

## Political Discourse and Implicature of Saddam's political speeches

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### Abstract:

This paper aims to describe and identify political speeches by politicians they use to achieve their goals by the implicature through the use of certain pragmatic strategies ...

Pragmatics in discourse analysis plays a decisive role in the creation of effective political communication strategies. Therefore, speech lies at the junction of rhetoric, linguistics and politics. This study focuses on characterizing the main approaches in pragmatic discourse analysis based on a comparative analysis of studies by international specialists. The intension in communication represents a pragmatic element which plays a decisive role at the time for the communication process. Speech is a central point of interest for social and political spheres. Conceptions about language in association with pragmatics turn the usual rhetoric into a speech activity coordinated by normative linguistic dimensions.

The participants in a conversation adhere to the cooperative principle and the maxims. However, some things are left unsaid because of the fact that diplomatic discourse or political discourse makes frequent use of 'implicatures', in order to suggest information not explicitly expressed in the text. These inferences are usually based on particular beliefs, opinions and knowledge of some concrete situation. The political implicatures that is, the specific political inferences that participants make in the communicative situation, for instance MPs in a parliamentary debate may make, are based on (their understanding of) this speech and its context.

In this paper, several instances of maxim violation and implicatures present in political discourse will be analyzed, by paying importance to the way politicians favour them so as to conceal the truth. This paper takes into consideration speeches of one of the famous political leaders ,Saddam Hussein and analyzing the kind of pragmatic strategies and specifically implicature he uses in his speeches, though its limited to certain kinds of implicature and its hoped to cover basic elements .

### Introduction

Although it is taken for granted by linguists and discourse analysts that communication involve a lot more than transferring amassage from a sender to receiver ,it is worth stressing the point that one puts ideas into words and gets them across to hearer's head and then simply receives a signal and unpacks the words .In fact what is meant when an utterance is realized either in text or in talk is implicit and hearers or reader have to make a certain amount effort to interpret what might have been intended , using many contextual cues and mutually shared knowledge .This is

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why discourse analysis frequently speak of interpretative work ,although humans are so constituted to accomplish such effort relatively effortlessly. Not all human utterances whether textualized o verbalized are only about conveying information in the ordinary sense of propositions about actors ,actions ,things and events ,perhaps but even more important is the social 'information 'conveyed ,largely unconsciously .Such facts such as Geographical or social origin and gender even political orientation and in general group membership ,are signaled by linguistic cues(accent ,pitch ,lexical,and syntactic choices..)(Chilton and Schanffner 2002,p:5)

Politics and language are intimately intertwined. To link study of these dimentions is to seek to understand and something very central to human behavior.Human beings are political animals and articulate mamals .The question arises are in which ways and to what extent these two aspects are linked ,This is a question that has not been explored and what is required to make a start in investigating the details of the use of language in those situations which we call informally and intuitively political . Such an approach would might be expected be revealing not only for politics itself but also for the human capacity.(Chilton and Schaffner 2002)

One major question has been begged .How can politics be defined ?the general answer is that definition of politics varied according to one's situation and purposes –political answer in itself .But if one considers the definitions , implicit and explicit , found both in the traditional study of politics themes and principles and discourse studies of politics ,there are two broad strands .On the one hand ,politics is viewd as struggle for power , between those who seek to assert and maintain their power and those who seek to resist it.some states conceptually based on struggles for power whether democracies are essentially so constituted is disputable on the other hand ,politics is viewed as cooperation as the practices and the institutions asociety has for resolving clashes of interest over money, power ,liberty and the like ...

Pragmatics in discourse analysis plays a decisive role in the creation of effective political communication strategies. Therefore, speech lies at the junction of rhetoric, linguistics and politics.. The intension in communication represents a pragmatic element which plays a decisive role at the time for the communication process. Speech is a central point of interest for social and political spheres. Conceptions about language in association with pragmatics turn the usual rhetoric into a speech

activity coordinated by normative. Discourse plays an important role in managing a political brand. Words are power and power lies within words. Everything a person says can be used to his/her benefit or detriment. In this context, the problem is the

difference between what is actually said and what it meant to be said. In this paper, the intentions is being studied in discourse as an important pragmatic element. First of all, the meaning of a sentence is interpreted by the way it is said and then by itsintended meanings.(Bianca Drămnescu:2016)Pragmatically speaking,

all these devices are concerned with the meaning of the utterance, how what is said was meant by the speaker, and how the utterance is to be interpreted by the audience (Indede, 2009: 108). Finally in this paper it has been suggested that the devices used by the political leaders in their speeches have left great effect on society only that in discourse lies all power that helped those leaders maintain their position and gain support by the public.

### **Literature review**

This paper has been tackled by many researches concerning implicature or political speeches. So in (Fowler 1986) clearly set out a variety of analytical techniques whose application of a wide range of texts drawn from fiction, poetry, drama ..which basically focus on structures which relate literature to ordinary language stressing the importance of the readers' everyday language skills. (p:106) talks mainly on aspects of dialogue by which implicature is one of those which decide the intended meaning the others are sequencing and speech act suggesting that conversation take place under the guidance of Grice maxims although remain fuzzy in its details.

In this Article (Al tuhmazi, thulfaqr. H: 2015) argues how the pursuit of power polarizes political discussions on facebook consequently online sociopolitical communities. Concerning methodology, it presented analysis using facebook pages. The analysis used mixed methods that combine both quantitative as well as qualitative to identify the patterns of discursive behaviours underlying political, social and cultural implications by which multiple comments have been used to analyze Almaliki's speeches. In this article The selected topics include a purely political topic (the 2012 political impasse between multiple opposition parties and the ruling party), an ethno-political topic (the government policies that were perceived sectarianly biased by some Sunni opposition), and the election results in 2014. These

comment-threads were selected based on several selection criteria. These criteria include: the relatively high level of comments which responded to the original post (minimum 100 comments), the original post-author's engagement with the commentators, and the topic discussed must be related to Iraqi politics. The three comment-threads comprising the dataset of this paper were posted originally in Iraqi Arabic. The examples provided are presented in semi-literal English translation in order to exhibit, as accurately as possible, how the positioning process at the three levels of analysis was done.

(Ardita Dylgjeri, PhD candidate) argues in a conference about diplomatic and political discourse makes frequent use of 'implicatures', in order to suggest

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information not explicitly expressed in the text. These inferences are usually based on particular beliefs, opinions and knowledge of some concrete situation. This paper based their analysis on interviews with CNN interviews with prime minister Edi

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rama arguing specifically about the kind of implicature they use to give indirect implied meaning about elections in USA.

In (Griffiths, 2006) argues the principle of implicature and how it is important in giving further interpretation to discourse and certain utterances depending on our background knowledge ....

(Al Rassam, eba., M: 2010) in this article it is examined in the perspective of performance how politicians in political interviews rely on pragmatic strategies to grapple with the conflict between being uncooperative and truthful. An eclectic model has been used in the analysis which is based on the previous works on the pragmatic analysis of political discourse. This paper made use of Al maliki's speeches in its analyses.

(Bianca Drammanescu: 2016) this article argues pragmatics in a method of analysing the relation between signs and their interpretation. Throughout history, the concept of interpretation has changed. Discourse analysis is a relatively new concept, being a branch of pragmatics. It can be interpreted in various ways, both as a tool and as a discipline. In this article Constantin Sălăvăștru has proposed a list of traits determinant of political discourse like intentional ambiguity of the political discourse, the imperative nature of the political discourse, the polemical nature of the political discourse". (Nadezhda Frolova: 2016) this article also suggested the potentialities in the application of the discourse analysis method to study a political discourse as a current political practice by the example of representation of the political leader. It is the authors' opinion, the image of V.V. Putin as a leader super-hero is determined by the specificity of the Russian political culture within the limits of which a leader is a center of power establishing an authoritarianism of the representation of the image of V.V. Putin, the President of the Russian Federation. The representation of a political leader image in a political discourse has a number of peculiarities style of ruling.. . The authors have used a discourse analysis method, the method of content analysis of 514 texts of the program « Time » of the first Russian TV-channel (December 20 – June 20, 2010) ; an inquiry method (N=400, quota sampling, 2014), a documentation qualitative analysis. A political discourse within the limits of the political system is carried out by means of mass media; that is why actually a political discourse is a media discourse of policy. Mass media are not only the broadcast institution, but also that of interpretation and organization of political information, and the most significant channel of the response articulation of the discourse audience. The author's approach to the definition of a political discourse is based on the Foucault methodological reasons who interprets a discourse as a dynamic battlefield of different ideologies, concepts, scientific images of the world which contain certain ideas of a social world. The mechanism of a political discourse formation is a process of representation, which is carried out on the basis of a number of principles, including a principle of domination in a political discourse of a subdiscourse of political leaders and political subjects close to them ideologically and pragmatically .( **Ardita Dylgjeri**) an international conference on linguistic and literature , In this paper, several instances of maxim violation and implicatures present political discourse analyzed, by paying importance to the way politicians favor them so as to conceal the truth. Also discussed implicatures in discourse and Gricean maxims. In (Fowler, R.: 1986) here the author discussed Grice maxims in details and also the theory of implicature by Grice. The author here suggested the conversation takes place under the guidance of the cooperative principle and how people can find

interpretations even when language seems difficult .He based his study on Quates of poets and other linguists .Concerning his objectives ,he tried to be helpful rather than negative way ,anumber of critical catagories that seem to make desirable and compatible to the kind of linguists he wants. In leech (1983 :42-90-169) argued politeness principle and maxims of quantity and quality and the cooperative principle .IN this book presents rhetorical model of pragmatics.Its main focus on development of a model of pragmatics with in an overall functional modal of language .IN this it builds on the speech act of Austin and Searle and the theory of conventional implicature of Grice but at the same time enlarge pragmatics to include politeness ,irony ,phatic,communication and other principles of linguistic behavior based on conversational texts from public.In(Guilan and yule1983 :31-159))they discussed implicature and pragmatics and discourse along with Grice maxims..In this book showed an extensive overview and of a many and diverse approaches .They offered wide range accounts of how forms of language are used in communication .Their principle concern how to examine too how any language produced by man whether spoken or written is used to communicate for a purpose in context .In their analysis of data collection concerning methodology they used a wide variety of discourse types (conversations recorded in different social situations ,extracts from newspapers , notices ,contemporary fiction ,Graffiti,etc) ..(Chilton and Schaffner1948:11)argues the relation between language and political discourse and how language is closly bound up in practice with culture and that in turn bound up with practice in politics in particular society .Also this book mentioned the idea of recontextualization in text in away that skews the hearer or listener (p:17)and how for examples often used to refer to the process by which dominant text assimilates for some strategic purposes.They based their analysis as a methodology on the approach of intertextuality of other analysists.Approaches used in this are eclectic and useful .This book argued the tools used in political discouse..It goes in line with the recent academic concerns like the work of Habermas and postmodrenists, practitioners ,rhetoric studies in the united states ,critical discourse analysis and political linguistics in France ,Germany Belgium ,UK ,Asturalia,The Netherlands and other parts of Europe which follow a deep philosophical tradition of the west following Plato in his idea of dominant, active power of language with in the ideal state.The whole classical tradition of rhetoric form the sophists to the enlightmentwrestle with the relationship between persuasion , morality ,truth carrying a deep suspenion of the power of language in the twentieth century .

## **Methodology**

The data upon which this analysis is based consist of several speeches in different periods of one the political leaders .They were found as sort of script from the net will be analyzed in relation to the context. Making use of several political speeches of one of the dominant figures to explore the strategies through which politicians find their ways to defend themselves and how they make use of politeness strategies along with cooperative principle as well as analyzing. There would be explanations of vagueness in terms of situational properties .There would be mentioning for the implications to some of the communicative strategies of the conversational maxims to construct a comprehensive framework that focuses on the characteristics of political discourse from the pragmatic perspective.so it is suggested that this methodology is quantative because there



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would be a number of texts being analyzed as well as qualitative by identifying some features that help identify the kind of implicature in pragmatic interpretations

## **Defining Political Discourse :**

The term "political discourse" has been dealt with differently by different linguists. However, the 'political discourse' dealt with in this study is confined to institutional politics, parliamentary debates, party conference speeches and the like.

According to Van Dijk (2002 : 225) "political discourse" is not primarily defined by a topic or style, but rather by who speaks to whom, as what, on what occasion and with what goals. In other words, political discourse is especially 'political' because of its functions in the political process.

Political discourse is the message through any politician who is normally a party member or candidate representative of a political function. Feedback is usually delayed in acts of communication between the transmitter and the receiver which take place in a political context. This can be evident in voting or statements made by preference polls.

Political discourse contains a hidden character understood by the author to be more informative than its content. In this case the ideological nature of discourse must be mentioned. A speech like this is not honest and reality is distorted intentionally (Zheng, 2000 : 2) argues that political discourse revolves around being manipulative and hedgy giving less information about truth of things. It is well enough for them to say that political language is the tricky and twisted of language. The book (Vodak, R:2011) the discourse of politics in action discuss how politicians try to maintain balance assertive strategies to preserve their trustworthiness.

In (Fairclough 2012:2) believes that political course is the result of politics which is historically and culturally determined. It can be based on two criteria : functional and thematic.

A politician actually hides himself behind these skills so not to attach himself to any kind of commitment. He may use certain pragmatic skills to attack other politician's face to simply simulate the feelings of the population and get them believe in him or drive them to follow his beliefs. According to (Wodak 2007 : 203) various

pragmatic devices such as insinuation, allusions, word play, presuppositions and implicatures can be analyzed in their multiple functions in political discourse where they frequently serve certain goals .. (Indede, 2009: 108) mentioned that Pragmatically speaking ,all these devices are concerned with the meaning of

utterance How or what was said by the speaker and how the utterance is to be interpreted by the audience while (Constantine 1999:21-22) suggests Political discourse is the message through any politician who is normally a party member or candidate representative of a political function. Feedback is usually delayed in acts of communication between the transmitter and the receiver which take place in a political context. This can be evident in voting or statements made by preference polls. In a communication situation, subjectivity plays a central role; political discourse can influence this to some extent. To give an authentic character, the discourse implicitly contains subjective elements, for even when the topics of speech are objective or general, subjectivity is felt. But this can be a form of manipulation. According to Li (2008: 33) political texts as an activity type have their own distinctive features, of which one is the stereotype of politicians vagueness and evasiveness. However, politicians in the media have no direct contact to their audience nor do they even know whom exactly their audience at a special speech event is (who watches a certain political speech, debate, etc.). Thus, the audience can only rely on situational cues which might help them to reveal indirect meanings.

Political discourse is defined by three traits: (Constantin:1999)

1. Intentional ambiguity of the political discourse
2. The imperative nature of the political discourse
3. The polemical nature of the political discourse"

(Bianca Drămnescu :*Pragmatic Approaches in Political Discourse Analysis*)

### **Politeness and Political discourse**

Naturally, It has been claimed that stems from the nature of politics relies on the smartness, wit, and aggressiveness of participants, which are themselves major requisites for survival in the game. Therefore, politeness plays a significant role in political interviews. In their pioneering study Brown and Levinson (1987) adapted Goffman's (1967) idea of positive and negative face. In interpersonal Communication, Goffman argued, people pay attention to, and have to achieve a balancing act between

the positive need to establish 'common ground' and the negative need not to have one's 'territory' encroached upon. Brown and Levinson related these motivations to the face threatening acts (FTAs) that are performed through speech acts. They classified in great detail the linguistic formulation (syntactic and lexical) which speakers use in order to mitigate their FTAs. The effect of various mitigation strategies is a function of the relations of power and intimacy between speakers. The relevance of this theory for the analysis of political discourse is clear. The notion of FTAs and mitigation can be related to the practices of political talk, in particular to euphemizing strategies, form of evasion and devices of persuasion. The fact that politeness phenomena seem natural in everyday socialized interaction makes them the more unnoticeable in political exchanges. If a politician wishes to tell his or her electorate that taxes are to be raised or unemployment figures are up, then these face threatening acts (requesting sacrifices, issuing bad news) are

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strategically formulated to lessen the affront. What is more, in political situations, the FTA is likely to have variable value for different groups of hearers, so the linguistic formulations are chosen carefully (Chilton and Schaffner, 2002 : 14).; (Brown and Livenson: 1987)

## **The role of implicature in discourse analysis:**

Perhaps one of the most influential contributions to the analysis of discourse in general and to political discourse in particular, is the one made by Paul Grice (1975). According to his cooperative principle, Grice points out that our talk exchanges are characteristically, to some degree, cooperative efforts. Besides, each participant recognizes in them, a common purpose or set of purposes, or at least a mutually accepted direction (Indede, 2009 : 110). For detailed explanation of the cooperative principle, Grice gives four categories of maxims of conversation or general principles underlying the efficient cooperative use of language and as follows : (1) Maxim of Quality : seek to say that which you know to be true, and do not say that which you know to be false or for which you lack

adequate evidence. (2) Maxim of Quantity : Make your contribution as informative as, and no more informative than, is required for the purposes of the ongoing discourse. (3) Maxim of Relevance : Be relevant. (4) Maxim of manner : Make your contribution clear, and intelligible , brief, orderly and not ambiguous. People do assume that anyone speaking to them is trying to be intelligible, trying to be relevant, speaking the truth and telling . (Fowler, 1986: 106)

Although the theory of implicature was expressed by Grice in very informal terms and remains fussy in its details , it enriches our view of how discourse works , and promises numerous insights of linguistic criticism. As far as dialogue is concerned , the technique for flouting maxims and raising implicature is central to dialogue structure. Implicature is what is said between lines. This relates to the traditional notion that one can say something and mean something else for example irony or metaphor. An implicature is a proposition not emerged from what is stated by the words uttered. It must be the product between utterance and context. and a vital part of context would be the knowledge and motives of the speaker and addressee that's why Grice suggested taking place under the guidance of a cooperative principle which binds themselves not to impede interpretations

So whatever is addressed to them assume to be designed to make sense , so that they make an effort to find an interpretation even when the language offers difficulty. (Fowler 1986: 106-107).

Brown and Yule emphasizes the fact implicature is pragmatic aspects of meaning and have certain identifiable characteristics. They are partially derived from the conversational and literal meaning of an utterance produced in specific context which is shared by the speaker and the hearer and depend on the recognition by the



speaker and the hearer of the cooperative principle and its maxims and must be treated as inherently as indeterminate since they derive from the supposition that the speaker has the intention of

conveying meaning and obeying the cooperative principle.(1983:3).there are some questions are more politethan others concerning offers : a)will u have anything to eat? x

b)will u have something to eat ? true pos x

There is an essential symmetry in polite behavior,whatever is polite for the speaker tends to be impolite for the hearer.it is polite to offer some one something but its more polite to decline than to accept ,according to this the question be is more polite than a (true positive)so pragmatic interpretations is built up a minimum implicature including implicatures of politeness(Leech ,193:169)

In semantics In working out implicature , we go further and ask what is hinted at by an utterance in its particular context , what the sender's agenda is .It is the pragmatics of hints .It refer to the inferences like apology or sympathy or reprimand ,invitation , or annoyance in the light of contextual and background information.A process comes after uncertainties over explicature

Both of the stages were built on guessing and presuppositions.it is rather showing the difference between what might been said and wats actually been said(Griffths 2006:7)

### **Types of implicature:**

#### **Conversational implicature:**

Paul Grice identified three types of general conversational implicatures:

1.The speaker deliberately flouts a conversational maxim to convey an additional meaning not expressed literally. For instance, a speaker responds to the question "How did you like the guest lecturer?" with the following utterance:

Well ,I'm sure he was speaking English

If the speaker is assumed to be following the cooperative principles in spite of flouting themaxim of relevance, then theutterance must have an additional nonliteral meaning, such as: "The content of the lecturer's speech was confusing."(Kordic,1991)

2. The speaker's desire to fulfill two conflicting maxims results in his or her flouting one maxim to invoke the other. For instance, a speaker responds to the question "Where is John?" with the following utterance:

He is either in the cafeteria or in the shop.

In this case, the maxim of quality and themaxim of quantity are in conflict. A cooperative speaker does not want to be ambiguous but also does not want to give false information by giving a specific answer in spite of his uncertainty. By flouting the maxim of quantity, the speaker invokes the maxim of quality, leading

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to the implicature that the speaker does not have the evidence to give a specific location where he believes John is.

3. The speaker invokes a maxim as a basis for interpreting the utterance. In the following exchange:

*Do you know where I can get some gas?  
There's a gas station round the corner.*

The second speaker invokes the maxim of relevance, resulting in the implicature that "the gas station is open and one can probably get gas there".

Conventional implicature is independent of the cooperative principle and its four maxims. A statement always carries its conventional implicature.

*Donovan is poor but happy.*

This sentence implies poverty and happiness are not compatible but in spite of this Donovan is still happy. The conventional interpretation of the word "but" will always create the implicature of a sense of contrast. So *Donovan is poor but happy* will always necessarily imply "Surprisingly Donovan is happy in spite of being poor".

## Scalar implicature

According to Grice (1975), this is another form of conversational implicature. This concerns the conventional uses of words like "all" or "some" in conversation.

*I ate some of the pie.*

This sentence implies "I did not eat all of the pie." While the statement "I ate some pie" is still true if the entire pie was eaten, the conventional meaning of the word "some" and the implicature generated by the statement is "not all".

## implicatures of politeness

There is an a symmetry in polite behavior in that whatever is a polite belief for the speaker tends to be impolite belief for the hearer and vice versa .This a symmetry is exemplified in what in the very nature of offers ;it is polite to offer someone something but it is also more polite to decline an offer than to accept it. As the term polite belief itself suggest ,such beliefs are what the speaker purports to believe rather than what he actually believes,which may be quite different ..

Examples like:

a. Will you have something to eat ? true pos x

b. Won't you have anything to eat ? true Neg x

c. Won't you have something to eat ? true Neg true Posx

So the assertive question a. is more polite than any of the others because it implicates a polite belief. (Leech 1983:169)

### Implicature vs Entailment

This can be contrasted with cases of entailment. The statement "the President was assassinated", for example, not only suggests that "the President is dead" is true, but *requires* this to be so. The first sentence could not be true

*Donovan is poor but happy*. This sentence implies poverty and happiness are not compatible but in spite of this Donovan is still happy. The conventional interpretation of the word "but" will always create the implicature of a sense of contrast. So *Donovan is poor but happy* will always necessarily imply "Surprisingly Donovan is happy in spite of being poor".

This can be contrasted with cases of entailment. The statement "the President was assassinated", for example, not only suggests that "the President is dead" is true, but *requires* this to be so. The first sentence could not be true if the second were not true; if the President were not dead, then whatever it is that happened to him would not have counted as a (successful) assassination.

Similarly, unlike implicatures, entailments cannot be cancelled; there is no qualification that one could add to "the president was assassinated" which would cause it to cease entailing "the president is dead" while also preserving the meaning of the first sentence. (Grice 1975:41)

### Implicature and Validity Claims

The interconnection between speech acts (in particular the notion of sincerity), the cooperative principle and the notion of validity claims, appears to be central to understanding the nature of Political Discourse and indeed politics itself.

The inescapability of these features of natural language is one reason why the analysis of political discourse and perhaps of any discourse can not itself escape being challengeable and thus in some fashion engage the work of Habermas (especially Habermas 1971 and 1981) has proved fruitful for analysis attempting to understand the process of political discourse ..

For Habermasian epistemological framework that knowledge is not natural representation of an objective world out there .but is realized through discourse determined by interests for communicative action :the latter is the use of language in conventionalized verbal interactions ; the former is the reflexive use of utterances and their assumptions .It is through this such linguistic behavior that rationality is realized.

Rationality is not an Cartesian or Popperian kind but of an intersubjective kind ,it is not a faculty of mind but an abstract goal of human coordination achieved through the exchange of utterances in which Habermas idea is that communication has a goal

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which is a form of a consensus of based themes and principles on understanding and agreement. Language use is ambivalent and its ground its relation to the political Goal of human cooperation achieved through the exchange of utterances .

In Habermas's account, depend on the postulate that human possesses communicative competence (universal pragmatics) which involves validity claims .They can be of 4 kinds :

1. **Wahrheit(truth)**-a relation between propositions expressed in natural language and the state of affairs referred to

2. **Sincerity** : that I'm telling the truth

3. **Understandability**-The claim that I'm making sense in the language I'm speaking .

4. **Rightness** :The claim that I have the right (Status ,authority ,power..)to perform the illocutionary act .

The concept of validity claim is tied in with a three fold modal of worlds ;the social world ,and the objective world together constituting the public sphere and the subjective world constituting the private sphere in the course of social interaction validity claims are made implicitly but if rejected ,may become explicit .There is some conceptual overlap between Habermas's modal theory of validity and Grice's theory . The key difference is the different academic and the different origin .Habermas is grounded in social and political philosophy with critical goal geared to emancipation .For rational truth can logically emerge if these validity claims are freely challengeable and testable that is the abstract goal .Truth for humans comes only through interactive sharing .In practice Habermas observes validity claims 'implicit in all utterances .,are only in special circumstances ever realized .

In practice most communication distorted by the interest of participants would be characterized by semmetrical distribution of the opportunities for choosing and practicing speech act (Habermas 1971:137;)(Wodak 1996:30).In such communicative action the goal is emancipatory.In social groups ,however ,particular interest and power will distort communication.

Like the maxims of Gricean and the Habermasian validity claims of the universal pragmatics like the maxims of Gricean of the universal pragmatics are postulated as the necessary logical explanation for how human communication can work at all. So concerning the knowledge that human possessing of universal pragmatics ,Habermas proposed that the distortion of communication can be located and resolved

Wodak (1996:32) argues that discourse analysis is an instrument for exposing inequality and domination and for providing means for providing equitable and emancipatory discourse and the Gricean principles are subsumed in Habermasian and simply an explanatory modal for non literal meaning in texts (presumably talk).(Schaffner and Chilton 2002)

## strategies and functions

A functional perspective on language and discourse is adopted by many investigators of political discourse .Many writers suggest that speakers have purposes achieved by strategies which are what one would call political ,or at least social .Just taking this assumption ,one can ask:what is the relationship between these purposes and language structure?one answer that language can be a resource which is drawn upon in order for political goals to be achieved. This line of thinking leaves open the

possibility that one's linguistic resources can be used for purposes other than the political purposes. However, it does leave open the question as to why language structure is the way it is. It is of course possible to argue that language has no evolutionary and no structural connection with social behaviours.

(Chilton and schaffner 1984:23)

There might be two versions of these hypothesis, a strong one and a weak one, the strong one would say all linguistic structure evolved from and bears the marks of, behavior that is political e.g bonding in groups, and bonding out groups, permitting cooperation in group members and exclusion of more outsiders (Chilton and schaffner, 2002:24). The weak one might say that language structure is functional but serves more than one function not exclusively political functions, in sum there are the following possibilities regard to this question:

1. language is neutral resource and sociopolitical goals are manifest only at the level of discourse, there would be strategies at the level of discourse. (Wodak strategies)
2. language is functionally structured, either wholly or partly to fulfill sociopolitical goals. there would be strategies at the levels of discourse but the selection of linguistic forms would not be arbitrary but functionally related in some way.

## Analyzing political Speeches:

The task of political discourse analysis has been rather modestly. Analyzing examples of political text and talk either for 1- purposes resembling ethnographing reporting or 2- with the aim of criticizing the politics of individuals or institutions that are responsible for particular examples or 3- exposing the ways in which the text and talk constitute what are received normally as objectively existing and naturally, existing institutions. The question is whether these recurrent forms have functions in the sociopolitical domain. and there must be at least that languages have some functional adaptations to the purposes that analysts uncover. they have been drawn to theories of language which prior assume that human language is in tandem with human social mental and emotional traits. the major influences have been Buhler (1934) Functional pragmatics and Halliday's system is functional Grammar (Halliday 1985)

It is suggested that politicians have purposes realized by. Many writers suggest that politicians have purposes achieved by strategies, which are what one would call political. Just taking this assumption, one can then ask: what is the relationship between these purposes and language structure? Chilton and Schaffner answer this question by saying that a language can be thought of as a 'resource' which is drawn upon in order political goals to be achieved (2002: 23).



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Throughout the following section, utterances and sketches taken from a famous Iraqi politician leader would be examined to discover what type of implicature used by politicians in achieving their purposes. In order to save space and time, only the utterances that are relevant to the purpose of the be analyzed, i.e., .The focus would be on the pragmatic moves and strategies that would be followed by the politicians. Attention is to be paid also to the cooperative principles which are flouted most of the time by the politicians for many reasons as the analysis of the data would show.

## Analyzing Samples of Saddam's political Speeches:

رسالة الرئيس القائد المجاهد صدام حسين الأولى بعد الاحتلال  
٢٨/ ٤/ ٢٠٠٣

The political speaker begins his  
speech with citation from holy Quran:

ولقد كانوا عاهدوا الله من قبل لا يولون الاذبار ...

and specifically he had chosen one that tells about promise and implicate that he had already made an agreement with his own society not to turn back to any kind of invasion or attackers and they are always ready to defend so here he is making use of this citation to enhance his speech and giving it authority and in fact he is asking publically in the following words the Iraqi people to stand against the invasion and never accept and stay silent that they should always continue to fight to defend in spite of the fact that he was in weak position at that time and he was fallen and disappeared and this is in fact so apparent and explicit but that also brings irony into the fact that no society would still fight endless .No realistic thinking accept to fight for ever or perhaps face an invasion with limited power .As a background to the truth ,people in Iraq as it is known at that period could hardly utter rather than to stand against and face .It was exhausted because of wars and suffering of hunger and atrocity and injustice and it was unable to face .The political speaker knows very well that Iraqi people were exhausted and in fact he was trying to make use of them again and again for his own means .That also confirms the truth that he was using his authority with the Iraqi people to a large extent and at the same time they were so obedient to him .This confirms another implicature is that he got used to see them obedient and

willing to defend and as a matter of fact a greater part of his power lies in his discourse .we can see now how authoritative the language he was using ..and how he had gone too far by making use of FTA ,requesting sacrifices .His indirect words ,insinuation was so apparent in his speeches and these are strategic devices that it gives a reference to a political speech .All validity claims may seem untrue and to the hearer as it gives a negative act and it is true that the nature of politics rely on smartness and wit and a aggressiveness (Chilton and Schaffner 1997:219-2002:12)..

the language of the speaker gives some additional information , trying to insist ,making all possible strategies to persuade and by doing this he loses his relevance because reality proves the opposite at that time (Drammanscu :2016)'the problem in political discourse to influence the choice and actions when choosing issues just about its ability to influence more strongly a particular audience ,you can change at will the thematically register and enhance all

possibilities for manipulation public then you are really handle the tool enthralled by the action of otherness .'

وسياتي بإذن الله يوم التحرير والانتصار لأنفسنا والأمة والإسلام قبل كل شيء، وهذه المرة مثل كل....

It is so clear that these are hedgy words leading to irony because reality proves the opposite at that time 'Flattery maxim is generally reserved for insincere approbation'

(Leech 1938:135)there is no evidence that leads to victory so he is flouting the maxim of quality

لم يكن لصدام ملك باسمه الشخصي

Here the the speaker tried to be so informative by giving extra information trying all possible strategies to gain sympathy and support to achieve balancing act forming a positive need to establish a common ground but its nonsense (Chilton and Schaffner 2002:13)

عاش العراق واليخساالخاصون

In factthat these words can add more authority as he ends his speech ,strategically well formulated to lessen the affront (Ibid :7)

### رسالة السيد الرئيس المجاهد

#### حسين إلى الشعب العراقي والعام بتاريخ ١٥ تشرين أول ٢٠٠٦

Here the the political of discourse

speaker is making use the Ramadhan occasion to talk to the Iraqi about willingness to the their society and the most important thing is that he is asking them to forgive and forget and a void revenge :

يبقى باب العفو والتسامح مفتوح أمام الجميع حتى اللحظة .....

This implicate that the political leader is in position of weakness and to a large extent asking and calling to forgiveness for himself specifically for may be what he had done to Iraqi people so these are implicit words can not be easily understood by the public and perhaps it comes in coincidence with ramadhan month ,the month of forgiveness and mercy to make use of it for his own benefit to try his last devices so to stimulate people's emotions towards himself exactly..see the political leader is applying this hedgy devices (Zheng 2002:2) The illocutionary force may be to issue ,offer an apology to the public (Chilton and schaffner ,2002:10)which has also a propositional content to state of affairs ..

As a background it is suggested by this paper that this speech happened in period of the envation of the Americans to the Iraqi people duing the fall of bahgdad and the speaker was giving his political discourse from unknown source at that time ..

أيتها الإنسانية حيثما ذكرت واجبها الإنساني تجاه نفسها والآخرين على أساس الإخاء

Here the political leader is trying to a chieve a Balancing act (Chilton and Scaffner ,2002:13) informing a positive need to establish a common ground ,trying strategies of metigation to form a function based on his power and intimacy .(Brownand Levinson,1987).

وأدعوكم إلى التسامح بدل التشدد مع من تاه وأضاو

أن يبقى باب العفو والتسامح مفتوح أما

ولا أظنكم تنسون كيف عفا نبي الرحمة محمد

وبعد أن تعفوا وتصلحوا عن مرتكبي الأخطاء الجسيمة والجرائم في ظروف الطوارئ

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The political leader is floating here the maxim of quantity and manner by being not informative (Grice 1957)(Chilton and Schaffner ,2002:12)(Eba2010:335)

It is known that people do not follow all the normative maxims all the time ..

Finally the political is trying to end speech with rewarding words of authority to gain support and achieve his goal :

الله أكبر وعاش العراق .... عاش العراق .... وعاشت فلسطين  
أيها الأخوة....

'The notion of FTA and mitigation related to political talk in particular to forms of evasion and devices of persuasion ,the facts of politeness phenomena'(Chilton and Schaffner :14)

## رسالة المجاهد صدام حسين الرابعة في ٢٥ آيار

٢٠٠٣

The speaker here begins his speech with also a citation from Holy Quran to enhance his speech and give authority but most prominent thing we may notice here is that the kind of citation was irrelevant to the content of the letter or speech

although it has implied meaning .It is supposed that he might refer to the Americans themselves as connected with witches or magic as far as we can tell here,inspite that strategies of formulation of texts were chosen carefully (Chilton and Schaffner :7). Political discourse is rather not defined by its topic or by style but by who said to whom or what occasion and what goals .political discourse is especially political because of its functions in the political process ,obscure ,semantically dense ,vague ,rather cautious manner ,communicate indirectly (Van Dijk 2002:225)

Analysis of the data revealed that Iraqi politicians use to a certain extent citations from the wholly Quran or prophets' sayings (Ahaadeeth) to arouse the public with vivid, emotionally supportive and persuasive words.

However, such technique is only effective when the audience comprehends the full meaning of the "verse" uttered by the politician.  
(Al rassam 2010:545)

In fact, metaphors(certain lexical words) enable speakers to avoid direct (face-threatening and over – revealing) references. (Chilton and Schaffner , 1997 : 222).

'Recurrent metaphors are embedded in languages and cultures and depend both on the human conceptual system and on cultural systems.

Understanding implicatures or metaphores thus, requires the audience to know and share certain values'<sup>1</sup>.

Examining the data moreover, shows that Iraqi politicians tend to use certain lexical words. In fact, lexical choice can be used to enforce or

attenuate illocutionary force. This is because certain types of words can, for instance, activate particular presuppositions, reveal speaker attitudes in order to achieve thematic emphasis and topical development throughout the entire duration of the speeches. Such as : "المستقبل "الجهاد "الامان " .....In almost all of the examples above Iraqi politicians use hedging devices. This is due to the type of the context of situation. According to Chilton and Schaffner (2002 : 185) hedges are more frequent in speeches hedging devices are used to make statement more vague. This occurs whenever politicians want to reduce their commitment (Alrassam 2010:547) to the truth of a proposition being conveyed or when they want to mitigate possible negative perlocutionary effects on their audience. As Channell argues, "understanding vague expressions requires hearers to bring to bear not just knowledge of lexis and grammar but also pragmatic knowledge about how language is used, and how it relates to its settings"<sup>2</sup>

On the other hand, all Iraqi politicians constantly use what is called emotive technique (Zheng, 2000). Emotion can be seen as a type of investment from which speakers expect to receive a generous return;

كما ندعوكم يا اخوة الجهاد,

عاش ابناء العراق الشجعان الذين يقاومون المحتل.

عاشت كتائب الفاروق ومجاميع الحسين

These are rewarding ,hedgy words and encouraging at the same time aim to achieve goals and the political speaker infact declare publically to people to fight ,to resist and to dismiss traitors , to boycott the traitors and those who were assigned in position by Americans ,calling some of the Arabs in Arab homelands as traitors :

امثال نظام مبارك الخائن ونظام الاردن الجبانوالخائن ومثل الخونة من آل سعود وجبناء الكويت المحتلة آل صباح .

According to validity claims concerning these words ,these are considered impressive words can envoke people in society that those Arabs put their hands in conspiracy with the americans and he may have meant it very well because as a back ground suggested he was famous for his national principles and used to call for honest principles in Arab homeland ..so these words add a lot to his polemic nature (see contestastin1999)in Bianca Article ,and imperative nature being supportive ,perhaps it may arouse the public against the invasion so here he is making use of validity claims to suggest that to a large extent he is speaking the truth 'rightness ,the right status authority power to perform illocutionary act and also suggesting understandability claim ,which is the claim that I make sense in language im using .(Chilton and Schaffner 2002:17),also being so brief in this speech ,informative because it was suggested that he was under stress and in

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exptional situation as a back ground he disappeared and is calling people from secret source so here as a presupposition he is only violating the maxim of relevance being unable to find a match with the citation he had given at the beginning of speech.(Alrassam 2010:534)

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1 Lakoff, George(1992), "Metaphoric and war : the metaphor system used to justify war in the gulf", Available at:

<http://www2.iath.virginia.edu/sixties/HTML-docs/Journal.html>,463-481.

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تشرين الثاني ٢٠٠٣ -رسالة المجاهد صدام حسين الاخيرة قبل الاسر في رمضان المبارك  
مقدمة النصر واساسه ..شهر رمضان

the political speaker begins his speech with optimistic point of view wishing good  
Rhamadan for Iraqi people

عام وأنتم بخير، ومبارك رمضانكم والعيد الذي يليه ومقبول صيامكم

and by this he is mitigating FTA ,strategically formulated to lesson the affront (Brown and livenson1987)(Alrassam 2010:546)(Chilton and Schaffner 2002:14)

In this speech :

ليجربوا أشهراً أخرى وزمناً آخر ليحصدوا أرواحاً أخرى ويدمروا وبنه ولكن غير الخيبة لن يكسبوا ، ومع الخيبة  
المزيد من أرواح تزهق من

Most important what we notice here the implicature that the political speaker not calling the people to fight directly as if there was a tone of submission to what have the events come with the reality on land ,it was only sort of accusation to the foreigner , to the invader and those who betrayed Iraq and even the Arab countries



who put their hands with them ..

الخونه الأشرار لن يستطيعوا أن يحتلوا العراق ويستعمروه ، وقد قالوا هم في حينه ماسمعتموه منهم آنذاك، وتصوروه  
وصوروا الأمر لغيرهم أيضاً بأنهم ذهبوا في نزهة لإحتلال العراق وتدمير مأسموه "أسلحة الدمار الشامل " التي  
أنص

"

What is most important here to notice is that he is saying that the invaders being  
unable to invade Iraq and infact the CPA the colition was  
already there in land .This refers to irony as the meaning of the phrase can tell while  
the political speaker know very well what happened as abackground as this paper  
suggests and by this he is violating the maxim of quality by giving false information or  
refusing to confess the truth so this one of the political strategies using hedgy words to  
misdirect the hearer ...or perhaps the implicature meant something else that he meant  
as this paper suggests that oppostions will take a role in defending the country or may  
be this is an envoking to the audience According to implicature expressed by Grice that  
one can say something and mean something else just for the sake of irony or  
metaphore (Grice 1975)

وصوروا الأمر لغيرهم أيضاً بأنهم ذهبوا في نزهة لإحتلال

In this sentence it is suggested that he trying to 'influence the choice and action  
'.(Dramanescu 2016:47) 'when choosing issues just about its ability to influence  
more strongly a particular audience and enhance all possibilities for  
manipulation'.The word 'picnic in English is effective it can attract attention  
just for the sake of persuasion .

الغيارى ، الذين سيروا شؤونهم فارتقوا به الى حيث اراد الله وفق شأن من شؤون الحياة ، يعود أبناؤه المخلصون  
على وفق مايقدر الشعب بحرية كاملة ليسيروا شؤونهم من جديد

There's a nother strategy is being used here which a kind of circumlucation and infact it  
implies that it is easier to use notions which already have well established (Zheng2000)  
the politician here is constantly used what it is called emotive technique .Emotions can  
be seen as atype of investment from which speaker expect to receive a generous  
return ...

ولكن غير الخيبة لن يكسبوا

According to this sentence as if the politician was sure that the invation would actually  
not be getting what had come up with and people or the hearer might interpret that he  
doesn't want to see any kind of change in state or perhaps Iraq is his territory and  
nobody has the right to interfere in its issue or it might implicate  
by the hearer as a kind of threat not possibly to the invader but the Iraqi people as well  
The use of FTA is to give warnings (Chilton and Schaffner 1997:219) and the political  
process here semantically representing a cautious manner ,obscure (Van Dijk2002:225)  
And as usual he is ending his speech with encouraging words to gain sympathy and  
support and to give authority to his speech :

عاش العراق حراً مستقلاً ....

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رسالة السيد الرئيس المجاهد صدام حسين بخط يده الجريمة الموجهة إلى رئيس هيئة الجنايات الكبرى الأولى بتاريخ  
٢٠٠٦/١٠/٢٢

Here we should notice that the political speaker of discourse is calling the supreme court by making use of one of his pragmatic strategic devices which is authority and power as a president to address the highest supreme court in the united states and by this he is trying to tell the public he is still the man in place of authority and this paper suggested that political leader as a background it implicates that this speech happened at the time of invasion to the Iraqi people because it talks about a judgement that was going to pass on him ..'many bald assertions appear to be felicitous on the basis than the authority of the speaker ' 'one of the performed (felicity is on the bases of recognized power claims, others like to truth fullness' (Chilton and Schaffner ,1997:219)(Al rassam2010:533)

إلى رئيس هيئة الجنايات الكبرى الأولى والأعضاء

We may notice also that the political speaker didn't make use of Holy Quran or poetry as a citation for his speech in this speech based on a presupposition that it happened in a period so sensitive that estimates he was under stress because he was delivering to judgement and this device works no more to effect the public having less authority ..

The paper suggested that the political leader is turning his case as a case of the public so to gain sympathy with his case or may be in place of authority again showing himself as representative of the whole society and that's implicate that 'one of the political strategies used in political discourse 'one of the key political functions is making use of truth claims about the historical speech events .....trying to disseminate elite political into public '(Chilton and Schaffner ,2002:7)

بحق العراق وأبنائه وقادته الغرّ البررة

and there's another thing concerning Searle's notion of felicity conditions that the hearer is taken the speaker to be speaking with sincerity which provide a phenomena of credibility and persuasion to the hearer which is found in themes and principles of (Chilton and Schaffner ,2002:11) and again to mitigate FTA establishing a common ground with society (Ibid p:11)

And again here the political leader is trying to gain support to convince the public that he is innocent making use of all possible strategies ..by accusing the other side of being unjust and oppressive by not even listening to accused represented by himself again so to gain sympathy and support :

وقرارات الهيئة ليس غير أخلاقية وإجرامية بحق العراق وأبنائه وقادته الغرّ البررة فحسب

This paper also argues that that beginning he begins his speech with peace words by greeting the Iraqi people and the nations and this implicates that he aims to get peace and by saying :

السلام على من هو أهل للسلام ويؤمن به

This supposes to mean himself that he is representative of peace while the facts of history tell that he wasn't like this after too many wars .Its only those words been said at a time the political leader in position of weakness and requesting

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peace and mercy towards himself ,words are well strategically formulated to lessen the affront (Ibid :14)

It is also may be noted that this speech being subjective to a certain extent and is felt to be a form of manipulation (Dramaniscu:2016)

Even with validity claims which can be seen a lot in political speeches ,we may notice here the kind of rationality implied in this speech which is based on interest and allowed for assumptions as (Hanermas1971 1981)believes ...people may be deceived by interpreting the political language as a sort of rationality while we can say here it turns to be ironical just for sake of benefit means specifically when he mentioned an Arab example which can not be understood by a foreigner :

رحم الله امروا جب الغيبه عن نفسه

It is ironical and that implicates the use of one strategy in political speech realizing a certain goal and it allow for certain interpretations That it might give an attitude of

humiliation and dissociation (see Wilson and Spencer 2004:622) this confirms the idea of indirectness and persuasion to enhance the language he uses for certain purposeful means.

صدام حسين رئيس جمهورية العراق

الى رؤساء ووجهاء العشائر المحترمين

السلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته

Language is a weapon and a powerful tool in winning public support especially during wars or election times. one of the dominant figures in the Arab homeland Saddam Hussein is beginning his speech with citation of holy quran to give that strength to his speech. According to (Zheng2000:2) and (Wodack2007:203) these are one of the pragmatic strategies to gain support and sympathy and to them are hedgy words to simply to simulate the feelings and get them to believe in him or drive them. And also in the end of the speech we see an enthusiastic poem. Poetry play a role in diplomacy and it has persuasive and rhetorical function, as Samuel Johnson wrote, 'the end of poetry is to instruct by pleasing'. He was as usual managing his discourse beginning by revolutionary words that may seem effective, resonant, vibrant and of course beginning with citation from holy quran gives the speech that authority and endorsement that what he is saying is perhaps to give his speech a sort of legislation. The way he is organizing his words seems like a poetry, enthusiastic words to evoke the

public opinion and gain support . The linguistic formulations(syntactic and lexical)to mitigate FTA are chosen carefully (Chilton and Schaffner,2002 : 14).

"والحمد لله والحمد لله أنكل العراقيين الشرفاء هم مجاهدين ومؤمنين بالله والوطن"

Behind these words another implicature hiding b in away that he is calling Iraqi people to be ready always to fight and they would not retreat to defend or fight with out even trying to use his power calling them directly to fight . 'the word'

"الشرفاء"

Is a play word ,effective to gain support and readiness

It seems not like a normal speech because it begins citation of holy quran and ends with enthusiastic phrases .It gives him that quality of being immortal ,historical so here lies another truth that his speech adding a lot to his personality of being a unique ,immortal ,great etc

In the middle of his political ,historical speech ,he was direct to reveal his demands .Tt was easy for him now to penetrate and show directly why he put this massage so naturally with no objection the public will submit to his will and by this means he achieved two purposes love ,support and willingness to fight with just few words.He didn't say 'im calling you to fight ' but in fact he all pragmatic strategies so here he is using indirectness and circumlucation if we look he is repeating words wordseverytime by making entailments to his implicature .(wodak,2007:203)

" المجاهدون والمجاهدات "

See how many times he repeated these words ..by attaching them with other words as if he reminding people that you are a fighting country and you will be for ever and by this he is rewarding them with just few words.By using this way I think he is violating cooperative maxims in other words he is flouting the maxim of quantity .

Regarding the politeness of implicature , we see here how he is using FTA by asking people to fight using his authority and power by 'requesting sacrifice' from the Iraqi people strategically formulated to mitigate FtA by using by using rewarding words الشرفاء و المجاهدون

And means of persuasion by telling them its a fight of righteousness heroism or championship ....(Schaffner and Chilton,2002:p:12)

### **Conclusionand Findings**

Politicians must persuade the public that their views are valid and common sense. This can partly be achieved by implicature. Implicature allows the audience to make assumption about information that has not actually been presented. It suggests that the audience share the same views as the politician. For that reason, politicians tend to politicize the public by speeches or interviews with dramatic



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overtones and unrealistic promises, which means that various language forms can influence the intensity of social conflict. Unfortunately, listeners sometimes have to believe or accept what political speakers say since there are no alternative ideas or opinions or they are not knowledgeable enough to dispute speakers' words. Implicatures are one of the most effective tools for politicians to realize their objectives. As it appears the violation of conversational maxims directly leads to the use of implicatures, either by concealing the truth, or being non relevant, by giving too many unnecessary details or by just not giving enough needed information, or by expressing yourselves in an unclear or ambiguous way. (Aridta:96) In Iraqi political discourse, and doubtless in other languages, speakers seem to assume the existence of Grice's principle, though they are not always observing them. Moreover. Politicians try to be polite whenever possible; and whenever politeness serve their interests in mitigating their propositions and reactions. In spite of the fact that this study is based on a small number of data, we have found that cultural differences influence the kind of verbal indirectness strategies employed by politicians. This effect is clear as the data show citation from the Holy Quran. (Eba:2011)

The most important pragmatic reflections seen in political discourse are "speech acts" because the discourse implies immediate actions. The words used in speech can have an extreme impact on the way that the future events can happen. These are promised, declared statements which make a radical change of perspective. Sentences are not made in isolation, but rather are context-dependent in their meaning. The interpretation of any sentence depends on the interpretation of the relationship between contexts. (Bianca2016)

The problem of intentionality can be interpreted as a mental representation of what must be said and what is actually said. The words used have an intentional structure and a logical order.

Speech activity can vary along many different dimensions, and an appropriate modal for representing is that of a means end analysis allowing continuous values, multiple goals and goals of varying indirectness. (Leech 1983)

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