatical choices made by the participating entities in the communicative process. The results show that material processes or "clauses of doing-&-happening" (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 179) dominate compared to other process types. At the interpersonal level or the level of the exchange of information the focus of investigation is on the ways in which speakers use language to interact with others. According to Fontaine (2013), the subject and the finite verbal element decide on the interactional nature of the clause. The obtained data from this stage of analysis show that indicative is the prevailing grammatical category where a vast majority of clauses is expressed in a declarative mood with a very few instances of the interrogative forms. Identification of the subject positions gives an insight into the nature of participating entities and therefore enables an investigator to differentiate between entities who 'do/act' upon something as active participants and those who are either told, ordered or suggested to 'do/act' upon something.

The second part of the investigation is dedicated to critical discourse analysis which takes a critical approach towards language. For that matter, an approach proposed by Fairclough (1995) is used. The investigation is carried out through three stages: description, interpretation and explanation. The description stage deals with lexico-grammatical choices and syntactic structure of the discourse. The participating entities identified in the subject positions are thoroughly described at this stage. The obtained results act as a stepping stone for the next stage i.e. the stage of interpretation. At this point the focus of interpretation is on the relationship between the High Representatives from the EU and political representatives from BiH. The final stage of investigation is the stage of explanation. This level of analysis aims to deconstruct and reveal ideological properties of the text. The investigation here focuses on how the EU representatives perceive political leaders from BiH.

The overall findings of the investigation in this paper help in the creation of the model of communication that emphasizes the interdependence of the context and lexico-grammatical choices that participating entities make in the process of communicating intended meanings. The model shows that language functions support the meaning-making process which is influenced by a context. Creation of meaning is a semiotic process because it creates meanings by choosing (Eggins, 2004).

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PREDSTAVLJANJE POLITIČKIH AKTERA IZ BIH U POLITIČKOM DISKURSU PREDSTAVNIKA EU U BIH KROZ PRIZMU KRITIČKE ANALIZE DISKURSA

Sažetak

Istraživanje u ovom radu je fokusirano na ulogu jezika u specifičnom društveno-političkom kontekstu. Rad nudi kritički pristup u razumijevanju predstavljanja političkih aktera iz Bosne i Hercegovine (BiH) u saopštenjima za javnost Ureda visokog predstavnika u BiH, za period 2006-2011. Cilj jezičkog istraživanja je analiza disbalansa moći između različitih aktera, s jedne strane, i ideologije, s druge strane, koja suptilno prožima analizirani diskurs. Lingvistička analiza podrazumijeva tri faze. Prva se faza odnosi na primjenu sistemske funkcionalne gramatike i njenih analitičkih alata. Tekst se analizira na ideacijskom, interpersonalnom i tekstualnom nivou. U drugoj fazi, jezički modeli, koji nastaju kao rezultat leksičko-gramatičkog istraživanja, podliježu narednom nivou analize unutar radnog okvira kritičke analize diskursa. U završnoj fazi rada, pristupa se analizi presupozicijskog značenja teksta. Rezultati rada potvrđuju da predloženi trostruki pristup analizi teksta omogućava dekonstrukciju značenja teksta, te nudi uvid u prirodu odnosa između različitih aktera koji sudjeluju u diskursu.

Ključne riječi: *sistemska funkcionalna gramatika; kritička analiza diskursa; presupozicije; pojam moći; ideologija.*