

## Complex Speech Act as a Performance of Fallacies in Nouri al-Maliki's Political Speeches

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### ABSTRACT

Pragmatics has revealed how the discourse of political speakers contains deliberate persuasive and manipulative claims which are carried out by an array of speech acts. Most of the time, such claims can be questionable as the meaning of a claim cannot be arrived at without considering additional elements, including the function of the speech act and the context of the utterances under investigation. Previous studies on speech acts were conducted to interpret the illocutionary act of a single utterance; no study has addressed the act of a series of utterances. Therefore, it is necessary to interpret the illocutionary act of a series of utterances that can be employed for a particular purpose as the real intention might not be expressed within a sentence. Hence, this study focusses on the notion of fallacies which refer to faulty arguments that consist of more than one utterance, and together they comprise a series of speech acts. Such a chain of speech acts needs to be interpreted precisely to uncover the illocutionary force of such complexity. This study followed a textual analysis method and adopted Van Eemeren, Grootendorst, and Henkemans (2002) pragma-dialectical approach to analyze the speech act of fallacies in ten political speeches of Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki. The study found that the illocutionary force at the sentence level is different from the illocutionary force at the argumentation level. The study concluded that within political discourse, fallacies need to be analyzed as a complex speech act; otherwise, analyzing fallacies as a single act may result in an insufficient interpretation as the illocutionary force of fallacies does not exclusively rely on the properties of the verbal form of fallacies, rather, it depends on the function of such properties in the context and the concerned situation.

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## INTRODUCTION

Political discourse refers to a type of communication constructed to directly or indirectly influence peoples' opinion and behavior to accomplish the desires of institutional objectives or organization's aim (Ngoa, 2011). That is, political discourse has the ability to persuade people of an idea or a particular vision. For Chilton (2004), political discourse allows the creation or omission of new words and expressions to serve the speakers' purposes. Such a trait can be demonstrated through the art of rhetoric. The role of rhetoric in speeches is to devise an argument that can persuade the audience to accept the viewpoint of the speaker (Walton, 1995). Any argument has deductive or inductive goals (Goel, Gold, Kapur, & Houle, 1997). The deductive purpose resides in the literal meaning of the premises and conclusion. Therefore, the 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, which is the persuasive message being communicated (Walton, 2007). However, 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*; a way of speaking that enhances making good choices within the available possibilities" (Załęska, 2011, p. 2).

Political rhetoric is concerned with the strategies used to construct persuasive arguments in formal public debates as well as in political disputes (Condor, Tileagă, & Billig, 2013). In relation to disputes, Hamad, Ali, Paramasivam, and Abdul Jabar (2022) states that "the world of political rhetoric is a murky one, full of faulty logic and bad arguments on all sides of the political field, therefore, people might easily fall for fallacies" (p. 6). This is echoed by Almossawi (2014) on how politicians may use faulty logic in constructing their arguments and skillfully exploit this phenomenon. In this sense, a speaker can also be persuasive by utilizing false appeals. He might use a fallacy in different ways, e.g. crafty wordings, inaccurate comparisons, and based on audience's emotion and assumption (Moore, Parker, & Rosenstand, 2011). Fallacies are strategies by which the speaker attempts to persuade listeners using premises that lack sound reasoning or hard evidence (Hamad et al., 2022). Fallacies according to Walton "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).

Previous research that studied fallacies in political discourse (Ramanathan, Paramasivam & Hoon, 2020; Zappettini, 2019; Bennett, 2018; Boukala & Dimitrakopoulou, 2017; Žagar, 2017; Hafez, 2017; Klymenko, 2016) employed the discourse historical approach (DHA) as proposed by Wodak (2001) and Reisigl and Wodak (2009). Based on this approach, the identification and interpretation of a fallacy depend entirely on the linguistic meaning of the utterances without considering other pragmatic factors. The DHA was used to evaluate the reasoning of an argument by adhering to the socio-philosophical orientation of the critical theory without delving deeply into the performance of fallacies by speech act. Thus, DHA neglected much more productive, theoretical elaborations of fallacies. This study adopted a recent model to approach fallacies from a pragma-dialectical perspective, as proposed by (Van Eemeren et al., 2002). Based on this model,

the pragmatic aspects of fallacies added a new line of thought and better understanding to the structure of fallacies and determining the relevant strategies used to communicate various types of fallacies.

The study of fallacies in political speeches involves extending the analysis to what is called 'speech act', i.e. the link between the actual words 'speech' and the consequences 'action' is established under the term 'speech act'. Based on the speech act theory, Austin (1975) and Searle (1976), among others, noted that any utterance has three main components, namely (1) locution (speech or proposition), (2) illocution (the utterance), and (3) perlocution (force or effect of utterance). For these categories to operate in a particular context, other factors such as the speaker's qualities and the appropriateness of context are required to situate the utterance with its illocutionary function and to successfully achieve the required function and leave the effect on the listener. Such factors are labelled by Searle (1976) under the term 'felicity conditions'.

The review of literature (Ahmed & Amir, 2021; Ramanathan et al., 2020; Mufiah & Rahman, 2019; Dylgjeri, 2017; Altikriti, 2016; Al-Ameedi & Khudhier, 2015; Hashim, 2015; Jarraya, 2013) showed that all studies that adopted Austin's and Searle's speech act theory analyzed the utterances individually, i.e. they investigate the function of speech act within a single sentence, indicating that they analyze the illocutionary force of each utterance separately. However, the speaker might use a number of utterances in the form of premises and a conclusion. Although each of these utterances has its own design, together, they have the illocutionary function or act of clarifying the political claim or position regarding the political issue at hand. That is, the notion of speech act has developed a broader meaning, i.e. when a set of utterances are used for the same communicative purpose. In such a case, the term speech act does not indicate only to the act itself, or the production of utterances, but rather to the functional unity of the utterances (Kotorova, 2021). Such a function needs to be investigated as the real intention might not be interpreted with one utterance, i.e. the speech acts of a series of utterances when they are used to perform a specific illocutionary function or act. The present study filled this gap by adopting a recent model to analyze a series of utterances from a pragma-dialectical perspective to show the complexity of interpreting their illocutionary force. Such complexity of interpretation is labelled under the term "complex speech act" as proposed by Van Eemeren, et al. (2002). This study aims to analyze the speech act of fallacies in Nouri al-Maliki's political speeches, seeking to answer the following question - what are the speech acts employed to perform such fallacies?

## **RHETORICAL FALLACIES**

The attempt to formulate reasons, draw conclusions and apply them in a given discussion is referred to as argumentation (Van Eemeren et al., 2014). An argument is one aspect of human communication (Van Eemeren, Grootendorst, Johnson, Plantin, & Willard, 2013). Through an argument, people can express their feelings and communicate their thoughts. Such communication requires sharing information and mutual understanding from both the speaker and listener. The speakers' role in the argumentation process requires them to introduce reasonable and trustworthy premises so that their conclusions become more convincing to the listeners. It also requires the speakers to exert all efforts to establish validity depending on reasoning to build valid conclusions. That is, the premises should be deductively or structurally valid to match the inference of the conclusion. On the other hand, the listeners' role is to differentiate between what are reliable and trustworthy messages and those that are less convincing. The listeners' effort is also to assess the validation provided by speakers to accept their conclusions. An argument is successful when

mutual agreement is arrived at by both the speaker and listener. Such an argument is valid in terms of proper reasoning ‘premises’ and a true conclusion. However, fallaciousness occurs when the speaker provides reasons that lack enough evidence where the listener suspected the speaker’s intention to arrive at his/her conclusion (ibid). In this sense, a fallacious argument would be realized. Moore et al. (2011) state that fallacies are bad arguments that follow a deductive pattern, and many people think that they are good arguments. Instead, they are misleading and use various appeals instead of sound reasoning. That is, rhetorical fallacies are appeals that create a breach or weakness in reasoning (LaBossiere, 1995).

Fallacies are propositions that are expressed by statements, which in turn are based on premises and conclusion (Budzynska & Witek, 2014; Shim, 2011). These statements can include one or more than one premise and only one conclusion. The premises are known as facts, propositions, or statements from which a conclusion is derived. The premises provide the reasons and explain why the conclusion should be accepted. The conclusion, on the other hand, is a statement or a result that comes out from those premises. It is a summary statement that is proposed from the facts of the premises (Walton, 1995). From a linguistic point of view, the concept of fallacy is totally pragmatic because it always raises the following question in evaluating a particular event; what is the context of the argument no matter if the argument is fallacious or not (ibid). Moreover, fallacies consist of the same components of any speech act, namely, locution (propositional content of utterances), illocutionary (pragmatic force as intended by a speaker), and perlocution (effect of the pragmatic force on the addressee/hearer) Walton (2007). This is why Budzynska and Witek (2014) stress that a speech act can provide a pragmatic interpretation of any fallacious action.

### **FALLACIES FROM A PRAGMA-DIALECTICAL PERSPECTIVE**

Based on Van Eemeren et al. (2002), there are ten rules of critical discussion for the argument to be valid. Any violation of each of these rules would make the argument lose its smoothness, logic, effectiveness, and reasoning, thus a fallacious argument is realized. Table 1 (see appendix A) illustrates the ten rules and the types of fallacies within each rule as proposed by Van Eemeren et al. (2002). According to Van Eemeren and Grootendorst (2016) and Walton (1995, 2007), fallacies can be looked at from the Pragma-dialectical perspective. According to the Pragma-dialectical approach proposed by Van Eemeren et al. (2002), speech act plays an essential role in the construction of any fallacious action. Budzynska and Witek (2014) state that any argument consists of a series of similar speech acts, which in turn, are constructed by a series of statements. These statements consist of a premise or more than one premise and one conclusion. Accordingly, Van Eemeren et al. (2002) state that the study of rhetorical fallacies at the pragmatic level can be implemented by viewing the argument as a complex speech act that consists of a series of speech acts. Therefore, the pragmatic aspects of fallacies are very important to understand the structure of fallacies and determine their relevant strategies.

However, to comprehend the difference between simple and complex speech act, one must understand the difference between direct and indirect speech act (Bara, Bosco, & Bucciarelli, 1999). Searle (1975) states that direct speech can be illustrated when the speaker means precisely and literally what he is saying. Whereas in an indirect speech act, the speaker means more than what he is saying by performing a different literal illocutionary act. In doing so, the speaker relies on the shared background information of both participants. Thus, the process of comprehension involves a series of inferential steps. This is why an indirect speech act is ultimately more

challenging to comprehend than a direct one. Moreover, Van Eemeren and Grootendorst (1984) state that to understand the complexity of the indirect speech act, it is necessary to regard the unexpressed premise as a special type of indirect speech act. This can be done by finding out the context, specific and general background knowledge, and common sense that would be more informative for inferring the unexpressed premise of an argument under investigation. The following example illustrates that;

“Suppose that the popular singer Madonna is in a TV ad, surrounded by a group of attractive members of the jet set, and confides to the audience the following message: You should use Wonder skin lotion. I use it myself!

- P1. Madonna uses Wonder skin lotion.
- P2. Whatever Madonna does, you should do too.
- P3. Madonna belongs to the jet set.
- C. You should use Wonder skin lotion.

Clearly, something is unexpressed here. If we knew nothing further about the context of these utterances, we could let it go at assuming that the unexpressed premise has to be something like ‘Whatever Madonna does you should do too.’ But in this particular context, we can do better. We know that Madonna is appearing in a TV ad and that she belongs to the jet-set, some members of which we have just glimpsed. This background information allows us to come up with a more specific (and more complex) formulation of the unexpressed premise, leading to the following reconstruction of Madonna’s argumentation; *everything the jet set does, you should imitate*. In that, *Everything the jet set does, you should imitate* is the unexpressed premise that connects the unexpressed premise ‘*Madonna belongs to the jet set*’ with the unexpressed sub standpoint *Whatever Madonna does, you should do too*” (Van Eemeren et al., 2002, p. 77)

Therefore, the difficulty of understanding indirect speech acts is due to the intricacy of the inferential steps required., i.e. the complexity of the chain involved determines whether the indirect speech act is simple or complex (Van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1984). That is to say, the process of interpreting fallacies involves a series of inferential steps. Such inferential steps focus on interpreting the elementary speech acts of the premises, where the illocutionary force of fallacies does not exclusively rely on the properties of the verbal form of fallacies, rather, it depends on the function of such properties in the context and the concerned situation. Figure 1 illustrates the complex speech act of fallacies.

Furthermore, within argumentation, the illocutionary forces can be seen at two levels; at the sentence level, argumentation can be looked at as a series of elementary speech acts belonging to the category of assertives. At the textual level, the series of elementary speech acts compose the complex speech act of argumentation (ibid).

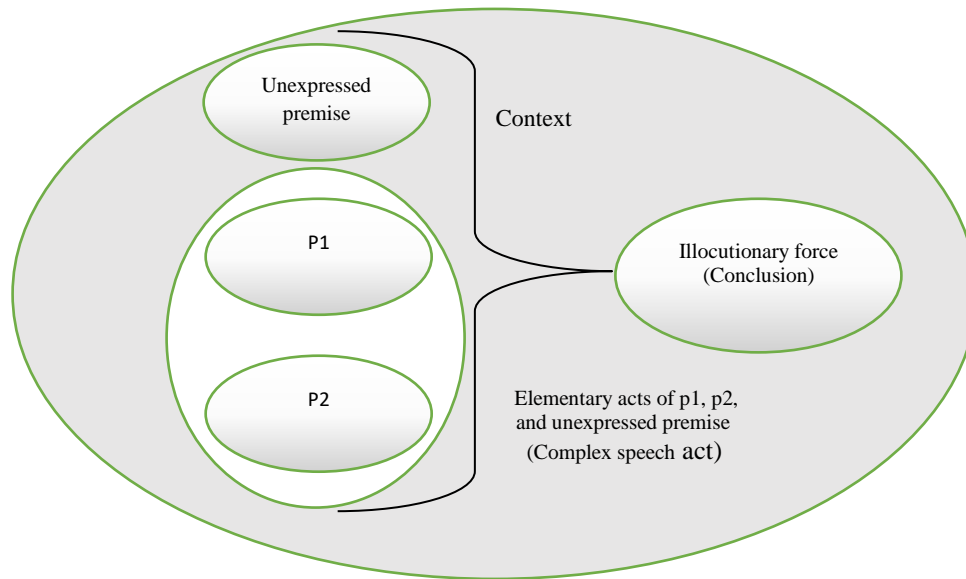


FIGURE 1. Complex Speech Act of Fallacies in Pragma-dialectical Approach

## METHOD

This study adopted the Pragma-dialectical approach proposed by Van Eemeren et al. (2002) to analyze the complex speech act of fallacies in ten political speeches of Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki. Although the Pragma-dialectical approach was designed to analyze dialogue speech “political debate”, this study attempts to show the validity of this approach in analyzing “political discourse” in monologue speeches. For this purpose, this study follows a textual analysis method for data analysis. Based on this approach, interpreting the meaning in a given text is usually made through following a theoretical framework depending on the research questions and objectives (Lockyer, 2008). The speeches were purposely sampled, and written in Arabic language. They were translated into English by a native Arabic translator with an M.A. degree in English language who has a membership in the Iraqi Translators Association. Then, the translations were verified by two professors who are native Arabic speakers with PhD in English language at the College of Art/University of Mosul/Iraq.

The data were collected from two official websites (<http://www.pmo.iq/press/>, <http://www.cabinet.iq/ArticleShow.aspx>), namely, the official website of PM Nouri al-Maliki and the official website of Iraqi cabinet. The data consisted of ten speeches that were delivered from April 2013 to May 2014 with a total of 10,504 words. The speeches were selected based on the following inclusion criteria: (i) speeches are addressed to Iraqi citizens, (ii) speeches must be broadcasted on TV (iii) speeches must address topics on election, terrorism, and sectarianism.

## TRUSTWORTHINESS AND CREDIBILITY

In the present study, credibility is established through various techniques of triangulation:

1. Intercoder reliability (ICR): ICR attests to the robustness of the outcomes, which structures the entire subsequent analysis. The results have been attested by two coders, who are native Arabic speakers with PhD in English language (see appendix D) to stress the accuracy of the outcomes. The coders have been provided with outcome frames, which include a list of the outcomes that are organized according to their categories, accompanied by the quotations of each outcome, along with the contexts of the selected data and the phenomenon under investigation. The results of the coders' assessment have been measured using Cohen (1960) statistical measure of intercoder agreement, which yielded 0.763. The primary advantage of this statistic is the correction for the probability that a certain amount of agreement occurs by chance. According to Landis and Koch (1977), the following labels are assigned to interpret Cohen's kappa value; < 0.00 poor, 0.00-0.20 slight, 0.21-0.40 fair, 0.41-0.60 moderate, 0.61-0.80 substantial, 0.81-1.00 almost perfect. In that, the intercoder agreement of the present study achieved substantial agreement of 0.763, which is a robust reliability for the results (see appendix E).
2. The study based the analysis of fallacies on argumentation theory, which is also considered a triangulation tool that minimizes the researcher's bias (Wodak, 2001; Reisigl & Wodak, 2009).
3. A pilot study was conducted to test the research instrument and methods and to ensure the applicability of the research. According to the results of the pilot study, rules two and nine have been excluded from the analysis of the whole selected corpus because they are only valid for dialogue speech, which is not of interest to the present study.

## RESULTS

As mentioned earlier, understanding the complexity of speech act requires consideration of the unexpressed premises as a special type of indirect speech act (Van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1984). Therefore, it is essential to describe the contexts where the selected political speeches took place to infer the unexpressed premise of fallacies. Table 2 (see appendix B) shows the contexts of the entire selected speeches. Moreover, the results of the pilot study showed that rule two and nine are not valid for political speech and only used with debates. Rule two proposes that 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. Therefore, these two rules have been excluded from the analysis of the whole corpus. Due to the large size of the examples that should be presented in both Arabic and English language, and the length of examples in the analysis, the result section presents the analysis of one fallacy for each rule to show how the analysis is implemented for all fallacies.

## DECLARING STANDPOINT TABOOS

This fallacy is committed when the speaker forbids the calling into question of a standpoint by declaring it sacrosanct (Van Eemeren et al., 2002). That is, prohibiting the action and expression of a standpoint by declaring it as something forbidden.

<p>P1. I think that the smart and keen Iraqi citizen can improve the choice according to his experience</p> <p>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</p> <p>P3. There is no excuse for them in front of Allah and history and in front of society.</p> <p>C. It is forbidden to elect those who counterfeit or tamper or buy the votes.</p>	<p>واعتقد اصبح بإمكان المواطن العراقي الذكي والحريص ان يحسن الاختيار على ضوء التجربة ولا عذر لمعتذر اذا اخطأ الان وذهب باتجاه اختيار الذين يزيفون او يزورون او يبيلغون او يشترون الاصوات او الذين يبيعون اصواتهم لاعذر لهم امام الله وامام التاريخ وامام المجتمع</p> <p>حرام انتخاب الذين يزيفون او يزورون او يشترون الاصوات.</p>
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The illocutionary force of this fallacy (refer to the above extract) at the sentence level is that of assertive, in which al-Maliki advises the audience not to do something that is forbidden, which implies the function of an “advice”. However, the context of speech 10 (refer to appendix B) and the background information about al-Maliki do not imply that it is an advising speech act at the textual level. Ali (2014) points out that this was a propaganda adopted by al-Maliki to exploit the religious perspective because he assumes that religion is something that the audience would easily succumb to, based on the context of the target audience. That is, when someone elects those who counterfeit or tamper, this would mean he supports them and participates with their sin, and thereby will not be excused by Allah as he has committed something that is forbidden. Here, we can infer the following unexpressed premise “it is forbidden to elect or choose those who counterfeit or tamper”. Thus, the illocutionary force at the textual level is different from the illocutionary force at the sentence level, as al-Maliki indirectly prohibits the audience from electing other candidates by presupposing that other candidates tamper with the votes. Thus, the illocutionary act of this fallacy can be seen in Table 2.

TABLE 2. The illocutionary force of declaring standpoint taboos

Illocutionary act	Main Category of Illocutionary act	Sub-category of Illocutionary act	Type of Speech Act
It is forbidden to elect those who counterfeit or tamper or exaggerate or buy the votes حرام انتخاب الذين يزيفون او يزورون او يشترون الاصوات	Directives	Prohibiting	Indirect Speech Act

### EMPHATICALLY PUTTING FORWARD THE OPPOSITE STANDPOINT

Emphatically putting forward the opposite standpoint fallacy is committed when the speaker implicitly or explicitly finds that the antagonist puts forward the opposite proposition and relates it to the opponents (Van Eemeren et al., 2002):

<p>P1. This requires that whoever comes supposed to be a defender of security, a defender of the security institutions, a defender of the army</p> <p>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</p> <p>C. The others are not defenders of these issues, and they discourage those who confront terrorism</p>	<p>وهذا يقتضي ان من ياتي من المفروض ان يكون مدافعا عن الامن، مدافعا عن الاجهزة الامنية، مدافعا عن الجيش</p> <p>مدافعا عن العملية الخدمائية، مدافعا عن موقع العراق وقوة الدولة العراقية لا ان ياتي من يثبط عزائم الذين يتصدون للإرهاب.</p> <p>الآخرون ليسوا مدافعين عن هذه القضايا ويثبطون عزيمة من يواجهون الإرهاب</p>
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The illocutionary force of the above fallacy at the sentence level is that of assertive, in which al-Maliki presupposes that other election candidates are not qualified to lead the country. Therefore people have to be careful in their elections, which indicates the function of a "supposition". However, the context of speech 10 (refer to appendix B) and the background information about the situation indicate that there was a process of downing others and mutual accusations between candidates. Among them was al-Maliki who attempted to gain more votes in the upcoming election by using a demeaning and accusatory tone with others. According to Ali (2014), al-Maliki even accused some politicians of being supporters of terrorism. As a result, we can infer the following unexpressed premise "he who takes responsibility should be a defender of the country, a defender of the security institutions". Therefore, the inference of the unexpressed premise supports the conclusion "The others are not defenders of these issues and they discourage those who confront terrorism". In that, the words of the utterance do not fit the direction of using a hypothetical speech act. Thus, the illocutionary force at the argumentation level is quite different from the illocutionary force at the sentence level, as al-Maliki indirectly accused other candidates of being disloyal. Hence, the illocutionary act of this fallacy can be seen in Table 3.

TABLE 3. The illocutionary force of an emphatically putting forward the opposite standpoint

Illocutionary act	Main Category of Illocutionary act	Sub-category of Illocutionary act	Type of Speech Act
The others are not defenders of these issues and they discourage those who confront terrorism الأخرون ليسوا مدافعين عن هذه القضايا ويثبطون عزيمة من يواجهون الإرهاب	Assertives	Accusing	Indirect Speech Act

#### A PATHETIC FALLACY (PATHOS; NEGATIVE / POSITIVE)

When the speaker manipulates the emotions of the audiences, he commits a pathetic fallacy. This can be achieved in two ways; either positively by appealing to senses of loyalty and security, or negatively by appealing to negative emotions of greed, shame, and fear (Van Eemeren et al., 2002).

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 العراقيل في طريق العقلاء والحكماء لتندرج الأمور نحو التقسيم والتمزيق وهي ليست اخر المطاف، أنه قتل وقتال خارج أطر السيطرة.
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At the sentence level, the illocutionary point of the above fallacy is an assertive, where al-Maliki explains what has happened at the squares of demonstration and how it might escalate, which carries the function of "describing". However, the pragmatic optimum needs further effort to be detected, i.e. we need to infer the unexpressed premise from the context of speech 1 (refer to appendix B) and the background information about that speaker. There were demonstrations in all Sunni cities against al-Maliki's sectarian policies, where the proposal of demonstrators was against these sectarian policies, but it was comprehended as a sectarian proposal. In his effort to end the demonstrations, al-Maliki accused the demonstrators of being sectarian and even terrorists.

Accordingly, we can infer the following unexpressed premise based on al-Maliki’s point of view “the demonstrators crave sectarian conflict, and any sectarian conflict incites uncontrollable killing and fighting”. Meaning, the illocutionary force of the argument is different from the illocutionary force at the sentence level. The illocutionary force implies that al-Maliki indirectly warns the public about the danger of the demonstration. The illocutionary act of this fallacy is seen in Table 4.

TABLE 4. The illocutionary force of a pathetic fallacy (pathos; negative / positive)

Illocutionary act	Main Category of Illocutionary act	Sub-category of Illocutionary act	Type of Speech Act
It is not the last thing, it is killing and fighting beyond control. وهي ليست اخر المطاف، أنه قتل وقتال خارج أطر السيطرة.	Assertives	Warning	Indirect Speech Act

### MAGNIFYING WHAT HAS BEEN LEFT UNEXPRESSED

This fallacy is being committed when the speaker manipulates the unexpressed premises and misrepresents them by adding other unexpressed premises which go beyond from what has actually happened or been said (Van Eemeren et al., 2002).

P1 Their concern is to make the sectarian, takfir, and authoritarian thought win.	همهم ان ينتصر الفكر التكفيري الطائفي، وفكر التسلط الذي يؤمنون به
P2. To get who support this thought and this behavior when they commit this deed	ويحصلون على من يدعم هذا الفكر وهذا السلوك، حينما اقدموا على هذه العملية
C. There are who support the sectarian, takfir, and authoritarian thoughts within the political process	هناك من يدعم الفكر الطائفي والتكفيري والسلطوي في العملية السياسية

In the above fallacy, the illocutionary force at the sentence level is that of assertive, in which al-Maliki claims that some who are in the political process support the terrorists of al-Qa’eda and ISIS, which carries the function of “claiming”. However, determining the illocutionary force at the textual level requires justifying the pragmatic optimum which needs the inference of the unexpressed premise. A closer look at the context of speech 9 (refer to appendix B) helps in revealing the background information about the speaker and the topic under discussion in which al-Maliki indirectly accused some of his opponents of supporting terrorism in an attempt to overthrow his opponents. Accordingly, we can infer the following unexpressed premise “since some who are in the political process support al-Qaeda and ISIS; therefore, they support their viewpoints”. Ali (2014) states that al-Maliki on many occasions accused some politicians of being supporters of terrorism. In that, the words do not fit with their direction and the illocutionary force at the textual level is different as al-Maliki indirectly accuses some politicians of supporting the terrorists of al-Qa’eda. Therefore, this illocutionary force can be seen in Table 5.

TABLE 5. The illocutionary force of magnifying what has been left unexpressed

Illocutionary act	Main Category of Illocutionary act	Sub-category of Illocutionary act	Type of Speech Act
There are who support the sectarian, takfir, and authoritarian thought within the political process هناك من يدعم الفكر الطائفي والتكفيري والسلطوي في العملية السياسية	Assertives	Accusing	Indirect Speech Act

### UNFAIR USE OF PRESUPPOSITION

When the speaker introduces a statement as a presupposition of another statement without proof, he 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).

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 إقضاء السلام ونحن نسمع يومياً فتاوى يصدرها المحسوبون على هذا الدين الحنيف ، تدعو للقتل والحرق والتكفير وهدر الدماء. العلماء والمفكرين والمنظمات الإسلامية هم من يصدر هذه الفتاوى
P2. Where we daily hear fatwas issued by those who are belonged to this noble religion calling for killing, burn, takfir, and bloodshed.	
C. The Scholars, thinkers and Islamic organizations are the ones who issue these fatwas	

In the above fallacy, the illocutionary force is that of assertive, which implies the function of “claims” as al-Maliki pretends that the Islamic scholars and thinkers issued the fatwas of takfir (legal opinion in declaring others as infidel in Islam). Pragmatically this is not enough, to comprehend the pragmatic optimum of that fallacy, we need to look at the context of speech 1 (refer to appendix B) in order to know the background information about that fallacy. There were demonstrations in all Sunni cities against al-Maliki’s sectarian policies and al-Maliki accused the citizens and the religious scholars of the Sunni cities of being sectarian and terrorists (Sullivan, 2013). That is, al-Maliki wanted the religious scholars of the Sunni cities to play their role in preventing the sectarian disorder that might happen because of the demonstration. Otherwise, they will be a part of that demonstration. According to that information, we can infer the following unexpressed premise “since scholars do not prevent the demonstration; therefore, they spiritually support it”. In that, the illocutionary force does not imply the meaning of claiming because the words do not fit with the real world. The illocutionary force at the textual level differs from the illocutionary force at the sentence level as al-Maliki indirectly accuses those scholars of issuing the fatwas of takfir. In that, the illocutionary act of this fallacy is seen in Table 6.

TABLE 6: The illocutionary force of unfair use of presupposition

Illocutionary act	Main Category of Illocutionary act	Sub-category of Illocutionary act	Type of Speech Act
The Scholars, thinkers and Islamic organizations are the ones who issue these fatwas العلماء والمفكرين والمنظمات الإسلامية هم من يصدر هذه الفتاوى	Assertives	Accusing	Indirect Speech Act

### 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.

<p>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</p> <p>C. The House of Representatives, in my estimation, is terminated and sentenced itself or by its Presidency to be expired</p>	<p>من خلال ارتكابه مجموعة من المخالفات الدستورية التي بطبيعتها تفقد مجلس النواب، مع الأسف الشديد، هذه المؤسسة التشريعية العامة تفقدها الكثير من خصوصياته الدستورية والقانونية مجلس النواب في تقديره قد انتهى وقد حكم على نفسه او حكمت عليه هيئة الرئاسة بالانتهاء</p>
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In the above fallacy, al-Maliki presupposes that the House of Representatives' role and function has ended and became invalid, which implies that the illocutionary force at the sentence level is that of assertive and reflects the function of "supposing". However, if we look at the context of speech 5 (refer to appendix B) and recollect the background information of that argument, we can conclude the pragmatic optimum of that fallacy. There was a conflict between the head of the House of Representatives (al-Nujaifi), and the PM Nouri al-Maliki, where each accused the other of many violations of the constitution. Al-Maliki had attempted to divest the House of Representatives from its authority to pass many laws according to his will. Accordingly, we can infer the following unexpressed premise according to al-Maliki's perspective "according to the law, any institution that commits constitutional violations is considered to be dissolved". Therefore, the illocutionary force at the textual level is quite different because al-Maliki indirectly states the termination of the House of Representatives based on his estimation. Thus, the illocutionary force of this fallacy is that of "stating" and would be as in table 7.

TABLE 7. The illocutionary force of a fallacy of abuse authority

Illocutionary act	Main Category of Illocutionary act	Sub-category of Illocutionary act	Type of Speech Act
The House of Representatives, in my estimation, is terminated and sentenced itself or by its Presidency to be expired مجلس النواب في تقديره قد انتهى وقد حكم على نفسه او حكمت عليه هيئة الرئاسة بالانتهاء	Assertives	Stating	Indirect Speech Act

### FAULTY REASONING

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. That is, when he introduced the standpoint explicitly, but left some elements implicit.

<p>P1. When we felt imbalance, or when our society is in a state affected by the imbalance,</p> <p>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.</p>	<p>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.</p>
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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 قادنا الى الدخول في حروب خارجية

In the above fallacy, the illocutionary force of that utterance is that of assertive, which implies the function of “claims”, as al-Maliki claims that the imbalance of distinction, extension, and exclusion on the home front lead the country to get involved in external wars. Nevertheless, to determine the illocutionary force at the textual level, the context of speech 3 needs to be assessed (refer to appendix B), in which al-Maliki presented the preceding regime as a sectarian regime that violated the human rights of ethnicities and minorities through its policies. According to Parker and Salman (2013), al-Maliki joined the Islamic Da'wa Party (a party that adopted a Shi'a ideology) where he worked secretly against the Ba'athist leadership. In 1979, he carried a feeling of hatred against the preceding regime and kept accusing it of human rights violations. This can be inferred in the following unexpressed premise “since the preceding regime had expelled al-Maliki; therefore, the preceding regime had violated human rights”. Thus, the words of that fallacy do not fit with their direction in the world. Therefore, the illocutionary force is different as al-Maliki indirectly accuses the preceding regime of being a sectarian regime that violated the human rights of ethnicities and minorities and engaged in external wars. The illocutionary act of this fallacy can be seen in Table 8.

TABLE 8. The illocutionary force of a faulty reasoning

Illocutionary act	Main Category of Illocutionary act	Sub-category of Illocutionary act	Type of Speech Act
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 قادنا الى الدخول في حروب خارجية	Assertives	Accusing	Indirect Speech Act

### THE FALLACY OF UNCLARITY

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).

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 جزيل لكل من يقف بوجه الذين يريدون تخريب العملية السياسية.

In the above fallacy, al-Maliki thanks those who stood against anyone who intends to sabotage the political process. The illocutionary force of that utterance is that of expressive and implies the function of “thanking”. However, the pragmatic optimum of that argument requires

more investigation with regards to the context of speech 5 (refer to appendix B) and the background information about the speaker and the argument under discussion. At that time, there was a conflict between al-Maliki and the House of Representatives specifically about the endorsement of the budget, which had caused that period to be filled with mutual accusations between the political parties. Accordingly, we can infer the following unexpressed premise “whoever opposes the budget endorsement is attempting to undermine the political process”. Henceforth, the illocutionary force at the textual level is different from the illocutionary force at the sentence level as al-Maliki indirectly accused some of his opponents of destroying the political process. Therefore, the illocutionary act of this fallacy is presented in table 9.

TABLE 9. The illocutionary force of the fallacy of unclarity

Illocutionary act	Main Category of Illocutionary act	Sub-category of Illocutionary act	Type of Speech Act
Thanks a lot to whomever stand against those who want to sabotage the political process. شكرا جزيلاً لكل من يقف بوجه الذين يريدون تخريب العملية السياسية.	Assertives	Accusing	Indirect Speech Act

## DISCUSSION

This study aimed to analyze the speech acts performed by Nouri al-Maliki in his rhetorical fallacies. For that aim, the study adopted the Pragma-dialectical approach proposed by Van Eemeren et al. (2002) to shed light on the pragmatic aspects of fallacies and highlight the role of complex speech acts in constructing such fallacies. Previous researches in the literature (Ahmed & Amir, 2021; Ramanathan et al., 2020; Mufiah & Rahman, 2019; Dylgjeri, 2017; Altikriti, 2016; Al-Ameedi & Khudhier, 2015; Hashim, 2015; Jarraya, 2013; ) adopted Austin’s and Searle’s speech act to analyze the performance of a single sentence. The present study filled this gap by adopting a recent model to analyze the complex speech acts of fallacies from a pragma-dialectical perspective.

Table 3 (refer to Appendix C) showed that al-Maliki violated eight rules out of the ten rules of critical discussion and committed 22 fallacies within these eight rules. In doing so, he used different complex speech acts to perform such fallacies, including; (i) assertive represented by its sub-categories of accusing, warning, claiming, stating, and denial (ii) directives act represented by its sub-categories of prohibition, commanding, and entreating, (iii) commissive by utilizing one threatening act. By performing such speech acts, al-Maliki seeks to disrepute his opponents and present them negatively to achieve a strong impact on the public’s attitudes towards his opponents. At the same time, he presented himself as a national hero who fights terrorism and shows his concern about the citizens’ needs, and makes the public feel grateful to him, which enhances his credibility as a future leader for the country. Besides, al-Maliki attempted to disrepute other candidates so that the citizens have a standpoint against other candidates, thereby losing their credibility. Moreover, the results showed that the highest proportion of illocutionary act performed by al-Maliki is assertives, represented by its sub-category of accusing. While the lowest proportion is commissive, represented by its sub-category of threatening. This indicates that al-Maliki used assertive as a technique to pass several directives to direct the public and influence them to commit with his standpoints. It also showed that the pragmatic optimum of fallacies could be detected by considering several elements, including; the context of that illocutionary act, the background

information about the speaker and the common knowledge about the topic under discussion. That is, it requires the ability to infer the unexpressed premise from all these elements. The result also revealed that the illocutionary force at the sentence level can be totally different from the illocutionary force at the argument level as the latter needs further efforts to infer the series of elementary speech acts of each premise because they are necessary for the inference of the unexpressed premise of the argument. According to Van Eemeren et al. (2002), each premise is individually a single speech act at the sentence level. At the argumentation level, the series of elementary speech acts compose the complex speech act of the argument.

The results were significantly in line with the results of Al-Ameedi and Khudhier (2015), where they investigated the political speeches of Barack Obama, in which they concluded that statement, assertion, and advice acts are utilized within Obama's political discourse. The results were also significantly in line with the results of Dylgjeri (2017), where the study analyzed the first Edi Rama's victorious political speech after the general elections held in Albania in June 2013. Dylgjeri concluded that Edi Rama's speech is characterized by the performance of commissive, assertive, and expressive acts. The results also showed a kind of similarity with the study of Jarraya (2013), who analyzed Tunisian president Zine El Abidine Ben Ali's political speech. Jarraya concluded that Bin Ali performed assertive, commissive, expressive acts and that speech acts can only be interpreted within their context. Although all these studies analyze the performance of a single act of a single sentence according to Searle's speech act theory, the difference between Searle's speech act theory and Van Eemeren et al. (2002) Pragma-dialectical approach is that, Searle and Austin's theory investigate the performance of a single speech act within a single sentence. While in Pragma-dialectical approach, Van Eemeren et al. (2002) examine the performance of the complex speech act within an argument. The significant of this study represented by highlighting the role of complex speech act in performing fallacies since fallacies are arguments that consist of at least two sentences.

## CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was to analyze the speech acts of fallacies in Nouri al-Maliki's political speeches. Based on the analysis provided, it is apparent that Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki has specific ideologies that he tries to convey through his speeches in order to persuade the Iraqi audience and thereby exercise power and dominance over them. To achieve this goal, he constructed his language through the use of rhetorical fallacies, which are based on various appeals instead of using sound arguments. The power of fallacies is not so intense, but their effects are so strong that they can influence peoples' attitudes to be in correspondence with politicians aim. In this sense, people need to be aware of the use of rhetorical fallacies in political discourse. They need to be enlightened about this technique due to the fact that it is very common in politics. Once people know what to look for, they can find at least more than one fallacy in every statement politicians make. Likewise, people need to improve their awareness of persuasion as a strategic phenomenon in political discourse to uncover the manipulative technique implied within this strategy and eventually to understand the aims behind such a discourse because it implicates more than one level of meaning and this is what it aims at.

The results of the present study showed that fallacies are widely used in Nouri al-Maliki's political speeches by which he communicated his ideologies and thereby exercised power over the Iraqi audience. In doing so, he performed such fallacies with various complex speech acts, including; assertive, directives, and commissive. The results also showed that within political

discourse, fallacies can only be performed as a complex speech act because the structure of fallacies requires the performance of more than one speech act. The use of speech act in the analysis of fallacies helps considering the degree of reasonableness in analyzing argumentative discourse, i.e. by analyzing the real intention of the speaker (illocutionary force) and the context, the fallacious act can be revealed and discovered. That is to say, fallacies are inductive arguments that require the inference of the unexpressed premise, which can only be inferred from the context of the argument under investigation, indicating the importance of the context in analyzing any fallacious argument.

In relation to the speech act, the study concluded that fallacies have two illocutionary forces one at the sentence level and the other at the argumentation level. At the sentence level, fallacies can be looked at as a series of elementary speech acts belonging to the category of assertives, each premise individually is a single speech act. At the argumentation level, the series of elementary speech acts compose the complex speech act of fallacies. It can also be concluded that the Pragma-dialectical approach is valid for analyzing monologue speech 'political discourse', contributing significantly to the body of knowledge as the first study to do so given that this approach was designed to analyze dialogue speech 'political debate'. Likewise, such an approach can investigate texts of diversified languages including Arabic. This study also provides a significant contribution to the analysis of rhetorical fallacies in political discourse as they need to be analyzed as complex speech acts. Otherwise, analyzing fallacies as a single act lacks adequate understanding and interpretation.

#### LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This study limited itself to ten political speeches of Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki that were delivered during his second term in the second half of 2013 and the first half of 2014 because they share the same topics and contents concerning the election and demonstration. The study also restricted itself to a textual method for data analysis. Thus, there has been no means of statistical procedures or other means of quantification.

The present study was confined to investigating fallacies in Nouri al-Maliki's political speeches from a pragmatic perspective. Further investigations are required to examine fallacies from grammatical and phonological perspectives. It is recommended that future research in political discourse use the current study framework as the complexity act of fallacies adds a new line of thought and contributes significantly to fully understanding the structure of fallacies and determining the relevant strategies used to communicate various types of fallacies.

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## Appendix A

TABLE 1. Fallacies in Pragma-dialectical Approach

Rules of Critical Discusion	Type of Fallacy
Rule One Freedom Rule	Fallacy of sacrosanct (not open to question)
	Declaring standpoint taboos
	Fallacy of the stick
	Appeal to pity
	Abusive variant (direct personal attack)
	Circumstantial variant (indirect personal attack)
Rule Two Burden of Proof Rule	Tu quoque variant ( you also variant)
	Shifting the burden of proof
	Presenting the standpoint as evidence
	Introducing personal guarantee
Rule Three Burden of Proof Rule	Shaping the standpoint
	Misrepresenting the genuine standpoint by exaggerating
	Misrepresenting the genuine standpoint (oversimplifying)
	Emphatically putting forward the opposite standpoint
	Referring to a group which the antagonist belongs to
Rule Four Relevance Rule	Using fictitious expressions
	The fallacy of irrelevant argumentation
	A pathetic fallacy (pathos) (negative/positive)
Rule Five Unexpressed Premise Rule	An ethical fallacy of abuse authority (ethos)
	Magnifying what has been left unexpressed
Rule Six Starting Point Rule	Fallacy of denying an unexpressed premise
	Unfair use of presupposition
	The fallacy of many questions
Rule Seven Argument Scheme Rule	Fallacy of circular reasoning
	Populist fallacy
	Fallacy of confusing facts with value judgments
	Fallacy of inappropriate appeal to causal relation using post hoc ergo propter hoc
	Fallacy of Inappropriate appeal to causal relation/slippery slope
	Fallacy of abuse authority
	Fallacy of hasty generalization
Fallacy of false analogy	
Rule Eight Validity Rule	Faulty reasoning
	Fallacy of division / composition
Rule Nine Closure Rule	Fallacy of refusing to retract a standpoint
	Concluding a standpoint is true because it has been defended
Rule Ten Usage Rule	The fallacy of unclarity
	The fallacy of ambiguity

## Appendix B

TABLE 2. 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.

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 ministries were divided according to the quota system, i.e. each party administers 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 1st 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.

### Appendix C

TABLE 3. Speech Acts Used in al-Maliki's Fallacies

Committed Fallacy	Main Category of Speech Act	Sub-Category of Speech Act	Type of Speech Act	Example
Fallacy of Sacrosanct	Directives	Command	Indirect Speech Act	The Commission works in accordance with the legal context, and you are working according to the legal context, but you have no right to issue an order or a decision because the House of Representatives is a legislative institution.
Declaring Standpoint Taboos	Directives	Prohibiting	Indirect Speech Act	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.
Fallacy of the Stick	Commissives	Threatening	Indirect Speech Act	I say if you do not endorse the budget, dear citizens, know that there is no single project and no disbursement for retiree dues, social welfare, student grants, nor for petrodollars or for everything of these enacted laws.
Appeal to Pity	Directives	Entreating	Indirect Speech Act	Today, these laws that have been legislated including the petrodollar law (\$ 5 for oil-producing provinces), which is one of their right, how to implement these laws in light of the debate about the ratification of the budget, from where will the government disburse all these entitlements? From where will it disburse to social welfare? And from where will we give the retirees what they deserve?
Abusive Variant (direct personal attack)	Assertives	Accusing	Indirect Speech Act	There is a process of manipulating of some citizens by others who filled their pockets of forbidden money, they gave 50 thousand or 100 thousand to the citizen who does not realize the fact that it is a legitimate responsibility in order to take the card and ravage it, so as not to benefit by the other party.
Circumstantial Variant (indirect personal attack)	Assertives	Accusing	Indirect Speech Act	But, with great regret, as we are close to the date of election, the process of disrupting the government's work has begun with the aim of failing it, and defaming the political process in general. Part of this, what some directly or indirectly do in supporting terrorism and ISIS.
Misrepresenting the genuine standpoint by exaggerating (straw man)	Assertives	Accusing	Indirect Speech Act	Frankly, we will move strongly towards building Iraq economically and politically, services, science and welfare and eliminate <b>all</b> the years of injustice and delete <b>all</b> traces of humiliation signed by the Baath and the dictator before and after the tent of Safwan convention.

Committed Fallacy	Main Category of Speech Act	Sub-Category of Speech Act	Type of Speech Act	Example
Emphatically Putting Forward the Opposite Standpoint	Assertives	Accusing	Indirect Speech Act	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.
A pathetic Fallacy (pathos)	Assertives	Warning	Indirect Speech Act	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 outside the control.
An Ethical Fallacy of Abuse Authority (ethos)	Assertives	Accusing	Indirect Speech Act	I have recently seen the escalation of negligence, which I do not rule out that it is done deliberately by some institutions to obstruct the work of citizens and the completion of their documents.
Magnifying what has been Left Unexpressed	Assertives	Accusing	Indirect Speech Act	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.
Unfair Use of Presupposition	Assertives	accusing	Indirect Speech Act	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.
Fallacy of Circular Reasoning	Assertives	Accusing	Indirect Speech Act	Let us reject the discourse of sectarianism and sectarians to protect our country and our people from its evil and destruction. Let us reject the fatwas of takfir and their speakers, who pretend knowledge while they are far from knowledge. They are the promoters of takfir who preach murder and encourage it, who push the ignorant to commit horrific massacres against their fellow Muslims.
Populist Fallacy	Assertives	Denial	Indirect Speech Act	He did not care, but said, "We have enacted 50 laws in this way", How? Legislation on void grounds does not mean giving legitimacy to this invalid legislation.
Inappropriate Appeal to Causal Relation through Confusing Facts with Value Judgments	Assertives	Warning	Indirect Speech Act	Not by the pressure that practiced over the Commission, which brought us to the brink of abyss when all the members of the Commission (plenipotentiaries) resigned, this means not only the entire electoral process has become in danger, but the whole political process has become in danger.

Committed Fallacy	Main Category of Speech Act	Sub-Category of Speech Act	Type of Speech Act	Example
Inappropriate Appeal to Causal Relation through Post Hoc Ergo Propter Hoc	Assertives	Warning	Indirect Speech Act	But today the sectarianism is a dangerous scourge because it leads to tearing the nation and overthrowing its force and resistance.
Inappropriate Appeale to Causal Relation through the Use of Slippery Slope	Assertives	Warning	Indirect Speech Act	Some may think that this is an easy issue, the Independent High Electoral Commission resigns, if it resigned, the election will not hold, and if the election is not hold, we will be in an illegal situation and the problems began to follow up and it would be difficult to get out of them.
Fallacy of Abuse Authority	Assertives	Stating	Indirect Speech Act	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.
Fallacy of Hasty Generalization	Assertives	Accusing	Indirect Speech Act	The squares have witnessed doctrinal struggles that have deepened and extended that each disbelieves the other one in order to bring them out of Islam religion and call to kill them.
Fallacy of False Analogy	Assertives	Claiming	Indirect Speech Act	As well as in the area of Salman Beg, which has turned into another city called (Tora Bora), our forces, praise be to Allah, are making great progress and crushing all lurking places of terrorism.
Faulty Reasoning	Assertives	Accusing	Indirect Speech Act	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.
The Fallacy of Unclarity	Assertives	Accusing	Indirect Speech Act	Thanks a lot to whomever stand against those who want to sabotage the political process.



## Appendix D

### INTERCODERS ASSESSMENT

To / Mr. Sa'ad Saleh Hamad

The accuracy of results have been reviewed and evaluated out of ten.

Committed Fallacy	Main Category of Speech Act	Sub-Category of Speech Act	Rating
Fallacy of Sacrosanct	Directives	Command	10
Declaring Standpoint Taboos	Directives	Prohibiting	9
Fallacy of the Stick	Commissives	Threatening	10
Appeal to Pity	Directives	Entreating	10
Abusive Variant (direct personal attack)	Assertives	Accusing	8
Circumstantial Variant (indirect personal attack)	Assertives	Accusing	9
Misrepresenting the genuine standpoint by exaggerating (straw man)	Assertives	Accusing	10
Emphatically Putting Forward the Opposite Standpoint	Assertives	Accusing	10
A pathetic Fallacy (pathos)	Assertives	Warning	9
An Ethical Fallacy of Abuse Authority (ethos)	Assertives	Accusing	10
Magnifying what has been Left Unexpressed	Assertives	Accusing	8
Unfair Use of Presupposition	Assertives	Accusing	9
Fallacy of Circular Reasoning	Assertives	Accusing	10
Populist Fallacy	Assertives	Denial	10
Inappropriate Appeal to Causal Relation through Confusing Facts with Value Judgments	Assertives	Warning	9
Inappropriate Appeal to Causal Relation through Post Hoc Ergo Propter Hoc	Assertives	Warning	9
Inappropriate Appeals to Causal Relation through the Use of Slippery Slope	Assertives	Warning	10
Fallacy of Abuse Authority	Assertives	Stating	9
Fallacy of Hasty Generalization	Assertives	Accusing	10
Fallacy of False Analogy	Assertives	Claiming	10
Faulty Reasoning	Assertives	Accusing	10
The Fallacy of Unclarity	Assertives	Accusing	9



Coder 1


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To / Mr. Sa'ad Saleh Hamad

The accuracy of results have been reviewed and evaluated out of ten.

Committed Fallacy	Main Category of Speech Act	Sub-Category of Speech Act	Rating
Fallacy of Sacrosanct	Directives	Command	10
Declaring Standpoint Taboos	Directives	Prohibiting	9
Fallacy of the Stick	Commissives	Threatening	10
Appeal to Pity	Directives	Entreating	9
Abusive Variant (direct personal attack)	Assertives	Accusing	8
Circumstantial Variant (indirect personal attack)	Assertives	Accusing	9
Misrepresenting the genuine standpoint by exaggerating (straw man)	Assertives	Accusing	10
Emphatically Putting Forward the Opposite Standpoint	Assertives	Accusing	10
A pathetic Fallacy (pathos)	Assertives	Warning	9
An Ethical Fallacy of Abuse Authority (ethos)	Assertives	Accusing	10
Magnifying what has been Left Unexpressed	Assertives	Accusing	8
Unfair Use of Presupposition	Assertives	Accusing	9
Fallacy of Circular Reasoning	Assertives	Accusing	10
Populist Fallacy	Assertives	Denial	10
Inappropriate Appeal to Causal Relation through Confusing Facts with Value Judgments	Assertives	Warning	9
Inappropriate Appeal to Causal Relation through Post Hoc Ergo Propter Hoc	Assertives	Warning	10
Inappropriate Appeal to Causal Relation through the Use of Slippery Slope	Assertives	Warning	10
Fallacy of Abuse Authority	Assertives	Stating	8
Fallacy of Hasty Generalization	Assertives	Accusing	10
Fallacy of False Analogy	Assertives	Claiming	10
Faulty Reasoning	Assertives	Accusing	10
The Fallacy of Unclarity	Assertives	Accusing	9



Coder 2

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## Appendix E

### KAPPA OUTPUT: INTERCODER RELIABILITY (ICR) OF THE OUTCOME

#### Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Coder1 * Coder2	22	100.0%	0	0.0%	22	100.0%

#### Symmetric Measures

	Value	Asymp. Std. Error <sup>a</sup>	Approx. T <sup>b</sup>	Approx. Sig.
Measure of Kappa Agreement	.763	.125	4.588	.000
N of Valid Cases	22			

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