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A PRAGMATIC STUDY OF FALLACY IN GEORGE W. BUSH'S POLITICAL SPEECHES

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Abstract:

A fallacy can be described as the act of issuing a faulty argument to support and reinforce a previously published argument for purposes of persuasion. However, a fallacy is a broad subject that has been addressed from several viewpoints. A few experiments have tried to counter the fallacy pragmatically. However, the attempts above have suffered from shortcomings, which made them incomplete accounts in this regard. Hence, this study has set itself to provide pragmatic models for the analysis of fallacy as far as its pragmatic structure, forms, methods, and applications are concerned. These models use many models produced by several academics and the researchers themselves' observations.

The validity of the established models was tested by reviewing seven speeches by George W. Bush taken before and after the war in Iraq (2002-2008). The analyses demonstrated the efficacy of the models created. Mostly because they have yielded varied results, it is clear that fallacy is a process of stages, with each round distinct for its pragmatic components and strategies.

1. Introduction:

The fallacy has been regarded as a critical issue by numerous studies investigating the definition from different lenses. A typical downside is that these accounts don't clearly define the conceptual framework and tactics behind fallacies. Aiming to address this issue, this study will achieve the following goals:
  1. Identifying the pragmatic structure of fallacy in George Bush's speeches
  2. Identifying the critical pragmatic strategies of issuing fallacy used in those speeches

3. Developing a pragmatic model for the analysis of the pragmatic structure and strategy of issuing fallacy in those speeches

Concerning the above aims, it is hypothesized that: (1) fallacy is a mechanism composed of different phases, each stage is distinct for its pragmatic components, (2) George Bush, the American president, appears to use specific issuing methods fallacy rather than others. The following procedures are adopted to achieve the above aims: (1) interpreting fallacious circumstances in the political speeches using the model established for this reason,(2) using a mathematical approach represented by a percentage equation to calculate real numbers.

2. Fallacy:

2.1 Definition

People make fallacies everywhere, in offices, at home, in the workplace, in advertisements, and on media outlets. Therefore, Argumentation Theory is at the top of every fully-fledged logical theory. Highly regarded and deserving of consideration, the study of fallacy starts as early as argumentation and logic emerge. Since then, there has been much debate about the sense of fallacy. This inconsistency and disagreement have led to many efforts to classify the fallacy and explain what the term means. Scholars tend to interpret fallacy very differently. Some of the people, like Aristotle and the Sophists, view fallacies from a logical perspective. Others such as Hambleton (1970), prefer dialectical approaches. For Eemeren and Grootendorst (1999), "fallacy" is a pragmatic concept that concerns "strategy and maneuvering". Finally, others treat fallacy pragmatically. In this respect, Walton (1995, p. 23) defines fallacy as "an argument (or at least something that purports to be an argument); that falls short of some standard of correctness; as used in a context of a dialogue; but that, for various reasons, has a semblance of correctness about it in context; and poses a serious obstacle to the realization of the goal of a dialogue".

In 1992, Walton observed that a fallacy is an event that has a beginning, middle, and end. A process approach, which sees fallacy as a dynamic entity that moves through different stages toward a preconceived goal based on the collaborative conversational postulates that guide how moves occur throughout the process (Walton and Reed, 2003, p. 12). The process view to fallacy comes from the intention of issuing pseudo argumentation. Walton (2007, p. 156) argues that fallacies are deliberately crafted tactics of persuasion. When combining Walton's (1992) view to that of Eemeren and Grootendorst's (1999) in addition to the one presented by Walton (2007), fallacy can be seen by the current work as a derailment of strategic maneuvering that comes through issuing a fallacious argument (an argument that violates a specific rule of correctness) in support of a previously issued argument, and it is appealed to as a deliberately crafted tactic of persuasion.

2.2 Strategic Maneuvering and Fallacy

The essence of fallacy as a convincing technique is challenging to be understood. Some claim that it is a misleading marketing strategy. Others have not. Aristotle describes fallacy as a "deliberate deceptive tactic of argumentation used to trick and get the best of a speech partner in a dialogue unfairly". For Eemeren and Houtlosser (1999, p. 164), the fallacy is not a trick. To prove this thesis, they introduce the idea of 'strategic maneuvering' to make sense of "the fact that engaging in argumentative discourse always means being at the same time out for critical reasonableness and artful effectiveness". (see Eemeren and Houtlosser, 2002, p. 11). They describe a fallacy as a strategic strategy where rhetoric gains the upper hand on dialectics or vice versa. In the current research, fallacies are assumed to arise when an arguer tries to practice rhetoric at the cost of

reasonableness. Strategies for issuing fallacies are discussed in depth in the method of allocating fallacies. Three basic strategies for giving fallacies are discussed. They are the following:

1. Topical Potential

This factor requires the arguers to choose topics that best advance their interests, i.e., the arguer should select topics that he has the most urge to discuss or speak about (Tindale, 1999, p. 4).

2. Audience Orientation

This dimension reacts to the demands of the audience. This lesson allows for the development of empathy and communion with the addressees (Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2000, p. 298). Beard (2000, p. 202) indicates that there are several different ways to respond to deictic expectations, the best of which includes appealing to first-person deictic expectations. However, before that, Brown and Levinson (1987) (Cited in Watts, 2003, p. 45) consider showing sensitivity to the hearer's face as the most adaptive technique, which is accomplished by the following approach:

a. Claiming a Common Ground

The speaker claims that she and her audience should appreciate that they belong to a group of people with particular desires, beliefs, and needs. This allows the speaker to illustrate that the hearer shares the speaker's objectives.

b. Attending to Hearer's Interests

This allows the speaker to listen carefully so that they understand the hearer's requirements.

c. Seeking Agreement

The speaker should try to empathize with what the audience needs or says what he wants. One way of bringing people to agree is by addressing health problems.

d. Being Indirect
In order to avoid directness that would threaten the hearer's face, the speaker should be indirect.

e. Minimize Imposition

This technique includes mitigating the negative impact that saying or doing something would have on the speaker. This comes from describing appealing to such terms, such as by using intonation or by being indirect.

3. Presentational Devices

This aspect includes using the best way to communicate details to the hearer at a specific argumentation stage. Rhetorical instruments are the best ways to make a good point (Tindale, 1999, p. 5). Of those items that are supposed to appear in the results, only those noted will be addressed.

a. Profound Words

These words hold a strong emotional effect, such as horrible, fantastic, amazing, great, magnificent,…etc. (Tindale, 1999, p. 23).

b. Padding

It is the method of inserting significant-sounding sentences here and there that accomplish little or nothing (Cavender and Kahane, 2006, p. 163).

c. Weasel Words

These locutions seem to have little to no impact on the content of construction or argument, but in fact, they are contributing to the statement (Cavender and Kahane, 2006, p. 163). Brydon and Scott (2008, p. 391) consider it essential for the public speaker to deliver his message supported by control principles that they consider as the most convincing presentational devices. Of the approximate seven principles, only the ones included in the data are listed below.

I. Appeal to Fear.They (2008, p. 398) suggests emotional appeals like fear will significantly influence people's decisions, but these appeals should be ethically used.

ii. Appeal to Interests. The authors (2008, p. 79) indicate that the speaker's concern for the addressee's needs is crucial.

iii. Reciprocity. The saying, "You scratch my back and I'll scratch yours", demonstrates mutual contact. A reciprocity-based appeal can take two forms in a persuasive expression. Politicians also promise their voters anything in exchange for their votes. They can pledge to remain in favor of a particular bill or express concern for their constituency (Brydon and Scott, 2008, p. 391).

iv. Authority. To be convincing, public speakers should appeal to the judgment of people who represent authority for the addressees to inform them of the topic addressed (Brydon and Scott, 2008, p 392).

v. Commitment. One way to convince effectively is to make a promise. Speakers should try to do what the audience expects them to do to persuade them (Brydon and Scott, 2008, p. 393).

vi. Flattery. Flattery, according to Walton (2007), is a convincing method used to convince the addressee.

2.3 Stages of Issuing Fallacy

Scholars using the process approach to the study of fallacy argue that it is a topic of persuasion used in argumentation. The first to apply the VCA to fallacies is Eemeren, Grootendorst, and Duistermaat (1999). They believe a process of four stages is involved in the fallacy issuance, but their explanation has certain limitations. One of the prominent weaknesses in Walton's (1995) approach is that the criteria for identifying fallacies are not clear and that this is one reason why their approach is not adopted in this study. Another scholar who is critical of the post-fallacy process approach is Walton. (1995, 2007). He believes that in any context, a fallacy comes with a starting point and an end point. In this way, as pointed out in (2.1), the process approach deals with fallacy as an entity that moves dynamically through different stages to achieve a collective goal based on the conversationally negotiated collaborative postulates that govern how moves are made during the process. The logical fallacy is based on the purpose or intention behind issuing it, i.e., a fallacy. According to Walton (2007, p. 159), a fallacy is a purposefully fabricated strategy of persuasion. It is presented in the context as a means of influencing the addressee to accept something in the arguments or claims presented mainly before the fallacious argument or contribute something to the context in which they occur — or to the previous arguments and claims presented. According to Walton (2007, p. 8), a fallacy occurs during three distinct stages: the start point, the argument, and the end point stages.

At the outset, the arguer establishes the main topic in the form of argument(s) by making the respondent take action regarding the topic in question. At the argument stage, an arguer will intentionally present an argument that confirms the previous arguments. At the end-point stage comes the role of the respondent in evaluating and responding to the fallacious argument. In response to the argument, the counterargument often uses questions to challenge the other side's logic (ibid). These stages seem to verify the objectives of this study. However, they will be adopted with a modification or two. As far as the second stage (argument stage) is concerned, two fundamental issues need to be clarified: defining the fallacious argument and its realistic strategies.

2.3.1. Identifying the Fallacious Argument

Various fallacies can be defined. Only the elements that are useful for designing and evaluating the pragmatic, eclectic model are discussed below. However, it is crucial first to ascertain what criteria could be used to define fallacious argumentation. Walton's (1995) and Johnson's (2000) works will be used as models to create the criteria used for determining whether an argument is considered fallacious, while the types of fallacious arguments that arise from breaching the proposed criteria will be modified in light of what is proposed by Walton (1995) and Johnson (2000).

2.3.1.1 Walton's (1995) Pragmatic Model of Fallacy

Walton (1995) invented a model for recognizing fallacies, which will allow other researchers to do the same. According to him (1995), a fallacy is committed when an argumentation scheme or theme is misused, ergo in a manner that fouls up the correct sequence of the dialogue's movements in which it is used. This means that the idea of fallacy is correlated with not only the insufficiently supported argumentation scheme or theme but also with the inappropriate implementation of them that blocks the objectives of discussion.

Walton (1995) contends the distinction between themes and argumentation systems. He notes that the argumentation scheme refers to a premise-conclusion-inference structure that reflects common types of arguments, as well as inductive and deductive argument types (see Walton, 2007, p. 26). As for argumentation theme or what is often called 'profile of dialogue', Walton (1995) seems to have used Krabbe (1992, pp. 277-81) in describing the argumentation theme as an important method used

for recognizing fallacious argument. Krabbe (1992) describes the argumentation theme as a definition of chains of dialogic moves representing the variety of possible reasoning lines.

Fallacy committed through the wrong use of argumentation theme is out of the concern of the current study since fallacy, in the current work, is committed by issuing a fallacious argument in favor of another argument, which is not the case with the argumentation theme as mentioned by Walton (1995). As for how fallacy is linked to the incorrect use of an argumentation scheme, Walton (1995, p. 255) describes fallacy as "an argument that falls short of some standard of correctness as used in a context of dialogue but that, for various reasons, has a semblance of correctness in that context and poses a serious obstacle to the realization of the goal of the dialogue". The essence of fallacious reasoning lies in the Gricean principle of cooperativeness, which, according to Grice (1975), reads as follows: make your contribution such as is needed by the agreed intent and direction of the talk exchange are involved.

2.3.1.2 Johnson's (2000) Pragmatic Model of Fallacy

Johnson (2000) proposes ways to discredit the model of Walton (1995). He does so by giving attention to both levels. However, he gives them different terminology: this study will adopt the illative center and the dialectical tier and his terminology because it is, as Ramage (2010, p. 50) notes are more representative than Walton's terminology. The argument is fallacious since it lacks one of the conditions of a successful argument, which happens often enough to justify being listed as a fallacy. Johnson (2002) identifies two tiers for assessing fallacious arguments: the illative center and the dialectical stage. On both levels, he needs specific requirements. Therefore, if the claim lacks the illative heart's parameters or the dialectical tier or both, it may be logically fallacious. He notes that these conditions are the criteria for a successful claim.

2.3.1.2.1 The Dialectical Tier

Johnson (2000) also includes the dialectic phase in judging claims. The dialectical tier refers to the dispute inside a debate and how a discussion considers various viewpoints and alternative objections. Dialectics is the argument where the arguer uses or resolves issues (Johnson, 2000, pp. 90-93). He (2000) dictates requirements for judging fallacious claims of the dialectical tier: anticipating an answer to a premise, anticipating other objections, and coping with alternative positions. However, these requirements are not suitable for the work under study since they are difficult to use.

2.3.1.2.2 The Illative Core

Johnson (2000) uses the illative core in judging fallacious claims and puts guidelines for checking the illative core's correctness. The illative core refers to the structural level that consists of the sections of the argument; the reasons given support the conclusion. He claims four requirements for assessing fallacious arguments: acceptability, fact, significance, and sufficiency.

a. The Acceptability Criterion

Hamblin checks the primary criterion used in testing claims! (1970). Acceptability is the essential criterion for evaluating a claim, as stated by (1970). Johnson (2000), in attempting to describe acceptability, notes that the acceptability criterion involves stating a thesis, demonstrating support for the thesis, and adjusting to the audience to whom the thesis is presented (Johnson, 2000). Compliance must be calculated in a dialectical and subjective manner of communicating between a supporter and respondent, so it is a pragmatic criterion (Johnson, 2000, p. 95). The criterion would

be extended to the entire argument. If an argument is made based on a specific hypothesis the arguer must ask himself, "is this premise one that my audience is already disposed to accept as true". (Johnson, 2000, pp. 200-201).

b. The Truth Criterion

Johnson (2000) uses this criterion to determine which arguments to regard as fallacious and does not accept the possibility of assessing arguments without resorting to the criterion of fact. Voice is the core of communication. In other words, according to Johnson (2000, p. 197), this criterion judges the truth of a particular utterance, and violating it may result in the utterance is being false.

c. The Relevance Criterion

Johnson (2000) uses this criterion to decide if an argument is fallacious or not. According to Shapiro (2000, p. 200), there are three types of relevance: topical relevance, propositional relevance, and audience relevance. The relevant proposition is a property of propositional content. It is the evidence used to conclude that the conclusion is correct. It is context-sensitive, i.e., what is relevant in one context may not be in another, which is why it is a pragmatic criterion (Johnson, 2000, pp. 201-2).

d. The Sufficiency Criterion

To meet the criteria, the premises must provide adequate, supportable evidence to prove the conclusion or supporting the claim (Johnson, 2000, p. 205). Sufficiency rather than conclusiveness should be presented to justify the claim. What is required in one situation may not be so in another. Therefore, the data will be analyzed, and what data is collected will provide information on the dialectic and relativistic tiers. The specific dialectical criteria of (dialectical relevance) are utilized to identify fallacious arguments. The criteria (truth, relevance, and sufficiency) are used to recognize illogical arguments in the negative conclusion.

2.3.2. Pragmatic Strategies of Issuing the Fallacious Argument

The criteria of identifying fallacious arguments in the previous section are also employed as part of the strategies used to issue the fallacious argument. The strategies that triggered the fallacies can be appealed on two levels. *The illative core level and the dialectical tier level. To make an illogical argument at the illative core level, the arguer may resort to one of the following strategies: a. Violating acceptability, b. Violating truth ,c. Violating relevance, and d. Violating sufficiency.

The arguer is committing a fallacious argument if he uses a tactic that violates dialectical relevance. According to Walton (1995, p. 34) and Johnson (2000, p. 56), deviating from any one of these parameters degrades the answer's persuasiveness. This means that breaching any one of these requirements results in a derailment of strategic maneuvering. These techniques can be shown in Figure 1.below:
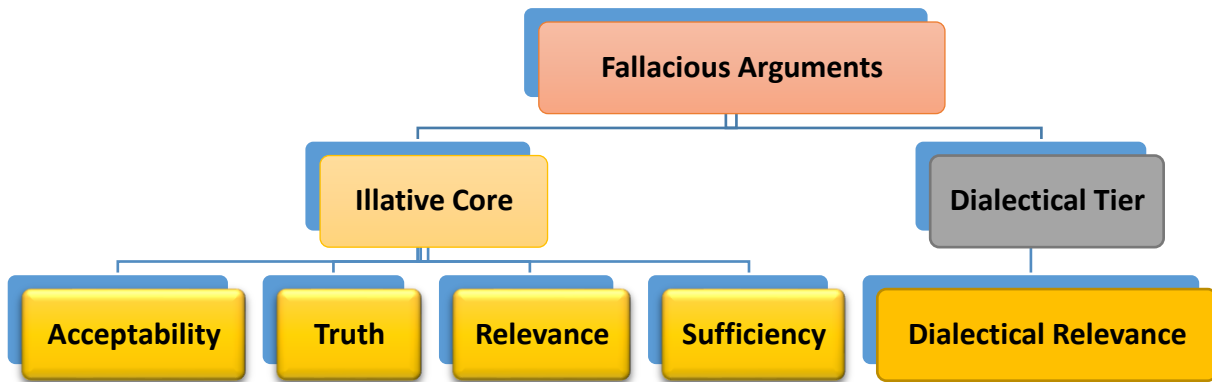
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                        │   Fallacious Arguments   │
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          │   Illative Core  │       │  Dialectical Tier│
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Figure (1) Criteria for identifying fallacious arguments on the two levels

3. Data Collection:

The data are collected from (3) extracts, which are randomly selected from (3) speeches and evenly divided (two extracts for each speech) from the period (2002-2008) to cover various issues like military, social, war, global security, defense strategy, and economic, but I can 't mention all of them . I am going to analyze only four speeches. The data are related to the American political speeches of George W. Bush.

3.1 Pragmatic Analysis

The fact that the pragmatic analysis of all speeches representing the data under scrutiny is difficult to be covered in the sense that analyzing all of them occupies a large space in this study and the results will be the same. This fact gives me the green light to only present 3 illustrated examples .The selection of these speeches is based on the conviction of the study that these are the most apparent, appealing, and illustrative examples.Each illustrative example is analyzed and examined to reveal the pragmatic structure and pragmatic strategies elucidated in triggering and operating the three stages of fallacious argument.

3.2 Illustrative Analyzed Examples

Four illustrative examples extracted from the four selected American president, George W. Bush, speeches are analyzed below .

Speech No.1: George W. Bush's speech to the Nation on the ''Threat of Iraq'' <u>On7 October 2002,</u>in Ohio:

Extract No.1

''Tonight I want to take a few minutes to discuss a grave threat to peace, and America's determination to lead the world in confronting that threat. The threat comes from Iraq. It arises directly from the Iraqi regime's own actions -- its history of aggression, and its drive toward an arsenal of terror. Eleven years ago, as a condition for ending the Persian Gulf War, the Iraqi regime was required to destroy its weapons of mass destruction, to cease all development of such weapons, and to stop all support for terrorist groups. The Iraqi regime has violated all of those obligations. It possesses and produces chemical and biological weapons. It is seeking nuclear weapons. It has given shelter and support to

terrorism, and practices terror against its own people. The entire world has witnessed Iraq's eleven-year history of defiance, deception and bad faith. We also must never forget the most vivid events of recent history. On September the 11th, 2001, America felt its vulnerability -- even to threats that gather on the other side of the earth. We resolved then, and we are resolved today, to confront every threat, from any source, that could bring sudden terror and suffering to America''.

In extract (1), the pragmatic structure of fallacy indicates that fallacy is a process of three stages:A) The Strat Point Stage consists of two sub-stages: Topical potential (TP) and Adapting to Audience (AA). The SPS is motivated by issuing an inductive argument to declare commencing the topical potential sub-stage. This argument is structured of explicit data " Eleven years ago, as a condition for ending the Persian Gulf War, the Iraqi regime was required to destroy its weapons of mass destruction, cease all development of such weapons, and stop all support for terrorist groups.". The claim is "The threat comes from Iraq ." The warrant is " its history of aggression and its drive toward an arsenal of terror".The topical argument is "a grave threat to peace". The speaker chooses an inductive type of argument to be more persuasive.

Politeness strategies trigger the Adapting to Audience (AA). He appeals to the strategies of "attending to the hearer, seeking agreement and claiming a common ground" since the speaker, George W. Bush, chooses an exciting subject that "a grave threat to peace" to win communication with his addressees. The other part of Adapting to Audience (AA) is deixis. The speaker uses some deictic expressions: "I and we".The Argument Stage (AS) consists of two-sub-stages: Fallacious Argument (FA) and Presentational Devices (PD). This extract is fallacious because it violates the criteria of truth and sufficiency since the speaker does not present any rational reasons that Iraq represents a real threat to America and depends on his imaginations that Iraq has weapons of mass destruction.

Then, the speaker issues the presentational devices sub-stage through utilizing the principle of influence and rhetorical devices. He uses profound expressions like: "aggression", "threat", "weapons of mass destruction" and "terror". He also uses the principle of flattery " We resolved then, and we are resolved today, to confront every threat". He resorts to certain padding expressions in the same vein like: " America felt its vulnerability".The End Point Stage (EPS) is motivated by the audience's response to the speaker's manipulation of emotion. The fallacious argument is perceived as being persuasive, and the addressees utilize non-linguistic acts realized by agreement nods as a response to the speaker.As far as the type of fallacious argument is concerned, the analysis results reveal that American politicians tend to vary the types of fallacious arguments they appeal to influence their audience and make their ideas more accepted and trusted.

In extract (1), George Bush uses various types of fallacious arguments like equivocation, begging the question, suppressed evidence, appeal to force, appeal to pity, appeal to the people, appeal to fear, personal attack, an accident, red herring, appeal to inadequate authority and appeal to ignorance. He uses all these types of fallacy to shape public opinion and block criticism. The burden of proof was on the US, first to prove that Iraq has WMD and then to ask Iraq to destroy them. Instead, the US presupposes that Iraq has WMD; therefore, Iraq must destroy them if Iraq wishes peace. This way, bourdon of proof was shifted from America to Iraq, committing a fallacy of shifting the bourdon of proof. It was proof that Iraq could have never provided it to the USA. Moreover, another either or- do what we want you to or war.

Speech No.2: George W. Bush's speech to the Nation on the ''Ultimatum to Saddam Hussein'' <u>on 17 March 2003,</u>from the Cross Hall at the White House.

Extract No.2

"My fellow citizens, events in Iraq have now reached the final days of decision. For more than a decade, the United States and other nations have pursued patient and honorable efforts to disarm the Iraqi regime without war. That regime pledged to reveal and destroy all its weapons of mass destruction as a condition for ending the Persian Gulf War in 1991.Since then, the world has engaged in 12 years of diplomacy. We have passed more than a dozen resolutions in the United Nations Security Council. We have sent hundreds of weapons inspectors to oversee the disarmament of Iraq. Our good faith has not been returned. The Iraqi regime has used diplomacy as a ploy to gain time and advantage. It has uniformly defied Security Council resolutions demanding full disarmament. Over the years, U.N. weapon inspectors have been threatened by Iraqi officials, electronically bugged, and systematically deceived. Peaceful efforts to disarm the Iraqi regime have failed again and again – because we are not dealing with peaceful men.The regime has a history of reckless aggression in the Middle East. It has a deep hatred of America and our friends. And it has aided, trained, and harbored terrorists, including operatives of al Qaeda.

The SPS is inaugurated by motivating: TP and AA. The SPS is triggered by arguments, namely, inductive argument by issuing an inductive form of inductive argument. The explicit data structure of this statement is," For more than a decade, the United States and other nations have pursued patient and honorable efforts to disarm the Iraqi regime without war ". The claim is" events in Iraq have now reached the final days of decision," and the warrant is" That regime pledged to reveal and destroy all its weapons of mass destruction as a condition for ending the Persian Gulf War in 1991".The topical argument is" Ultimatum to Saddam Hussein ". The speaker chooses an inductive type of argument to be more persuasive. Deixis techniques such as "we" are realized in the AA sub-stage, which is implemented to generate empathy and contact between the addresser and the addressee. The techniques of "attending to the listener "," being optimistic ", finding consensus, and "claiming a common ground" are reflected by politeness in addressing" The regime has a history of reckless aggression in the Middle East. It has a deep hatred of America and our friends. And it has aided, trained, and harbored terrorists, including operatives of al Qaeda". Bush intentionally reframes the purpose of war, which is to liberate the Iraqi people. He continues telling lies and presenting fallacious arguments.The AS is composed of two pragmatic components: the FA and the PD. There is a fallacious argument because there is a violation of the sufficiency criterion. After all, the speaker does not have any evidence or proof for the claims that Iraq poses a real threat to America or has weapons of mass destruction. He wants to encourage the world to take a stand against the United States' enemies. President Bush conceptualized the war on terror as a war between good and evil.

The sub-stage of the PD is inspired by rhetorical devices realized by deep words: "weapons", "threat", "aggression", "terrorists", and "al Qaeda". Principles of influence are realized by appealing to "fear, commitment and authority" via the following: "The regime has a history of reckless aggression in the Middle East. It has a deep hatred of America and our friends. And it has aided, trained, and harbored terrorists, including operatives of al Qaeda".The EPS is motivated by the audience's positive response to manipulating emotion by the speaker. An incorrect argument is viewed as convincing, and listeners agree with it by applauding their heads.American politicians seem to resort to various fallacious claims to exploit their electorate and their policies more approved and trusted by the audience, as revealed in the report. The speaker uses different forms of fallacious arguments like equivocation, amphiboly, begging the question, suppressed evidence, appeal to force, appeal to fear, personal attack, straw man, appeal to inadequate authority, slippy slope, weak analogy and appeal to ignorance. In order to influence public opinion, as well as obstruct criticism, he regularly uses numerous fallacies.The

fundamental premises of the case for preemptive war, to influence public opinion, were: I) Iraq has Weapon of Mass Destruction (WMD), ii) Iraq has ties with terrorists America is already battling with iii) Iraq is going to hand over the WMDs to terrorists who are going to strike with WMD on America, Allies and the rest of the world. The conclusion: America must also strike before America is attacked by terrorists who have WMD (Preemptive War), and it is not a choice not to attack Iraq.

Speech No.3

George W. Bush's speech to the Nation "on theIraq War" <u>on 13 April 2004,</u> from the East Room of the White House.

Extract No.3
> **"This has been tough weeks in that country. Coalition forces have encountered serious violencein some areas of Iraq. Our military commanders report that this violence is being instigated bythree groups: Some remnants of Saddam Hussein's regime, along with Islamic militants haveattacked coalition forces in the city of Fallujah. Terrorists from other countries have infiltratedIraq to incite and organize attacks. Although these instigations of violence come from different factions, they share commongoals. They want to run us out of Iraq and destroy the democratic hopes of the Iraqi people.The violence we have seen is a power grab by these extreme and ruthless elements.It's not a civil war; it's not a popular uprising. Most of Iraq is relatively stable. Most Iraqis, byfar, reject violence and oppose dictatorship. In forums where Iraqis have met to discuss theirpolitical future, and in all the proceedings of the Iraqi Governing Council, Iraqis haveexpressed clear commitments. They want strong protections for individual rights; they wanttheir independence; and they want their freedom.America's commitment to freedom in Iraq is consistent with our ideals, and required by ourinterests. Iraq will either be a peaceful, democratic country, or it will again be a source ofviolence, a haven for terror, and a threat to America and to the world. By helping to secure afree Iraq, Americans serving in that country are protecting their fellow citizens. Our nation isgrateful to them all, and to their families that face hardship and long separation".**

A deductive argument drives the SPS to announce the topical potential sub-stage's beginning. This argument is based on explicit data." Terrorists from other countries have infiltrated Iraq to incite and organize attacks.". The claim is" serious violence in some areas of Iraq,".The warrant is" Some remnants of Saddam Hussein's regime, along with Islamic militants, have attacked coalition forces in the city of Fallujah ".The typical argument is "the situation in Iraq". Politeness strategies cause the AA. He appeals to the strategies of "attending to the hearer, seeking agreement and being optimistic".This extract is fallacious because it violates acceptability criteria since the speaker does not offer reasonable explanations why most citizens in Iraq support occupation. He imagines that they regard it as independence and release from a tyrant. He uses profound expressions like: "violence", "threat", civil war" and "terror". He resorts to certain padding expressions in the same vein like:" America's commitment to freedom in Iraq is consistent with our ideals, and required by our interests. Iraq will either be a peaceful, democratic country, or it will again be a source of violence, a haven for terror, and a threat to America and to the world ". Principles of influence are realized by appealing to hearer's interests, appeal to flattery, fear, commitment, and authority.The End Point Stage (EPS) is inspired by the reaction of the audience to the emotional manipulation of the speaker. The fallacious statement is seen as convincing and as an answer to the speaker, and the addressees use non-linguistic actions performed by agreement nodes.

Concerning the form of fallacious argument, the empirical results show that American politicians appear to vary the fallacious arguments they use to confuse and encourage the audience to support their ideas.George Bush uses various types of fallacious arguments like amphiboly, begging the question, complex question, false dilemma, suppressed evidence, appeal to the people, appeal to fear, personal attack, red herring, appeal to inadequate authority, weak analogy, hasty generalization, slippy slope and appeal to ignorance. He uses all these types of fallacy to shape public opinion and block criticism. To block the criticism, the President argued, "For all who love freedom and peace, the world without Saddam Hussein's regime is a better and safer place." A false generalization: not all who love freedom and democracy share the President's judgment. Moreover, the hidden conclusion is those who do not think that the world without Saddam is a better and safer place do not love freedom and democracy. According to the President, not finding WMD has nothing to do with American credibility since American credibility depends on a desire to spread freedom throughout the world and making the world a peaceful place. America is doing this, making free nations of the world more free and secure, and spreading freedom in those nations that are ruled by tyrants; America is fulfilling the responsibility- Red herring, since the direction of the argument has been changed.

Table (1): The pragmatic Structure of Fallacies

	The Start Point Stage
Topical Potential	Adapting to Audience
	The Argument Stage
The Fallacious Argument	Presentational Devices
	The End Point Stage
	Responding to the Fallacious Argument

Table (2): Types of Argument

Arguments			
Type	Deductive	Inductive	Total
Frequency	2	12	14
Percentage	14,28%	85,72%	100%

Table (3): Types of Deixis

Deixis				
Type	First	Second	Third	Total
Frequency	48	15	45	108
Percentage	44, 46%	13, 88%	41, 66%	100%

Table (4)Politeness Strategie

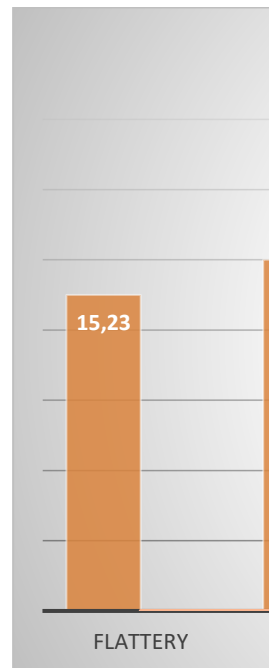| Politeness Strategies		
Type	Frequency	Percentage
Attending to hearer	14	24,51%
Being optimistic	12	21.05%
Claiming a common ground	11	19,29%
Being indirect	2	3,50%
Seeking agreement	13	22,88%
Minimizing imposition	5	8,77%
Total	57	100%

Figure (18): Percentages of the Principles of Influence

4. Conclusions:

On the basis of findings of the analysis, various conclusions can be introduced. Generally, the current conclusions are associated with the aims and hypotheses of this work. Nevertheless, some other conclusions have been arrived at as a byproduct of the findings of the analysis. Thus, they will be included here because it is thought that they are supposed to be necessary and useful in this regard. Accordingly, the conclusions arrived at can be presented as follows:

1. Fallacy, in American political speeches, is a process structured of three stages. The first stage, SPS, embraces two sub-stages: TP and AA. The TP is composed of one pragmatic component which is arguments 100%Argument is divided into two types : an inductive argument (85, 72%) and a deductive argument (14, 28%),whereas the AA sub-stage is composed of two components: deixis and politeness .Deixis is composed of three types: First (44, 46%), Second (13, 88%), and third (41, 66%). Politeness consists of six strategies: Attending to the hearer (24, 51%), being optimistic (21,05%), claiming a common ground (19, 29%), being indirect (3,50%), seeking agreement (22,88%), minimizing imposition (8,77%).

The second stage (AS) is composed of two pragmatic components: Fallacious Argument (FA) AND Presentational Devices (PD).The FA consists of four criteria: Acceptability (25, 02%), Relevance (15, 62%), Sufficiency (31, 25%), and truth (28, 11%). The presentational devices consists of three components: weasel words (13, 04%), padding words (30, 43%), and profound words (56, 53%) , while the Principles of Influence is composed of sic components: Appeal to Flattery (15,23%), Interest (16, 26%), Reciprocity (8,33%), Fear (20, 25%), commitment (18,33%) , and Authority (21,60%).

The third stage, the EPS, is constructed of non-linguistic acts 100%. **This finding fulfills the aim of the study: identifying the pragmatic structure of fallacy:the stages of issuance when dealing with it in political speeches and verifies the first hypothesis**: In political speeches, fallacy is a process with a number of stages.

2. Profound words, first person deixis, attending to the hearer, appeal to interest and cheer applause are the most common pragmatic strategies of issuing fallacy in the contexts under study. This finding is supported by the high percentages of these strategies. This finding achieves the second aim of the study: **Pinpointing the most common pragmatic strategies used to issue fallacy in political speeches** and verifies the second hypothesis: **Politicians prefer to use particular strategies more than others to express fallacy in political speeches**.
The fallacious argument, which could be either inductive or deductive, is composed pragmatically of three main components: data, warrant and claim.

Contextual factors (genre, norms, setting and scene, act sequence key, participants, ends, and instrumentalities) play a great role in the process of issuing and receiving fallacy. They mainly affect the type of fallacious argument, for example, in dangerous topics like (terrorists, Al-Qaida, Saddam Hussein), the most frequent type of fallacious argument is personal attack, whereas in interesting topics like (freedom, liberty, victory), the most frequent type is appeal to pity. Other forms of contextual factors are essential to influence the audience, so the politicians use them to block criticism and share public opinion. The influence of contextual factors is not restricted to the types of fallacious arguments. They influence the pragmatic structure and strategies too. This finding fulfills the fifth aim of the study: **explicating the role contextual factors experience on fallacy in political speeches** and verifies its fifth hypothesis:**contextual factors enjoy the effect of influencing the process of issuing and receiving fallacies as well as the types of fallacious arguments used in political speeches .**

In his speeches, the American president, George W. Bush, uses multiple fallacies because each fallacy has its role and intent. Fallacies are used to share the public sentiment and block criticism. The politician uses them to persuade the audience to embrace his ideas and goals as ideal and correct. To trick and persuade the American people that the war against Iraq is essential to fight terror and overthrow a dictator regime to free Iraqis from depression and prevent Saddam Hussein from using WMD to attack America. All these executions are wrong, and he uses all these executions to justify Iraq's invasion. Through his speech, he uses several fallacies, one fallacy is to fear American people, which is appealing to fear, the other is personal attack fallacy to attack

Saddam Hussein, and so on. **This finding fulfills the sixth objective of the study to establish the purposes behind the use of multiple fallacies in George W. Bush's speeches and verify the sixth hypothesis: different fallacies are used in George W. Hush's speeches before and after the Iraq war.**

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