

الابعاد اللغوية وثقافية في الخطاب السياسي: تواجش الدين و السياسة في النصوص العربية

Linguacutlural Dimensions in Political Discourse: the Interplay of Religion and Politics in
the Arabic Texts

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Abstract

This paper aims to portray the background knowledge of linguaculture and convey the influence of religious culture on verbal communication secondhand by politicians in Arabic countries within the wide context of political demeanor and communication. To attain this aim, a model drawing on Risagers' (2012) was advanced as an analytical framework to investigate the two selected texts of the Arabic religion-based political party 'The Islamic Daawa party in Iraq' (Risager, Linguaculture and Transnationality: The Cultural Dimensions of Language, 2012). The study deduces that religious culture has a conspicuous effect on the verbal communication of politicians in Arabic texts. Furthermore, Politicians utilize references to the Quranic texts throughout their texts to legitimize their actions and perspectives, increase the meanings of the intended meaning, and use an authoritative source as background and promotion. Hence, they intensify their speeches to bring light to their religious identity and pass on their agendas.

Keywords : Linguaculture; linguacultural dimension; political language; religious culture; intertextual references

الخلاصه

تهدف هذه الورقة البحثية إلى تصوير الخلفية المعرفية للغوثقافة ونقل تأثير الثقافة الدينية على التواصل اللفظي المباشر الذي يستعمله السياسيون في البلدان العربية ضمن السياق الواسع للتواصل و التعاطي السياسيين. ولتحقيق هذا الهدف، قُدم نموذج انتقائي، بالاعتماد على رزكار (٢٠١٢)، بوصفه اطارا تحليليا لدراسة النصين المختارين للحزب السياسي العربي ذو العقيدة الدينية "حزب الدعوة الإسلامية في العراق". ونتج عن الدراسة أن الثقافة الدينية لها تأثير واضح على التواصل اللفظي للسياسيين في النصوص العربية. ويستعمل السياسيون التناص من النصوص القرآنية في جميع نصوصهم لإضفاء الشرعية على تصرفاتهم ووجهات نظرهم، وزيادة معانٍ الى المعنى المقصود، والافادة من المصدر الموثوق كخلفية لخطاباتهم وتالرويج لها. ومن ثم فإنهم يعززون خطاباتهم لتسليط الضوء على هويتهم الدينية وتمرير أجنداتهم.

1. Introduction

Political language is often used to convey a specific message, whether positive or negative, over which the speaker upholds solidarity due to persuasive or emotive use of language and the audience becomes satisfied (Honeycutt, 2004). Political language is affected by cultural factors and is intended for the individual. The link between language–culture; political language and religious culture corresponds in many ways, and this nexus is defined as relatively convergent or divergent in Arabic discourses (Risager, Linguaculture, 2013).

However, studies tackling linguaculture and political discourse have persisted scant. The present paper aims to fill this gap in the literature by evolving an analytical framework that is able to capture the strands of Islamic culture in the tapestry of political discourse and draw attention to their discursive purposes and manipulative potentials.

Thus, this paper aims to search for the use of the different linguaculture dimensions in the discourse of the Islamic party. Furthermore, it attempts to elucidate how these dimensions can illustrate the features of the discourse of the Islamic party. Then, it pursues the meaning construction in these discourses to account for religious culture in political discourses, using Risager's (2012) foresight on linguacultural dimensions (Risager, *Linguaculture and Transnationality: The Cultural Dimensions of Language*, 2012). Finally, the paper handles the following research questions: 1. How is the nexus of religious culture and political language realized in the discourses under study? 2. How does culture form and specify the content, nature, and features of the language political figures use? 3. Which of the three dimensions of linguaculture is more crucial in the discourses under study?

To achieve its aims and answer research questions, the paper is structured as follows: a theoretical background for linguaculture and its dimensions are provided in Section 2. The data collection procedure and the methodology employed in the paper are represented in Section 3. Based on Risager's (2012), the texts will be analyzed qualitatively and quantitatively in Section 4. Finally, the analysis results for all the linguacultural dimensions and their subcategories used in the two texts are illustrated in Section 5.

2. Theoretical Background

Linguaculture (or languaculture) is a concept that refers to the interference between language and culture. This concept portrays two relations: the first is that *lingua* is about discourse; the second is that *culture* is about meanings (Ager, 1994). Ager talked about *linguaculture*, in which culture is knowledge encoded through lexically labeled categories. In other words, Ager shows the linguistic and anthropological basis for the connection between language and culture, particularly in correlation with linguistic relativity (Ager, 1994). The nexus of language and culture can be described

as the social–anthropological /sociolinguistic approach, affected by the work of some scholars, such as (Ager, 1994) and (Risager, Language and Culture: Global Flows and Local Complexity , 2006), who further develop the concept of linguaculture. Risager tries to demystify the idea of linguaculture to make it easy to apply to the text analysis. She adds two dimensions to the one that has already existed by Agar, as mentioned by Sharifian (Sharifian, 2013). Since then, the term linguaculture has spread in several fields of language studies, such as language teaching and learning and sociocultural linguistics, as argued by Risager (Risager, Linguaculture and Transnationality: The Cultural Dimensions of Language, 2012, p. 101). However, in the scope of linguaculture, three dimensions are recognized to illustrate this concept. These dimensions are meaning, poetics and identity.

2.1 Linguacultural Dimensions

The concept of linguaculture emphasizes cross–cultural semantics and intercultural pragmatics. Recently, the idea of linguaculture has led to the expansion of this notion by Risager (2012). Risager (2012) enhances two other dimensions, the poetics potential of language and the identity construction potential dimension of language, to the already existing one that Agar (1994) points out, highlighting meaning. Simultaneously, these dimensions encompass the full range of culturality of a language.

2.1.1 Meaning Potential

Meaning is at the heart of any approach to linguaculture. The concept of meaning potential may be defined as the meaning of lexical items and grammatical constructions that provide the set of semantic properties simultaneously combined with contextual factors, consisting of linguistic co–text and various situational conditions. This enables language users to interpret items and constructions suitable

for context of situations (Norén, K. & Linell, P, 2007, p. 389). Meaning potential is mostly tackled at the semantic and pragmatic levels (Fauconnier, G., & M. Turner, 2003); (Croft, W., & A. Cruse, 2004); (Bezuidenhout, 2002); (Recanati, 2004). The crucial aspects of semantic perspective, a progressively important area in semantic theory: are modality and sentence type. Arabic does not possess a distinct class of modal verbs with well-defined distinctions. Modal meaning can be realized by particles, phrases, and lexical verbs (Khalil, 1999, p. 215). Arabic involves epistemic and deontic modalities, which are the most significant categories of modality. Deontic modality relates to the use of language to show desires, wants, commands, obligations, and permissions. It shares a great deal with performatives (El-Hassan, 1990, p. 158). However, the epistemic modality differs from the English one since eleven modal markers in Arabic can convey one type of epistemic modality. Another critical aspect of semantic meaning is the sentence types (Lyons, 1968). Arabic has the following main types of sentences: declarative, interrogative, exclamatory and imperative sentences (Khalil, 1999).

Arab linguists differentiate the meaning of utterance as either constative (Al-Khabar الألوسي ، جمال الدين وعبد الرضا صادق، ١٩٦١، (الإنشاء Al-Inshaa) or performative (الخبر) (الصفحات ٩٩-١٠١). A constative is an utterance that provides itself to truth-falsehood values (المطلوب، أحمد والبصير، كامل حسن ، ١٩٨٢ , p. 106). In other words, a constative is an utterance that can be assessed based on truth-falsehood values and agrees to the world's facts, which means the world facts have to be required to recognize as long as an utterance is true or false (المطلوب، أحمد والبصير، كامل حسن، ١٩٩٩ , p. 105). Unlike constatives, performatives resemble something "newly born" by the addresser; thus, the practice of fit begins after the creation of the utterance. In other words, performative does not assess itself to be true or false since it does not have a world or "reality" to fit (Nahla, 1990, p. 81). The speech act theory in Arabic is carried out directly or indirectly, yet Arabic depicts the indirectness in terms of "violating the literal

meaning". Besides, Arabic has no separate classification of indirect speech acts; most of the studies of speech acts depend on English one, which was presented by Searle (AL-Hindawi, F H; Al-Masu'di, H.H. & Fua'd Mirza, R., 2014, p. 35). Indeed, Searle's classification is more directed to the real world. Then, all acts of speaking carry out something in the world, and these acts have illocutionary aspects (Mey, 2001, p. 125). The five types of speech acts are (Searle, Expression and Meaning: Studies in The Theory of Speech Acts , 1979, pp. 12-20):

1. Representatives (*or assertive*)

These speech acts commit the speaker to the truth of the stated proposition and transmit a truth value. They convey the speaker's belief.

2. Directives are speech acts that signify attempts by the speaker to make the addressee do something. They express the speaker's desire for the addressee to do something.

3. Commissives are speech acts that commit the speaker to the future course of action. They refer to the speaker's intention of doing something.

4. Expressives are speech acts that convey the speaker's psychological attitude or state, such as joy, sorrow, and likes/dislikes.

5. Declarations are speech acts that effect instant changes in the current state of affairs. Since they tend to base on particular extralinguistic institutions for their successful performance, they might be named 'institutionalized performatives.'

2.1.2 Poetic Potential

The poetics of language handles the essence of meaning formed by utilizing the interaction between form and content in a language (Risager, *Linguaculture and Transnationality: The Cultural Dimensions of Language*, 2012, p. 108). The aesthetic theory of foregrounding or 'deautomatisation' allows us to realize the orientations to transparent and mysterious merits of prose style (Leech, J. & Short, M, 2007, p. 22). Foregrounding is one of the textual strategies that can be created by consuming two strategies: deviation, which depends on stylistic irregularities, and parallelism, which depends on stylistic over-regularities (Wales, 2011, p.144).

2.1.3 Identity Construction Potential

The identity dimension of language is associated with social and personal variations of language. Anyone can identify him/herself according to his/her background information and attitudes (Risager, *Linguaculture and Transnationality: The Cultural Dimensions of Language*, 2012, p. 108). As Le Page and Keller (1985) argue that linguistic practice is a succession of acts of identity (Le Page, R. B., & Tabouret-Keller, A, 1985). Identity can be a personal, social construct, and mental representation (Van Dijk, 1998). One has to think of mental representations that can be socially shared and personal models that can be related to personal experiences. The present paper tries to explain identity construction according to the ideological square adopted by van Dijk (Van Dijk, 1998).

Van Dijk (1998) presents a precious analytical framework that he labels as an "ideological square". It expresses the crucial features of representing group members, how these group members see themselves, and how they see others (Van Dijk, 1998). There are two strategies: positive "in-group" and negative "out-group"

descriptions. The polarization can be conveyed by all the linguistic dimensions of a text that can be interpreted as being one of the following strategies:

1. Positive–Self presentation: representing the members who are in–group in a positive manner, through discourse, by emphasizing their positive and de–emphasizing their negative characteristics, and
2. Negative–Other presentation: It represents the members who are negatively out–groups through discourse by emphasizing their negative and de–emphasizing their positive characteristics (Daghigh, A., & Sanatifar, M. S., & Awang, R., 2018, pp. 1–2).

3. Data and Methodology

On the basis of the current study's aims, the method that approves the analysis of this study is a mixed method of inquiry to get better far–sightedness and reinforce qualitative findings with quantitative results; hence, each approach delivers discrete information. It is critical to highlight why the use of Risager's modal is more feasible for studying this linguistic phenomenon, as it distributes a nuanced description of how language and culture can be closely attached. Mainly, the present paper tackles the effect of religious culture on the verbal communication used by politicians in Arabic discourses.

Conjointly, political and religious discourses apply facts and figures to persuade and increase credibility. So, relying on the context and the individual's personality, the linguistic structure of the text is formed, which generates an atmosphere for attaining goals beyond every speech: to change, succeed, motivate, persuade, or stimulate the audience (Fox, 1999, p. 1). In the present paper, this structural influence between politics and religion is represented by focusing on discourses produced by religion–

based political party in Arabic-speaking culture. The chosen political party in Iraq is The Islamic Daawa Party.

The Islamic Daawa Party (IDP) in Iraq is the largest party with a predominantly Shiite constituency. In 1957, the first core of the Islamic Daawa Party was established in the form of a body consisting of eight members. Furthermore, Muhammad Baqir al-Sadr had a significant role in the party's leadership committee, which was formed to establish an intellectual balance within a political arena that was dominated by communism, secularism, and Arab nationalism. The party's name came from the nature of its work and the legal duty to call people to Islam, and since this call is a movement in society, an organization of work, and partisanship for Allah, this entity was called the "Islamic Daawa Party." The Daawa entered into bloody conflicts with the Baath regime, and extreme cruelty was practiced against its members. The most important was the law of executing preachers retroactively; it was perhaps the only law in life enacted by a state. The party emerged to the surface of Iraqi politics in the seventies when it launched an armed campaign against the Iraqi government and the ruling party, the Arab Socialist Baath Party. The Daawa Party believes that power should be centralized in the hands of the nation. The Founding Stage and Beyond (1957-1961) Mr. Muhammad Baqir al-Sadr, then Abd al-Sahib Dakhil, then Mr. Mahdi al-Hakim, ... and now Nouri al-Maliki.

The goal that the Islamic Daawa Party set for itself from the beginning is represented in changing the reality of human society into an Islamic reality by changing concepts, behavior, customs, and relationships at all levels based on Islamic faith and moral bonds and replacing artificial laws with Islamic law to fulfill God's will (Iraq, 2023)(<http://islamicdawaparty.org/>).

The analysis of the Arabic political discourses will be performed according to the eclectic model and by following steps:

1. At the first dimension, meaning potential, the analysis will be done under Semantic and Pragmatic levels.
 - a. At the semantic level of meaning, the selected discourses highlight the notable use of the modality and the sentence type. This study will deal with modality by its major types of deontic and epistemic modalities, while sentence types will be undertaken through its four major sentence types, which are declarative, imperative, exclamative, and interrogative sentences.
 - b. At the pragmatic level of meaning, this paper will carry out speech act theory according to Searle's taxonomy of speech acts. This taxonomy consists of five types of speech acts: representatives, directives, commissives, expressive and declarations (Searle, A Taxonomy of Illocutionary Acts. Language, Mind, and Knowledge, Minneapolis Studies, 1975).
2. At the second dimension, poetic potential, the analysis will be done by identifying the foregrounding phenomenon. Foregrounding can be formed by using two stylistic strategies: deviation and Parallelism.
3. At the third dimension, the identity construction potential, the analysis will be done according to the ideological square adopted by van Dijk (Van Dijk, 1998).

4. Data Analysis

4.1 Meaning Potential

4.1.1. Semantic Meaning

A. Modality

“انتنّ فخر العراق ومن يتوجب علينا الاحتفاء بهن كل عام”

[You are the pride of Iraq and the ones we should celebrate every year]

The lexical expression 'من يتوجب' (should) is used to express deontic modality (more especially necessity) in this utterance. The speaker offers congratulations and blessings to all the women of Iraq, especially the mothers, daughters, wives, and sisters of the martyrs. Those women lost their men and were patient with their loss for the sake of the freedom of Iraq and for the Iraqi people to live in dignity. Therefore, every Iraqi must celebrate and thank them every year.

”بغية تقويم ومراجعة أدائه في المدة الزمنية بين المؤتمرات، وتحديد استراتيجيته للمرحلة المقبلة“

[In order to evaluate and review its performance in the period between the two conferences and determine its strategy for the next stage]

The lexical expression 'بغية' (in order to) is used to express deontic modality (more specifically, intention) in this utterance. This is done in order to assess and reconsider the party's performance during the previous period and attempt to develop the party's strategy according to the current stage's needs. The conference members want to improve the party's achievement under the slogan: "بهويتنا الإسلامية ... نواجهه" (With our Islamic identity, we face challenges and build the homeland.)

"وأهاب المؤتمرين بالقوى والأحزاب والتيارات الإسلامية العمل معاً، من أجل حماية العملية السياسية ومخرجاتها"

[The conferees called upon the Islamic blocs, parties, and movements to protect the political process and its outcomes.]

The epistemic modality 'وأهاب' (called upon) is employed to convey the possibility of collective action between various political forces. The conferees call for cooperation between the partners of the political process in order to support, protect, and maintain security in the political arena and not to be alone in political decisions

since exclusivity in political decision-making is considered a hybrid state for a pluralistic society.

Table (1): Results of Modality

Types of Modality	Frequency	Percentage%
Deontic Modality	24	80%
Epistemic Modality	6	20%
Total	30	100%

As shown in Table (1), the frequency of modality in Arabic texts illustrates that the speakers use deontic modality (24) times at (80%) while they use epistemic modality (6) times making (20%). These percentages show that Iraqi politicians, with their speeches, try to commit themselves to performing the demands of the people to advance the reality of society and to live up to the expectations of the general public that gave them confidence in the elections via using the deontic modality.

B. Sentence Types

قُلْ هَذِهِ سَبِيلِي أَدْعُو إِلَى اللَّهِ عَلَى بَصِيرَةٍ أَنَا وَمَنِ اتَّبَعَنِي وَسُبْحَانَ اللَّهِ وَمَا أَنَا مِنَ الْمُشْرِكِينَ
(يوسف ١٠٨ “)

[“Say: this is my way: I call to Allah, I and those who follow me being certain, and glory be to Allah, and I am not one of the polytheists”] Surah: Yusuf, Aaya: 108. (Shakir, 2003, p.298)

This type of sentence is imperative; it is expressed directly by using the verb of command 'قُلْ' (say) + demonstrative noun 'هَذِهِ' (this) (مبتدأ) + the noun 'سَبِيلِي' (my

way) (خبر). Allah Almighty commands His Messenger (PBUH) to tell people: This is his path, and it is the call to the testimony that there is no God but Allah alone, with no partner. With certainty and proof, he and everyone who followed him called for what the Messenger of Allah called for with insight, certainty, and legal and rational proof. The statement initiated with this *Aaya* is an instance of explicit intertextuality, where intertextual reference is made of intertextual reference to the Qur'anic text. The selected *Aaya* sat well with the context of the statement to express the way or method that the party will follow in the new phase and clarify the goals and tasks that its members should carry out in order to meet the reasonable expectations of the popular base that gave it confidence in the parliamentary elections.

In addition, the use of the exclamative sentence “ وَسُبِّحَ لِلَّهِ وَمَا أَنَا مِنْ ” (and glory be to Allah, and I am not one of the polytheists). The expression 'سُبِّحَ لِلَّهِ' (glory be to Allah) comes with two meanings, one of which is linked to the other as a requirement: The first is astonishment, and the other is honesty. Being astonished at their polytheism requires Allah Almighty to distance himself from it, so the presumption of astonishment is (And I am not one of the polytheists). The conference participants want to express their honesty in making changes that people hope to achieve in Iraqi society. This intertextual reference of the Qur'anic text is recontextualized the *Aaya* from its original historical context to a new context where the conferees try to express the integrity and honesty of the party members in carrying out their work tasks that serve the interest of society.

“ ان القضية الفلسطينية تبقى حية في ضمير كل حر وشريف ”

[The Palestinian issue remains alive in the conscience of every free and honorable person.]

This type of sentence is a declarative one in its form with the illocutionary force of state. In the Arabic language, a declarative sentence can be a nominal one. It initiates with a particle 'القضية' + 'ان' (issue) which is the noun of the nominal sentence + the predicate 'الفلسطينية تبقى حية في ضمير كل حر وشريف' (the Palestinian issue remains alive in the conscience of every free and honorable person). The attempt at normalization by some politicians with Israel usurps the Palestinian lands without any justification. The Palestinian issue is a humanitarian catastrophe before being a religious one because Zionists colonized Palestinian lands and killed people. Even children are not spared from their oppression, in addition to their control over the first of the two qiblahs for Muslims, Al-Aqsa Mosque. The participants stress that the Palestinian issue is the issue of everyone who has honor and Islamic morals.

ومن اجل ان نحيا "ونستذكر في هذا اليوم النساء الشهيديات العراقيات اللواتي قدمن ارواحهن في سبيل الله بكرامة"

[On this day, we remember the Iraqi women martyrs who sacrificed their lives for the sake of God and us to make us live in dignity.]

This type of sentence is a declarative one in its form with the illocutionary force of the statement. In Arabic, a declarative sentence can be a verbal sentence. It includes the verb 'نستذكر' (remember) + the predicate 'في هذا اليوم النساء الشهيديات العراقيات' (we remember the Iraqi women martyrs). The speaker refers to the sacrifices of Iraqi women martyrs for our Iraqi society to live in dignity, and they deserve our appreciation.

Table (2): Results of Sentence Types

Sentence Types	Frequency	Percentage
Declaratives	100	96.2 %

Imperatives	3	2.8%
Exclamations	1	1%
Total	104	100

Regarding sentence type, Table (2) demonstrates that the total number of sentence types in the Arabic texts is (104). The declarative sentence is repeated (100) times at (96.2%). Furthermore, the imperative sentence is employed (3) times at (2.8%). Over and above, the exclamatory sentence is also used (1) time at (1%). These percentages indicate that the speakers use declarative sentences to pass on information about the Islamic Daawa party and its achievement as one of the leading historical parties, capable of providing demands of the masses who have given their trust to the party.

4.1.2 Pragmatic Meaning: Speech Act

"وأكد المؤتمرين الدعوة ولاءهم للمرجعية الدينية العليا المتمثلة بسماحة الامام السيد علي السيستاني -دامت بركاته- باعتبارها القيادة الشرعية للامة"

[The conferees reaffirmed their allegiance to the supreme religious authority represented by His Eminence Imam Sayyid Ali al-Sistani – may his blessings last – as the legitimate leadership of the nation.]

The representative speech act is used in this utterance to express an assertion. The declarative sentence type of utterance is employed as an indicating device for the representative illocution of the utterance and using expressions 'وأكد المؤتمرين' (The conferees reaffirmed). The preachers of the conference affirm their

loyalty to the religious authority, appreciating its significant role in eliminating strife in Iraq. It is a duty to obey as it is the legitimate leadership at the level of Iraq, mainly because it seeks to achieve justice and love among the components of the Iraqi people.

"وقد جدد المؤتمر بالإجماع الثقة بالأخ الداعية الأستاذ نوري المالكي أميناً عاماً للحزب، وانتخب مجلس شورى الدعوة بالاقتراع السري المباشر"

[The conferees unanimously renewed confidence in the brother preacher, Mr. Nouri al-Maliki, as Secretary-General of the party, and the Daawa Shura Council was elected by direct secret ballot.]

The declaration speech act is used in this utterance to declare the renewal of confidence in the Secretary-General of the party and announce the election of the Daawa Shura Council by using expressions such as 'جدد' (renewed) and 'الثقة' (confidence). One of the most essential purposes of holding the conference is the election of the Shura Council, whose duty, in its first session, is to elect the leadership according to the party's bylaws. These procedures distribute roles and tasks among party members in a way that serves the public interest.

"بمناسبة اليوم العالمي للمرأة نتقدم بأزكى التهاني لنساء العراق الشامخات ولأمهات وبنات وأخوات وزوجات الشهداء الصابرات"

[On the occasion of International Women's Day, we extend our warmest congratulations to the proud women of Iraq and the patient mothers, daughters, sisters, and wives of the martyrs.]

This utterance can be fruitfully manipulated to indicate the expressive speech act of congratulating. Expressive illocution of utterance is indexed by using the expressions 'بأزكى التهاني' (our warmest congratulations). The Women's Office of the Islamic Daawa Party extends its congratulations and blessings on the occasion of International Women's Day to Iraqi women, especially the mothers, wives, daughters, and sisters of the martyrs who sacrificed themselves for the freedom and dignity of Iraq.

"ونهبب بالمجتمع أن يتيح للمرأة الواعية الفسحة الاجتماعية والفرص المتكافئة لتنهض بدورها الريادي الرسالي"

[We call upon the society to provide cultured woman with social space and equal opportunities to fulfill her pioneering missionary role.]

This utterance is employed to perform a directive speech act of request. The directive illocution of utterance refers to the speaker's intention to trigger a future manner of action on the part of the addressee via the expression 'ونهبب' (we call upon). The speaker is aware of the importance of women's role in building society, so he demands that society gives adequate and equivalent opportunities to women in order to perform their missionary role in building society.

"مما يفرض على الحكومة والمؤسسات والمنابر الإسلامية التصدي لهذا الانزلاق الخطير قبل السقوط في هاوية الانحراف"

[That obliges the government, institutions, and Islamic platforms to confront this dangerous slide before falling into the abyss of deviation.]

The commissive speech act is employed in this utterance to show the pledge. The illocutionary force indicating devices categorize the commissive illocution of the

utterance. These devices consist of using the present tense, declarative mode, and the expression 'مما يفرض' (obliges). One of the critical topics that the conference participants discussed is freedom of expression. However, some hybrid customs in our Iraqi society expose the identity of security, community values, and public morals to a threat under the name of freedom of expression, which requires the government and all religious institutions to confront this phenomenon to keep society from falling into disarray, deviation, and the undesirable consequences.

Table (3): Results of Speech Acts

Speech Acts	Frequency	Percentage %
Representatives	35	56.5%
Commissives	11	17.7%
Expressives	9	14.5%
Directives	6	9.7%
Declarations	1	1.6%
Total	62	100%

It can be inferred from the Table above that the total number of speech acts in Arabic texts is (62). The speakers employ a representative speech act (35) times highly (56.5%) percentage. The commissive speech acts are used (11) times, scoring (17.7%). Furthermore, the expressive acts have been used (9) times, making (14.5%). Indeed, the directive acts are employed (6) times at (9.7%). Over and above, the declaration acts are used (1) times at (1.6%). These percentages show

representative acts with the highest frequency among other speech acts since the speakers try to assert or state some plans and goals of the Al-Daawa Islamic party. They employ directive speech acts in order to command, request such as the conferees showing their request from other Islamic parties and movements to work together in order to build a robust Iraqi state and reveal their ideas and attitudes to the masses. Furthermore, commissive speech acts are used for promising and refusing actions, such as the situation of the Islamic Daawa party in rejecting any interference in the affairs of countries in the region. They also utilize expressive speech acts to show praise, thank feelings, and criticize some situations. Finally, they use the Declaration Speech Act to renew confidence in some party members.

4.2 Poetic Potential: Foregrounding

4.2.1 Deviation

"وفي أجواء حرة مفعمة بالحماس، وبشعور عال بالمسؤولية الشرعية والسياسية والوطنية جرى تبادل الافكار"

[In a free atmosphere full of enthusiasm and with a high sense of legal, political, and national responsibility, ideas were exchanged.]

The conferees use fronting via placing the preposition phrase and its complement 'وفي أجواء حرة مفعمة بالحماس، وبشعور عال بالمسؤولية الشرعية والسياسية والوطنية' (In a free atmosphere full of enthusiasm, and with a high sense of legal, political, and national responsibility) before the verbal sentence 'جرى تبادل الافكار' (ideas were exchanged) in order to make readers live the atmosphere of the conference as if they were present with the participants in the conference, step by step. Therefore, they began by describing the atmosphere and the enthusiasm that characterized the conference, and then, they started presenting the ideas to be discussed. Furthermore,

this change in syntactic form makes the sentence more concise. This is called grammatical deviation.

"وقد انبثق هذا النظام الجديد بعد تضحيات سخية، وجهاد مرير وشرس مع أعتى طاغية"

[This new regime emerged after generous sacrifices and a bitter and fierce struggle against the most powerful tyrant.]

A personification is used to express semantic deviation. The term 'النظام الجديد' (new regime) is described as a human being who can make sacrifices and struggle bitterly to be able to appear on the political scene. The emergence of this regime was achieved by the hands of the heroes who defended and gave everything precious for the sake of salvation from the most potent tyrants, and abandoning it meant betraying the blood of the martyrs and neglecting the interests of the Iraqi people.

"وأكد المؤتمرين أنه مهما تعقدت الظروف وتكالبت القوى الخارجية وزادت ضراوة التنافس والمعارك فإن الدعوة يزدادون إصرارا على التمسك بنهجهم الأصيل"

[The conferees stressed that no matter how to complicate the circumstances become, the external forces that struggle, and the fierceness of the competition and battles, the preachers are becoming more and more determined to adhere to their original approach.]

The shift occurs from past tense to present one to convey the remarkable action that continues to take place at present. The attendees affirm that the straight Islamic approach drawn up by Mr. Muhammad Baqir al-Sadr – may God Almighty be pleased with him – is their approach to dealing with circumstances and issues, even if they increase due to the intervention of external forces, they are continuing to

achieve their goals that aspire to. This type of addressivity is used to show grammatical deviation. Furthermore, the metonymical expression 'الدعاة' (the preachers) is utilized to convey semantic deviation. The leaders of the Daawa Party have been referred to as the preachers who insist on their straight Islamic line, which they inherited from their leader and founder, the martyr Mr. Muhammad Baqir al-Sadr.

"[A good woman is the pillar of a stable society.] المرأة الصالحة عماد المجتمع المستقر"

The metaphorical expressions 'عماد المجتمع المستقر' (the pillar of a stable society) are employed to show semantic deviation. The speaker describes the good woman as the basic substrate to build a community by paying attention to and educating children to preserve Islamic and national identity.

"ونستذكر حرائر العراق من ضحايا داعش الارهابي اللاتي تعرضن للسبي او القتل والبيع في سوق النخاسة بعيدا عن القيم الاجتماعية والانسانية"

[We remember the free women of Iraq who were the victims of the terrorist ISIS, who were subjected to captivity, murder, and enslavement, away from social and humanitarian values.]

The metonymical expression 'حرائر' (free women) is a form of semantic deviation. The speaker refers to Iraqi women with the term free women to describe women who, as victims of the terrorist organization ISIS, were subjected to torture, captivity, killing, and enslavement to be sold in the slave market. The actions of ISIS in Iraq and the rest of the world are against human rights.

Table (4): Results of Deviation

Types of Deviation	Frequency	Percentage %
Semantic Deviation	19	57.6%
Grammatical Deviation	14	42.4%
Total	33	100%

As shown in Table (4), the frequency of deviation in the Arabic texts that show the total number of deviations used is (33) times. The semantic deviation has been used (19) times at (57.6%). Moreover, the grammatical deviation has been used (14) times scored (42.4%). These percentages show that the speakers use tropes as a form of semantic deviation to emphasize certain content. Over and above, the grammatical deviation (more especially addressivity and fronting) is used to draw readers' attention to specific issues.

4.2.2 Parallelism

"ثم تُليّ تقرير القيادة الذي استعرض حصيلة عملها خلال الدورة المنصرمة، والإنجازات التي حققتها، والعقبات التي اعترضت سبيلها، والظروف الضاغطة التي أحاطت بعملها، وحالت دون تحقيق كل ما كانت تصبو إليه"

[Then the leadership report was read out; the report reviewed the outcome of its work during the previous session, the achievements that had been achieved, the obstacles that stood in its way, and the stressful circumstances that surrounded its work and prevented it from achieving everything it aspired to.]

Grammatical parallelism is employed by using the parallel structure of the clauses (noun phrase + relative pronoun + verb phrase). The clauses are 'والإنجازات' (the achievements that had been achieved), 'والعقبات التي اعترضت سبيلها' (the obstacles that stood in its way) and 'والظروف الضاغطة التي أحاطت بعملها' (the stressful circumstances that surrounded its work). The conferees use this type of Parallelism to emphasize a specific idea to evaluate the party's performance during the past period and to find a new strategy that is compatible with the economic, social, and regional developments of the new stage. The participants want to benefit from previous experiences, whether they were successful, which the conferees described as achievements, or obstacles that hindered the attainment of the goals that the party is seeking to achieve and to avoid these obstacles in the future. The participants indicate the hopes placed on this conference to bring about a qualitative shift in the party's performance and develop a new path for its work.

“وندد المؤتمرين بمحاولات التطبيع العلنية أو الخفية مع الكيان الصهيوني الغاصب”

[The conferees condemned the overt or covert attempts at normalization with the usurping Zionist entity.]

This utterance involves antithesis, which consists of opposing words 'العلنية' (overt) and 'الخفية' (covert). Semantic Parallelism has occurred to emphasize a specific idea. The conference participants denounced and rejected attempts to normalize relations with Israel, whether publicly or secretly, by some members of the Iraqi Council of Representatives. They stressed the importance of protecting Iraqi society from this usurping entity.

قُلْ هَذِهِ سَبِيلِي أَدْعُو إِلَى اللَّهِ عَلَى بَصِيرَةٍ أَنَا وَمَنِ اتَّبَعَنِي وَسُبْحَانَ اللَّهِ وَمَا أَنَا مِنَ
 (108) يوسف “ (آل مُمَشَّرِكِينَ

["Say: this is my way: I call to Allah, I and those who follow me being certain, and glory be to Allah, and I am not one of the polytheists"] Surah: Yusuf, Aaya: 108. (Shakir, 2003, p.298)

The conferees try to support their actions and express the party's Islamic identity by initiating their discourse via intertextual reference to the Qur'anic text. Furthermore, this reference to the Qur'anic text is also used at the end of the discourse in line number 90 "وَقُلْ اَعْمَلُوا فَسَيَرَى اللّٰهُ عَمَلَكُمْ وَرَسُولُهُ وَالْمُؤْمِنُونَ" (التوبه ١٠٥) *"And say: work; so Allah will see your work and (so will) His Messenger and the believers"* Surah: Al-Tawbah, Aaya: 105(Shakir, 2003, p.252). Each reference is situated well within the discourse context to receive a positive response from the masses.)

"بمناسبة اليوم العالمي للمرأة نتقدم بأزكى التهاني لنساء العراق الشامخات ولأمهات وبنات وأخوات وزوجات الشهداء الصابرات"

[On the occasion of International Women's Day, we extend our warmest congratulations to the proud women of Iraq and the patient mothers, daughters, sisters, and wives of the martyrs.]

The grammatical parallelism arises by repeating the parallel structure of these clauses 'العراق الشامخات' (the proud women of Iraq) and 'وزوجات الشهداء الصابرات' (and wives of the martyrs). Not only uses grammatical parallelism but also semantic parallelism occurs by repeating these words 'الأمهات وبنات وأخوات وزوجات' (patient mothers, daughters, sisters, and wives). The speaker repeats these words to assert the sense that the first one had lost her son 'الأمهات' (the mothers), the second one had lost her father 'بنات' (daughters), the third one had lost her brother 'أخوات' (sisters), and the fourth had lost her husband 'زوجات' (wives); they had lost their life support. So, the speaker wants to congratulate them on this occasion in order to show that the party

does not forget those who sacrificed themselves for Iraq, leaving behind their families.

Table (5): Results of Parallelism

Types of Parallelism	Frequency	Percentage %
Grammatical Parallelism	11	84,6%
Semantic Parallelism	2	15.4%
Total	13	100%

The table (5) illustrates that the total number of parallelisms in Arabic texts is (13). Grammatical Parallelism is employed (11) times making (84.6%), while semantic Parallelism is used (2) times making (15.4%). Arabic speakers utilize Parallelism to heighten the sentence structure and add consistency to the content of the texts.

4.3 Identity Potential Construction

"ونقدّر عالياً دوركّ الريادي في بناء الاسرة الصالحة وتربية الاجيال"

[We highly appreciate your leading role in building a good family and raising generations.]

The speaker attracts in a positive way how the party deals with and appreciates the role of Iraqi women in building families and raising generations that contribute to building Iraqi society. She uses the strategy of "emphasizing our good presentation) to show the party's interest in an essential component of society, which is women, because they are considered half of society.

"ونستذكر حرائر العراق من ضحايا داعش الارهابي اللاتي تعرضن للسبي او القتل والبيع في سوق النخاسة بعيدا عن القيم الاجتماعية والانسانية"

[We remember the free women of Iraq who were the victims of the terrorist ISIS, who were subjected to captivity, murder, and enslavement, far from social and humanitarian values.]

The speaker condemns the actions of the terrorist organization ISIS by emphasizing the bad information by mentioning their lousy treatment of Iraqi women who were subjected to ill-treatment, including killing, captivity, and selling, such as slaves in the markets. The speaker recalls these painful events about what Iraqi women were subjected to in this dark era and offers praise and appreciation to Iraqi women who gave their precious to build Iraq.

"ثم تُلي تقرير القيادة الذي استعرض حصيلة عملها خلال الدورة المنصرمة، والإنجازات التي حققتها، والعقبات التي اعترضت سبيلها، والظروف الضاغطة التي أحاطت بعملها، وحالت دون تحقيق كل ما كانت تصبو اليه"

[Then the leadership report was read out; the report reviewed the outcome of its work during the previous session, the achievements that had been achieved, the obstacles

that stood in its way, and the stressful circumstances that surrounded its work and prevented it from achieving everything it aspired to.]

The conferees try to justify the party not performing some of its important work under the pretext of the emergence of obstacles and circumstances that affected the party's performance, which led to the failure to accomplish what the party wanted to achieve in terms of plans and projects that are in the interest of the public. The conferees employ the strategy of "de-emphasizing our bad presentation" to give grounds for not performing some work.

Table (6): Results of Ideological Square Strategies

Ideological Square Strategies	Frequency	Percentage %
Emphasize our good presentation	13	65%
Emphasize other bad presentation	6	30%
De-emphasize our bad presentation	1	5%
Total	20	100%

As shown in table (6), the frequency of the Ideological Square in Arabic texts shows that the first strategy, "Emphasize our good presentation" is utilized (13) times at (65%) and the second one "Emphasize other bad presentation" is used (6) times scoring (30%). Moreover, the third strategy "De-emphasize our bad presentation" is utilized (1) time making (5%). The speakers represent themselves as in-group by

emphasizing the Islamic Daawa Party's positive actions and de-emphasizing its negative ones. Furthermore, they represent others who are out-group by emphasizing their negative actions.

5. Conclusion

In accordance with the linguacultural analysis , the paper infers that Arabic politicians use some critical aspects of linguistic phenomena to express their perspectives and pass on agendas. They are tackled in detail throughout the following points:

1. At the semantic level, the deontic modality is utilized to highlight the parties' future plans. Indeed, the Arabic-speaking party uses the deontic modality more frequently than the epistemic one; subsequently, the members attempt to persuade the masses by committing themselves to carry out the promises and demands that people need. However, IDP uses declaratives rather than other types of sentences as the speakers try to assert or report some facts about their party. They would like to convey some information about the party, such as its values, ideologies, and plans. Then, the Arabic sentences display a higher standard deviation of sentence length. It might be ascribed to the intense compounding where sentences hold onto being freely attached by coordinators (especially with 'و' 'and' particle) since Arab conceptual knowledge is categorized as additive conceptual knowledge. This knowledge grows the linear sequential flow of information.

2. At the pragmatic level, the speakers use representative speech acts, which are the most frequently prevailing types in IDP discourses. This type of speech act is used to assert or state some plans and goals of the party.

3. At the poetic level, the speakers use tropes (metaphor and metonymy) as a form of semantic deviation to emphasize certain content. The grammatical deviation (more especially addressivity and fronting) is also used to draw readers' attention to specific issues. IDP employs parallelism, whether grammatical or semantic, to form an influence of similar ideas in a sentence. The speakers utilize parallelism to enhance sentence structure balance and support creating coherent and consistent content. Furthermore, the analysis shows a more prominent effect of religious culture on the verbal communication of politicians in Arabic texts. Politicians employ intertextual references to the Qur'anic text through their texts to legitimize the party's actions.

4. There is a tendency in Arabic texts to use the past tense to express the present events because Arab public speakers tend to use narrative style to present their ideas and concepts in an attempt to mimic the Quranic style. Relying heavily on narrative style suggests a power imbalance between the political speakers and their audience.

5. At Identity Potential Construction, Arabic politicians attempt to highlight the positive activities of those whom the politicians consider in-group (their party) by employing the strategies of "emphasize our good presentation" and "de-emphasize our bad presentation". On the other hand, they represent out-group (the other politicians) in the style of emphasizing the negative actions via using the strategies of, "emphasize other bad presentation" and "de-emphasize other good presentations". They use these strategies to address a particular audience and establish alignment. Over and above, the speakers attempt to construct well-defined identities.

Additionally, it can be supposed that religious culture has a noticeable effect on the verbal communication of politicians in Arabic texts. Politicians utilize intertextual references to the Quranic texts through their texts to legitimate their actions and perspectives. The goal of using intertextualities, such as religious sources (The

Quranic texts) through texts, is to improve meanings to the intended meaning and to employ an authoritative source as background and support. This conclusion answers the first and the second questions.

In response to question 3, the most critical dimension of linguaculture is the poetic potential dimension as the speakers attempt to produce a form of parallelism in ideas between what they said and the religious source, which is represented by quoting examples from the Glorious Quran to convey their views, besides trying to convince the masses of their agenda.

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