



UNIVERSITI PUTRA MALAYSIA

***RHETORICAL FALLACIES AS PERSUASIVE STRATEGIES AND THEIR
IDEOLOGIES IN THE POLITICAL SPEECHES OF PRIME MINISTER
NOURI AL-MALIKI***

SAAD SALEH HAMAD

FBMK 2022 18



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By

SAAD SALEH HAMAD

**Thesis Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies, Universiti Putra Malaysia,
in Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

December 2021

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DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this study to

My country, My parents,

My friends,

Those who support me.



Abstract of thesis presented to the Senate of Universiti Putra Malaysia in fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Ghairman : Associate Professor Afida binti Mohamad Ali, PhD
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Critical discourse analysis focuses on social problems and political topics, specifically on how power relations are presented and abused in a given discourse. It aims at analyzing discourse linguistically by relating linguistic behavior to political behavior. Political discourse is deliberately constructed for political aims; it intends to impose 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. However, in political discourse, politicians may use faulty logic in constructing their language, in that people might easily fall for fallacies.

The study aimed to (1) determine Nouri al-Maliki's rhetorical fallacies; (a) the violated rules in committing these fallacies; (b) the argument scheme that constructed such fallacies; (2) analyze the speech acts used in performing such fallacies; (3) how fallacies and their speech acts accomplish the process of persuasion; (4) determine the ideologies commonly propagated by Nouri al-Maliki through the use of fallacies.

The present study adopted a qualitative research design for data collection and data analysis. The data consist of eleven political speeches of the former Prime Minister of Iraq Nouri al-Maliki. The speeches were examined using Van Eemeren et al.'s (2002) pragma-dialectical approach, Walton's (2007) commitment-based approach, and Van Dijk's (2006) socio-cognitive approach. For data analysis, a textual analysis method was used following the critical discourse analysis approach.

The findings revealed that al-Maliki violated eight out of ten critical discussion rules, committing 22 out of 31 fallacies within these rules. Furthermore, al-Maliki performed such fallacies with a variety of complex speech acts, including assertives, directives, and commissives. The use of fallacies and their complex speech acts played an essential role in making al-Maliki's political speeches persuasive. Finally, al-Maliki's ideology was founded on religious sectarianism and was used to convey a variety of themes, including terrorism, sectarianism, human rights, and democracy.

The current study provides several significant contributions to the body of knowledge. It is the first study that uses the Pragma-dialectical approach to analyze political discourse, as this model has only been used to analyze political debate. The study identifies two types of fallacies that have not been included in the Pragma-dialectical approach, indicating its lack of inclusiveness. As the first comprehensive study on fallacies, the current study provides a significant contribution to this field by shedding light on various types of rhetorical fallacies. It also contributes to the field of political discourse by basing the analysis on the validity of an argument and the role of speech acts, recognizing both the socio-philosophical and socio-linguistic foundations of rhetorical fallacies.

Abstrak tesis yang dikemukakan kepada Senat Universiti Putra Malaysia sebagai memenuhi keperluan untuk ijazah Doktor Falsafah

**KESALAHAN RETORIK SEBAGAI STRATEGI MEMUJUK DAN
IDEOLOGINYA DALAM UCAPAN POLITIK PERDANA MENTERI NOURI
AL-MALIKI**

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Analisis wacana kritikal tertumpu pada masalah sosial dan tajuk-tajuk politik khususnya tentang bagaimana perhubungan kuasa dipersembahkan atau disalah guna dalam sesebuah wacana. Ia berhasrat untuk menganalisis wacana secara ilmu bahasa dengan mengaitkan perilaku bahasa kepada perilaku politik. Wacana politik dengan sengajanya dibangunkan bagi tujuan politik; di mana ia berhasrat untuk memaksa kepercayaan dan sikap tertentu kepada khalayak. Kepercayaan dan sikap ini mengandungi ideologi dan mengikut ideologi ini para ahli politik membangunkan bahasa mereka, maka dengannya mereka berhasrat memujuk, menguasai dan mengawal rakyat. Walau bagaimanapun, dalam wacana politik, para cerdik pandai ahli-ahli politik telah menggunakan logik songsang dalam membangunkan bahasa mereka di mana rakyat boleh terpengaruh dan dikelirukan dengannya.

Kajian ini bertujuan untuk mengenal pasti retorik yang mengelirukan oleh Nouri al-Maliki yang melanggar peraturan-peraturan dan skema hujah yang digunakan bagi mengadakan kesalahan ini. Selain itu, ia bertujuan menganalisis lakuan pertuturan dalam mempersembahkan kesalahan tersebut dan bagaimana kesalahan retorik ini dan lakuan pertuturannya diguna pakai dalam mencapai proses memujuk rakyat. Akhir sekali, ia juga bertujuan bagi mengenal pasti ideologi yang disebarikan oleh Nouri al-Maliki menerusi penggunaan kesalahan terancang.

Kajian ini menerapkan pendekatan kajian kualitatif menerusi pengumpulan dan analisis data. Data-data dikumpulkan secara kualitatif dan terdiri daripada sebelas ucapan politik bekas Perdana Menteri Iraq, Nouri al-Maliki. Data-data diperiksa dengan menggunakan pendekatan pragma-dialektik Van Eemeren et al.'s (2002), pendekatan berasaskan-iltizam Walton's (2007), dan pendekatan sosio-kognitif Van Dijk's (2006).

Bagi analisis data, kaedah analisis teks digunakan mengikut pendekatan analisis wacana kritikal.

Hasil kajian mendedahkan al-Maliki telah melanggar lapan peraturan daripada jumlah sepuluh peraturan kaedah wacana kritikal dan telah menemukan 22 kesalahan daripada 31 di dalam lapan peraturan tersebut. Justeru, al-Maliki telah melakukan kesalahan tersebut dengan pelbagai lakuan pertuturan kompleks yang berbeza termasuk secara ketegasan, pengarah dan iltizam. Akhir sekali, dapatan menunjukkan bahawa ideologi al-Maliki berdasarkan doktrin sektarianisme keagamaan bertujuan menyebarkan tema-tema seperti, terorisme, sektarianisme, hak asasi manusia, dan demokrasi.

Kajian ini memberikan beberapa sumbangan yang boleh diberi perhatian sewajarnya. Kajian adalah kajian pertama menganalisis wacana politik menggunakan pendekatan Pragma-dialektik kerana model ini hanya pernah digunakan untuk perdebatan politik. Di samping itu, kajian ini juga menyatakan ketidakcukupan pendekatan Pragma-dialektik kerana terdapat dua kesalahan yang tidak dimasukkan dalam pendekatan ini, justeru itu menandakan kekurangan inklusif menerusi kaedah ini. Malah, kajian ini telah memberi sumbangan besar di dalam bidang kesalahan retorik sebagai satu kajian menyeluruh. Ia juga telah menyumbang di dalam bidang wacana politik dengan mengasaskan analisis kesalahan retorik di atas kesahan hujah dan peranan lakuan pertuturan, sekaligus mengiktiraf asas sosiofilosofi dan sosiolinguistik untuk kesalahan retorik.

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This thesis was submitted to the Senate of the Universiti Putra Malaysia and has been accepted as fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The members of the Supervisory Committee were as follows:

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
DHA	Discourse Historical Approach
PDA	Pragma-dialectical Approach
CBA	Commitment-based Approach
SCA	Socio-cognitive Approach
SAT	Speech Act Theory
RF	Rhetorical Fallacies
PM	Prime Minister

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the background of study, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, research questions, theoretical framework, the significance of the study, limitations of the study, definition of key terms, and organization of the study.

1.2 Background of the Study

This section sets the present study in its context. It provides background information about the related concepts to the present study, the social and political situation in Iraq, and the role of political speech in the political process in Iraq. This includes shedding light on the background information about rhetoric, persuasion, fallacies, and their roles in political discourse, the history of Iraq's political situation, and the history of the former PM of Iraq Nouri al-Maliki.

1.2.1 Rhetoric and Persuasion

Metsämäki (2012) believes that "the genre of persuasion is amongst the oldest styles of discourse that has been studied and practised since antiquity" (p. 205). This indicates that the study of persuasive strategies has a wide interest and public orientation since past times. But what is persuasion? In relation to rhetoric, the fundamental function of rhetoric is to persuade other people by means of argument and to show solidarity with their emotions and values so as to be in correspondence with their thinking (Kennedy, 1991). In his turn, Charteris-Black (2011, p. 144) emphasizes that "conviction rhetoric apparently integrates ethos with pathos", i.e. persuasion is essentially based on virtue which in turn based on ethic. Persuasion, in a specific or general sense, "is the key to coordinate action; it is the glue that holds people to a common purpose and facilitates collective action" (Keith & Lundberg, 2008, p. 5). This is why Kennedy (1991) states that persuasion is a kind of demonstration due to the fact that we are likely to be convinced when things have been explained and presented in an accurate way. Mills (2000) argues that persuasion is an interactive process in which the persuader tries to impose certain effects and steer the persuaded to follow his/her way by changing his/her beliefs and behaviours,

In addition, to accomplish the process of persuasion, five factors should be adopted so as the speaker to be rhetorically persuasive, namely, invention, disposition, elocution, memory, and delivery (Kennedy, 1994). Invention refers to the fact in which one should find true ideas or at least ideas that appear to be true, disposition is the

distribution "arrangement" of these ideas in a project, elocution is the accommodation of the words for the invention, memory is the solid perception of ideas and words in the mind, finally, delivery is how to moderate the choice of strategies based on the dignity of ideas and words (ibid).

Persuasion is considered to be pervasive and commonplace. That is, everyday communication is an example of persuasion but in a different setting. People play this process, and no matter whether they gain a successful result of the persuasive process or not, what matters is that there is a process of persuasion (Cockcroft & Cockcroft, 2013). Krok (2009) believes that persuasive strategies have various uses in the different settings of social life, and their aim is to persuade people to change their thoughts, attitudes, or emotions so that they become vulnerable to the speakers' instructions and orders. Accordingly, Mills (2000) argues that the speaker (the persuader) influences the hearer (the persuaded) to adopt his/her ideas, but the persuaded acceptance to the persuader's request depends on the information presented by the persuader. Thus, persuasion is based on an argument that involves certain information to influence peoples' attitudes and behaviours. This is why Hyland (1998) confirms that persuasion is a skill that people employ in their interaction so as to motivate their counterparts to execute certain actions or cooperate in doing various activities. Such a skill is presented through the art of rhetoric. There is no doubt, then, that rhetorical study, in its strictest sense, is concentrated on modes of persuasion.

Rhetoric can be traced back to the Greek world, particularly to the Athenian philosophers such as Isocrates, Plato, and Aristotle. The term "rhetoric" originated from the Greek word "rhetorike", which means the public speaker. The first appearance of rhetoric was in the law courts at the beginning of the fifth century B.C., despite the fact that the deliberative rhetoric of public and legislative assemblies was probably common at that time (Kennedy, 1994). Isocrates (436-338 B.C.) is considered the first figure who developed a systematic theory of rhetoric and shared the sophistic interest in rhetoric but protested against some of them who exploited the art of rhetoric (Scallen, 1994). The most important and famous work on the theory of rhetoric is that of Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, who believes that rhetoric is the counterpart of dialectic. Rhetoric, according to Kennedy (1991), is "the faculty of observing in any given case the available means of persuasion" (p. 7). In their turn, Keith and Lundberg (2008) believe that rhetoric concentrates on the relationship between language and persuasion. For them, rhetoric is "the study of producing discourse and interpreting how, when, and why discourse is persuasive" (p. 4).

Besides, the art of rhetoric is an essential instrument in the war of words. Among all the marks of rhetoric is its use to gain advantages of one sort or another. In addition, rhetoric can be exploited for persuasion and dissuasion. It can be used to induce an act beyond verbal expression (Burke, 1969). That is, rhetoric in the most general sense, with reference to Keith and Lundberg (2008), is regarded as "a form of mental or emotional energy imparted to a communication to affect a situation in the interest of the speaker" (p. 7). Heuboeck (2009) states that since its emergence, rhetoric has been understood as the way of studying means of inducement and discussion; it moves

beyond the form of text and focuses on the intended impact of a given communication. This is why Gowland (2002) emphasises the importance of conviction in an argument where he states that "rhetoric is concerned not with the substance of arguments, rather with the principles of a practice geared towards the production of conviction in an audience" (p. 68).

Moreover, Heuboeck (2009) argues that rhetoric in the area of discourse analysis focuses on the effect of the structural organisation of text to create an intended influence on its listeners or readers. Booth (2009), from his part, focuses on the general aspect of discourse that can be employed to influence the recipient. That is "the entire range of resources that human beings share for producing effects on one another, and aims at that aspect of discourse which is intentional and instrumental" (p. xi). In that, the talk will be utilised within ordinary life, i.e. the point when somebody means to make, through the employment of indications or symbols, a partial effect upon others. Rhetoric cannot be effective and successful if the speaker is not qualified to make an impact over the audience, i.e. the speaker should employ his arguments, or figures of speech in such a way that he/she can achieve the underlying purpose of persuading the audience (Charteris-Black, 2011).

Therefore, if he wants to be persuasive, the speaker should arrange the argument in such a way that it can be easily understood. A logical text that is represented as a unified entity "coherent" is easily understood, more effective, and more likely to be accepted (Gowland, 2002). Heuboeck (2009) states that the term "coherence" relates to the arrangement and the representation of a given text as a unified entity. He adds "the text's unity to its communicative purpose, has a quite different implication and is not primarily situated on a semantic, but a pragmatic level, the text appears as a unit of interaction, this pragmatic meaning, function and purpose, attributes to the text as a whole" (p. 39). This is why Gowland (2002) argues that rhetoric is quietly pragmatic in its concern because, in rhetoric, the speaker aims at persuading the audience by using different kinds of persuasive strategies. Hence, it provides a sort of argument mechanics, which can be seen in the elaborated system of rhetorical topics.

Aristotle points out three essential points for speeches to be coherent for a given discourse: first, rhetoric is a coherent field of inquiry, which has a logic and goal. That is, the concentration must be on the talent of realising the obtainable means of persuasion in any context. Second, rhetoric and reasoning are complementary and counterpart. In other words, logic and persuasion are consistent with each other. Third, the structure and function of discourse are shaped by the aims of discourse, in that Aristotle classifies three types of speech according to their function: forensic, epideictic, and deliberative (Kennedy, 1991).

Classical rhetoric differentiates between these three genres of speech, namely, forensic or alternately legal discourse is identified by the speech of judge and jury, which gives more attention to the past actions, such as crime. Epideictic or display speech is represented by a gathering of people whose part is passive; this pattern of speech is

employed in praising or blaming and is devoted to the present action. Deliberative or political speech, which relates to the public assembly, involves making a decision about the potential action in the future, such as a decision of making peace or starting a war (Charteris-Black, 2011). However, Aristotle presents a rhetorical triangle or what is called "Aristotelian triad" consisting of three elements; ethos, pathos, and logos claiming that each type of speech must fulfill these elements to be successful and persuasive.

1.2.2 Rhetoric and Political Discourse

According to Załęska (2011), 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" (p. 2). That is, most political activities are exercised through the use of language or discourse. Moreover, Van Dijk (2008) believes that political talk may be a category of genres characterized by a social domain, namely, governmental issues. It can be seen in many fields such as governmental deliberation, parliamentary debate, party programs, and politicians' speeches. That is to say, politicians who speak for the government's benefit strive to focus on their messages with respect to the content and the style of their discourse. This procedure is considered an important feature in a democracy where consent and consensus have to be achieved. As a result, political discourse requires the use of different linguistic forms to achieve political ends.

Moreover, Van Dijk (1997) states that "political discourse is identified by its actors or authors, namely, politicians, since all studies of political discourse are about the text and talk of professional politicians or political institutions" (p. 8). He adds, political discourse must be the expression of an individual who assumes the part of politicians, and it should be presented in a public setting, i.e. political speech is the speech of politicians, and the study of this field should be restricted to the role of politicians as professionals in the realm of political activities. Furthermore, political activities should be enacted in the public place, and the discourse should be the discourse of politicians in the political situation of the state. Thus, the talk is politics when it can accomplish political behavior in a political situation.

1.2.3 Ideology and Power in Political Discourse

Ideologies are the representation of social cognition and form the basis of mental objects. Ideology refers to the system of ideas or how one views the world. It refers to culture, political ideas, and economic views and idiosyncratic characterisations such as oneself and identity (Rahimi & Sahragard, 2006). Wodak (2002) points out that, for political discourse, ideology is an important means for establishing and exercising power relations. The study of ideology focuses on how language is constructed to convey different implications by using different symbolic forms. It also investigates the social context in which those symbolic forms are employed and deployed and whether

such forms establish or sustain power relations and dominance. Thus, according to Rahimi and Sahragard (2006), ideology is the manifestations of the distribution of power in society.

For his part, Paul Chilton (2004) points out that politics is a struggle for power. It can be seen as practices in institutions for resolving conflicts of interest over resources, influence, and dominance in society. It is a concept that emphasises the significance of dominance and associates the macro-structures of the state foundations with the micro-structures of ordinary ethnic minority relationships and communications. According to him, "language use, discourse, verbal interaction, and communication belong to the micro-level of the social order, while power, dominance, and inequality between social groups typically belong to a macro-level of analysis" (p. 4). Chilton argues that the role of CDA is to bridge the gap between these two levels, i.e. to relate the linguistic action to the social or political action in the process of communication.

Furthermore, Van Dijk (1997) argues that political systems are among the most common class of the political field. Political systems include communism, dictatorship, democracy, fascism and even social democracy. All these are often comprehended as related to the form of power and the principles of decision making. Moreover, shared political values are also related to political systems. Therefore, "freedom, for example, is not only just a political relationship but also a basic political value, and it can be seen as a political ideology and attitude since political ideology defines the socio-cognitive counterpart of political system" (p. 12). That is, politics is not only restricted to include all those who work in its domains, events, setting actions, and discourse. It is also concerned with the political process and political systems such as democracy and common political ideology such as liberalism, and political group relations such as dominance, inequality, and oppression.

1.2.4 Rhetoric and Argumentation

The relationship between rhetoric and argumentation is deeply rooted back to Aristotle, who believes that rhetoric is the counterpart of dialectic (Kennedy, 1991). Rhetoric, according to Aristotle, is based on argumentation schemes, and the relationship between rhetoric and dialectic is clear and should be taken into consideration. He argues that rhetorical skills become more powerful when the speaker avoids bad arguments and uses strong argument, which helps to understand how rhetoric and dialectic are connected to each other and are complementary, and how both are based on argumentation schemes and relate to persuasion (Kennedy, 1994). According to Walton (2007, p. 2), "The contemporary field of argumentation derives from three different disciplinary roots: logic, dialectic, and rhetoric. Logic is the science of reasoning. Dialectic is the study of two parties reasoning together with each other by argument and objection. Rhetoric is the use of argument to persuade". The role of rhetoric is to devise an argument that can be persuasive to make the audience accept the viewpoint of the speaker, based on what might be taken as its commitments and values, while dialectic is to judge whether the argument is strong or weak (fallacious) by applying the rules of a good/strong argument (Walton, 1995). For his part, Van Dijk

(2011) points out that the structure of argumentation involves the representation of reality. That is, it is integrated with persuasion since persuasion is the speaker's effort to represent reality. Therefore, argumentation is the realisation of peoples' beliefs expressed in the presentation of text and talk. Concerning weak argument, Walton (2007) believes that fallacies have rhetorical elements, namely, fallacies are arguments that appear to be reasonable and their role is to persuade the hearer or target audience, in this sense "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).

1.2.5 Rhetorical Fallacies

The world of political rhetoric is a murky one, full of faulty logic and bad arguments on all sides of the political field. In that, people easily fall for fallacies, i.e. in political discourse, politicians may use faulty logic in constructing their arguments and exploit this phenomenon skillfully (Almossawi, 2014). In fact, the speaker of any speech attempts to follow persuasion modes, namely, ethos, pathos, and logos, so as to persuade listeners of a particular claim. That is, strong arguments should be based on truthful appeals. However, a speaker can also be persuasive by utilising false appeals. The speaker might use a fallacy in different ways, such as the case in crafty wording, inaccurate comparisons, and based on audience emotion and assumption (Moore, Parker, & Rosenstand, 2011).

The word fallacy is derived from two Latin words "fallax", which means deceptive, and "fallere", which means to deceive (Paul & Elder, 2006). RF 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 utilising sound thinking. Fallacies are appeals that make a breach or weakness in reasoning (LaBossiere, 1995). Moreover, Moore et al. (2011) state that fallacies are bad arguments that follow commonly used patterns, and many people think that they are good arguments. Still, they are incorrect, misleading argument and use various appeals instead of using sound reasoning. That is, a fallacy is an error in reasoning, and this differs from a factual error, which is simply being wrong about the facts i.e. a fallacy is an "argument" in which the premises given for the conclusion do not provide the needed degree of support (Gula, 2002).

Moreover, Almossawi (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. Therefore, it pertains to conclusions, not to the statements that form those conclusions. The word fallacy usually applies to conclusions that appear sound, and it is the criterion to judge whether the argument is false or not. Besides, Gula (2002) confirms that the argument is a series of statements; some of these statements are premises: assertions, 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, for more details about fallacies (see section, 2.2.2).

1.2.6 Rhetorical Fallacies and Pragmatic Theory

The concept of fallacy is totally pragmatic because it always raises the following questions in evaluating a particular event; what is the context of the argument? No matter whether the argument is fallacious or not (Walton, 1995). In this sense, the pragmatic factors play an essential role in evaluating a given argument, which indicates that fallacies are viewed in relation to the context of any argument in which such an argument is used (Parks, 2011). Henceforth, Budzynska and Witek (2014) emphasise the role of pragmatic elements in evaluating and interpreting any fallacious argument, such factors including felicity conditions and the environment where the fallacy takes place.

For fallacies, Walton (1995) believes that they carry the same components of speech act theory (SAT) proposed by Searle (1969). According to SAT, any speech act is constructed of three main components, namely, a locution (utterances), illocutionary (pragmatic force), and a perlocution (effect of the pragmatic force) (Searle, 1969). Walton argues that fallacies are speech acts represented by propositions and expressed by statements, consisting of premises and conclusion. A premise is a proposition that provides reasons for the conclusion to be accepted. The conclusion is a statement that results from using one or more premise. This is why Budzynska and Witek (2014) state that any argument is a complex speech act that consists of a series of similar speech acts, which in turn, constructed by a series of statements. These statements consist of a premise or more than one premise and one conclusion.

According to the modern argumentation theory, speech act plays an essential role in constructing any fallacious argument, such a fallacious argument should be looked at from the pragma-dialectical perspective (Van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2016; Walton, 1995, 2007). In that, the interpretation of fallacies is based on contextual factors and the speaker's felicity conditions of their speech acts. Such conditions are important to situate the utterance with its illocutionary function and help understand the types and strategies of fallacies (Shim, 2011). Henceforth, it is necessary for the present study to take the pragmatic perspective into consideration in selecting any framework to analyze the RF in PM Nouri al-Maliki's political speech. In relation to this figure, it is important for this study to present a detailed explanation about the political situation in Iraq to understand the contextual circumstances of the political scene in Iraq.

1.2.7 The History of Iraq's Political Situation

Iraq, or what was anciently known as Mesopotamia, means the land between two rivers, the Tigris and the Euphrates (Katzman & Humud, 2016). Iraq is located in West Asia, and its population is a mix of different races and ethnics: Arabs are the largest

ethnics in this country, which constitutes 80% of its population, whereas 15% are Kurds and 5% other ethnics include Assyrians, Turkmens, Armenians, and Mandaeans. Islam is the official religion in Iraq at a rate of 95% of its population. This percentage is divided fifty-fifty between two doctrines, namely, Sunni and Shi'a, and the rest of 5% constitute other religions (Marr, 2018).

In 1958, Iraq was proclaimed as a republic after a coup led by nationalist military leaders. This event indicated the beginning of the rule of a series of powerful men over Iraq that lasted until 2003, where the American forces invaded Iraq and overthrew Saddam Hussein regime (Sorby, 2005). After 2003, Iraq witnessed a significant political change where different political parties, several organisations appeared in the Iraqi political scene after decades of the ruling of one party (Ba'ath party). The main slogan of those new parties was democracy, and their aims were to experience a democratic election after many decades of dictatorship ruling (Katzman & Humud, 2016).

The first election of 2005 is considered one of the most critical events in the political history of Iraq because it witnessed the first democratic process where many parties competed to win the first election held in this country. Accordingly, 2005 was the starting point of the new democratic era in Iraq (Dawisha & Diamond, 2006). However, a year later, precisely on 26 February 2006, Imam al-Askari Mosque in Samarra was blown up. Imam al-Askari is one of the 12th holy Shia's imams. This event was the onset of sectarian violence, which over time turned into a civil war between Sunni and Shia (Fearon, 2007). The bombing of Imam al-Askari's grave was the beginning of the sectarian division that has been widely exploited by the majority of Iraqi politicians' political speeches during their electoral campaign (Williams & Simpson, 2008). Since that time, the election has turned into a polar referendum based on religious and ethnic identity, i.e. each electoral alliance focused on cementing the support of its own base (Damluji, 2010).

On 30 January 2005, Iraq held an election to choose a Transitional National Assembly, whose task was to write a permanent constitution, hold a referendum to approve it, and prepare the country for the general election in December 2005 (Dawisha & Diamond, 2006). The election of 5 December 2005 was the first general parliamentary elections held after adopting the new constitution. After six months of consultations, Nouri al-Maliki was chosen to be the PM of Iraq on 20 May 2006 (Damluji, 2010). On 7 March 2010, the second parliamentary elections were held in which Nouri al-Maliki also won and formed the government for a second term on 25 November 2010 (Derby & Cordesman, 2010). At the end of April 2014, Iraq witnessed the third general elections since 2003 and the first after the US military withdrew from Iraq in 2011. This election was topped by the State of Law coalition headed by Nouri al-Maliki, in which he won the third term. However, all other parties voiced strongly against him because they blamed him for the sectarian violence and accused him of monopolising power (O'Driscoll, 2014). Moreover, the Shia's highest religious references in Najaf used a veto against Nouri al-Maliki's third Premiership. As a result, and after three months of consultations, all parties agreed to choose a figure from the same coalition of Nouri al-

Maliki. Accordingly, on 1 August 2014, Haidar al-Abadi was chosen to be the PM of Iraq, which ended two terms of Nouri al-Maliki's rule (Colleau, 2014). This section provides the background information about the political situation in Iraq that affects the process of constructing the political speech during that time, which helps to understand the underlying ideologies adopted by Iraqi politicians in such a context. Therefore, it is essential to provide some background information about the former PM Nouri al-Maliki so as to have a better understanding of the whole context of the situation.

1.2.8 The History of Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki

Nouri Kamil Muhammad Hassan al-Maliki, also known as Jawad al-Maliki, is nicknamed as Abu Esraa', was born in 1950 in Hindiya, a small town located 70 km south of Baghdad (Parker & Salman, 2013). A Muslim who follows Shi'a belief, he had a father who was a religious cleric. He received his bachelor degree at Usul al-Din College in Baghdad in 1973 and completed his master degree in Arabic literature at Baghdad University. He worked in the education field after he had completed his Bachelor degree in al-Hillah, in which he lived for a time. However, he joined the Islamic Da'wa Party (a party that follow Shi'a doctrine/al-Wali al-Faqih ideology) in the late 1960s and progress quickly within his rank until he became the secretary-general of this party. During that period, he was working secretly against the Ba'athist leadership (the Ba'ath party that was ruling Iraq). In 1979 after Saddam Hussein took over as a president of Iraq, al-Maliki left Iraq after hearing that the Iraqi intelligence had discovered his membership in al-Da'wa Party. As a result, he moved to Syria, where he settled there until 1982, and from Syria, he moved to Iran and settled there until 1990. Later, he went back to Syria and led a guerilla force that was working against Saddam Hussein's regime until 2003 (Parker & Salman, 2013).

In 2003, when the American forces invaded Iraq, he came with other politicians who were protestors against Saddam's regime. Then, in 2006, when the Shi'a Alliance won the election, al-Maliki was chosen to be the Prime Minister of Iraq. He presented his cabinet, but he did not announce ministers of defence and interior and promised that he would announce them later (ibid).

During the second term (2010-2014) as a prime minister, al-Maliki revealed his real policy and started his dictatorship by ignoring all his political partners, even those within his alliance; he held the position of acting interior, defence, and national security minister. Later, in 2012 the influence of Iran appeared on his policies, and his speeches were filled with discriminatory and racist remarks, which gave an impression to the public that he might have become an extremist (Katzman, 2014; Sullivan, 2013). This was the starting point of his fall and led to the end of his dream in the third term.

To this end, this study intends to analyze the political speeches of the former PM of Iraq, Nouri al-Maliki. The focus of the study is on determining, describing, and interpreting the use of RF as employed by al-Maliki and how he is able to change

peoples' attitudes about political issues. Besides, it intends to focus on how Nouri al-Maliki constructed his language to convey different implications by using different rhetorical fallacies.

1.3 Statement of Problem

Political speeches have received much attention (Al-Ameedi & Khudhier, 2015; Alkhirbash, 2010; Altikriti, 2016; Halmari, 2005; Hashim, 2015; Liu & Lei, 2018; Loudenslager, 2012; Stenbakken, 2007; Warman & Hamzah, 2019) with investigations on the political speeches of Bill Clinton and Ronald Reagan, Tony Blair, Dr. Mahathir Mohammad, Abraham Lincoln, Barak Obama, George Bush and John Kerry Presidential Campaign in 2004, Barack Obama's inaugural discourse (2009, 2013), Hillary Clinton, Donald Trump, and the Indonesian presidential candidates Joko Widodo. Each of these speeches carried the ideas, ideologies, and agendas of the political parties. In Iraq, especially after the USA invasion in 2003 and the fall of Saddam Hussein's regime, the political situation witnessed instability and changes in the political scenes. At that time, political speeches became important tools to address the public and steer them towards certain ideologies adopted by several Iraqi political parties. The speeches were important means for these parties to win the election rounds by persuading people with their propaganda. Damluji (2010) states that the main propaganda for all electoral alliances during Iraqi elections has sectarian and ethnic grounds. Parties competed to win the largest number of supporters by calling for sectarian and ethnic detachment, i.e. all candidates do not have political agendas. They only arouse sectarian and ethnic feelings among the Iraqi citizens to make people vote for them. The sectarian and ethnic ideologies were dominated during that period which are the main orientation of the present study. Despite the importance of political speeches in people's lives, little attention was paid to analyze Iraqi decision-makers political speeches. Therefore, it is necessary to pay more attention to analyze the political speech of Iraqi politicians to understand how the political speeches are managed and formulated by the Iraqi leaders.

Nouri al-Maliki, the former PM of Iraq, ruled Iraq from 2006-2014. Through these years, Iraq witnessed difficult and complicated political crises. During his first term (2006-2010), al-Maliki was heading straightforward to rearrange the political scene in Iraq. He brought in processes to unify the different factions in Iraqi politics, and his speech was moderate and there was no remark of any sectarian or ethnic proposal. He was also involved in quelling a rebellion that had erupted in Basra by the Shia cleric Muqtada al-Sadr's militia and sent in the Iraqi army to take care of the situation. The most significant work during that period was that of reaching an agreement with the USA about their forces' pull-out from Iraq by 2009 (Parker & Salman, 2013). In the months leading up to the March 2010 election, Maliki tried to build a pan-Iraqi coalition and wooed Sunni Arab leaders who were unhappy with Maliki's rival Ayad Allawi's secular and cross-national Iraqiyya Party, but he did not succeed in his attempt. When this proved insufficient to win over Sunni Arab and secular supporters, he turned to sectarian rhetoric (Yaphe, 2012).

During the second term (2010-2014) as a prime minister, more specifically in 2012, the influence of Iran appeared on his policies, and his speeches were filled with discriminatory and racist remarks, which gave an impression to the Sunni citizens that he became an extremist, and thereby lead them to protest against his policies (Katzman, 2014; Sullivan, 2013). As a result, al-Maliki tightened the grip over the Sunni cities by spreading the army inside these cities which affected the citizen. Moreover, al-Maliki accused several Sunni leaders and issued judicial orders to arrest them for their participation in the peaceful demonstrations, for example, the detention of Ahmad al-Alwani, the Sunni parliamentarian, on charges of inciting anti-government activity. Furthermore, the security forces closed down a protest tent camp in Ramadi in response to al-Maliki's order. Consequently, this prompted significant rebellion in Ramadi and Fallujah and eventually spread to other Sunni cities such as Mosul, Salah din, Kirkuk, and Dayialah (ibid).

Due to the significant role played by this political figure in the political scene, several studies were conducted to explore his early life, educational background, and participation in al-Da'wa party (Benraad, 2014; Parker & Salman, 2013). Other studies explored his policies, procedures, and ways of administering the country (Al-Ali, 2014; Al-Qarawee, 2014, 2016; Haddad, 2014; Lynch, 2014; Sullivan, 2013). Although Nouri al-Maliki played an influential role in the political scene in Iraq and the Middle East region during these periods, little attention was paid to understand how this political figure uses language in his political speeches to win the election for such a lengthy period. Hence, it is important to analyze al-Maliki's political speeches in terms of language use to obtain more insights into his political thoughts, inclinations, and ideologies that were communicated during his political campaign. This study fills this gap in the previous discourse studies to shed light on certain aspects of al-Maliki's political speech, such as his use of RF to convey political ideologies, practice power, and consequently persuade the Iraqi audience.

In political speeches, politicians employ various rhetorical strategies that aim at persuading people to change their opinions, attitudes, and beliefs to be in correspondence with politician's aims. Thomas et al. (2004) state that politicians in political speeches strive to show themselves as experts who have knowledge in order to change audience minds and attitudes. A number of studies (Alkhirbash, 2010; Halmari, 2005; Karpeta, 2011; Ko, 2015; Loudenslager, 2012; Mshvenieradze, 2013) were conducted to explore rhetorical strategies as techniques of persuasion in political speeches. However, these studies adopted the conventional approach to persuasion as proposed by Aristotle depending on the three elements of persuasion, ethos, pathos, and logos. These three elements are necessary for any speech to fulfil logical reasoning, understand the human character, and stimulate emotions (Mshvenieradze, 2013). Although these elements are essential in the analysis of persuasion, they, in fact, lack the socio-linguistic theoretical base needed to understand how the use of language in context affects the performance of such a vital speech act. Hart (2011) noted that in any argument, pragmatic factors, such as the speaker's purpose and intention as well as the context of communication, should be considered in the analysis of persuasion. These factors are, in fact, essential elements in the analysis of any speech act and should be added to Aristotelian elements to provide a pragmatic or contextual

dimension of the analysis of persuasion. In the new theory of argumentation, the context is a pivotal factor that adds to the linguistic meaning and guides the inferential process. The present study takes into consideration the act of persuasion as one type of speech act that usually carries a felicity condition, locution, illocution, and perlocution, as proposed in the SAT by Searle (1976). That is, the use of speech acts in analyzing the RF of PM Nouri al-Maliki helps the present study determine the pragmatic factors such as Nouri al-Maliki's purpose and intention as well as the context, which participate in persuading his audience.

The study of persuasion in political speeches involves extending the analysis to what is called 'rhetorical fallacies'. Fallacies are strategies by which an arguer attempt to persuade listeners using premises that lack sound reasoning or hard evidence (Van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2016). Previous research that studied fallacies in political discourse (Klymenko, 2016; Boukala & Dimitrakopoulou, 2017; Hafez, 2017; Žagar, 2017; Bennett, 2018; Zappettini, 2019; Ramanathan, Paramasivam, and Hoon; 2020) 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, such as the speaker's social relationships, power, and status (s). In other words, 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 use of language expressed by the use of speech acts. Thus, DHA neglected much more productive, theoretical elaborations of fallacies. This theoretical gap in the DHA has been filled in recent approaches to the study of fallacies (Shim, 2011; Lewiński & Oswald, 2013; Walton, 2014; Van Eemeren, 2015; Santoso, 2017; Indah & Khoirunnisa, 2018; Visser, Budzynska, & Reed, 2018; Warman & Hamzah, 2019). These studies adopted a recent model to approach fallacies from a pragma-dialectical perspective, as proposed by Van Eemeren and Grootendorst (2016) and Walton (1995, 2007). Based on this model, the pragmatic aspects of fallacies added a new line of thought and significant contribution to better understand the structure of fallacies and determine the relevant strategies used to communicate these fallacies.

In spite of this change in the theoretical approach to fallacies, the political speeches by Arab leaders in general and Iraqi leaders in specific are very much under-researched. Following recent trends in analyzing fallacies, the present study attempts to fill this theoretical gap by adopting the pragma-dialectical approach (PDA) to investigate the contribution of performing a number of speech acts to formulate various types and strategies of RF in selected political speeches by Nouri al-Maliki. Adopting this model in the present study will help to explain how the performance of a complex speech act, such as the speech act of argumentation influence the structure of fallacies and their relevant strategies.

Further, though the PDA started to replace the DHA in recent research on fallacies, the scope of RF was limited to present conceptual studies rather than case studies. Most of these studies investigate one or two 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”. In political speech, many RF are usually employed by politicians. Without paying attention to all of these types of fallacies, the field of RF will lack adequate understanding and sound judgment and interpretation. Therefore, it is important to fill this gap in previous studies by conducting a comprehensive investigation on fallacies from a real-world setting to provide a significant contribution to the field of CDA in general and to the field of RF specifically.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The general objective of this study is to provide an in-depth critical analysis of Nouri al-Maliki political speech. More specifically, the present study seeks to:

1. Determine the rhetorical fallacies employed by Nouri al-Maliki to construct his political speech,
 - a. Identify the violated rules in committing such fallacies,
 - b. Determine the argument scheme that constructed such fallacies,
2. Analyze the speech acts performed by Nouri al-Maliki in his rhetorical fallacies,
3. Investigate the function of rhetorical fallacies and speech acts in accomplishing the process of persuasion,
4. Determine the ideologies commonly propagated by Nouri al-Maliki through the use of rhetorical fallacies.

1.5 Research Questions

Based on the objectives of this study, the following research questions are forwarded:

1. What are the rhetorical fallacies employed by Nouri al-Maliki in his political speech?
 - a. What are the violated rules in committing such fallacies?
 - b. What is the argument scheme that constructed such fallacies?
2. What are the speech acts performed by Nouri al-Maliki in his rhetorical fallacies?
3. How do the employment of rhetorical fallacies and speech acts accomplish the process of persuasion?
4. What are the ideologies commonly propagated by Nouri al-Maliki through the use of rhetorical fallacies?

1.6 Theoretical Framework

This study is theorized under the study of critical discourse analysis (CDA). Van Dijk (2015) states that CDA focuses on social problems and political topics, especially on how the production and reproduction of power relations are abused and presented in a given discourse. CDA is adopted in the present study to understand how Nouri al-Maliki, the previous PM of Iraq, used RF in his efforts to persuade the Iraqi people to adopt his economic, social and political views. This includes displaying how the performance of speech acts formulated these fallacies to convey the prime minister's ideologies and thereby exercise power over his audience. Figure 1.1 illustrates the theoretical framework of the present study.

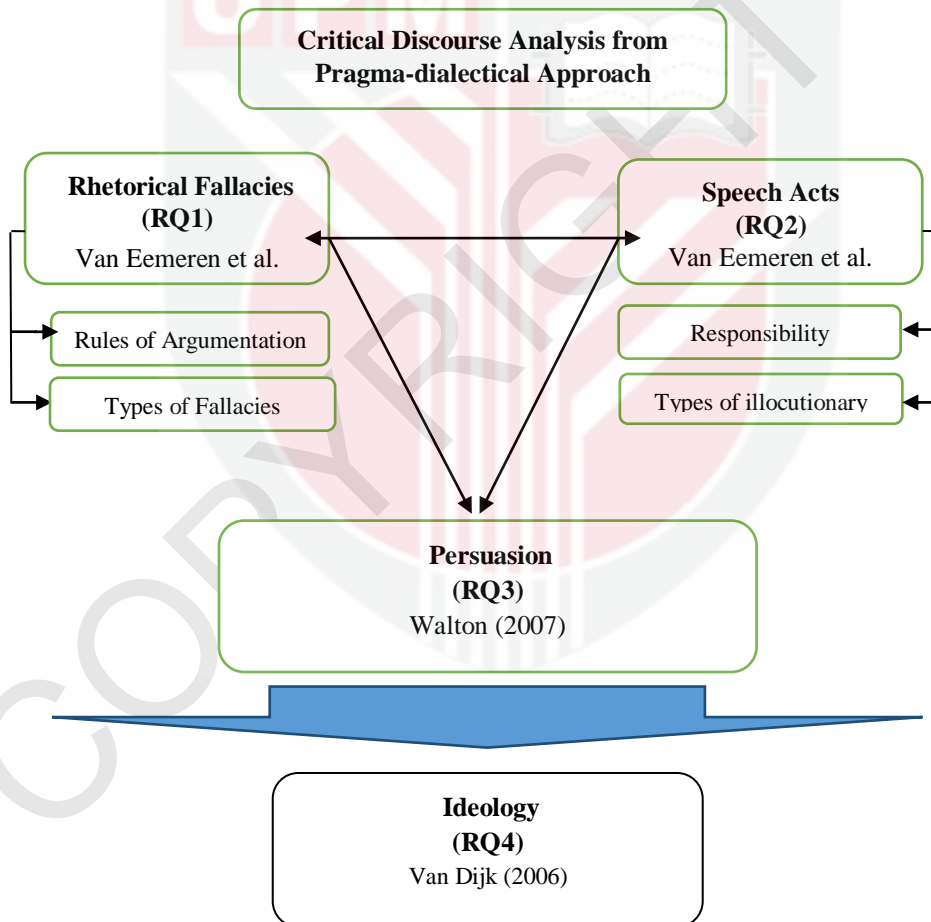


Figure 1.1 : Theoretical Framework

As illustrated in Figure 1.1, several concepts form the theoretical framework of the current study. The first concept, which is the main focus of this study, is the rhetorical fallacies. RF refer to the arguer's attempts to persuade people to believe in propositions as true when they are not (McCandless, 2014). They are, in fact, misleading or unsound arguments because they are based on faulty reasoning. A fallacy is usually constructed by providing a premise or more to arrive at a conclusion. If these premises violate the rules of sound argument, a fallacy occurs accordingly (Almossawi, 2014). Gula (2002) notes that a premise is constructed in the forms of propositions that carry the meaning as intended by the arguer. The conclusion is built in the form of statements that are direct results of using one or more premises (Walton, 1995). To achieve a fallacious proposition, the arguer usually employs a number of rhetorical strategies that vary depending on the speaker's intentions, argumentation context, or the topic of argumentation (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009; Walton, 1995, 2000). Walton (2000, p. 7) gave the following example that illustrates the use of ad hominem fallacy. As it is shown in the example below, Bob has the belief that Ed belongs to the communist union 'you are a communist, aren't you?' which is the first part of the argument (premise 1). Based on this premise, Bob concluded that Ed 'should be on the side of the union in this recent labor dispute'. As it is shown in the example, this premise was used as a rhetorical strategy to justify and support the conclusion by Bob.

"Bob: Ed, you are a communist, aren't you?"

Ed: Of course. You know that.

Bob: Well, then you should be on the side of the union in this recent labor dispute."

In the present study, the analysis focuses on determining the RF that were used to violate any of the reasonable argumentation rules as proposed by Van Eemeren, Grootendorst, and Henkemans (2002), which would answer the first research question. All types of fallacies will be explained elaborately in chapter two.

The second concept that is considered in the present study is the speech act and its role in the construction of rhetorical strategies and other political ideologies. Based on the modern argumentation theory proposed by some researchers, such as Van Eemeren and Grootendorst (2016), Walton (1995, 2007), among others, fallacies can be looked at from the pragma-dialectical perspective. Based on this perspective, a speech act can play a pivotal role in the construction of any fallacious action during an argument. Walton (2007, p. 46) defines a speech act as "a verbal utterance of the kind that can change events in the world in the same way as a physical action". Searle (1976) notes that any speech act is constructed of three main components, namely, a locution (propositional content of utterances), illocutionary (pragmatic force as intended by a speaker), and a perlocution (effect of the pragmatic force on the addressee/hearer). These three components are, in fact, the same components that construct any fallacious action. Budzynska and Witek (2014) stress that a speech act can provide a pragmatic interpretation of any fallacious action. According to them, any fallacy can have the following three components:

- 1) The arguer's words and utterances, which carry the locution of the speech act.
- 2) The illocutionary force as intended by saying these words, which can be reasonable or fallacious, and
- 3) The effect of the illocutionary force on the hearer or addressee, which is the perlocutionary act of persuasion.

The use of the speech act in the analysis of RF can help considering the degree of reasonableness and persuasion in analyzing argumentative discourse (Van Eemeren et al., 2002). This is derived from the fact that by analyzing the actual words (proposition), the intention of the speaker (illocutionary force), and the effect on the hearer/addressee (perlocution), the fallacious act can be revealed and discovered. Walton (1987, p. 319) gave the following example as an illustration of adopting speech act to analyze RF.

"A parent argues to his child that smoking is associated with chronic disorders [premise 1/assertive] and that smoking is unhealthy [premise 2 / assertive]. Therefore the child should not smoke [conclusion /directive]. The child replies:

- You smoke yourself [premise 1/assertive]. So much for your argument against smoking! [conclusion / assertive]"

The son's reply demonstrates the *ad hominem* fallacy in which he points out at least two problems in his mother's premises.

1. her inconsistency between what she asserts and what she does
2. her insincerity regarding unhealthiness of smoking

From the son's perspective, the mother's assertion regarding unhealthiness of smoking is, therefore, not a good justification of her directive that the son should not smoke.

As it can be noticed from the example above, and building in the SAT, the two premises by the mother were performed in the form of assertive speech acts in which she appeared committed to her beliefs and led her to conclude in the form of directive 'the child should not smoke'. As these assertions were considered unreasonable by the son, the son personally attacked his mother's order using two assertive speech acts, 'you smoke yourself' and 'So much for your argument against smoking!' In the present study, the analysis of fallacies in light of the speech acts would answer the second research question.

The third concept in this study is 'persuasion'. Persuasion is identified as "the process of changing or reinforcing [people] attitudes, beliefs, and behaviours" (Mills, 2000, p. 2). Krok (2009, p. 2) adds that "persuasive communication is an argument presented by a speaker which is intended to make people consciously change their behavior".

Furthermore, Keith and Lundberg (2008) note that during the process of persuasion, the speaker seeks to persuade the hearer to think or understand things differently or attempts to make the hearer do, vote, and participate in something different.

Pragmatically speaking, persuasion is structured in the form of a speech act that has the same three components of any speech act as proposed in Searle's typology of illocutionary acts, namely locution, illocution, and perlocution (Walton, 2007). Hence, analyzing persuasion in this study as a form of speech act is useful to understand the way persuasion functions as actual intended actions in political speech. Rhetorically speaking, it is crucial for the analysis of persuasion as a rhetorical strategy to consider the elements of any persuasive messages. As a communicative act, persuasion aims at altering people's opinion or "acceptance of a belief" (Walton, 2007, p. 2). It involves two parties who possess opposing beliefs which are explicitly or implicitly performed. These beliefs are built upon what Walton (2007) labelled as the "arguer's commitment" or "expectations". Arguer's expectations in argumentation are constructed around a claim by the arguer who seeks to prove it using premises to arrive at a conclusion (Walton, 2007). In the present study, the commitment-based approach (CBA) to fallacies, proposed by Walton (2007), is adopted to analyze the speech act of persuasion to answer the third research question.

The fourth concept in this study is ideology. Ideologies are identified as "the overall, abstract mental system that organise [...] socially shared attitudes" (Van Dijk, 2005). In political speeches, ideology analysis requires understanding how a political speaker select his or her words, which can reveal much about his or her attempts to intentionally signal political views with the targeted audience (Sim, Acree, Gross, & Smith, 2013). These attempts reflect the speaker's ideological plans to practice power, achieve control, and winning upon the opponents in the political fields. These ideological plans can only be analyzed by understanding the (1) political situation of the speaker, the (2) political context in the country, and the (3) political stand of the targeted audience.

Further, the success of the ideological attempts depends highly on the speaker's skill in the selection of words and images, especially in the use of fallacies, which can help pass the political agenda in deceptive ways (Al-Ameedi & Khudhier, 2015; Walton, 2007). Since the political ideologies are expressed in words, although intentionally vague, they can be described easily through accounting for the speaker's propositions, illocutionary forces, and perlocutionary effects on audiences' political positions. This process is mainly achieved by analyzing speech acts and the RF employed by the political speaker in his or her speech (Altikriti, 2016; Hashim, 2015; Sim et al., 2013). Searle (1969) remarked that words can communicate more than what is explicitly said by depending on common and shared knowledge with the hearer. Such knowledge is the sum of rational powers and inferences assumed to be shared by the hearer.

In the present study, the ideologies of Nouri al-Maliki are analyzed based on Van Dijk (2006) Socio-cognitive approach by investigating the use of fallacies and their

illocutionary act. In fact, fallacies and speech act, are complementary, and one leads to the other in the process of analyzing ideology in political discourse, for more details about the concepts of the present study and the theories, (see section, 2.1).

1.7 Significance of the Study

The value of this study stems from being the first study in analyzing the political speech of PM Nouri al-Maliki by revealing the use of RF in such a discourse from a critical pragmatic perspective.

Methodologically, its value comes from being the first study that analyzes monologue speech "political discourse" by adopting the Pragma-dialectical approach since this model was designed to analyze dialogue speech "political debate".

Moreover, the value of the present study stems from being the first study that remarks the incompleteness of the PDA where it found that there are two types of fallacies that have not been included with this approach, which indicates the lack of inclusiveness of this approach.

Besides, the present study provides a significant contribution to the field of political discourse by basing its analysis on the PDA proposed by Van Eemeren et al. (2002), which highlights the role of the complex speech act in constructing such RF at the argumentation level.

Socially, the study provides a social contribution for ordinary people by which they can enlighten their awareness about the use of sectarian proposal in political discourse. It also improves our awareness of persuasion as a strategic phenomenon in the political discourse to uncover the implicit ideologies in the political discourse and eventually to understand the aims behind such a discourse.

It is also valuable for scholars studying RF in other fields, including marketing, advertising, and all communications, regarding persuasive strategy.

Moreover, the present study is somehow of considerable importance to scholars studying the RF of other politicians in general since it provides a comprehensive study about the RF.

Finally, the present study is valuable for those who are concerned with critical analysis of political affairs in the Middle East region, where a real conflict is enacted there due to the struggle over power between the Islamic doctrines.

1.8 Limitations of the Study

The present study investigates RF as a persuasive strategy and their ideologies in political discourse. Thus, the study restricts itself to describing the text in terms of a pragmatic point of view to show the utilization of RF and the implicated meaning of using such devices. As a result, no reference will be made to the grammatical and phonological features of the text.

It should also be noticed that no reference will be made to the non-verbal cues involved. This is because the study analyzes a written language, where such characteristics cannot appear in written language.

Moreover, the present study restricts itself with a qualitative design for collecting and analyzing the data. Thus, there will be no means of any statistical procedures.

The study restricts itself to eleven political speeches of Nouri al-Maliki that were delivered during his second term at the second half of 2013 and the first half of 2014 because they share the same topics and contents that talk about the election and demonstration.

1.9 Definitions of Related Terms

To be acquainted with the terminologies that will be tackled throughout this study, the study presents a brief explanation of the main key terms in this dissertation:

1.9.1 Rhetorical Fallacies

Gula (2002) states that a fallacy can be defined as "an error in thinking or reasoning; it is not an error in fact or belief" (p. 31). Moreover, Hahn (2020) fallacies are traps for unwary reasoners, and they are arguments that seem to be strong, while from closer scrutiny, they are not. A fallacy is an argument of a series of statements that include one or more than one premise and only one conclusion, from these premises, the conclusion is derived.

1.9.2 Argumentation

The attempt to formulate reasons and draw conclusions and apply them in a given discussion is referred to as argumentation (Van Eemeren et al., 2014). Mohammed (2016) argues that within PDA, the arguers strive to achieve three goals in their efforts to resolve the difference of opinion, which are the ideal goals of argumentation,

namely, dialectical, rhetorical, and institutional. This is why Wodak (1989) confirms that the explicit declaration to introduce an argumentation is the outcome of the use of rhetorical devices. Moreover, Walton (2007) states that the modern approach to argumentation is derived from three fields: logic, dialectic, and rhetoric. Logic is related to reasoning, dialectic is the investigation of two parties reasoning with each other through discussion and objection, rhetoric is the use of argument to persuade.

1.9.3 Discourse

The term "discourse" indicates any use of language, whether it is talk or text. However, to distinguish between language and discourse, we could state that discourse can be comprehended as the utilisation of language or language in use. However, in the domain of society, scholars regard discourse as the language which is used in a specific subject. In CDA, discourse is realised as the process of analysis that needs more investigation across the properties of texts (Blackledge, 2005).

1.9.4 Critical

Wodak (2002) argues that the term "critical" can be rooted in the impact of the Frankfurt School. Critique can make a clear vision about the interconnection of things. Van Dijk (2011) states that in CDA, the term "critical" is not a specific method or theory. Rather, CDA is a multidisciplinary study, and it focuses on how knowledge is uttered, implied, suppressed, and distributed in text and talk.

1.9.5 Ideology

Van Dijk (2000) defines ideology as "the social cognitions that are shared by the members of a group" (p. 4). Rahimi and Sahragard (2006) point out that ideology can be understood as a system of beliefs and how one views the world or a specific way of understanding life issues. Ideologies are the representation of social cognition and form the basis of mental objects. It refers to culture, political ideas, and economic views and idiosyncratic characterisations such as an individual's self and identity.

1.9.6 Context

Van Dijk (1998) states that the structure of the situational properties that lead to the production or the understanding of language is referred to as "context". That is, context is "the ability to decide the time and place of the communicative event, or which participants may or must be present, and in which roles, or what knowledge or opinions they should or should not have, and which social actions may or must be accomplished by discourse"(p. 8).

1.10 Summary

This chapter presented a background of the present study, problem statement, the objectives that the current study seeks to achieve and its research questions that need to be answered. It also provided a theoretical framework for conducting the present study, its significance, limitations, and some definitions of the key terms related to the present study. The next chapter discusses the theoretical perspective and the literature review of the related past studies.



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