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Political Discourse Analysis

Topoi in Haider Al-Abadi's Discourse during Basra Crisis in 2018

Kanaan Khudheyer Hasan (PhD)*

Tikrit University/ College of Education for Women

Email: k.hasan@tu.edu.iq

Keywords: <i>- argumentation</i> <i>-Discourse-Historical Approach</i> <i>-political discourse analysis</i> <i>-topoi</i>	Abstract Political discourses always carry various messages to the public. This can be done through many tools used by decision makers in order to manipulate or persuade the public. Topos (plural is topoi) is tool of developing argumentation in political discourse. It is a part of any political speech used either to persuade people, show the politician's upper hand or produce successful speeches. This paper will discuss the conceptualization of topoi as part of political discourse. It also studies the usage of topoi in Al-Abadi's weekly statement during Basra crisis of 2018. Protests in Basra were the most serious seen in Iraq during Al-Abadi's era because of the importance of the city as a heart of some world's largest oilfields. The paper also shows how Al-Abadi utilizes topoi in his speeches to deal with this robust crisis. Methodology of analysis will be Ruth Wodak's Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) 2011. DHA is designed to integrate systematically all the available background information in the analysis and interpretation of the many layers of written or spoken texts.
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* **Corresponding Author:** Kanaan Khudheyer Hasan (PhD), **E-Mail:** k.hasan@tu.edu.iq
Tel: +96407 , **Affiliation:** Tikrit University College/English Department -Iraq

تحليل الخطاب السياسي

مخطط الجدل في خطابات حيدر العبادي خلال أزمة البصرة عام ٢٠١٨

م.د. كنعان خضير حسن

كلية التربية للبنات - جامعة تكريت - قسم اللغة الانكليزية

<p>أالخلاصة:</p> <p>دائماً ما تحمل الخطابات السياسية رسائل مختلفة للجمهور اذ يمكن القيام بذلك من خلال العديد من الأدوات التي يستخدمها صانعو القرار من أجل التلاعب أو إقناع الجمهور. مخطط الجدل (topoi) هو أداة لتطوير الجدل في الخطاب السياسي. وهو ايضاً جزء من أي خطاب سياسي يستخدم إما لإقناع الناس أو لإظهار اليد العليا للسياسي أو لإنتاج خطابات ناجحة. يناقش هذا البحث وضع تصور للموضوعات كجزء من الخطاب السياسي. كما يدرس استخدام المخطط الجدلي في بيان العبادي الأسبوعي خلال أزمة البصرة عام ٢٠١٨. وكانت الاحتجاجات في البصرة هي الأخطر التي شهدتها العراق في عهد العبادي بسبب أهمية المدينة كقلب لبعض أكبر حقول النفط في العالم. كما يوضح البحث كيف استغل العبادي الموضوع في خطاباته للتعامل مع هذه الأزمة المستعصية. ستكون منهجية التحليل هي منهج روث ووداك التاريخي للخطاب DHA 2011. وقد تم تصميم المنهج التاريخي للخطاب من اجل دمج جميع المعلومات الأساسية المتاحة بشكل منهجي في تحليل وتفسير الطبقات العديدة من النصوص المكتوبة أو المنطوقة.</p>	<p>الكلمات الدالة:- -الجدل -الخطاب- مقترب تاريخي تحليل الخطاب السياسي</p> <p>معلومات البحث تاريخ البحث: الاستلام: ٢٠٢٠/٩/١ القبول: ٢٠٢٠/٩/ ٢٢</p> <p>التوفر على النت</p>
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INTRODUCTION

The ability to persuade public by utilizing certain tools in the political speech raises anxieties because such speeches lead to unacceptable conclusions. Since most of politicians' speeches and promises should turn to actions and decisions, reactions will take place based on those promises. In Basra, most (if not all) of the promises were not kept, 30000 people drank polluted water in addition to the shortage in many aspects of

life. This led to serious protests in the city, many actions of anger took place and even people were killed during the demonstrations. The ex-prime minister Haider Al-Abadi made various direct decisions in order to minimize the crisis and persuade the people to calm down by using the certain tools in his speeches. Topoi are among of those important tools in the political discourse. Topoi can help the politician in delivering his/her message and persuade the people with the best conclusions. To uncouple topoi inside the political text, we need to follow Roth Wodak's Discourse-Historical Approach DHA (2011) as the methodology and instrument of analysis of this paper. In order to understand the topoi, we also need to understand what is political discourse analysis first. The next sections explain the notion of Political Discourse Analysis, topoi, methodology followed in this paper and the discussions.

Political Discourse Analysis (PDA)

Politics is a struggle for power in order to put certain political economic and social beliefs into practice (De Landtsheer, 1998, p. 1). In this process, language plays a fundamental role, and every political action is prepared, accompanied, affected and played by language (Kazemian and Hashemi, 2014, p. 1180). Analyzing political discourse is both theoretically and empirically relevant. But this is done only when discourse structures can be related to properties of political structures and processes. Thus, the political information processing can be regarded as a form of political processing, because much political action and participation is accomplished by discourse and communication (Van Dijk, 2002, p. 203). This means that PDA focuses on the analysis of political discourse. Scholars regard PDA as one of the new disciplines of discourse studies. PDA, on the other hand, focuses on the analysis of political discourse. But this is not enough as Van Dijk (1997, pp. 11-4) says, because researchers still need to determine which discourse is political and which one is not. There is also more critical reading for the text as a political approach to discourse and discourse analysis, i.e. without relating PDA into contemporary CDA, both aspects would still ambiguous in designation.

PDA is both about political discourse and it is also critical enterprise. In spirit of contemporary approaches to CDA this means that critical – political discourse analysis deals specially with the reproduction of political power. This is because PDA is both political discourse and it is also a critical enterprise. When the political discourse needs to be determined as a ‘political’ or not, first of all the speaker should be determined, i.e. the ‘politician’. It is true that most of the studies of political discourse analysis deal with the text and talk of professional politicians or political institutions such as presidents, prime ministers, parliament or political parties whether they are at the local or international level. In this respect Van Dijk (1997, pp. 11-2) says:

PDA is both about political discourse and it is also critical enterprise. In spirit of contemporary approaches to CDA this means that critical – political discourse analysis deals specially with the reproduction of political power, power abuse or domination through

political discourse, including the various forms of resistance or counter – power against such forms of discursive dominant. In particular such an analysis deals with the discursive conditions and consequences of social and political inequality that result from such domination.

Moreover, Okulska and Cap (2010, pp.1-5) regard PDA as a field which has developed into a uniquely heterogeneous and fragmented domain, since it gets informed by neighboring disciplines. They prefer to call it 'Political Linguistics'. They illustrate that political linguistics is an encompassing studies of language in mainly political settings (i.e. language of/in politics) complemented by research on power positions and social perceptions of languages as means of struggle for cultural/communal superiority of dominance. Okulsk and Cap also use Analysis of Political Discourse (APD) as an interchangeable terminology with political linguistics. They have their viewpoint concerning the placing of the political language under the lens of critical research and they consider its sequences as "far-reaching". They believe that there are two reasons. First, the implementation of critical approaches into APD means that the latter gets indirectly informed by the conceptual ground-works that critical scholarship has borrowed from other disciplines. For example, the bi-directional, retrospective and prospective orientation of critical studies bridges APD with early development in linguistic pragmatics, especially as far as the relationship between the 'word' (i.e. language) and the 'world' (i.e. reality) is concerned. Second, the APD adoption of critical stance means subscribing to a careful analysis of empirical data coming from the world under study and acknowledging the status of the analyst as an active part of this world.

Language of Politics and Political Discourse

Since language is a tool for thought and verbal expression, it has two main functions: representation and processing of information about the environment and information transformed between users. The same takes place with the language of politics, but politicians use more professional language. Therefore, the concern of the relationship between language and politics is not recent (Carlson, 1985, p. 5, and Minaeva, 1998, p. 88). On the other hand, political discourse may include all forms of communication that are produced by political institutions or actors, and all forms of communication that are related to political matters. Such forms of communication like political public relations (whether they are internal or external), news, commentary, film, talk, shows, everyday talk of citizen about politics...etc., are all sites for political discourse (Muralikrishan, 2011, p. 20). Thus, Wilson (2015) illustrates that the term political discourse is a suggestive of two possibilities: "first, a discourse which is itself political; and second, an analysis of political discourse as simply an example discourse type, without explicit reference to political content or political discourse" (p. 776).

However, the power of language/discourse within politics is an important aspect in producing the political speeches. It is very clear that the political activity does not exist

without the use of language though other behaviours are involved such as physical coercion. Therefore, doing politics is predominantly constituted in language. Another important aspect in the language of politics is that political discourse is closely bound up in practice with culture, and that culture is also bound up in the practice of politics in a particular society (Chilton and Schaffner, 2002, p. 9).

What are topoi?

Topoi help the speaker to design the argumentation based on the problem s/he has. They also help in self-positive and negative-other presentation (Forchtner and Wodak, 2018, p. 143). Clarifying the notion of topoi can be done through their functions in the speeches. Topos is said to be "a point of view or an idea" in the argumentation process. Another definition that regards topoi as strategies of argumentation stressed in literature. Yet things become more complicated when we need to determine what are the(se) strategies. Although, topoi are "strategies for gaining the upper hand and producing successful speeches" (Rubinelli, 2009, p. 32). According to Wodak (2015, p. 5-7) topoi can be regarded as "search for formulas which tell you how and where to look for arguments. At the same time, topoi are warrants which guarantee the transition from argument to conclusion". Someone will wonder why topoi can be both warrants and/or ideas. "Because warrants are much more than ideas, they demand much more to be able to the transition from an argument to a conclusion than just being ideas. While ideas lack a kind of mechanism the warrants seem to poses in order to be able to connect the argument to conclusion" (Zagar, 2009, p. 48). For Krzyzanowski (2010, p. 85), topoi are "certain headings of arguments which, in a way, summarise the argument while also providing it with necessary 'skeleton' which is fleshed over by respective discourse contents. Therefore, the analysis aims to discover the links which are established in the course of analysis between the level of mapping of those contents (i.e. topics) and establish the argument schemes (i.e. *topoi*) deployed, and related to linguistic aspects". Consequently, most of the studies agree that topoi are strategies of argument utilized to persuade the people with the best conclusions or promises they offer.

Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) & Topoi

Discourse-historical Approach is outlined because it provides a robust set of discourse constructs and heuristic framework for analyzing the important topics in the political discourses in empirically systematic way (Wodak, 2013, p. 198). Discourse-historical Approach is regarded as one of the important theories in the field of critical/political discourse analysis CDA/PDA. This approach is designed by Ruth Wodak and other scholars to integrate systematically all available background information in the analysis and interpretation of many layers of a written or spoken text. DHA was designed first to describe the cases where language is used by those in power and also to trace the prejudiced discourses. Consequently, one of the most salient distinguishing features of the DHA is its endeavor to work interdisciplinarily, multi-methodologically, and on the basis of a variety of different empirical data as well as

background information (Tenerio, 2011, p. 191 and Wodak and Reisigl, 2015, p. 583). DHA is selected as the instrument of analysis in this paper because it is designed to integrate systematically all available background information in the analysis and interpretation of the many layers of written or spoken texts. According to Wodak's DHA (2011, p.42-44), *topoi* can be summarized as follows:

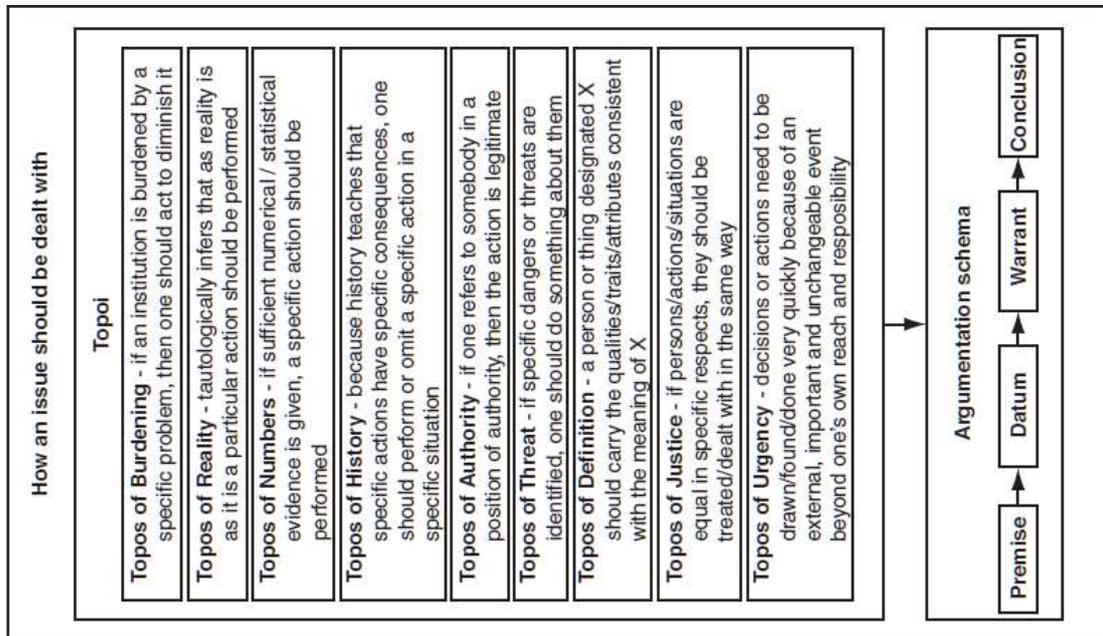
1. Topoi are part and parcel of any political speech utilized because of their persuasive function.
2. They justify positive and negative attribution through argumentation.
3. They are parts of argumentation which belong to the obligatory premises of an argument, whether the argumentation is explicit or tacit.
4. They can be described as reservoirs of generalized key ideas from which specific statements or arguments can be generated.

Since DHA is interested in analyzing the contents of argumentation schemes and stresses the importance of mapping out sound or fallacious argumentation (Posch, 2018, p. 251), topoi are tools utilized in persuasion through argumentation. Moreover, specific argumentative power and argumentative directions are produced through activating certain topoi.

Wodak (2011, p. 44) mentions *nine* topoi that the speaker may utilize to deal with issues during argumentation. All those topoi participate in self-positive and other negative presentation. This means that the speaker is able to present him/herself in a positive way and present the opponent negatively. The topoi are:

1. Topos of burdening: the speaker seeks to minimize and diminish the issues that his government or institution suffers from.
2. Topos of reality: politicians rarely talk about reality. Although, the speaker repeatedly tries to talk about reality in the political action.
3. Topos of numbers: numbers are used in justification during argument in order to support the given evidence.
4. Topos of history: history teaches that there are specific actions have specific consequences. Thus, the speaker may utilize this topos for the self-positive presentation.
5. Topos of authority: this topos legitimizes the action or decision that should be made.
6. Topos of threat: speaker sometimes rely on this topos to justify that necessary actions should be made to diminish any type of danger.
7. Topos of definition: a person or thing designated X should carry the qualities/traits/attributes consistent with the meaning of X.
8. Topos of justice: if persons/actions/situations are equal in specific respect, they should be treated/dealt with in the same way.

9. Topos of urgency: decisions are actions need to be drawn/found/done very quickly because of an external, important and unchangeable event beyond one's reach and responsibility. See the table below (ibid).



Methodology and Data

The data investigated in this study are three press conferences held by the ex-prime minister Haider Al-Abadi between August 7th and September 13th, 2018. They are taken from Iraqi Media Network channel on YouTube (imn.iq). The method of analysis applied in this research is qualitative and DHA is the instrument of analysis because DHA proposes a context-dependent approach, trying to integrate in its analysis 'all available background information', and examining each utterance in context: its analytical practice is by definition socio-historical. It also combines argumentative and discursive analysis as it explores the linguistic means mobilised by the discourse in contexts (Amossy, 2018, p. 267). Following Wodak's DHA (2011), we try to investigate the topoi that Al-Abadi had utilized in his discourse in order to persuade the public to stop demonstrating at Basra and also to mobilize support toward his government.

Conference 1: August 7, 2018

1. Topos of urgency:

['asdarra jumlatan min alqararat litahsin alkhadamat aistijabatan lilmuatinin]

"We issued a number of decisions to improve services in response to citizens."

In the aftermath of the demonstrations, the prime minister is obliged to hold a press conference to tell the people that urgent decisions are made and some corrections follow those decisions. He employs the topos of urgency in order to convince people to stop demonstrating and anger is no longer needed. He also tried to send a message to public that he and his government are able to run the country in a successful path during crises.

2. Topos of numbers:

[tama 'iihalat khmst alaf min hum bidarajat mudir am fa'aelaa 'iilaa altahqiq liaitikhadh al'ijra'at alqanuniah allazimah bihaqehim]

" Five thousand people who have the rank of general manager and above have been referred to the investigation for taking the necessary legal measures against them."

People in Basra are angry. In order to resolve people's anger, he should mention something about his fight against the corrupted people in the Iraqi government. Thus, topos of numbers is utilized through Al-Abadi's speech in order to give evidence that actions are made against fraud and corruption.

3. Topos of Threat:

[tama rafe alqudrat alqitaliat litayaran aljaysa...faqad laeib dawr muhimin fi muqatilat daeish walyawm yaleab dawr kabir fi mulahaqat khalaya al'iirhab swa' fi alsahra' wafi almanatiq ghyr alahila.]

" The fighting capacity of the army aviation has been raised ... it played an important role in fighting ISIS, and today it plays a major role in pursuing terrorist cells, both in the desert and in unpopulated areas."

Confronting terrorism is a difficult and complicated process to the Al-Abadi's government. Iraqi army is still fighting ISIS inside the cities and the unpopulated areas. Employing the topos of threat during Basra crisis is a clever move by the prime minister. He wants to show that fighting ISIS is a priority to his government and leave any other civil fights because the country needs settlement to continue pursuing the cells of terrorism. Moreover, he wishes to tell the public that he is the leader who was able to liberate the country and provide the Iraqi army with the up-to-date weapons to protect the country. This may support his campaign and his demand for a second era of being the prime minister again.

Conference 2: September 4, 2018

1. Topos of History:

Topos of history is one of the most important tools in which politicians employ to disseminate their ideology, to show their powerful actions and make decisions as well as to present themselves positively and present other negatively. It also contribute to shed light upon real situations happened in the past and give them life in the present (Forchtner, 2014, p. 19). Al-Abadi utilizes topos of history in his press conference during the crisis of Basra and how anger extended among the people as well as the acts of violence by the governmental forces which led to many victims. He says:

[jayshnaan la yastatie 'an yalja 'iilaa alqame. wahadhh myzatan walaysat def. lays biaistitaati 'ana aqmae 'abna' baldiaw 'ana 'aqtul shaebi.an hal turidun airjae masi almadi walmaqabir aljamaeiat waistikdam al'aslihat alkymyawy?]

"Our army cannot resort to repression. This is an advantage, not a weakness. I cannot suppress my own people and kill them. Do you want to bring back past tragedies, mass graves, and the use of chemical weapons?"

In the above speech, he employs history to reveal several messages. First, he asserts that the Iraqi army is peaceful and tolerant with the people and this is not a characteristic of weakness but strength. Thus, there should not be any act of repression. Second, he presents himself positively by being the leader who takes the country and people to a safe path by showing that he is not a killer. Third, he uses expressions like *I* and *my people* to deliver a message that he is one of them and they share decisions with the government in order to mobilize the public support around him. Fourth, by mentioning *mass graves* and *chemical weapons* he refers to Saddam Hussein's regime who used force and killed those who had opposite opinions and thoughts. He also presents the previous regime negatively to show how tolerant he is.

2. Topos of and threat:

It is also called the topos of danger. It is based on two conditions. First, "if a political action or decision bears specific dangerous, threatening consequences, one should not perform or do it". Second, "if there are specific dangers and threats, one should do something against them" (Wodak, 2001, p. 75). Consequently, rapid actions should be made by the prime minister. The serious crisis is endangering the whole political process and the security of Basra:

[hnalk man yurid saba alzayt ealaaalnaar hataa yuearid aman albsrt lilkhatar]

"There are those who want to put oil on the fire in order to endanger Basra's security"

[man yurid 'an yuqie bayn qawatina al'amniat baed 'an dahina kl hadhih altadhiat alkabirat lidahr al'iirhab]

"Who wants to set up between our security forces after we sacrificed all these great sacrifices to defeat terrorism?"

Al-Abadi mentions the war against terrorism and the great sacrifices of the Iraqi army and the security forces had made to defeat ISIS. He wants to remind the people that his government brought victory in the battle and he is meant to solve this issue without resorting to force or fight. Therefore, he made many important decisions.

3. Topos of authority:

Topos of authority is "highly credible official" tool of argumentation (Forchtner and Wodak, 2018, p. 139). It helps the speaker in self-positive presentation and showing powerfulness and accountability. In the aftermath, the prime minister must appear as an authoritative person who runs a bureaucratic country and presents himself as a service provider to his people. As he mentions in this conferences, many decisions had been made in order to improve the situation in the city:

[aineakas ealayna 'an alwade tahasun lkn lays fi kl almanatiq. al'usbue almedi tama alaijtimae mae maswuwli albsrt wamae maswuwli alwizarat almenybtbryasty watawasalna 'iilaa majmueat qararat]

"We had a feedback that the situation has improved, but not in all regions. Last week, a meeting took place with Basra officials and with officials from the relevant ministries, under my leadership, and we reached a set of decisions"

Since topos of authority contribute to legitimizing actions and decisions made by the prime minister, he has to appear as a responsible leader. This helps him in positive-self presentation.

4. Topos of numbers:

[almashrue sayadikhu taqribaan 200000 'alf m3 bialyawm 'iilaa almuhafazat wahi kamiyat muhimatu. hsb hisabatina almuhafazat klha tahtaj 'iilaa 520000 m3 bialyawm.]

"The project will pump approximately 200,000 m3 per day to the governorate, which is an important amount. According to our conservative calculations, the whole governorate needs 520,000 m3 per day."

In general, political discourses should be supported with some relevant statistics (Wodak and Meyer, 2009, p. 3). In this conference, A-Abadi's speeches are also characterized by numbers. He needs to empower his language to the public by providing real evidences which support his actions. Moreover, mentioning the numbers participates in positive self-presentation that he is familiar with the issues of the whole province and he is working on solving these issues.

[qarar majlis alwuzara' 'ana yadfae dafeat tawari' lishahrayn biwaqie 100000 dinar lileawayil almutaeafifat fi muhafazat albsrt bsbb shuhat almiah.]

"The Council of Ministers decided to pay an emergency payment for two months in the amount of 100,000 IQD to the needy families in Basra Governorate due to water scarcity."

He also utilizes the topos of numbers to resolve the people's anger by paying urgent money to the poor people. Citizens in Basra suffer from unemployment which is regarded as one of the critical issues in the city. Moreover, he also wishes to gain support and mobilize the public opinion around himself.

Conference 3: September 13, 2018

1. Topoi of reality and burdening:

[min khilal ziaratina almaydaniat lilmawaqiei, lm takun tilk almasharie bihajat 'iilaa takhsisat maliat kabirat walam takun bihajat 'iilaa maejazatin. hi min salahiat hukumat almuhafazat wahi 'aemal basiatat.]

"Through our field visits to the sites, these projects did not need large financial allocations and did not need a miracle. They are provincial government's authority, and they are simple actions."

Al-Abadi employs the topos of reality in positive self-presentation when he mentions his visits to the sites. Such visits help him in giving specific details about the water projects. During the conference, he mentions some details about pumps, pipes and the amount of water that the province needs. On the other hand, he utilizes the topos of burdening to attack the provincial government and blame them to be irresponsible. Spending money to repair and maintain the projects doesn't need the prime minister's approval. They already have the money and supplies. Therefore, topos of burdening helps Al-Abadi in presenting the provincial government negatively.

He also says:

[law tama alqiam bihadhih al'aemal fi alsayfi, lm yakun alhajat 'iilaa aldukhul fi hadhih al'azmat almayiyat alhada. kan hunalik nawe min altalakuw fi al'ajhizat alhukumat jamieaan dakhil albsrt wala aistathnay alwizarat alaitihadah kadhalik.]

"Had these actions been undertaken in the summer, there would have been no need to enter this severe water crisis. There was a kind of tarrying in all government sectors inside Basra, and the federal ministries were no exception as well."

He utilizes the topos of burdening again in order to show that the severe water crisis is attributed to the tarrying of the provincial government and federal ministries. He wants to tell the public that he is no dictator and leave all works to the specialists but they were not honest in serving the people in Basra. Moreover, he presents the provincial government and the federal ministries negatively and asks the people to blame them for their failure.

2. Topos of justice:

One of the common schemes that justify the politicians' argumentations is topos of justice (Reisigl, 2014, p. 84). Al-Abadi also utilizes the topos of justice and says:

[sanataeawan mae muatinia muhafazat albsrt min ajl maslahat muhafazatahim.]

"We will cooperate with the citizens of Basra Governorate for the sake of their governorate."

He utilizes the topos of justice in order to appear that he shares decisions with the people of Basra and present himself positively. In addition, he wishes to inform the citizens that he works with the people by himself without the need to the provincial government and other ministries who failed in serving the people very well.

3. Topos of threat:

[aistimrar alkhilafat alsiyasiat qad yueti fursatan lil'iirhab biaistihdaf almadaniyn wahadha yuqliquna.]

"The continuation of political disagreements may give an opportunity to the terrorism by targeting civilians, and this worries us."

Resorting to the topos of threat is one of Al-Abadi's strategies in argumentation to mobilize the support around him and diminish the disagreement that he faces. Using such a technique in the conferences continually is very clear in his speeches. There are many messages he wishes to deliver by employing the topos of threat. First, he is still the leader of victory who fought ISIS and liberate the Iraqi governorates and he is still the person who able to lead the country in the correct path. Second, he appears as the politician who is open to all political parties and has no struggle with them. He also calls for the agreement in order not to give the terrorist to target the civilians. Third, He also utilizes this topos in positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation.

4. Topos of number:

[tahtaj almuhafazat 'iilaa 350000000 milyar dinar faqat baynama tama sarf adeaf hdha almablagh lilmuhafaza]

"The governorate needs only 35,000,000,000 billion IQD, while double this amount was spent on the governorate"

The language of numbers seems clear in Al-Abadi's speeches in the conference but this time he blames the provincial government and attack them. Spending large amounts of money without getting better results is something serious. Consequently, the responsible one on the sever water crisis are the provincial government who didn't deal with it in a professional way despite the money they received. They appear negatively again in Al-Abadi's speech.

Conclusion

Following Discourse-Historical Approach is not an easy task because it concentrates on different variables in the discourses. Before starting working on this paper, I believed that Al-Abadi will focus on history which is regarded as a bad memory to the Iraqi people in general and tries to avoid the fallacies happened in the past but he utilized the topos of history only once. He only criticizing the previous regime and presents himself positively as a tolerant leader. Each conference, we find that he focuses on the topos of threat and mentions the terrorism although the crisis is about the sever lack of water in Basra and even the city had not witnessed any military action or battle against ISIS. This means that he seek to a second era of ruling the country as the prime minister because he regards defeating ISIS is one of his accomplishments. According to his will, the record of achievements should continue since he is the victorious leader.

Statistics and numbers were very clear in his speeches in both positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. He must appear to the public that he

knows many specific details about Basra in order to resolve their anger of the people. It is one of his famous techniques of persuasion. On the other hand, topoi of reality and burdening were utilized to provincial government and responsible people without making legal procedures against them. Resorting these two topoi is a way of resolving the people's anger and blame them instead of blaming and attacking the prime minister.

Another technique of persuasion is the topos of urgency. Al-Abadi wants to make the people stop protesting. Therefore, he held a press conference and told them that there were many decisions meant to put all things in the correct path. He even told them that there are payments of money to the needy people in Basra.

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