



Argumentative Tactic of Rhetorical Fallacies in Political Discourse

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Abstract

The world of political rhetoric is a murky one due to the use of faulty logic and unsound arguments. That is, detecting fallacies can be one of the challenges that face researchers in a given discourse. In political discourse, the speaker and in his effort to persuade his audience should utilize strong arguments based on truthful appeals. However, a speaker might be a good persuader by utilizing false appeals which may make people fall for them easily. Fallacies are deceptive tactics that the arguer may employ to convince the listener by violating reasonableness rules. This study followed a textual analysis method and adopted the Pragma-dialectical approach (PDA) proposed by Van Eemeren, Grootendorst, and Henkemans (2002) to determine the rhetorical fallacies in ten political speeches of Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki; (i) identify the violated rules in committing such fallacies; (ii) determine the argument scheme that constructed such fallacies. The study found that al-Maliki violated most of the critical discussion rules and committed various rhetorical fallacies within these rules. The study concluded that the Pragma-dialectical approach can be used to analyze political discourse if we exclude rule two (burden of proof rule) and nine (closure rule). However, two types of fallacies were found to be absent in the Pragma-dialectical approach, indicating its lack of inclusivity. Henceforth, it is recommended to include these two types of fallacies within the Pragma-dialectical approach to enhance its inclusiveness.

Keywords: Rhetoric; Fallacies; Argumentation; Political Discourse; PDA.

1. Introduction

Political discourse is any technique, written or spoken, that attempts to influence peoples' opinions or encourage their actions to support a policy or a program (Ngoa, 2011). It is based on creating new words and expressions and eliminating others to serve the speakers' purposes (Chilton, 2004). That is, political discourse focuses on presenting a point of view in such a way that can make people see the world or to see a particular issue from a particular point of view (Ngoa, 2011). Imani (2021) states that the primary goal of political discourse is to persuade people, this purpose cannot be accomplished unless the audience view the world according to politicians' desires. In fact, political discourse intends to impose

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certain beliefs and attitudes upon people, these beliefs and attitudes comprise politicians' underlying ideologies, and according to these ideologies, politicians construct their language by which they aim to persuade people and thereby exercise power and dominance over them (Van Dijk, 2006). This is why Chilton (2004) believes that political discourse requires the use of different linguistic forms to achieve political ends, among which is the use of rhetoric.

The relationship between rhetoric and politics is rooted in the Aristotelian rhetoric of deliberation, in which he proposes an interrelation between politics and the rhetorical genus *deliberativum*, i.e. a way of talking that enhances the good choices within the available possibilities (Yack, 2006). The role of rhetoric is to devise an argument that can be persuasive to make the audience accept the speaker's viewpoint that has doubts about (Žagar, 2017). Accordingly, the speaker of any speech should employ a strong argument that is based on truthful appeals (Mshvenieradze, 2013). Such an argument is employed to dissolve the difference of thoughts so as to accept the standpoint by appealing to the other party's reasonableness, thereby persuading the listeners with the speaker's point of view (AL-Rikabi, 2022). However, a speaker can also be persuasive by utilizing false appeals. In that, people might be deceived with fallacies. Walton (2007) states that "fallacies are forms of argument that represent weak inferences, or even deceptive argumentation tactics used to unfairly get the best of a speech partner, they are not just arguments that are logically incorrect, but are logically incorrect arguments that appear to be correct" (p. 21). The reasoning in the argument must be logically valid or capable of being validated by making explicit one or more unexpressed premise (Van Eemeren et al., 2002). Therefore, detecting a fallacious argument requires further efforts since fallacies do not exclusively rely on the verbal form of the argument, rather, it depends on the context and the concerned situation of that argument. To achieve that purpose, the present study adopts a recent approach to fallacies from a pragma-dialectical perspective as proposed by Van Eemeren et al. (2002) to investigate the rhetorical fallacies in Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki's political speeches, deconstruct the structure of fallacies, and identify the violated rules in committing such fallacies.

Though some previous studies on fallacies adopted the Pragma-dialectical approach, they were limited to present conceptual studies rather than case studies. Such studies are conducted to understand and develop or extend a theoretical framework for future research. Moreover, most of these studies investigate one or two types of fallacies in each study. For example, Walton (2014) and Shim (2011) analyzed "ad baculum" fallacy while Budzynska and Witek (2014) examined the "ad hominem and ad balucum". Fallacies are widely used in political discourse where politicians construct their language with false appeals (Warman & Hamzah, 2019). Without paying attention to all of these types, the field of rhetorical fallacies will lack adequate understanding. Therefore, it is important to fill this gap in previous studies by conducting a comprehensive investigation on fallacies from a real-world setting to better understand the relevant strategies used to communicate various types of fallacies.

2. Rhetorical Fallacies

The word fallacy is derived from two Latin words "fallax", which means deceptive, and "fallere", which means to deceive (Aqeel, Shah, & Bilal, 2020). Rhetorical fallacies are false notions that do not allow for the open, two-way exchange of thoughts whereupon significant discussions depend on, rather, they mystify the audience's mind with different interests as opposed to utilizing sound thinking. Moreover, Hahn (2020) argues that fallacies are traps for unwary reasoners, and they are arguments that seem to be strong, while from closer scrutiny, they are not. For LaBossiere (1995), fallacies are appeals that make a breach or weakness in reasoning. They are bad arguments that follow commonly used patterns, and many people think that they are good arguments. Still, they are incorrect, misleading arguments and use various appeals instead of using sound reasoning. This is why Almosawi (2014) states that a fallacy is an error in thinking or reasoning, it is not an error in fact or belief, it involves a thought process. In that, "fallacy represents a misuse of argument which resulted in confusing or incorrect arguments" (Santoso, 2017, p. 66). A fallacy is an argument, which in turn is a series of statements; some of these statements are premises: reasons, claims, and from these premises, a conclusion is derived. Whenever we want to evaluate an argument, we should examine both the premises and conclusions. The premises, i.e., the evidence, should be thorough and accurate; the conclusion should clearly and incontrovertibly

derive from that evidence (Walton, 2007). That is, the word fallacy usually applies to conclusions that appear sound, and it is the criterion to judge whether the argument is false or not.

Fallacies are arguments and should be addressed from the argumentation theory's perspective. Within the argumentation theory, the argument is defined as the "verbal and social activity of reason [that] aimed at increasing (or decreasing) the acceptability of a controversial standpoint" (Boukala, 2018, p. 92). It can be understood from this definition that argumentation is a verbal activity since people use words and sentences to communicate their views and claims. Further, this definition stresses that argumentation is an activity of reason because it requires people to propose their claims and defend them based on hard and logical evidence or reasoning. Any argument has deductive or inductive goals (Zalaghi & Khazaei, 2016). The deductive purpose resides in the literal meaning of the premises and conclusion. Such a meaning is reached easily and explicitly from the information of the premises and conclusions without much effort to infer any further relations. The inductive goal of an argument, on the other hand, resides in underlining the real purpose and meaning of the premises and the conclusion. Such a meaning requires a full understanding of the real purpose of such an argument in a given context (Walton, 2007).

2.1 Fallacies from Pragma-dialectical Perspective

In any discourse, the arguers strive to resolve the difference of opinion, which are the ideal goals of argumentation (Mohammed, 2016). During an argument, the reasonableness of evidence is used either to support or violate the rules of an effective argument (Van Eemeren, 2013). There are two main approaches to understand argumentation, namely, the dialectical and rhetorical approach (Van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2004). Although seemingly diverse, these two approaches are complementary (Krabbe, 2002; Leff, 2002). Dialectic refers to the systematic, pragmatic and logical method for dealing with critical discussions during verbal communication. This approach maintains that secure belief and reasonableness of evidence provided by the arguer leads to valid arguments and resolution of difference (Van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2004). Rhetoric, on the other hand, refers to the critical analysis of argumentation from the perspective of the speaker's ability to convince or persuade an audience. To bridge the gap between the two approaches and the need to consider both reasonableness and persuasion in analyzing argumentative discourse, Van Eemeren et al. (2002) proposed a new approach under the term pragma-dialectical approach (PDA).

Based on this approach, Van Eemeren et al. (2002) proposed ten rules for a critical discussion of an effective argument, if these rules are followed and considered during an argument, the argument can be smooth, logical, and effective. However, if any of these rules have been violated, a fallacious action is realized. That is, fallacies are the violation of reasonable rules (Van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2004; Walton, 1995). The pragma-dialectical approach of argument rules is to discriminate fallacious from reasoning argumentative schemes. In that, the determination and interpretation of a fallacious action are dependent to a great extent on contextual factors and the environment in which the fallacy takes place (Hansen, 2002). The addition of the linguistic constituent to the interpretation of the fallacious utterances contributes to the understanding of the sources, types, and strategies of fallacies (Shim, 2011). However, the ten rules of critical discussion of an effective argument along with the types of fallacies proposed by Van Eemeren et al. (2002) are as follows:

2.1.1 Rule 1: The Freedom Rule

According to Van Eemeren et al. (2002), the speaker should not prevent his opponents from advancing standpoints or casting doubt on standpoint. That is, in any discussion, parties need to give each other unlimited freedom to introduce or criticize a standpoint or discuss about. This rule can be violated by using the following fallacies:

2.1.1.1 Fallacy of sacrosanct

This fallacy is committed when the speaker forbids the calling into question of a standpoint by declaring it sacrosanct, (e.g., I'm going to buy a new car. We can discuss its color and type or anything you want, but not whether it will be bought or not).

2.1.1.2 Declaring standpoint taboos

It is committed when the speaker prohibits the expression of a standpoint by declaring it taboo, (e.g., I do not think that it is good to say that your grandfather was a thief. One must not speak badly about the dead).

2.1.1.3 Fallacy of the stick

Where the arguer threatens others by violence or else types of sanctions either directly or indirectly, (e.g., directly as “If you try to get the city council to approve that, I will send my thugs after you”, or indirectly as “Of course you must make your own decision, but remember that we’re one of your top clients”).

2.1.1.4 Appeal to pity

It is done by making pressure on the hearer by playing on his emotions, (e.g., How can you have given me a failing mark for my thesis?)

2.1.1.5 Abusive variant (direct personal attack)

It is committed when the arguer describes the other party as stupid, evil, unreliable, and so on, (e.g., It made me so drowsy to read his response in last week’s edition that I will not even take the trouble to reply to his musings. The man is weak in the head, and blessed are the innocent of spirit).

2.1.1.6 Circumstantial variant (indirect personal attack)

In which the arguer is casting suspicion on the other party’s motives for instance by making him as one who biased to one side rather than another, (e.g., She believes that men are the cause of the disadvantaged position of women. I cannot avoid the impression that French at some time in the past have washed the dirty socks of men).

2.1.1.7 Tu quoque variant (you also variant)

Pointing out a contradiction in the other arguer’s words or deeds such as that he has a contradiction in his opinion in the past and present, (e.g., She discourages people from participating in the so-called AFP test, she knows the consequences of the AFP test. So why did she have such an AFP test done herself? Because in fact she preferred not to have a mongoloid baby).

2.1.2 Rule 2: The Burden of Proof Rule

The burden of proof rule poses that an arguer must defend his or her argument or standpoint against any critical attack. However, this rule can be violated in two main ways. The first way is achieved by shifting the burden of proof to the person who criticizes the standpoint. The second way is to evade the burden of proof completely, which is achieved through several rhetorical strategies.

2.1.2.1 Shifting the burden of proof

In which the arguer is escaping from the obligation to defend a standpoint by turning the burden of proof to the person who is criticizing the standpoint, (e.g., You first prove that it is not so” prove that it is wrong).

2.1.2.2 Presenting the standpoint as evidence

Where the arguer may introduce the standpoint as one that needs no proof at all, (e.g., It is obvious that..., Nobody in their right mind would deny that).

2.1.2.3 Introducing personal guarantee

In which the arguer utters expressions that make the antagonist feel depressed and cannot voice his doubts, (e.g., I can assure you that..., There is no doubt in my mind that..., I am absolutely convinced that...).

2.1.2.4 Shaping the standpoint

A manner that makes the standpoint safe from any criticism because it cannot be evaluated or tested, (e.g., Men are by nature hunters).

2.1.3 Rule 3: The Standpoint Rule

According to Van Eemeren et al. (2002), the defence and the attack in the dispute must be related to the actual standpoint. That is, the speaker should attack or defend the issue under conflict and not go beyond that standpoint. Accordingly, this rule can be violated when the speaker criticizes an unrelated standpoint, and the opponents in his turn will also defend a different standpoint. As a result, the original standpoint will be distorted. It is violated by committing the following fallacies:

2.1.3.1 Misrepresenting the genuine standpoint by exaggerating

When the speaker replaces the quantifier “all” instead of “Some, few”, (e.g., All people against what you said).

2.1.3.2 Misrepresenting the genuine standpoint (oversimplifying)

Involves leaving out the restrictions and nuances, when one accuses someone of having written something, whereas he did not mean that, (e.g., The line between legitimate and charlatan is very fuzzy).

2.1.3.3 Emphatically putting forward the opposite standpoint

In which the speaker implicitly refers that the antagonist thinks otherwise, (e.g., I personally believe that the defence of our democracy is of great importance).

2.1.3.4 Referring to a group which the antagonist belongs to

When the arguer refers to the antagonist's group and connects this group with a fictitious standpoint, (e.g., He says that he thinks this hospital is useful, but as a doctor he naturally sees it as unhealthy).

2.1.3.5 Using fictitious expressions

When the arguer uses expressions to hold the standpoint, whereas there are no surveys prove that (e.g., Nearly everyone thinks that..., educators are of the opinion that..., everyone has been saying lately that...).

2.1.4 Rule 4: The Relevance Rule

Within relevance rule, the defence and attack in the discussion can only occur through argument, and this argument must be relevant to the standpoint (Van Eemeren et al., 2002). They add the discussants should not use means other than argumentation such as rhetorical devices, including the classical appeals of persuasion, such as appealing to the security, loyalty feelings, fear, shame, and greed. This rule might be violated as follows:

2.1.4.1 The fallacy of irrelevant argumentation

The arguer defends standpoint which is not the one at issue that fired the difference of opinion, (e.g., To defend democracy one should be against population growth).

2.1.4.2 A pathetic fallacy (pathos)

When the speaker appeals either positively to the security or loyalty feelings, or negatively by appealing to the emotions of fear, shame, greed, (e.g., He is playing unfairly on the sentiments of the members of the jury because it is just as terrible a thing when the victims are men, whether they are ordinary men, police agents, or soldiers).

2.1.4.3 An ethical fallacy of abuse authority (ethos)

In which the arguer uses ethos depending on his expertise or good qualities to make the audiences have faith in his credibility and integrity, (e.g., I know that....., I personally assure that).

2.1.5 Rule 5: The Unexpressed Premise

The speaker should not falsely attribute unexpressed premises to his opponents, nor deny responsibility for his unexpressed premises, if he does so, then he violated the unexpressed premise rule (Van Eemeren et al., 2002). This rule proposes that everyday conversations contain several unexpressed premises, which might communicate different meanings indirectly. That is, in a critical discussion, the speaker's argument may consist of parts that remain implicit in the discourse. Following are the fallacies that can be committed to violating this rule:

2.1.5.1 Magnifying what has been left unexpressed

This fallacy is committed when the speaker exaggerates the premise's scope and adds other unexpressed premises that go further from what is warranted, (e.g., This only means that we have to give up, You mean that we should do what the terrorists want).

2.1.5.2 Fallacy of denying an unexpressed premise

It is committed when the arguer refuses to handle responsibility for what it is implied, (e.g., I never said that).

2.1.6 Rule 6: The Starting Point Rule

The speaker should not falsely present a premise as an accepted starting point, nor deny a premise representing an accepted starting point (Van Eemeren et al., 2002). If the speaker does not follow this rule, it means that he violated the starting point rule. They add when the speaker pretends that a specific premise is a real starting point while it is not. It is a kind of trick proposed by him to introduce such a controversial proposition to prevent the starting point at issue from being attacked. This rule is violated when the speaker committed the following fallacies:

2.1.6.1 Unfair use of presupposition

When the speaker introduces a statement as a presupposition of another statement, (e.g., I cannot understand why John does not do something about that gambling addiction).

2.1.6.2 The fallacy of many questions

In which the speaker introduces a question that implied more than one question, (e.g., Who have you quarreled with today? Which implies two other questions, have you quarreled with anyone today? and who have you quarreled with?).

2.1.6.3 Fallacy of circular reasoning/ Begging the question

When the arguer uses an argument as synonymous with the standpoint at issue to defend it, (Racial discrimination is a punishable offense because it is against the law).

2.1.7 Rule 7: The Argument Scheme Rule

This rule proposes that the speaker should not view a standpoint as conclusively defended if it is not presented through an appropriate argumentation scheme (Van Eemeren et al., 2002). So, this rule can be violated when the speaker uses an improper argument scheme or misapplies it by using different ploys:

2.1.7.1 Populist fallacy

When the speaker is inappropriately applying the argument from popular opinion, i.e. introduce some number of people based on asymptomatic relation, (e.g., Hundreds of thousands of cheering readers, viewers, or listeners are no proof at all of the correctness of an idea).

2.1.7.2 Fallacy of confusing facts with value judgments

In which one uses a causal argument scheme incorrectly, it is the argument from consequences, (e.g., It cannot be raining, because that would mean we would have to cancel our picnic).

2.1.7.3 Inappropriately appealed to causal relation using post hoc ergo propter hoc

In which the cause and effect relation based on the fact that the one thing preceded the other “after this, therefore, because of this”, (e.g., I like the Milan team. I like the way they play, their courage, their drive to win. Since I came we have gone from 40 to 71 thousand season ticket holders. There must be a reason for this).

2.1.7.4 Inappropriately appealed to causal relation using a slippery slope

When the speaker wrongly judges that by making certain actions, things will be turning from bad to worse, (e.g., If you get a B in high school, you will not get into the college of your choice, and therefore will never have a meaningful career).

2.1.7.5 Fallacy of abuse authority

In which the speaker introduces a proposition as an accepted one based on the opinion of persons or written sources, (e.g., My high school teacher said it, so it must be true).

2.1.7.6 Fallacy of hasty generalization

In which the fallacy is generalized based on the evidence of very few observations, (e.g., After having spent our 2001 vacation in Maldives, we went there again, which shows that it is a great place for tourists).

2.1.7.7 Fallacy of false analogy

Where the speaker uses two or more compared things are not actually comparable, (e.g., No one objects to a physician looking in medical books. Why, shouldn't students in exam be permitted to use their textbook?).

2.1.8 Rule 8: The Validity Rule

The validity rule proposes that the reasoning in the argument must be logically valid or at least capable of being validated by stating an explicit premise or more unexpressed premises (Van Eemeren et al., 2002). This rule is violated by committing the following fallacies:

2.1.8.1 Faulty reasoning

In which the reasoning is invalid despite making everything explicit after being unexpressed, (e.g., If you eat spoiled fish, you get sick, Ann is sick; therefore, Ann has eaten spoiled fish).

2.1.8.2 Fallacy of division/composition

In which the speaker incorrectly attributes the property of the whole to the component parts, (e.g., This chair is white. Therefore, the legs of this chair are white).

2.1.9 Rule 9: The Closure Rule

Includes that both discussants, the protagonist, and the antagonist, must agree on the discussion's outcome. Otherwise, the difference of opinion will stick at the same point. The arguer should retract or give up a standpoint once its defence has failed or the arguer failed to convince the audience. This rule is violated in two ways:

2.1.9.1 Refusing to retract a standpoint that has not been defended successfully

This fallacy is committed if the protagonist does not defend his standpoint and convince the antagonist, then he must give up, (e.g., Well, if that is the case, then I cannot think of any more objections. But I still do not agree with it).

2.1.9.2 Concluding that a standpoint is true because it has been defended successfully

By his turn, the antagonist must turn back his criticism of that standpoint since he has failed to criticize the opponent's view, (e.g., Mother: You must never hit children, because then they lose trust in society

and ten years later they will be hitting everybody. Father: It has not in any way been proved that hitting children leads to violence later. So a slap once in a while for a good reason cannot do any harm).

2.1.10 Rule 10: The Usage Rule

The last rule is the usage rule, in which the speaker should not utilize formulations that are insufficiently clear or confusingly ambiguous; likewise, he should interpret the opponent's formulations carefully and accurately (Van Eemeren et al., 2002). That is, to present his standpoint in such a way that reduces the opportunities of misunderstanding. Accordingly, this rule is violated when the speaker uses unclear or ambiguous language to turn the argument in his favor.

2.1.10.1 The fallacy of unclarity

This fallacy includes the structural unclarity at the textual level, resulting from the illogical order, lack of coherence, obscure structure...etc, and the unclarity at the sentence level (e.g., John is kleptomaniac). Therefore, the following questions might be asked from the hearer for clarification: (i) Are you warning me or just informing me? Implicitness, (ii) Charles? Charles who? Indefiniteness, (iii) A kleptomaniac? What is that? Unfamiliarity, (iv) What do you mean, he is a kleptomaniac? Vagueness, What do you mean, he's a kleptomaniac? Do you mean once upon a time he stole something, or do you mean he makes a habit of stealing things?

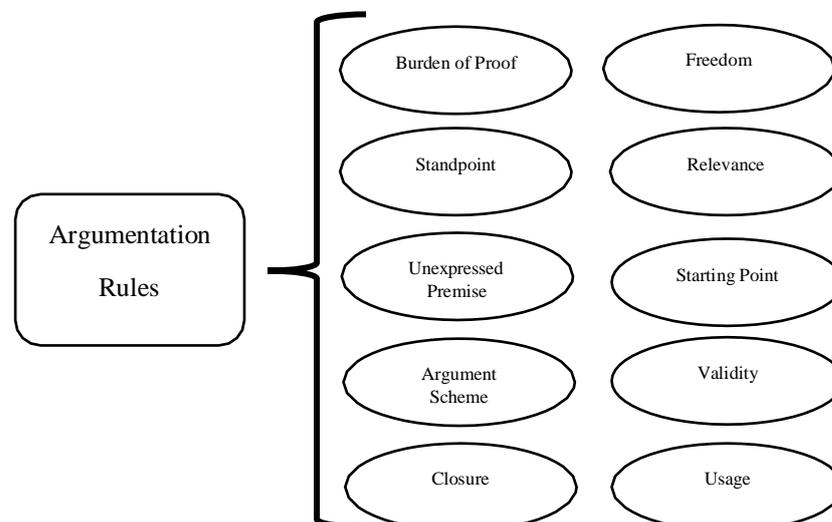
2.1.10.2 The fallacy of ambiguity

This fallacy is related to the situations in which the words and phrases have more than one meaning, (That is Anna's portrait). This example might be interpreted ambiguously as in (i) The portrait was painted by Anna, (ii) The portrait is owned by Anna, (iii) Anna is the subject of the portrait. The other example might indicate an ambiguous reference "Sara gave Clara a pen; it was her last day here". The reference here is ambiguous since it is difficult to decide to which girl the pronoun "her" is referred to.

3. Method

The violation of critical discussion rules can be achieved deliberately by the speaker through the employment of certain rhetorical fallacies. If these rules are met and executed, a reasonable talk is realized. However, if these rules are violated, a fallacy is detected (Van Eemeren et al., 2002). That is, any violation of each of these rules would make the argument lose its smoothness, logic, effectiveness, and reasoning, thus a fallacious argument is realized. According to Van Eemeren et al's. (2002) Pragmadiialectical approach (PDA), any argument is evaluated at two levels; the micro-level, where the argument is evaluated according to its premises and conclusion, and the macro-level, where the argument is evaluated according to the context of that argument (Walton, 1995). In this case, the unexpressed premise would be more informative for interpreting the argument under investigation. Such an unexpressed premise can be inferred from the context, specific and general background knowledge, and common sense about a given argument. Figure 1 illustrates the ten rules of critical discussion proposed by Van Eemeren et al. (2002).

Figure 1: Rules of Reasonable Argumentation (Van Eemeren et al., 2002)



3.1 Data collection and Analysis

This study used Van Eemeren et al's. (2002) Pragma-dialectical approach to analyze the rhetorical fallacies in ten political speeches of the former Prime Minister of Iraq, Nouri al-Maliki. For data analysis, the study used a textual analysis method to deconstruct the content and interpret the meaning of fallacies. Lockyer (2008) states that textual analysis has two types, content analysis, and structure analysis. While the former focuses on the ideas presented in a text, the latter focuses on the organization or structure of a discourse. For data collection, the speeches were purposely collected in the form of written texts in Arabic language. Two websites from which the data have been collected, namely, the official websites of Prime Minister Nouri al-Malik (<http://www.pmo.iq/press/>), and the official website of the Iraqi cabinet, <http://www.cabinet.iq/ArticleShow.aspx>). To provide the readers with a better understanding, the speeches were translated into English by an accredited translator who has a membership in the Iraqi Translators Association. Moreover, to establish triangulation, the translations were double-checked by two professors who are native Arabic speakers with Ph.D. in English language.

4. Results

It is essential to describe the context where the selected speeches took place (see table 1, appendix A). The speeches were delivered at different points of time, which lasted from April 2013 to May 2014, where the demonstrations against al-Maliki's sectarian policies took place in all Sunni cities. In fact, the demonstrations started after al-Maliki spread the army inside these cities, which affected the freedom of the citizen. Al-Maliki also accused several Sunni leaders and issued judicial orders to arrest them, which arouse the feeling of anger against his policies (Katzman, 2014). At that time, the role of al-Qaeda and ISIS were very effective in Iraq, where they took control over several cities including; Ramadi, Mosul, and Salah Uddin. These events were accompanied by the preparations for the general parliamentary election on 30 April 2014.

Due to the length of the units and the big size of the data as well as the variation in the number of fallacies within each rule, the present study presents one fallacy from each rule to illustrate how the process of analysis has been implemented to all fallacies. For more details, table 2 in appendix B illustrates the violated rules and the entire committed fallacies within each rule in ten political speeches of Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki. It should be mentioned that "P" refers to a premise and "C" refers to a conclusion.

Rule One: Freedom Rule

1. Declaring Standpoint Taboos / Speech-11

I think that the smart and keen Iraqi citizen can improve the choice according to his experience, and there is no excuse for an apologized person if he makes a mistake and chooses who counterfeit or tamper or exaggerate or buy the votes or who sell their votes, there is no excuse for them in front of Allah and history and in front of society.

واعتقد اصبح بإمكان المواطن العراقي الذكي والحريص ان يحسن الاختيار على ضوء التجربة ولاعذر لمعتذر اذا اخطأ الان وذهب باتجاه اختيار السذين يزيفون اويزورون اويبالغون او يشترون الاصوات او الذين يبيعون اصواتهم، لاعذر لهم امام الله وامام التاريخ وامام المجتمع.

Argument Scheme

P1. I think that the smart and keen Iraqi citizen can improve the choice according to his experience

واعتقد اصبح بإمكان المواطن العراقي الذكي والحريص ان يحسن الاختيار على ضوء التجربة

P2. There is no excuse for an apologized person if he makes a mistake and chooses who counterfeit or tamper or exaggerate or buy the votes or who sell their votes

ولاعذر لمعتذر اذا اخطأ الان وذهب باتجاه اختيار السذين يزيفون اويزورون اويبالغون او يشترون الاصوات او الذين يبيعون اصواتهم

P3. There is no excuse for them in front of Allah and history and in front of society.

لاعذر لهم امام الله وامام التاريخ وامام المجتمع

C. It is forbidden to elect those who counterfeit or tamper or buy the votes.

حرام انتخاب السذين يزيفون اويزورون او يشترون الاصوات.

In the above example, al-Maliki addresses Iraqi citizens to be precise in their choices. If we don't know anything about the context of these utterances, we would let it go and assume that the unexpressed premise would be something like 'be precise in electing other candidates'. However, a closer look at the context of speech 11 (see table1, appendix A), and the common knowledge about Islamic instructions would be more informative to come up with a more specific formulation of the unexpressed premise 'electing those who counterfeit or tamper means committing something forbidden', indicating that al-Maliki attempts to restrict people's freedom by directing them not to elect other candidates, otherwise, they will not be excused in front of Allah. In that, al-Maliki committed a fallacy of declaring standpoint taboos. This is expressed obviously in the conclusion of this fallacy, where he forbids citizens to elect other candidates who fake their votes or commit fraud in the votes. According to Van Eemeren et al. (2002), when the speaker prohibits the action and expression of a standpoint by declaring it as something forbidden, he commits a fallacy of declaring standpoint taboos. In fact, this was an adopted strategy by al-Maliki to overthrow his opponents. Ali (2014) points out that whenever al-Maliki wants to remove an opponent, he distorts this opponent's reputation by different means, including accusing him of various indictments or even putting his opponents in prison. Therefore, al-Maliki attempts to disrepute other candidates to direct the public not to elect them.

Rule Three: Standpoint Rule

2. Emphatically Putting Forward the Opposite Standpoint / Speech-11

This requires that whoever comes supposed to be a defender of security, a defender of the security institutions, a defender of the army, a defender of the service process, a defender of the position of Iraq and the strength of the Iraqi state, not someone who discourages those who confront terrorism.

وهذا يقتضي ان من يأتي من المفروض ان يكون مدافعا عن الامن، مدافعا عن الاجهزة الامنية، مدافعا عن الجيش، مدافعا عن العملية الخدمائية، مدافعا عن موقع العراق وقوة الدولة العراقية لا ان يأتي من يثبط عزائم الذين يتصدون للارهاب.

Argument Scheme

P1. This requires that whoever comes supposed to be a defender of security, a defender of the security institutions, a defender of the army

P2. a defender of the service process, a defender of the position of Iraq and the strength of the Iraqi state, not someone who discourages those who confront terrorism

C. The others are not defenders of these issues, and they discourage who confront terrorism

وهذا يقتضي ان من يأتي من المفروض ان يكون مدافعا عن الامن، مدافعا عن الاجهزة الامنية، مدافعا عن الجيش مدافعا عن العملية الخدمائية، مدافعا عن موقع العراق وقوة الدولة العراقية لا ان يأتي من يثبط عزائم الذين يتصدون للارهاب.

الأخرون ليسوا مدافعين عن هذه القضايا ويثبطون عزيمة من يواجهون الإرهاب

Emphatically putting forward the opposite standpoint fallacy is committed when the speaker implicitly or explicitly refers that the antagonist thinks otherwise, namely, oppositely (Van Eemeren et al., 2002). That is, putting forward the opposite proposition and relating it to the opponents. This can be seen in the above example, where al-Maliki addresses the Iraqi citizens and advises them to elect the one who defends Iraq and its security forces and provides services for them, which indirectly refers to himself. The context of speech 11 (see table 1, appendix A) indicates that this speech was delivered before one week of the parliamentary election in 2014 as one of al-Maliki's propaganda, where the competition between the candidates reached its climax. Consequently, we can infer the following unexpressed premise 'opponents are not defenders of security, and they discourage those who confront terrorism'. That is, he implicitly indicated that others (his opponents) think oppositely, will not defend Iraq, and discourage any efforts to confront terrorism. As a result, al-Maliki breached rule three and committed the fallacy of emphatically putting forward the opposite standpoint.

Rule Four: Relevance Rule

3. A Pathetic Fallacy (pathos) / Speech-2

The riskiness of the sectarian proposal moves quickly to partition and promote the sectarian voice in the squares and mosques as in Iraq and else. It promotes the disputes and put obstacles in the way of the rational and wise people, which drive things towards division and shredding, and it is not the last thing, it is killing and fighting outside the control.

ومن مخاطر الطرح الطائفي أنه ينتقل بسرعة إلى التقسيم ويرتفع الصوت الطائفي في الساحات والمساجد كما في العراق وغيره ويؤجج الخلافات ويضع العراقيين في طريق العقلاء والحكماء لتندرج الأمور نحو التقسيم والتمزيق، وهي ليست آخر المطاف، أنه قتل وقتال خارج أطر السيطرة.

Argument Scheme

- P1. The riskiness of the sectarian proposal moves quickly to partition and promote the sectarian voice in the squares and mosques as in Iraq and else
 P2. It promotes the disputes and put obstacles in the way of the rational and wise people, which drive things towards division and shredding
 C. It is not the last thing, it is killing and fighting outside the control.

ومن مخاطر الطرح الطائفي أنه ينتقل بسرعة إلى التقسيم ويرتفع الصوت الطائفي في الساحات والمساجد كما في العراق وغيره ويؤجج الخلافات ويضع العراقيين في طريق العقلاء والحكماء لتندرج الأمور نحو التقسيم والتمزيق وهي ليست آخر المطاف، أنه قتل وقتال خارج أطر السيطرة.

When the speaker manipulates the emotions of the audiences he commits a pathetic fallacy, which can be applied in two ways; either positively by appealing to the loyalty feelings and security, or negatively by appealing to the negative emotions of greed, shame, and fear (Van Eemeren et al., 2002). Al-Maliki appeals to both positive and negative emotions in the above example. That is, on the one hand, he appeals to loyalty feelings and security by claiming that the sectarian proposal leads to the division and shredding of the Iraqi unity. On the other hands, he appeals to the negative emotion of fear by claiming that the sectarian proposal leads to uncontrolled killing and fighting. Appealing to peoples' feeling rather than using an argument with valid proof caused him to breach rule four, the relevance rule, and committed a pathetic fallacy. A closer look at the context of speech 2 (see table 1, appendix A) clarifies the situation and leads us to infer the following unexpressed premise according to al-Maliki's point of view 'the demonstrators seek for sectarian dispute, and any sectarian dispute drives things to kill and fight outside the control'. That is, in his effort to end the demonstrations, al-Maliki accused the demonstrators of being sectarian and even terrorist merely to terrify the public and make them support his future decisions against the demonstrators.

Rule Five: Unexpressed Premise Rule

4. Magnifying what has been Left Unexpressed / Speech-10

Their concern is to make the sectarian, takfir, and authoritarian thought win, and to get who support this thought and this behavior when they commit this deed.

همّهم ان ينتصر الفكر التكفيري الطائفي، وفكر التسلط الذي يؤمنون به ويحصلون على من يدعم هذا الفكر وهذا السلوك، حينما اقدموا على هذه العملية.

Argument Scheme

- P1 Their concern is to make the sectarian, takfir, and authoritarian thought win.
 P2. To get who support this thought and this behavior when they commit this deed
 C. There are who support the sectarian, takfir, and authoritarian thought within the political process

همّهم ان ينتصر الفكر التكفيري الطائفي، وفكر التسلط الذي يؤمنون به ويحصلون على من يدعم هذا الفكر وهذا السلوك، حينما اقدموا على هذه العملية هناك من يدعم الفكر الطائفي والتكفيري والسلطوي في العملية السياسية

The above example illustrates the process of committing the fallacy of magnifying what has been left unexpressed, in which al-Maliki exaggerated what ISIS did. He attributed it to his opponents, whom he accused as a remnant of al-Ba'ath regime, i.e. he claimed that they are looking for the victory of the sectarian and takfir thought. The context of speech 10 (see table 1, appendix A) confirms the following unexpressed premise 'some who are in the political process (Sunni politicians) support the thoughts of al-Qaeda and ISIS', pointing out that al-Maliki attempts to make a connection between ISIS and the preceding regime of al-Ba'ath party. For that reason, he committed the fallacy of magnifying what has

been left unexpressed and breached rule five, unexpressed premise rule. Van Eemeren et al. (2002) state that this fallacy is being committed when the speaker manipulates the unexpressed premises and misrepresents them by adding other unexpressed premises which go further from what is actually happened or said.

Rule Six: Starting Point Rule

5. Unfair Use of Presupposition / Speech-2

I wonder where is the role of Islamic scholars and thinkers and Islamic organizations in spreading peace, where we daily hear fatwas issued by those who are belonged to this noble religion calling for killing, burn, takfir, and bloodshed.

وإني أتساءل أين دور العلماء والمفكرين الإسلاميين والحركات الإسلامية في إفشاء السلام ، ونحن نسمع يومياً فتاوى يصدرها المحسوبون على هذا الدين الحنيف ، تدعو للقتل والحرق والتكفير وهدر الدماء.

Argument Scheme

P1. I wonder where is the role of Islamic scholars and thinkers and Islamic organizations in spreading peace,

وإني أتساءل أين دور العلماء والمفكرين الإسلاميين والحركات الإسلامية في إفشاء السلام

P2. Where we daily hear fatwas issued by those who are belonged to this noble religion calling for killing, burn, takfir, and bloodshed.

ونحن نسمع يومياً فتاوى يصدرها المحسوبون على هذا الدين الحنيف ، تدعو للقتل والحرق والتكفير وهدر الدماء.

C. The Scholars, thinkers and Islamic organizations are the ones who issue these fatwas

العلماء والمفكرين والمنظمات الإسلامية هم من يصدر هذه الفتاوى

When the speaker introduces a statement as a presupposition of another statement without proof, he falsely asserts that the opponent commits such a presupposition to claim that it is a factual reality, the speaker in such a situation is said to have committed the fallacy of unfair use of presupposition (Van Eemeren et al., 2002). In the above example, al-Maliki unfairly presupposed that the scholars and thinkers who issued the fatwas of takfir. By questioning their role in issuing fatwas of takfir, he falsely claimed that they are involved in that issue. A closer look at the context of speech 2 (see table 1, appendix A) sustains to infer the following unexpressed premise 'since scholars do not prevent the demonstrations; therefore, they spiritually support them'. That is, the religious scholars of the Sunni cities look for the sectarian disorder and they are responsible for the fatwas of takfir. In that, al-Maliki breached rule six, starting point rule, and committed the fallacy of unfair use of presupposition.

Rule Seven: Argument Scheme Rule

6. Fallacy of Abuse Authority / Speech-6

The House of Representatives, in my estimation, is terminated and sentenced itself or by its Presidency to be expired, through a set of constitutional violations that by their nature make the House of Representatives, unfortunately, this general legislative institution loses many of its constitutional and legal peculiarities.

ان مجلس النواب في تقديري قد انتهى وقد حكم على نفسه او حكمت عليه هيئة الرئاسة بالانتهاء، من خلال مجموعة من المخالفات الدستورية التي بطبيعتها تفقد مجلس النواب، مع الاسف الشديد، هذه المؤسسة التشريعية العامة تفقدها الكثير من خصوصياته الدستورية والقانونية،

Argument Scheme

P1. Through committing a set of constitutional violations, unfortunately, the House of Representatives, this general legislative institution loses many of its constitutional and legal peculiarities

من خلال ارتكابه مجموعة من المخالفات الدستورية التي بطبيعتها تفقد مجلس النواب، مع الاسف الشديد، هذه المؤسسة التشريعية العامة تفقدها الكثير من خصوصياته الدستورية والقانونية

C. The House of Representatives, in my estimation, is terminated and sentenced itself or by its Presidency to be expired

مجلس النواب في تقديري قد انتهى وقد حكم على نفسه او حكمت عليه هيئة الرئاسة بالانتهاء

In the above example, al-Maliki exploited his authority to accuse the House of Representative of committing several constitutional violations, and therefore it should be sentenced as invalid institution. However, if we look at the context of speech 6 (see table 1, appendix A), which was delivered 25 days before the date of holding the election, we would know that there was a continuous conflict between the House of Representatives and the al-Maliki, each accused the other of violating the constitution. Hence, we can infer the following unexpressed premise “any institution that commits constitutional violations is considered to be terminated”. With such a claim, al-Maliki attempted to prevent the House of Representative from issuing any decision against his will. Since the one who uttered that argument is al-Maliki, then his view should be accepted as he is the one with authority. In doing so, al-Maliki breached rule seven, the argument scheme rule, and committed the fallacy of abuse authority. According to Van Eemeren et al. (2002), the speaker commits this fallacy when he inappropriately introduces a proposition based on written resources or on the opinion of a person who owns authority.

Rule Eight: Validity Rule

7. Faulty Reasoning / Speech-4

1. When we felt imbalance, or when our society in that state affected by the imbalance, the imbalance of distinction, of extension, and of exclusion on the home front we got involved into wars and then these wars led us to external wars.

حينما شعرنا بخلل او حينما اصيب مجتمعنا في تلك الدولة بخلل، خلل التمييز وخلل التمدد والالغاء على الجبهة الداخلية، دخلنا في حروب ثم قادتنا هذه الحروب الى حروب خارجية.

Argument Scheme

P1. When we felt imbalance, or when our society in that state affected by the imbalance, t

حينما شعرنا بخلل او حينما اصيب مجتمعنا في تلك الدولة بخلل،

P2. The imbalance of distinction, of extension, and of exclusion on the home front we got involved into wars and then these wars led us to external wars.

خلل التمييز وخلل التمدد والالغاء على الجبهة الداخلية، دخلنا في حروب ثم قادتنا هذه الحروب الى حروب خارجية.

C. There was a violation of human rights by the preceding regime that leads us to get involved in external wars

كان هناك انتهاك لحقوق الانسان من قبل النظام السابق قادتنا الى الدخول في حروب خارجية

The above example illustrates the process of committing the fallacy of faulty reasoning, where al-Maliki presented his standpoint based on an invalid reason, even though he introduced the standpoint explicitly, but he left some elements implicit. That is, he implicitly indicates that the preceding regime violated the human rights of the Iraqi citizens. An overall look at the context of speech 4 (refer to table 1, appendix A) clarifies the situation and helps us to infer the following unexpressed premise ‘since the preceding regime had chased al-Maliki in the past; therefore, it violated human rights’. That is, al-Maliki introduced his argument by accusing the preceding regime of being a sectarian regime that violated the human rights of ethnic minorities, indicating that his regime respects the human rights of minorities. Van Eemeren et al. (2002) state that the fallacy of faulty reasoning is being committed when the speaker utilizes invalid explicit reason to implicitly express what is being unexpressed.

Rule Ten: The Usage Rule

8. Fallacy of Unclarity / Speech-5

Brothers and sisters the attendance in the House of Representatives with the insistence on not to discuss the budget is false testimony, and I hope they do not falsely testify for collusion managed against the government inside the House of Representatives, and to disrupt the attendance unless the Presidency responded to the presentation of the draft budget. Thanks a lot to whoever stands against those who want to sabotage the political process.

الاخوة والاخوات ان الحضور في مجلس النواب مع الاصرار على عدم طرح الموازنة هي شهادة زور واتمنى عليهم ان لايشهدوا زورا على مؤامرة تحاك على الحكومة داخل مجلس النواب، وان يعطل الحضور الا اذا استجابت هيئة الرئاسة لعرض مشروع الموازنة بشكرا جزيلا لكل من يقف بوجه الذين يريدون تخريب العملية السياسية.

Argument Scheme

- P1. brothers and sisters that the attendance in the House of Representatives with the insistence on not to discuss the budget is false testimony, and I hope they do not falsely testify for collusion managed against the government inside the House of Representatives.
- P2. And to disrupt the attendance unless the Presidency responded to the presentation of the draft budget.
- C. Thanks a lot to whoever stands against those who want to sabotage the political process.

الاخوة والاخوات ان الحضور في مجلس النواب مع الاصرار على عدم طرح الموازنة هي شهادة زور واتمنى عليهم ان لايشهدوا زورا على مؤامرة تحاك على الحكومة داخل مجلس النواب، وان يعطل الحضور الا اذا استجابت هيئة الرئاسة لعرض مشروع الموازنة شكرا جزيلاً لكل من يقف بوجه الذين يريدون تخريب العملية السياسية.

The fallacy of unclarity occurs at two levels: first, unclarity at the textual level including the illogical order, lack of coherence, obscureness, and structure. Second, unclarity at the sentence level that can be expressed by implicitness, indefiniteness, unfamiliarity, and vagueness (Van Eemeren et al., 2002). Al-Maliki used unclarity at the sentence level. The above example al-Maliki referred to those who wanted to sabotage the political process, though he did not identify whom they were. The statement is unclear because there is no reference to whom he referred. However, an overall look at the context of speech 5 (refer to table 1, appendix A) leads us to infer the following unexpressed premise 'anyone stands against the endorsement of the budget, means that he wants to sabotage the political process'. As a result, al-Maliki violated the usage rule and committed the fallacy of unclarity at the sentence level which is represented by indefiniteness.

However, the present study found that there are two types of fallacies that are not included in the PDA, but they are discussed in other references, i.e. Almosawi (2014) and Lazere (2015), who refer to these two types. These are as follows:

1. Fallacy of Either/Or/ Speech-8

The House of Representatives is the legislative body, which has the right **either** to amend this law and correct the procedures through new legislation **or** through a legal amendment on the Commission's law

ومجلس النواب الجهة التشريعية الذي من حقه اما ان يعدل هذا القانون ويصحح الاجراءات عبر تشريع جديد او عبر تعديل قانوني على قانون المفوضية

Argument Scheme

- P1. The House of Representatives is the legislative body
- P2. has the right either to amend this law and correct the procedures through new legislation or through a legal amendment to the Commission's law
- C. The House of Representatives has **either** to amend the law of exclusion **or** to the law of the Independent High Electoral Commission

ومجلس النواب الجهة التشريعية الذي من حقه اما ان يعدل هذا القانون ويصحح الاجراءات عبر تشريع جديد او عبر تعديل قانوني على قانون المفوضية على مجلس النواب إما تعديل قانون الاستبعاد أو تعديل قانون المفوضية العليا المستقلة للانتخابات

Either/or fallacy also known as a false dilemma. It is a strategy of displaying two positions that might be in opposition to each other when they are mutually compatible or suggest only two feasible alternatives while there are others (Lazere, 2015). In the above extract, we can see the use of either/or fallacy where al-Maliki attempted to reduce complicated things to only two possible choices by limiting his opponent and imposing the opponent to pick up one of the options. That is, either/or fallacy "is an argument that presents a set of two possible categories and assumes that everything in the scope of that which is being discussed must be an element of that set if one of these categories is rejected, then one has to accept the other" (Almosawi, 2014, p. 18). Here, al-Maliki claims that the House of Representatives doesn't have the right to cancel the decision of the Electoral Commission and provides two suggestions that the House of Representatives should choose only one of them. That is, the House of Representative has either to amend this law and correct the procedures through new legislation or through a legal amendment to the Commission's law. Since this strategy is used to limit the choices, the present study suggests that this fallacy can be included within rule one, the freedom rule, because it restricts the other party's freedom from having unlimited freedom.

2. Fallacy of Stacking Evidence (Half Truth) / Speech-8

We were surprised as we were preparing for the election with the procedures that the Commission did in accordance with the powers granted to it and in accordance with the law in force related to the process of exclusion or acceptance of candidates in the lists of the election.

فوجدنا ونحن نعد العدة ونتهيأ جميعاً للانتخابات، وعندما قامت المفوضية وفق الصلاحيات الممنوحة لها، وفق القانون النافذ التي تعمل بموجبه بإجراءات تتعلق بعملية استبعاد أو قبول المرشحين على قوائم الانتخابات.

Argument Scheme

P1. We were surprised as we were preparing for the election

فوجدنا ونحن نعد العدة ونتهيأ جميعاً للانتخابات

P2. With the procedures that the Commission did in accordance with the powers granted to it and in accordance with the law in force related to the process of exclusion or acceptance of candidates in the lists of the election.

وبعدما قامت المفوضية وفق الصلاحيات الممنوحة لها، وفق القانون النافذ التي تعمل بموجبه بإجراءات تتعلق بعملية استبعاد أو قبول المرشحين على قوائم الانتخابات

C. We were surprised by the process of exclusion the candidates

فوجدنا بعملية استبعاد المرشحين

This fallacy of stacking evidence occurs when the speaker presents one side of the truth and deviates the meaning of the whole argument in favor of this side (Lazere, 2015). In the above example, al-Maliki presented one side of the topic and distorted the entire issue. Using the stacking evidence fallacy, al-Maliki attempted to distract the hearer that he was surprised with these procedures that excluded some candidates from participating in the election. The surface of the issue seems to be correct, and it's a matter of legality. The other side of the point is that al-Maliki has control over the Electoral Commission and he orders this Commission to exclude some candidate for political purposes. Al-Maliki did this procedure many times, and on different occasions, he banned any candidate who protests against his policies. According to Ali (2014), the exclusion of candidates was an adopted policy by al-Maliki to prevent those who protested against his policies. Since this fallacy introduces one side of the fact, it is recommended to include it within rule eight, the validity rule.

5. Discussion

The purpose of this study was to determine the rhetorical fallacies employed by Nouri al-Maliki to construct his political speech; (i) identify the violated rules in committing such fallacies; (ii) determine the argument scheme that constructed such fallacies. For that purpose, the study adopted the Pragmadiialectical approach proposed by Van Eemeren et al. (2002) to shed light on the use of rhetorical fallacies in al-Maliki's political speech. The results revealed that al-Maliki violated eight rules out of the ten rules of critical discussion and committed 22 fallacies out of 31 fallacies within these eight rules. The study found that al-Maliki violated eight rules of the ten rules of critical discussion and committed 22 fallacies within these eight rules. The results revealed that the PDA is applicable to investigate monologue speech (political speech) as this model was only used to analyze dialogue speech (political debate). This application is valid if we exclude rules two (burden of proof rule) and rule nine (closure rule), as these two rules can only be detected in political debates. Hameed and Al-Asadi (2018) confirm this proposition as they exclude rule nine from their analysis and justify that all the debate is about violating it. Rule two insures that a standpoint that is introduced and called into question in any dispute is defended against any critical attack, i.e. the person who presents a standpoint must always be ready to defend it (Van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2004; Van Eemeren et al., 2002). As for rule nine, Van Eemeren et al. (2002) state that if the protagonist does not defend his standpoint and convince the antagonist, then he must give up his view, or he will commit the fallacy of refusing to retract a standpoint that has not been defended successfully. Therefore, they are not valid for analyzing monologue speech, as is the case in the present study.

The findings revealed that the use of a pathetic fallacy has the highest proportion (31 times). While the lowest proportion can be seen in the use of populist fallacy (2 times). This indicates that through the use of pathetic fallacy, al-Maliki seems to emphasize certain points, i.e. he attempts to warn his followers

(Shi'a) of Sunni's danger if they won the election and rule the country again. By increasing the feeling of fear, al-Maliki seeks to increase the sectarian feelings against Sunni representatives, a matter that widens the division between Sunni and Shi'a. In fact, sectarianism emerges from different sources and is used for various purposes, among these sources and motives are the religious, political, and social sources (Al-Hindawi & Kadhim, 2021). Based on a pathetic fallacy, al-Maliki constructs the majority of his speech by which he attempts to arouse the emotional side of his listeners, and thereby ensures the persuasive features of his speech. The results also showed that al-Maliki constructed his arguments inductively, indicating that fallacies are inductive arguments that require the inference of the unexpressed premises. The premises of such arguments need not be true because their inferences are derived from the common beliefs that are acceptable by the hearer, where the speaker seeks to persuade the hearer to accept (Shim, 2011). Moreover, the results revealed that PDA is suitable for analysis of monologue speeches (political speech) with the exclusion of rule two and nine as these two rules are more appropriate for dialogue speeches (political debate).

Moreover, the present study identified two types of fallacies that have not been included in the PDA, indicating its lack of inclusiveness. These two types, namely, either/or fallacy and stacked evidence fallacy have received much attention from Almossawi (2014) and Lazere (2015), who introduced them among the types of RF. Hence, these fallacies can be included within the PDA and distributed as follows and according to their purposes; since the fallacy of either / or is used to limit the choices, the present study suggests that this fallacy can be included within rule one, the freedom rule, because it restricts the other party's freedom. As for the fallacy of stacking evidence, it is recommended to include it within rule eight, the validity rule, since this fallacy introduces one side of the fact and distorts the reasoning. The reasoning in the argumentation should be valid or capable of being valid by using one expressed premise or more and unexpressed premises to make the conclusion based on logical inferences (Van Eemeren et al., 2002).

The results were not significantly in line with other studies in political discourse because they did not adopt the PDA. However, concerning the study of fallacies in other fields, more specifically in political debate, the results of the present study were in line with Hameed and Al-Asadi (2018), where they investigated fallacies in Hillary and Trump's second presidential debate. Hameed and al-Asadi found that both Hillary and Trump violated all the ten critical discussion rules and committed most types of fallacies within these ten rules, but they exclude rule nine, claiming that the violation of this rule cannot be counted in numbers because all the debate is about violating it.

6. Conclusion

The study sought to analyze the rhetorical fallacies of Nouri al-Maliki's and how he violated the rules of critical discussion. For that purpose, the study adopted Van Eemeren et al. (2002) to shed light on the use of fallacies in ten political speeches of Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki. Past studies on fallacies revealed that most studies were conducted to present conceptual studies, i.e. such studies were carried out to understand and develop or extend a theoretical framework for future research. Moreover, most of these studies investigated one or two fallacies in each study. Our present study conducted a comprehensive analysis of fallacies from authentic and real data to better understand the structure of fallacies and the relevant strategies used in communicating all types of fallacies.

Fallacies are arguments and should be addressed from the argumentation theory's perspective. Within the argumentation theory, the argument is an activity of reason because it requires people to propose their claims and defend them based on hard and logical evidence or reasoning. Fallacies take place due to a fault or an error in reasoning, regardless of the validity or relevance of the form. That is to say, the fallacy resides in the meaning or content of the whole argument, including its premises and conclusion. Such an argument becomes unpersuasive as the rationality of the content is lost. The rationality of the argument is inferred inductively depending on the context in which the argument is used. In that, fallacies can only be dealt with from a pragma-dialectical perspective because detecting and interpreting them depend entirely on the context.

The study found that al-Maliki violated eight rules out of the ten rules of critical discussion proposed by Van Eemeren et al. (2002) and committed 22 fallacies out of 31 fallacies within these eight rules. The study concluded that fallacies are inductive arguments because they are based on probability; namely, they might be true and might be not. They require the inference of the unexpressed premise, which can

be inferred from the context of the argument and the background information about the topic under discussion. It also concluded that the Pragma-dialectical approach can be used for analyzing political discourse if we exclude rule two and nine because they require an immediate interaction among the discussants, and they are only valid for political debate. Henceforth, the study suggests that these two rules need to be excluded in analyzing political discourse. The study also concluded that the Pragma-dialectical approach lacks inclusiveness because some fallacies are not included in this approach, namely, either / or and stacking evidence fallacy. The study recommends including these two types of fallacies in the Pragma-dialectical approach to enhance its inclusiveness.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Table 1: Contexts of Nouri al-Maliki's Political Speeches

Speech	The Context
Speech. 1	This speech was delivered on the occasion of the International Islamic Conference for Dialogue and Rapprochement in Baghdad on April 27 2013, which was broadcast on TV. At that time, there were demonstrations in all Sunni cities against the sectarian policies of al-Maliki. In this speech, Al-Maliki addressed the citizens and the religious scholars of the Sunni cities and warned them of the sectarian disorder that might happen because of the demonstration. He also proposed a project to unify all Muslims that includes all doctrines under the title of Islamic project.
Speech. 2	This speech was delivered on the occasion of getting out of the provisions of Chapter VII, which was broadcasted on TV. In that speech, Al-Maliki attempted to show that this victory is one of his government's achievements. He accused the preceding regime of causing these sanctions over Iraq with its wrong policies and its adventures when it fought many wars that made the UN imposed such sanctions as a punishment for that regime. Al-Maliki also addressed the citizens in Sunni cities to unite and refuse the sectarian proposal of religious scholars and the demonstrators that might tear the unity of the country.
Speech. 3	This speech was delivered during the celebration of International Human Rights Day, which was broadcasted on TV. In that speech, Al-Maliki attempted to show the preceding regime as a sectarian regime that violated the human rights of ethnicities and minorities in Iraq through distinctive policies. He attempted to show that his regime is a democratic one that respects the human right of all ethnicities and minorities and set the election as an example for the democracy of a new regime that came after 2003.
Speech. 4	This speech was delivered at the end of al-Maliki's second term, which was broadcasted on TV. It is one of al-Maliki's speeches before the election that was held on 30 April 2014. Al-Maliki attempted to show the House of Representatives and particularly the head of the House of Representatives Osama al-Nujaifi as the one who prevented the approval of the budget, which may cripple many affairs of the citizens and the state. He also surveyed his government's achievements in fighting terrorism to show himself as a hero who defeated terrorism. Although, at the end of his second term and precisely after three months from delivering this speech, ISIS occupied and controlled about one-third of the Iraqi territory, represented by all the Sunni cities including; Mosul, Anbar, Salah Uddin, part of Kirkuk, and Diyala.
Speech. 5	This speech was delivered in the final month of al-Maliki's second term and before 25 days of holding the election, which was broadcasted on TV. There was a conflict between the head of the House of Representatives (al-Nujaifi), and Prime Minister Nouri al-

	Maliki, each accused the other one of many violations of the constitution. Al-Maliki accused the head of the House of Representatives of supporting ISIS. On the other hand, al-Nujaifi accused al-Maliki of being sectarian who want to prevent Sunni from participating in the election. Therefore, this period was full of mutual accusations between the political parties.
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Speech	Context
Speech. 6	This speech was delivered after holding a conference about anti-terrorism in Iraq, which was broadcasted on TV. In this speech, al-Maliki surveys the achievement of this conference and the advantage of it for Iraq. Moreover, al-Maliki points out that there is another type of terrorism, represented by the corruption that dominates most of the country's institutions. Al-Maliki accused some ministries of disserving the citizens' affair, which he considered that as an attempt to fail his government. In fact, after 2003, the min'stries were divided according to the quota system, i.e. each party administe's specific ministries. Hence, when al-Maliki accused such ministries of corruption, he only accused the ministries that belong to his opponents.
Speech. 7	This speech was delivered one month before the electoral campaign that started on 1 st April 2014. It was broadcasted on TV as one of al-Maliki's electoral campaigns. There was a conflict between the head of the House of Representatives and Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki. In this speech, al-Maliki defended the procedures that had been taken by the Independent High Electoral Commission in excluding some candidates from participating in the election. Al-Maliki attacked the House of Representatives because it issued an order that cancelled the exclusion of candidates issued by the Independent High Electoral Commission. According to Ali (2014), critical candidates' disqualification was a part of al-Maliki's electoral strategy. Before the elections, many candidates were disqualified from the elections for different reasons among them the former finance minister Rafia al-Issawi who was disqualified due to an existing arrest warrant against him. The other disqualified candidate was Mithal al-Alusi because he criticized Maliki in a TV interview.
Speech. 8	This speech was delivered at the beginning of the parliamentary electoral campaign that was held on 30 April 2014. It was broadcasted on TV as one of al-Maliki's electoral campaigns. In this speech, al-Maliki started predicting the processes of downing others and the campaigns of rumors, counterfeiting, forgery, and mutual accusations. Moreover, in this speech, al-Maliki started to promote his project of the political majority. He also outlined his government's achievement in supporting the Independent High Electoral Commission for the preparation of the election.
Speech. 9	This speech was delivered on the occasion of closing the dam of Fallujah by al-Qaeda and ISIS. It was broadcasted at the beginning of the parliamentary electoral campaign that was held on 30 April 2014. It was broadcasted on TV as one of al-Maliki's electoral campaigns. In this speech, al-Maliki attempted to connect al-Qaeda and the preceding regime of al-Ba'ath party by adhering all the bad deeds of al-Qaeda with al-Ba'ath regime. In doing so, he adopted propaganda of vilifying the preceding regime to show a good picture of his regime, which, according to him, is a democratic one and is the best to lead the country.
Speech .10	This speech was delivered one week before the parliamentary elections in 2014, and it was broadcasted on TV as one of al-Maliki's electoral campaigns where the competition between the candidates reached its climax. In his attempts to gain more votes, Al-Maliki warned the Iraqi citizens of the process of downing others and the campaigns of rumors, counterfeiting, forgery, and mutual accusations. While he excluded and toppled many of the candidates from participating in the election. According to Ali (2014), critical candidates' exclusion was an adopted policy by which al-Maliki excluded his opponents, where he excluded many candidates for superficial reasons.

Using fictitious expressions	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
The fallacy of irrelevant argumentation	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
A pathetic fallacy (pathos) (negative/positive)	2	4	1	4	3	3	4	-	4	6	31
An ethical fallacy of abuse authority (ethos)	-	-	1	-	3	3	1	1	-	-	9
Magnifying what has been left unexpressed	2	1	2	1	3	1	2	3	1	2	18
Fallacy of denying an unexpressed premise	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unfair use of presupposition	1	2	-	-	1	1	1	1	-	-	7
The fallacy of many questions	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Fallacy of circular reasoning	-	1	7	1	2	2	2	1	-	1	17
Populist fallacy	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	2
Fallacy of inappropriate appeal to causal relation through confusing facts with value judgments	1	-	2	1	2	-	1	-	1	1	9
Fallacy of inappropriate appeal to causal relation through the use of post hoc ergo propter hoc	1	-	1	2	2	-	-	-	1	1	8

Fallacy of inappropriate appeal to causal relation through the use of slippery slope	2	-	-	1	1	2	1	-	1	1	9
Fallacy of abuse authority	-	2	-	-	1	-	2	3	-	3	11
Fallacy of hasty generalization	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	2	6
. Fallacy of false analogy	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	2	-	6
Faulty reasoning	1	-	2	1	1	1	1	-	1	2	10
Fallacy of division / composition	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
The fallacy of unclarity	1	1	-	1	2	1	-	1	-	1	8
The fallacy of ambiguity	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
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