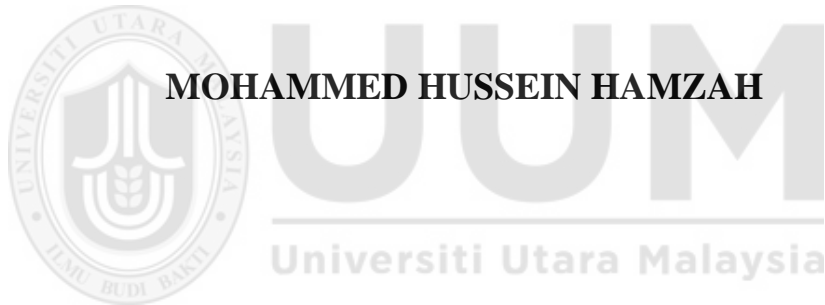


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PRAGMATIC DEVIATION IN TRUMP'S POLITICAL DISCOURSE

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**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
UNIVERSITI UTARA MALAYSIA
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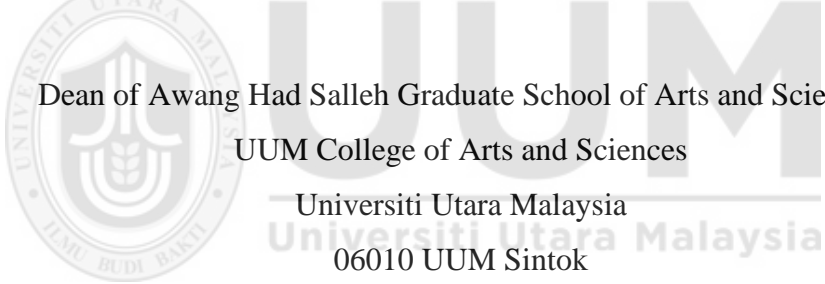
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Abstrak

Kajian mengenai penyimpangan prinsip pragmatik dalam wacana politik masih kurang diberikan perhatian memandangkan kebanyakan penyelidik lebih menumpukan kepada bentuk penyimpangan linguistik lain seperti penyimpangan tatabahasa dan semantik. Selain itu, kajian yang mengintegrasikan prinsip-prinsip pragmatik serta cara prinsip-prinsip tersebut dilanggar dalam sesuatu konteks juga masih terhad. Kajian ini bertujuan untuk menyiasat penyimpangan pragmatik dalam wacana politik Presiden Amerika Syarikat, Donald Trump. Kajian ini meneliti penerapan prinsip pragmatik iaitu *Grice's Cooperative Principle* (1975) (maksim percakapan), *Searle's Speech Act Theory* (1969) (syarat kegembiraan pertuturan), dan *Leech's (Im)politeness Model* (2014) (maksim ketidaksopanan) dalam wacana politik Trump. Tambahan pula, kajian ini juga bertujuan untuk meneliti sejauh mana prinsip-prinsip pragmatik ini sejajar atau bertentangan dalam wacana politik Trump. Pendekatan deskriptif kualitatif digunakan bagi mengumpul dan menganalisis data. Penyelidik menggunakan tiga dokumen lisan yang diperoleh daripada YouTube, iaitu: (1) ucapan Trump kepada sekumpulan penyokongnya di Illinois, (2) sesi pertemuan Trump bersama penyampai MacCallum dan Baier di saluran Fox News, dan (3) temu bual Trump bersama penyampai Cooper di saluran CNN. Penyelidik menyesuaikan sebuah buku kod (codebook) yang mengandungi konsep-konsep daripada ketiga-tiga model yang diterapkan. Kaedah analisis wacana digunakan untuk menganalisis wacana Trump. Dapatan kajian menunjukkan bahawa Trump telah menyimpang daripada kesemua prinsip pragmatik tersebut untuk mencapai matlamat tertentu seperti menghina lawan politik, meraih sokongan pengundi, meniadakan kewibawaan pihak lawan, menghasut penentangan terhadap kerajaan Biden, serta menyebarkan dakwaan yang tidak disahkan. Selain itu, kajian ini turut menekankan bagaimana prinsip-prinsip tersebut saling berkait—sama ada sejajar atau bercanggah—dalam situasi-situasi pelanggaran pragmatik yang tertentu. Kajian ini membongkar bagaimana wacana politik secara strategik memanfaatkan prinsip-prinsip pragmatik untuk menyemarakkan polarisasi. Kajian lanjutan dicadangkan untuk menyelidik ketidakpatuhan dalam pelbagai konteks (media, karya sastera) serta meneroka potensinya dalam kajian interkultural dan longitudinal berkaitan interaksi hujahan.

Kata kunci: Maksim percakapan, syarat kegembiraan, maksim kesantunan, wacana politik, penyimpangan pragmatik.

Abstract

Research on deviation of pragmatic principles in political discourse is scarce as researchers have given much attention to other types of linguistic deviation, such as grammatical and semantic ones. Moreover, there is a dearth of studies that integrate the pragmatic principles and how these principles are violated in a given context. The study was meant to investigate pragmatic deviation in US President Donald Trump's political discourse. It aimed at discovering the pragmatic principles: Grice's (1975) cooperative principle (conversational maxims), Searle's (1969) speech act theory (felicity conditions of speech acts), and Leech's (2014) (im)politeness model (impoliteness maxims), in Trump's political discourse. Furthermore, it intended to examine the alignment and discordance between these pragmatic principles in Trump's political discourse. A qualitative descriptive approach was used to collect and analyze data. The research adopted three oral documents that were taken from YouTube. These are (1) Trump's speech to a group of his supporters in Illinois, (2) Trump's meeting with Broadcasters MacCallum and Baier on Fox News Channel, and (3) Trump's interview with Broadcaster Cooper on CNN Channel. The researcher adapted a codebook that consists of the concepts from the three adopted models. The study adopts a discourse analysis method to analyze Trump's discourse. The findings of this study showed that Trump deviates from all pragmatic principles to achieve certain goals, such as insulting rivals, galvanizing electoral support, delegitimizing adversaries, inciting opposition to Biden's government, and disseminating unconfirmed claims. In addition, the research emphasizes how these principles interconnect—aligning or discording—within particular situations of pragmatic violations. This study uncovers how political discourse tactically employs the principles of pragmatics to fuel polarization. Future studies would investigate non-observance in various situations (media, literary works) and utilize these for intercultural, longitudinal examinations of argumentative interaction.

Keywords: Conversational maxims, felicity conditions, politeness maxims, political discourse, pragmatic deviation.

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In the name of Almighty Allah, the most Merciful and the most Gracious. First and foremost, all praises and thanks to ALLAH (S.W.T) for His continual infinite graces of which this work is a little one. The eternal blessings and peace be on the Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), the supreme leader of all righteous humans. The accomplishment of this thesis is dependent on many individuals who should be honourably acknowledged for their important roles in completing my thesis.

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Chapter ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This chapter begins with the general outlook of the entire research. Subsequently, the research objectives and questions are presented. Thereafter, the problem statement of the research, as well as the significance and scope of the study, are elucidated. Finally, the chapter presents the operational definitions, the organization of the thesis, and a summary of the entire chapter.

1.2 Background of the Study

Keohane (2013) claims that when philosophizing about politics in old Greece and Rome, many conversations about leadership highlighted how statespersons or leaders need education and how to utilize their influence. However, a shift appeared after the Renaissance Age. This shift focuses on the relationships between leaders and people and the definition and settlement of the extent of a suitable political action. Generally, leadership is crucial for all people's societal activities; leaders define or simplify objectives for a set of persons and connect the members' powers of that set to achieve these objectives. Politicians' leadership is a particularly outstanding sample of this conduct, the sort that makes people consider leadership.

Leaders can use the power of language when addressing their followers because language is vital to leaders who achieve some activities through specific ways made by language. This contains a campaign, communique, gathering, polling, initiation, and ruling. This is confirmed by Ayeomoni and Akinkuolere (2012), who point out that political discourse

is becoming the center of attention for many researchers, particularly language. These researchers focus their studies on the political discourse of some well-known and influential leaders such as Mahatma Gandhi, Nelson Mandela, and Donald Trump because of using language to influence the public and change the world.

Mahatma Gandhi, an important leader in India, used language as a potent tool to unite people during the fight for independence. Gandhi pushed for a language called Hindustani, which mixes Hindi and Urdu. Gandhi believed this language could help people from different backgrounds communicate and bring the country together. Gandhi got this idea from his time in South Africa, where Gandhi saw workers speaking Bhojपुरi, a Hindi dialect, to understand each other. Gandhi thought that Hindustani could be understood by many people without difficult Sanskrit or Persian words and help fight against British cultural control. In Gandhi's speeches and writings, like the one at the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan in 1918, Gandhi talked about "village Hindi" to reach ordinary people. Gandhi said that language shows who we are and criticized English for being too distant from most Indians. Gandhi's plain but powerful way of speaking, using terms like "truth-force," made language a tool for peaceful protest, helping ordinary people stand up to authorities. Gandhi used local dialects and religious stories to help build a national identity while respecting the different languages in India. Gandhi's methods opposed British rule and influenced later language policies, like the 2020 National Education Policy, which supports using multiple languages and embracing different cultures. However, by focusing on Hindustani, Gandhi sometimes made other Indian languages, especially those in the South, feel less important. This highlights the challenges of promoting one language in a country with so many diverse languages (Mishra, 2020).

Nelson Mandela, an influential leader from South Africa, effectively used language to unite a divided nation. Mandela emphasized empathy, inclusion, and the use of multiple languages. A significant part of his strategy involved learning Afrikaans, the language spoken by those who enforced apartheid. During his 27 years in prison, Mandela studied Afrikaans to communicate with the prison guards, believing that speaking their language would create mutual respect and break down barriers. This approach helped him engage with individuals like his warden, Christo Brand and demonstrated to Afrikaners that reconciliation could be a shared journey, not just a battle (Cordeur, 2017). Mandela's speeches used simple yet impactful images, like the "rainbow nation" and the "long walk to freedom," to convey messages of hope and unity. These images resonated across different races and turned the challenges faced after apartheid into opportunities for rebuilding the nation. In his 1994 inaugural speech, Mandela included words like "we" and "our" to foster a sense of togetherness and addressed both past grievances and future hopes (Ngidi et al., 2022). Mandela's speeches, such as his 1953 critique of Bantu Education, highlighted the power of language to empower people. Mandela encouraged communities to oppose controlling ideologies through education and dialogue (Rossi, 2021), transforming language from a divider into a means of healing and building the nation together.

Donald Trump, who is the focus of the current study, is the 45th and 47th US president and a Republican Party member. Trump is well-known for his directness in some of his speeches and has been deemed a controversial president since his early career. Trump's discourse is subject to broad discussions by many researchers (Azizah & Alpiah, 2018; Gusthini et al., 2018; Mariani et al., 2017; Mufiah & Rahman, 2018) because Trump uses

different strategies that diverge from pragmatic rules. Moreover, Pollack (2017) depicts Trump as a unique US president since his way to the White House was without a prior case. Although his character is gigantic, Trump is generally unaccustomed to the administrative process. For decades, Trump has been running his own business and has never reported to stockholders. Therefore, Trump's previous skills and knowledge have not prepared him for the most significant career in the world.

Mandela's political speeches offer numerous persuasive examples of deviation. They are frequently utilized as rhetorical tactics to convince and unite the public. In the famous speech "No Easy Walk to Freedom", Mandela used metaphors, repetition, and scriptural quotations to address apartheid. This reflects presentational and analogical convincing tactics that disobey conventional direct political discourse (Faris et al., 2016). Correspondingly, in the 2005 Live 8 speech, Mandela used rhetorical and pragmalinguistic tools to call for worldwide equality, intentionally bending Grice's maxims to underscore urgency and harmony (Baig et al., 2023). A transitivity analysis of Mandela's speeches also shows a nuanced use of process types that reframe social struggle into a shared mission, revealing deviations from typical political detachment (Ali et al., 2021). These intentional pragmatic choices helped Mandela establish a powerful moral and ideological stance that resonated globally.

Mahatma Gandhi, by contrast, often used deviation to blend moral philosophy with political rhetoric. Gandhi's speeches drew heavily on metaphor, religious allusion, and ethical reasoning, deliberately violating Grice's maxim of quality by using figurative—not literal—language to evoke emotional and cultural responses. For example, in the "Quit India" speech, Gandhi's directive "Do or Die" is a powerful performative utterance that

prioritizes moral urgency over clarity, thus flouting the maxim of manner. Furthermore, Gandhi's use of scriptural references as persuasive tools represents a strategic blending of religious and political discourse, offering a form of deviation that aimed to elevate India's freedom movement into a moral crusade (Noort, 2022). These rhetorical strategies distinguish Gandhi's leadership discourse as spiritually charged and ethically framed, showcasing how pragmatic deviation can support nonviolent resistance and mass mobilization.

In contrast, Donald Trump, who moved from business to politics, used a bold and unconventional way of speaking. Trump's straightforward and rule-breaking style often divided opinions and was more like a business leader's approach than a traditional politician's. While Gandhi and Mandela worked to mend and unite through language, Trump's rhetoric tended to highlight differences, reflecting a business-oriented leadership style. Despite these differences, all three leaders demonstrate that language is a powerful tool for influencing people's feelings. It can be used to bring people together, to heal, or to create disruption, depending on the leader's goals.

As a linguistic phenomenon, deviation happens when talkers intentionally or unintentionally depart from recognized norms, leading to unconventional language utilization. Ren and Yu (as cited in Hamza, 2020) see deviation as a set of linguistic choices out of the extent of a generally acceptable alternative. Wales (2011) argues that speakers break the norms when not following the standards, resulting in deviation. In other words, Crystal (1995) points out that deviance is demonstrated in making unpermitted sentences or utterances because of non-compliance with what is agreed upon. Similarly, Kachru (1992) states that it mirrors a linguistic production categorized by properties that

are different from the norm. Collectively, these authors highlight that deviation takes place consciously or unconsciously by straying from linguistic rules. This involves producing abnormal discourse, creating new expressions, or not adhering to standard language conventions to accomplish rhetorical, stylistic, or political impacts.

Deviation is diversely categorized; it could be triggered linguistically or pragmatically. First, linguistic deviation refers to a set of inexact features of a linguistic act. It is composed of various kinds: lexical, grammatical, and semantic deviation (Leech, 1969). Second, pragmatic deviation, which is the focus of the current study, emerges due to the unsuitable pragmatic performance of principles (Leech, 2008).

Pragmatic principles are crucial for proper language use. They are divided into numerous rules that are violated for the sake of facilitating successful interaction in discourse. The normative rules that govern language use are extensive. Nonetheless, the key pragmatic principles identifying suitable discourse contain politeness, cooperation, truthfulness, relevance, and some others. These maxims form the discursal standards. However, some speakers usually do not adhere to these norms, leading to pragmatic deviation (Zidane, 2017). In the current study, attention is given to Donald Trump's political discourse that deviates from pragmatic models: Grice's (1975) cooperative principle, Searle's (1969) speech act, and Leech's (2014) (im)politeness principle.

Several studies have been conducted in the literature to examine linguistic deviation and other types of deviation (Hamza, 2020; Hussaina et al., 2020; Mansoor & Salman, 2020). Moreover, Ren and Yu (2013) studied the deviation of language in advertising, and Dyakiv et al. (2021) explored communicative deviations in political interviews in

Germany and Ukraine. However, there is a dearth of research regarding the deviation of pragmatic principles (Alemi & Latifi, 2019; Atmowardoyo et al., 2018; Ayunon, 2018; Castiglione, 2013; Ewurum & Chukwu, 2018; Hadiati, 2019; Ibrahim, 2020; Lustyantje & Dewi, 2019; Ogayi & Osondu, 2022). Therefore, this current study intends to investigate pragmatic deviation in the field of politics, which has been paid little attention as far as pragmatic deviation is concerned (Alemi & Latifi, 2019; Akinkurolere, 2020; Dyakiv et al., 2021; Ewurum & Chukwu, 2018; Ibrahim, 2020; Ogayi & Osondu, 2021).

Grice (1975) discusses the ways the rules of the cooperative principle are (not) followed, exhibiting different examples of (non)observation of each rule. The cooperative principle reveals the way individuals appropriately grasp what others intend by standard norms in human interaction. Within this model, Grice suggests four maxims (quantity, quality, relevance, and manner) and terms them conversational maxims, assuming that individuals in a talk generally try to be informative, honest, relevant, and perspicuous. Nevertheless, in daily communication, people do not frequently obey the cooperative principle, trying to avoid providing anything that produces damage to their faces or hearers'. For instance, being dishonest breaks the conversational maxims (Flowerdew, 2013; Leech, 1980; Mey, 2009; Tsuda, 1993).

Austin (1962) argues that individuals utilize sentences not merely to say things but rather effectively to do things, presenting a set of conditions that performatives have to follow for their success. These conditions are named felicity conditions. It is suggested that performatives cannot be 'true' or 'false,' but it is possible they go wrong. Then, all the situations are catalogued and shown how the performatives can go wrong or be unhappy, inappropriate, unsuccessful, or infelicitous. Then, Searle (1969) develops Austin's theory

and offers a new 'speech act,' claiming that when one talks, s\he performs acts along with rules, referring to it as "the basic or minimal units of linguistic communication" (p. 16). Searle (1969) goes a step further and believes that Austin's felicity conditions mutually make the illocutionary force of the speech act and not merely ways in which the illocutionary act is felicitous or infelicitous. Four conditions (rules) are suggested: propositional content, preparatory, sincerity, and essential conditions. Vanderveken (2001) believes that these rules of the appropriateness of an illocutionary speech act are the rules that are to be satisfied so that the speaker(s) can succeed in achieving that act. To put it in other words, a speaker can perform an illocutionary act non-defectively if they felicitously achieve it and its rules are satisfied according to the context.

Leech (2014) revised his old theory of politeness in 1983, considering studies on politeness during this long period and presenting a new politeness model or theory to be adopted, which is called an alternative model from the one in his book (1983) and recently reformed in his article (2007). Leech (2014) reformulates politeness maxims; six maxims were given in his (1983): Tact, Generosity, Approbation, Modesty, Agreement, and Sympathy maxims, adding four maxims (obligation of others to the speaker, obligation of the speaker to others, feeling-reticence, and opinion-reticence) to become ten. One super-constraint is presented and termed the General Strategy of Politeness (GSP) (formerly Grand Strategy of Politeness, Leech, 2007), within which all these maxims are included. Leech (2014) defines this super-constraint: "In order to be polite, S expresses or implies meanings that associate a favorable value with what pertains to O or associates an unfavorable value with what pertains to S (S = self, speaker)" (p. 90). Moreover, Leech (2014) presents a model of impoliteness by reversing this super-constraint to a General

Strategy of Impoliteness. Leech (2014) defines impoliteness: "The speaker will express/imply evaluative meanings that are favorable to the speaker and unfavorable to others" (p. 221). So, the General Strategy of Politeness is oriented toward agreement and face preservation, while the General Strategy of Impoliteness is oriented towards disagreement and facing threat. Therefore, the maxims of this super-constraint are revised to form a new theory of impoliteness.

Leech (2014) claims that special focus has been given to impoliteness as a subject of research recently because of the high frequency of impolite behaviour and the markedness of impolite behaviour, it leans to be noticeable when speakers use it. Therefore, researchers have begun to investigate this phenomenon by proposing and applying different theories of impoliteness to various situations (Abdelkawy, 2019; Alemi & Latifi, 2019; Colaco et al., 2021; El-Falaky, 2019; Ibrahim, 2020; Koike et al., 2022). However, they did not follow Leech's (2014) model of impoliteness; instead, they followed either Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory of politeness or Culpepper's (1996, 2011) model of impoliteness that echoed and reversed Brown and Levinson's. Thus, a scarcity of research in terms of pragmatically deviating from Leech's (2014) impoliteness principle is found.

1.3 Problem Statement

Leadership efficacy is deeply intertwined with linguistic strategy, as language serves as both a conduit of authority and a tool for shaping public sentiment. Donald Trump, the 45th and 47th US president, exemplifies this dynamic through his unconventional use of pragmatic deviation—a deliberate departure from established norms of political communication. His rhetoric, characterized by hyperbole (the best US president),

repetition (keep the oil, keep the oil), inflammatory language (fake media), and deviations from pragmatic principles (Grice's conversational maxims, Leech's politeness maxims, and Searle's felicity conditions of speech acts), has redefined the role of language in leadership. While these deviations from pragmatic norms have mobilized a loyal base and amplified his populist appeal, they have also polarized audiences, deepened societal divisions, and raised questions about the ethical implications of such discourse. Despite extensive analysis of Trump's rhetorical strategies (Azizah & Alpiyah, 2018; Balogun & Murana, 2018; Chen et al., 2019; Gusthini et al., 2018; Mariani et al., 2017; Mohammadi & Javadi, 2017; Loko, 2018; Mufiah & Rahman, 2018; Nguyen, 2018; Swaim, 2015), there remains a gap in understanding how his pragmatic deviation intersects with cultural, ideological, and historical contexts to legitimize his authority and influence public opinion. Thus, the study aims to analyze Trump's political discourse in which impolite, infelicitous, and uncooperative utterances are revealed.

It is generally expected that language speakers follow the norms of interaction and facilitate their speech to make listeners interpret the messages they convey. Leech (2008) states that people bring with them an idea of the norm of collaborative or courteous conduct for a particular conversational context. These norms follow who the talkers are, what the social relationships among them are, what the circumstantial environment regarding the sort of activity they are involved in, what needs or facilities are being performed, what the contextual assumptions with regard to the prerogatives and responsibilities of persons are, and the relative significance of numerous rights and requirements, goods and facilities. However, Crystal (1995) and Wales (2011) concur that

there are cases in which talkers do not adhere to the norms of communication for many reasons, stylistic or aesthetic. Those speakers usually break the agreed-upon rules.

Several studies have been done on pragmatic and semantic deviation in literary discourse; Castiglione (2013), who semantically and pragmatically investigated deviation in Geoffrey Hill's and Susan Howe's poems, claims that this paper is a preliminary phase; further, practical measures are necessary. Furthermore, Zidane (2017) pragmatically explored the use of deviation in literary works. However, no pragmatic models have been applied to the analysis of literary discourse. In contrast, a variety of studies have been conducted to investigate linguistic deviation and other types of deviation in literary style. Hamza (2020) analyzed grammatical deviation in Shakespeare's *Othello*, while Hussaina et al. (2020) and Mansoor and Salman (2020) discussed linguistic deviation in literary style, Dicken's *Hard Times*, and poetry, drama, and prose, respectively. Moreover, Ren and Yu (2013) studied deviation of language in advertising, and Dyakiv et al. (2021) explored communicative deviations in defendants in political audiovisual interviews in German and Ukrainian. So far, very few studies have been done on pragmatic deviation in all fields, and many have been done on other types of deviation, especially in the field of literature. Therefore, the current study intends to investigate pragmatic deviation in the field of politics, which has been paid little attention as far as pragmatic deviation is concerned (Alemi & Latifi, 2019; Akinkurolere, 2020; Atmowardoyo et al., 2018; Dyakiv et al., 2021; Ewurum & Chukwu, 2018).

Moreover, several general pragmatic studies (not pragmatic deviation) have been conducted regarding the area of politics (Al-Hindawi & Abdulazeez, 2015; Al-Hindawi & Al-Aadili, 2017; Al-Hindawi & Abdul-Hady, 2016; Drămnescu, 2016; Gusthini et al.,

2018; Mokhlosa & Mukheef, 2020; Nasir et al., 2017; Ojukwu & Osuchukwu, 2019; Sarah & Oladayo, 2018). In their studies, they applied various pragmatic models such as Austin's and Searle's speech act, Brown and Levinson's politeness, Leech's politeness, Grice's principles of cooperation, and Goffman's concept of face, but they did not investigate how politicians pragmatically depart from these principles. Hence, the goal of the current research is to address this void and show how Donald Trump possibly deviates from these pragmatic principles.

Grice (1975, 1989) offers the cooperative principle and a group of conversational maxims that build on the fact that individuals are intrinsically coherent and collaborative; that is to say, in their dialogues, except in some instances, their interaction with each other will be intended to be informative. Grice (1989) posits that one should utter what they should utter when they should utter it, and the way they should utter it. Nevertheless, when the addressers appear not to adhere to Grice's maxims but think that the addressees will recognize the concealed meaning, they are breaking these maxims. Infringing a maxim, the talker expects the listener to distinguish his utterance, which does not have to be understood at face value, and can deduce the hidden message (Cutting, 2002, p. 27). Consequently, Grice (1989, p. 33) argues that by explicitly infringing a maxim, the listener is allowed to suppose that maxim, or at a minimum, all the principles of cooperation, are observed implicitly. For example, "Why aren't they investigating massive election fraud and irregularities?" (Trump, 2022, 9:08). This may show deviation from the maxim of quality by providing information that lacks evidence.

Several recent studies have been done on Grice's cooperative principle and conversational maxims. Ayunon (2018) and Ngenget (2017) conducted their studies on Grice's

cooperative principle in analyzing utterances in a conversation on Facebook. They endeavored to reconsider the adherence or non-adherence of Grice's four maxims in posts on Facebook. However, Ayunon's study is restricted to four examples; for each maxim, one example is given, while Ayunon recommends further studies on the non-observance of Grice's cooperative principle and maxims to examine actual conversations. Furthermore, Awwad et al. (2019) conducted a paper on the interpretations of the Gricean conversational maxims violations, while Nur (2018) examined types of non-observance of the maxims and the main maxim infringement in the discourse of *The Wild Duck* by dramatist Henrik Ibsen. Additionally, Al-Qaderi and Alduais (2019) studied Grice's conversational implicature and how it is universal and applied it to Arabic political discourse. Al-Qaderi and Alduais (2019) suggested that more studies need to think of gathering data and creating more instances of all the maxims. Thus, in the context of the analysis of Trump's political discourse, the deviations from conversational maxims have not been investigated extensively. Hence, this situation has compelled the researcher to conduct research in this area.

Searle (1969), who expanded Austin's speech act theory (1962), argues that the felicity conditions of speech acts create the activity of speech acts. Searle suggests four rules: propositional content, preparatory, sincerity, and essential conditions. Vanderveken (2001) believes that these rules of the appropriateness of an illocutionary speech act are the rules that are to be satisfied so that the speaker(s) can succeed in achieving that act. Vanderveken adds that a talker may produce incorrect assumptions. Also, they can convey tendencies that they do not have. Therefore, defective performance of the illocutionary speech act is possible. To illustrate, "they need to stop the invasion of our country..."

(Trump, 2022, 35:41). Here, Trump seems to deviate from the felicity conditions of the directive speech act (speech act of order) by ordering Biden's administration to prevent immigrants from entering the US though Trump no longer holds the office.

Some researchers have conducted studies to examine Austin's and Searle's speech act theory with an emphasis on locutionary, illocutionary, and perlocutionary acts (Akinkurolere, 2020; Dylgjerii, 2017; Khalid & Amin, 2019; Hashim, 2015) while some on illocutionary ones; they discussed various illocutionary speech acts; directives, declaratives, commissives, representatives, and expressives (Al-Sulaimaan & Khoshaba; Azizah & Alpiaah, 2018; Gusthini et al., 2018; Larasati, 2020; Loko, 2018; Mufiah & Rahman, 2018; Ramanathan et al., 2020; Raza et al., 2021). Similarly, Hadiati (2019) and Ojukwu and Osuchukwu (2019) examined illocutionary ones and took a further step. Hadiati explained Searle's felicity conditions of speech acts and how they are met to be felicitous or non-defective. Still, Hadiati did not show how they are deviated to be infelicitous or defective. However, Hadiati recommended thorough studies to better comprehend the felicity conditions by collecting and analyzing numerous language data. Similar to Hadiati (2019), Ojukwu and Osuchukwu (2019) only explained adherence to the felicity conditions of the illocutionary speech acts. However, thoroughly reviewing related literature has revealed that deviation from Searle's conditions of speech acts has been given little attention. Therefore, the present study attempts to fill this gap and show how the felicity conditions of speech acts are deviated from.

Leech (2007, 2014) argues that the politeness principle, which is equivalent to Grice's cooperative principle, is a constraint maintained in communication, affecting individuals to keep away from communicative disagreement and maintaining a communicative

agreement. Therefore, politeness focuses on keeping away from disharmony and enhancing harmony, merely hitherto as these are obvious in interaction, precisely the kinds of meanings that are uttered or implied. Leech (2014) presents ten politeness maxims (Generosity, Tact, Approbation, Modesty, Obligation of S to O, Obligation of O to S, Agreement, Opinion-reticence, Sympathy, and Feeling-reticence). These are not regulations for a perfect demeanour; instead, they can be just norms that speakers can follow. However, Leech claims that impoliteness could be recognized as a deviation from these ten maxims of the politeness principle. For illustration, "...I will protect the Second Amendment, and nobody has protected it like me" (Trump, 2022, 6:28). Here, Trump seems to deviate from the maxim of modesty by giving high value to his quality.

Several studies have been done on Leech's (1983, 2014) politeness principle. Some studies (Atmowardoyo et al., 2018; Hasan et al., 2021; Hikmahwati et al., 2021; Jameel & Sameer, 2021; Leyang & Xiaoting, 2021; Mariani et al., 2017) have focused on Leech's (1983) politeness principle which is an old model that has been reframed by the writer himself in 2014. They also discussed how people obey politeness maxims and the reasons behind their observance of the politeness principle. Moreover, some recent studies (Akmal & Candrasari, 2019; Ewurum & Chukwu, 2018; Lustyantje & Dewi, 2019; Ogayi & Osondu, 2021) have focused on the violation of Leech's (1983) politeness principle. All the studies, whether violation or non-violation of politeness maxims, did not refer to Leech's (2014) model of impoliteness principle, which is the focus of the present thesis. However, the researcher found one study on Leech's (2014) model by Santoso et al. (2020), who examined the kinds and forms of politeness principles utilized by two EFL

teachers. However, they did not discuss the deviation of politeness maxims, which is the focus of the current research.

Furthermore, some recent studies have been done on impoliteness (Abdelkawy, 2019; Alemi & Latifi, 2019; Colaco et al., 2021; El-Falaky, 2019; Ibrahim, 2020; Koike et al., 2022). However, they concentrated on applying impoliteness to dialogues and conversations, adopting either Culpeper's (1996, 2005, 2011) model of impoliteness or Bousfield's (2008) impoliteness. So, there is a dearth of research in terms of deviating from Leech's (2014) politeness principle; some studies have been done on how people lessen and diminish threats to face and be polite, and some have been conducted on Leech's (1983) old model, and some on other theories (Bousfield's, 2008; Culpeper, 1996, 2005, 2011). However, few have been paid to how people deviate from Leech's (2014) politeness maxims. This scarcity of research has motivated the investigator to research this less-explored area. Therefore, the current study discusses Leech's (2014) impoliteness principle, which contains ten maxims. More specifically, the study investigates the deviation of these maxims in Trump's political discourse to fill the gap in the literature.

Leech (2014) claims that there are differences and similarities between Grice's cooperative principle and the politeness principle. The maxims of these two principles, together with Searle's felicity conditions, could be broken, so they are in line with each other. For example, "nobody thinks about America first. Well, America last. You look at Biden, we're America last" (Trump, 2022, 16:41). Here, Trump appears to deviate from the maxim of approbation by providing a low value of Biden's qualities, the maxim of quality by giving information without evidence, and the four felicity conditions of the

speech act of representatives by stating something not true. Moreover, the politeness principle, the cooperative principle, and felicity conditions could discord with each other. To illustrate, “they[Boeing Company Airplanes] say they losing... So I was sort of proud of that” (Trump, 2022, 54:50). Here, Trump probably deviates from both maxims of sympathy and feeling-reticence by giving a low cost to other's feelings and high cost to his own but follows the maxim of quality and expressive speech act as his utterance is honest and non-defective.

There are some few studies that explore the discordance and alignment between these models (Farahin, 2020; Karim, 2016; Mariani et al., 2017; Lulu, 2019; Ojukwu & Osuchukwu, 2019; Wenting, 2017). These studies concentrated on discussing Leech's (1983) politeness principle, Grice's (1975) cooperative principle, and Austin's (1962) and Searle's (1969) felicity conditions of the speech acts separately by showing how the speakers observe or do not observe the conversational maxims, the politeness maxims, and the felicity conditions. Some of these studies attempt to combine some of the maxims to show discordance but do not show how all of them are discordant and align with each other in specific situations at the same time. Consequently, the present study endeavours to fill this gap and combine the maxims and conditions to show how they discord and align with Trump's political discourse.

1.4 Research Objectives

The study aims to achieve the following objectives:

1. To discover the types of Leech's (2014) politeness maxims that are deviated from in Trump's political discourse.

2. To examine the types of Grice's (1975) conversational maxims that are deviated from in Trump's discourse.
3. To analyze the types of Searle's (1969) felicity conditions of speech acts that are deviated from Trump's discourse.
4. To find out how Leech's politeness maxims, Grice's conversational maxims, and Searle's felicity conditions of speech acts align in Trump's discourse.
5. To explore how Leech's politeness maxims, Grice's conversational maxims, and Searle's felicity conditions of speech acts discord in Trump's political discourse.

1.5 Research Questions

The following questions were constructed based on the objectives of the study:

1. What types of Leech's (2014) politeness maxims are deviated from in Trump's political discourse?
2. What types of Grice's (1975) conversational maxims are deviated from in Trump's political discourse?
3. What types of Searle's (1969) felicity conditions of speech acts are deviated from in Trump's political discourse?
4. How do Leech's politeness maxims, Grice's conversational maxims, and Searle's felicity conditions of speech acts align in Trump's political discourse?
5. How do Leech's politeness maxims, Grice's conversational maxims, and Searle's felicity conditions of speech act discord in Trump's political discourse?

1.6 Significance of the Study

The researcher hopes that the findings of the present research will add to the knowledge of the subject and contribute to the current literature on applied linguistics and political language. This study has some theoretical, educational, and practical significance.

Theoretical, this study is beneficial to those who are interested in pragmatics, politeness, impoliteness, directness, indirectness, pragmatic deviation, discourse analysis, politics, and figurative language since they may profit from the theoretical and practical knowledge to improve various studies in applying pragmatic deviation to Grice's conversational maxims, Leech's impoliteness maxims, and Searle's felicity conditions of illocutionary speech acts.

Educationally, this research will be valuable to EFL students because it provides awareness about the utilization of pragmatic deviation in discourse. They will be conscious of the strategies and norms of society and how they are adhered to or deviated from. Therefore, misunderstandings between a teacher-student and even a student-student will be diminished as the students will know how to behave politely, honestly, and performatively with the teachers and each other. Besides, they will be able to conduct research on different types of pragmatic deviations, pragmatic principles, and discourse analysis in political discourse.

Additionally, the findings of the current research might aid EFL teachers in understanding the pragmatic norms and how to avoid deviating from them. Thus, they will be able to use some strategies inside the class to show the students how to understand deviant language

and what will happen if deviation exists.

In addition, this study might be valuable to the syllabi coordinators as it discusses a big issue which is pragmatic deviation, in which three pragmatic principles are discussed in detail. These principles are of great significance to EFL students who need to be immersed in English language and think like native speakers. Consequently, the syllabi coordinators should include topics that enable the students to understand the deviant norms to avoid any confrontation that usually occurs because of unintentionally using an inappropriate utterance.

Practically, the findings help journalists, reporters, and interviewers to construct practical questions that cunningly draw out the answers from the interviewees. Besides, they will be aware of politicians' digressions, evasions, and cunning ways of hiding the truth. Also, the current study could help journalists to get politicians' intended messages and pragmatic deviation by depending on the context and all kinds of information relating to them to infer what they imply.

Besides, the study may help the interpreters and translators to comprehend the implicit meaning and the hidden messages the politicians convey in interviews and speeches. It benefits them to go deeper, avoid literal translation, and understand that the politicians usually digress from the main topic, speak less or more, are ambiguous and rude, and use a statement with different intended functions, such as a threat or promise.

Furthermore, the findings of this research aim to give advantages to the public who will have the ability to comprehend the language of politicians who manipulate language to

influence them. They will benefit from this study and have some insight on politicians' real intentions and how they deviate from norms so as to achieve some goals.

This research hopefully can help the readers in understanding pragmatic deviation, political language, the felicity condition of illocutionary speech acts, conversational maxims, and politeness. Hence, the reader will be able to understand the conditions, the politicians' conveyed messages, cooperative principles, and politeness in interaction with others in real life and how they are violated.

1.7 Scope of the Study

Leech (1969) suggests a systematic outline of linguistic deviation, which is divided into eight types, i.e., lexical deviation, grammatical deviation, phonological deviation, graphological deviation, semantic deviation, dialectal deviation, deviation of register, and deviation of the historical period, which are not covered in the current study. However, the present study is limited to dealing with pragmatic deviation, as suggested by Leech (2008). This kind of deviation focuses on how language is deviated pragmatically in certain situations.

Moreover, the current study focuses on three theories: Firstly, Grice's Conversational Implicature and conversational maxims (1975). Only the violation of conversational maxims is included. Secondly, the current study covers Leech's (2014) impoliteness maxims. Thirdly, Searle's (1969) felicity conditions of the five types of speech acts are included. In addition, some examples show observance of Grice's maxims, Leech's maxims, and Searle's felicity conditions when these pragmatic principles discord with each other. So, these theories are chosen for their complementary strengths: Grice's

conversational maxims offer a basis for normative interaction, Leech's impoliteness maxims illustrate deliberate non-observance of social concord, and Searle's speech acts show how language achieves ideological work. All of these allow a holistic investigation of Trump's rhetoric, from its strategic ambiguities to its argumentative tone and performative power.

Furthermore, attention is given to political discourse and leadership. This is because political discourse is rich with deviation from pragmatic principles and can be applied to different models. Besides, political discourse warrants attention to be thoroughly and systematically applied to pragmatic deviation.

Donald Trump was also selected as the sample for the current study. However, the study does not compare Trump's discourse with other political leaders' discourse nor evaluate the influence of the audience. Additionally, the instrument consists of three samples (two interviews and one public speech) that are taken from YouTube. These are (1) Trump's direct Speech to the crowd in Illinois on 6/25/2022 in support of candidate Congressperson Mary Miller to be reelected and Darren Bailey to be elected as the governor of Illinois, (2) Trump's interview with Fox News Channel reporters, Martha MacCallum and Bret Baier in the Fox News Town Hall in front of the people who are given an opportunity to ask him some questions directly. This happened in Scranton on 3/6/2020 to talk about different issues, and (3) Trump's interview with CNN Channel reporter Anderson Cooper in the Republican Presidential Town Hall in front of people. This happened in Milwaukee on 3/29/2016 to talk about the candidacy for the 2017 US president. Thus, other periods are not included in the thesis as the study focuses on an in-depth qualitative understanding of the phenomenon under study.

In addition, the current study is confined to a qualitative approach and discourse analysis method as it deals with language in use, excluding quantitative metrics; the frequency of deviation. However, Cohen Kappa's (1960) statistical interrater reliability measurement is followed in the study in which quantitative results are provided to assess coding consistency.

1.8 Operational Definitions of Terms

The terms used throughout the dissertation are defined as follows:

Pragmatic Deviation

Bowles (2010), Leech (2008), and Zidane (2017) concur that pragmatic deviation is an inappropriate performance that goes against the norms of a specific community. In the present research, pragmatic deviation refers to the inappropriate performance of the felicity conditions of speech acts, conversational maxims, and politeness maxims in Trump's political discourse.

Cooperative Principle and Conversational Maxims

Grice (1975) offers the cooperative principle and a group of conversational maxims that build on the fact that individuals are intrinsically coherent and collaborative. However, in certain situations, these maxims are not followed. In the current study, Trump overtly does not observe the cooperative principle and deviates from the conversational maxims.

Politeness

Leech (2007, 2014) argues that politeness is a constraint maintained in communication, affecting individuals to avoid communicative disagreement and keep communicative agreement. So, politeness is oriented toward agreement and face preservation. In the current study, Trump violates politeness and does not sustain a communicative agreement.

Impoliteness

Leech (2014) Impoliteness happens when "the speaker will express/imply evaluative meanings that are favorable to the speaker and unfavorable to others" (p. 221). Thus, impoliteness is oriented towards disagreement and face threats. In the present study, Trump shows impoliteness toward others in his political language by employing some expressions that contain insults, degradation, and sarcasm.

Felicity Conditions

Searle (1975) states that the deviation from the conditions of the speech acts can occur when an illocutionary act is defective; the speaker defectively performs one or all of its conditions and, therefore, it will be not fulfilled. In the present research, Trump deviates from the conditions of illocutionary speech acts when producing defective utterances.

1.9 The Organization of Thesis

The current work consists of five chapters as follows:

Chapter One provides readers with a general overview of the study to help them become well acquainted with the rationale behind conducting the current research. Moreover, it presents the problem statement, research objectives, and questions. Besides, it provides the significance of the study, the scope of the study, operational definitions of terms, the organization of the research, and a summary of the whole chapter.

Chapter Two presents a literature review. It elaborates on the language of politics, the relationship between language and leadership, and Trump as a political leader. Additionally, it explains language deviation with a focus on pragmatic deviation. Moreover, it discusses three models: Leech's (2014) model of (im)politeness principle,

Grice's (1975) cooperative principle, and Searle's (1969) speech act, the discordance and alignment between them, and how they are related to pragmatic deviation. Besides, it discusses a worldview that is related to the thesis, constructivism, and its relationship to the discourse analysis method that is adopted in the present work. Furthermore, it provides recent studies on deviation, the mentioned theories, and their discordance and alignment. Additionally, it presents the conceptual framework of the current study. Finally, it provides a section that summarizes the whole chapter.

Chapter Three provides the research design for the current study. In addition, it elucidates the procedures for sampling, data collection methods, and data analysis. Moreover, it presents validity and reliability (trustworthiness) to assess the quality of the study. Besides, it provides ethical considerations. Lastly, it presents a summary of the whole chapter.

Chapter Four presents the findings of the five research questions. In addition, it provides the discussions and implications of these findings. Finally, it summarizes these findings and discussions.

Chapter Five sums up the whole thesis. It summarizes the findings of the study. It provides the theoretical and methodological contributions of this research. Lastly, it discusses the limitations of this study and offers, according to the findings, recommendations for more studies in the future.

1.10 Summary

This first chapter includes the background of the study, presenting some information about the deviation of language, political language, Grice's cooperative principle and

conversational maxims, Leech's politeness principle, and Searle's felicity conditions of speech acts. Moreover, it discusses the problem statement, research objectives, and research questions. Then, it sheds light on the significance and scope of the study. Besides, it provides the organization of the thesis. Finally, the operational definitions of key terms were presented.



CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The chapter begins with an elaboration of politics and language and how leaders make use of language to achieve their goals. Next, language deviation in general and pragmatic deviation in specific are explained in detail. Subsequently, the researcher presents a theoretical framework in which three models are elucidated: Grice's cooperative principle and conversational maxims, Leech's politeness principle, and Searle's felicity conditions of speech acts. Besides, the discordance and alignment between these models and the constructivism and discourse analysis approaches are presented. Moreover, studies regarding language deviation, Grice's cooperative principle, Leech's (im)politeness principle, and Austin's and Searle's felicity conditions of speech acts are reviewed, as shown in Figure 2.1. Finally, the conceptual framework, being built on the theoretical framework, is provided.

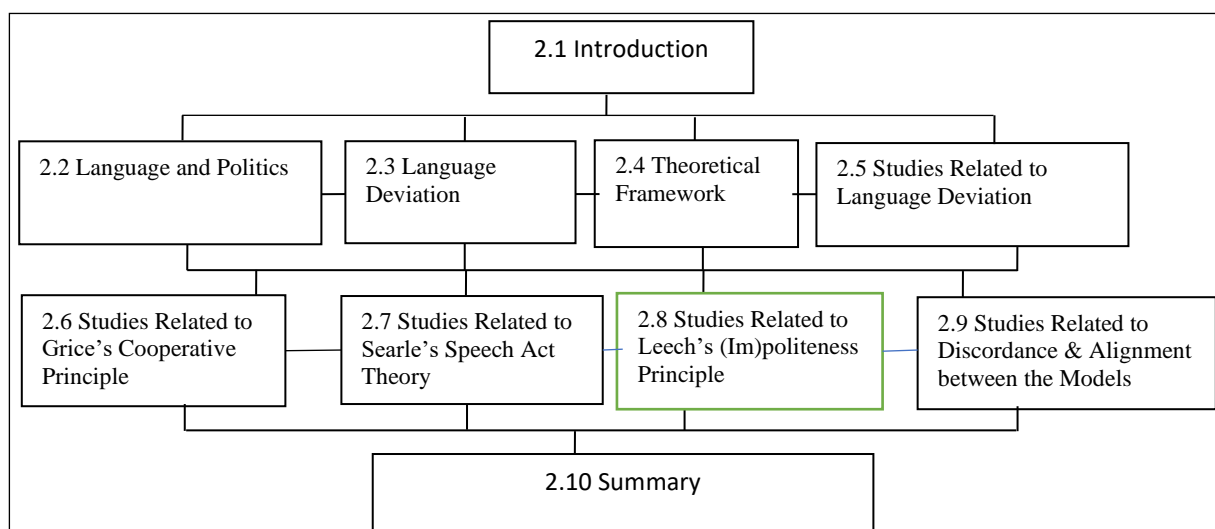


Figure 2.1 The Organization of Chapter Two

2.2 Language and Politics

Chilton (2004) points out that, generally, there are two definitions of politics; firstly, it is regarded as a fight for influence among those who wish to proclaim and keep their influence and those who wish to withstand it. Secondly, it is seen as collaboration, as the exercises and organizations that a community has for settling conflicts of concern over money, impact, and freedom. Regarding the relationship between politics and language, Chilton and Schaffner (1997) argue that language and politics are interlinked in the sense that without language, politics could not be conducted, and using language to constitute social groups results in politics.

Aliwie (2025) explains that political discourse is how politicians and others in politics talk to the public using specific language. Politicians, either elected or appointed, are mainly responsible for making policies and guiding these discussions. According to Adham and Ali (2024), the exact words and phrases in political discourse can have different meanings based on the ideological context. Common words can be used in a way that influences people's thoughts on specific issues. Even saying someone's name might be seen as a political action.

Language is vital to politicians who achieve some activities through specific ways made by language. This contains a campaign, commune, gathering, polling, initiation, and ruling. Recently, political discourse has been turned into the center of attention by many researchers, particularly language scholars who intend to explore the deployment of language in specific situations. The notion of political discourse might be traced to the significant contributions of Greek thinkers such as Plato, Socrates, Aristotle, and Sophists.

Aristotle consequently depicts politics as "a faculty of observing in any given case the available means of persuasion in reference to whatever subject" (Ayeomoni & Akinkuolere, 2012, p. 461).

Beard (2000) argues that political language as a profession is crucial since it makes us comprehend the language manipulated by those who want to get, use, and retain power. To gain power, one must win elections. Gaining power, leaders use influential strategies such as expressively excited framing (e.g., evocative mottos like Make America Great Again), overgeneralized ideas, and demands for shared individuality, rallying backing by reinforcing in-group harmony. When in authority, politicians utilize language to maintain power through euphemistic expressions that obscure severe truths, authoritative announcements that convey strength (such as "I am the only one who knows the problem"), and invalidating rhetoric that disempowers opposition (such as labeling critics as "fake news"). Retaining power, leaders reuse stories of calamities, victimized rivals, or exterior sets (such as the "Chinese virus") and strengthen faithfulness through conflict-ridden dualities (such as "patriots" vs. "enemies"), safeguarding continual impact by reforming truth and overwhelming difficulties. Together, these linguistic tactics uncover how the language of politics forms and preserves power dynamics, highlighting language's dual role as an instrument of authorization and a mechanism of social control.

Likewise, Uduma (2012) and Dylgjerii (2017) believe that the language of politics tackles the utilization of power to shape individuals' awareness and viewpoints. It is a tool that politicians use to dominate the community. Also, the language of politics is a way of creating and keeping common relations, conveying feelings, and selling thoughts,

policies, and political plans in any community. Similarly, Ojukwu and Osuchukwu (2019) believe that language is an influential instrument for political leaders since they utilize it to fit their intentions. This backs the weightiness of speech and writing in the field of politics. Every sentence in discourse makes sense, and to be capable of recognizing the meaning of a discourse appropriately, the need emerges to examine the methods of pragmatics so as to display the manipulation of that language. This conveys an idea that is circuitously connected with the additional worth of the new linguistic forms in use. It is possible to structure language in a way that will assist in comprehending numerous purposes and simultaneously accomplish one's aim and wanted effect.

In line with Ojukwu and Osuchukwu (2019), Hisham (2015) claims that the language of politics focuses on meaning. Comprehending meaning is chiefly the purpose of arriving at the speaker's illocutionary function in their utterances. The language of politics shows politicians' intentions when they state something, accuse someone of doing something, apologize to others, or agree or disagree with others. Thus, the speech act theory is relevant to analyzing the kind of data that deals with an in-depth examination of linguistic characteristics that focus on meaning.

To synthesize, politicians employ language as a vital weapon to influence and convince people about central topics. Not only do they express a specific idea, but they also have the purpose of making individuals accept everything politicians present. What is more, politicians utilize language to get, keep, and use power. This shows the power of words that can make a difference in the world. This is represented in Trump's political discourse, which is deemed a fundamental tool used to persuade the public to rally support, make a

common relationship with others, attack opponents, boast about his achievements, convey interior feelings, and show policies and agendas to the public. Concerning this issue, the researcher is interested in investigating how Trump tactically uses language to achieve his goals throughout all stages of his political journey: before holding office, during his time in office, and after leaving office.

2.2.1 Language and Leadership

Keohane (2013) claims that when philosophizing about politics in old Greece and Rome, many conversations about leadership paid attention to how statespersons or leaders need education and how they need to utilize their influence. However, a shift appeared after the Renaissance Age. This shift focuses on the relationships between leaders and people and the definition and settlement of the extent of a suitable political action. Generally, leadership is crucial for all people's societal activities; leaders define or simplify objectives for a set of persons and connect the members' powers of that set to achieve these objectives. Politicians' leadership is a particularly outstanding sample of this conduct, the sort that makes people consider leadership. This means that leadership is important for shaping shared actions since it needs to clear up aims and position persons toward common goals. In social situations, leaders refine complex matters into practical goals (such as decreasing poverty and guaranteeing safety) and rally resources, services, and collaboration to accomplish them. Political leadership illustrates this strategy by articulating revelations such as fairness and wealth, uniting various camps via persuasive discourse, and channeling public energy into policy. By decoding abstract principles into concrete steps and increasing joint power, leadership—particularly in political

communication—turns out to be the engine that turns Personal capacity into social growth.

Joullié et al. (2020) argue that researchers who are interested in investigating leadership commonly think leaders are essentially efficient users of language, yet these scholars have not made much investigative effort to explain the connection between leadership and language. Leadership plays an important part in the interrelationship between leaders and supporters who voluntarily obey their leaders. Thus, when such rapport occurs, supporters approve and follow without questioning their leader's decisions. Coercing the followers, leaders could not be dubbed as leaders yet, this depends on the context under study: tyrants, absolute rulers, oppressors, officials, administrators, or other terms connected to those who are able to coerce others into acting in specific practices.

Souba and Souba (2016) believe that the leader's most vital means is language. Deprived of interaction—the uttered or written words—it could be challenging to put direction, set up regulations and guidelines, enhance production prospects, or form cultural situations. In our lives, language is constitutional of leadership, giving us complete entry to it. Therefore, it bridges the established present-day and the unestablished future. To create and exchange meaning, efficient leaders turn obscurity into obvious ideas that express the motivation for transformation and register others in a convincing policy that creates support and dedication. Due to its influence on our thoughts and feelings, language is powerful and efficient for dealing with confrontations that depend significantly on abstract, creative answers against these challenges that are obviously uncomplicated and technical. Language is an essential means leaders employ to create actions, attain

outcomes, make innovative futures, create sights, comprehend novel methods of understanding, and exercise leadership. Regarding a leader, saying words is not just uttering them. Such terms, leader, and leadership, exist in discourse. Influential leaders utilize stories to make linguistic differences that release individuals from their established perspectives. This characteristic of language shall define what is coming.

Cohen (2020) claims that leaders are not only dreamers but should be efficient orators. They should obtain the capacity to utilize the strength of words to provoke and crowd a massive group of individuals to deal with encounters that cannot be achieved. Leaders talking about objectives can be vital, yet paying attention to increasing profits cannot be encouraging. People want leaders who speak about transforming the globe and the way productions and facilities can alter the thoughts and hearts of the public. Speaking and interaction promote ideas and assist leaders in shaping their thoughts in more exciting, significant means. Regarding leadership, many individuals consider lobbying to persuade others. 'I believe something, and I want you to believe it, too.' Lobbying is about making an idea by utilizing proof and informing tales.

Medveschi (2020) states that the notion of political leadership stresses leaders' conducts regarding numerous sets: leaders are able to practice immediate effect to define the political conduct of electors in the wanted course and they administer the achievement of the political goals inside the groups.

Experts like Keohane (2013) and Souba & Souba (2016) emphasize the crucial role language plays in leadership but often overlook the complex power dynamics involved. Keohane offers a historical perspective, which is insightful, but does not address current

issues like manipulative speeches and misinformation that can shape public opinion. Joullié et al. (2020) focus on the leader-follower relationship but fall short of explaining how some leaders use fear to gain compliance rather than genuine agreement (Chilton, 2004). Souba and Souba highlight language as a visionary tool but do not consider how media control by large companies can silence some voices while amplifying others. Cohen (2020) celebrates powerful speeches without acknowledging the risks when these lack truth and accountability, a concern evident in the rise of populism. Medveschi's (2020) view reduces followers to passive observers, neglecting the impact of local movements that contribute to shaping leadership stories.

2.2.2 Donald Trump as a Political Leader

Sclafani (2018) points out that Trump is deemed one of the most eloquently unusual, contentious, and schismatic nominees in the history of the United States presidency. Trump turned out to be known and unknown due to his political attitudes, which were seldom stated in his motivations, and, more clearly, the way he stated his attitudes rhetorically, which attracted experts and the community. Trump's rhetoric has been the subject of considerable discussion, rhetorically, in the way he criticized many people and politicians, oratorically, and in the way his utterances are incoherent and inconsistent.

Pollack (2017) states that Trump's incomppliance with the conventional regulations of the competition and Republican domination introduces a contemporary leader of the US with a unique chance to disorder the existing condition, arousing much chaos in the country and around the globe about the upcoming of the US leadership in the worldwide and territorial matters. The transition of the US leadership (particularly passing the power

from one party to another) is intrinsically worrying, especially the transition of the authority from Obama to Trump, which is considered doubtful and unforeseeable.

Moreover, Pollack (2017) comments that Trump's behaviour as the US president may mirror characteristics and encounters gained during his life. Surprisingly, different from many leaders, Trump does not have preceding practice in the field of politics, and thus, he is not ready for the new position. Trump displays a level of restlessness and apparent recklessness, which are against the US benefits. Language matters in global political situations, and a leader should show controlled behaviour, stability, and temperateness. What is crucial is the way the elected president rejoins to local and global truths that are not in line with his prospects, and other leaders are against his wishes, takes counsel from others though not willing to listen to them, and controls the unexpected influences of the White House.

Hassoun (2018) states that depending on his leadership power and authority, Trump, in his presidential campaign, expresses political threats at America's neighborhood "Mexican government" in building the most substantial insulation wall, decrying Obama when Trump rejects immigration, the Iranian nuclear deal, and the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria. These are future courses of action, i.e., Trump's propositions are not just abstract entities, but they are also objects of serious and various attitudes. Therefore, these most substantial threats inevitably make Trump's ideology very acceptable among the other opponents.

Torres and Sable (2018) and Tumulty (2017) point out that Trump always repeats his famous utterance: 'I will make America Great Again,' which firmly implies that America

is no longer as great as in the past. Trump tries to show that he has the understanding and skills to make America great again when he becomes the leader. Semotiuk (2020) argues that this utterance is intelligent and innovative, as 68% of Trump's tweet replies agree with this utterance. This percentage uncovers that people are keen to agree with the intended meaning of Trump's utterance. Nevertheless, Trump disregards all the replies to his tweets, negative or positive, as this is the habit of leaders who generally do not accept criticism from others, but they decide and judge what they believe. Thus, Trump is the most experienced leader in America.

To comprehend Trump's discourse and at the same time his character, numerous discursual studies have been done to obtain the qualities of his language (Azizah & Alpiah, 2018; Balogun & Murana, 2018; Chen et al., 2019; Gusthini et al., 2018; Mariani et al., 2017; Mohammadi & Javadi, 2017; Loko, 2018; Mufiah & Rahman, 2018; Nguyen, 2018; Swaim, 2015). These studies are reviewed below:

Swaim (2015) explored Trump's discourse, arguing that Trump's utterances are different from other politicians; these utterances are fragments with the most crucial words and a pop at the end, and Trump looks to be aware when putting prominence on them intuitively. Besides, his more extended responses consist of mainly brief, grammatically unsophisticated utterances, with not many complex expressions that can be heard from a typical political speaker struggling not to utter untrue or foolish things apparently. Often, when one transcribes his responses, they are similar to blank verses. Moreover, Trump rarely tries to assess the influence of his utterances on numerous communities and hedges or rephrases them to make them justifiable. Actually, one does not sense s\he listens to a

leader ever. Instead, they listen to a politician who refuses the rules of voting policies entirely.

Mohammadi and Javadi (2017) endeavoured to examine the relation of discursal and political forms of Trump's approval speech in the US Presidential Election in 2016. The researchers used critical discourse analysis to uncover the utilization of power and concealed schemes by using discourse. Also, they tried to investigate the practical, social, and emotional beliefs of the expressions, metaphorical, and grammatical forms of his discourse. Besides, they attempted to reveal the linguistic traces that are found in his discourse to describe the strategic and ideological concepts, too. The results reveal that various linguistic traces are found to emphasize the ideological concepts in his discourse on two levels: vocabulary and grammar. Trump's discourse is extremely straightforward, with fragment expressions that are linked with 'but' and 'and.' This sort of language makes him nearer to the audience and expresses his values wonderfully.

Nguyen (2018) conducted a discourse analysis study of metaphorical expressions in the two opening discourses of former Presidents Obama and Trump. The researcher adopted the 'Conceptual Metaphor Theory and Blending Theory.' The researcher argues that metaphorical expressions could be considered as an instrument to show the political leaders' faith, direction, utopianism, and political goals. Obama expresses his utopianism of harmony, freedom, the rights of people, and fairness. However, Trump employs metaphorical expressions to highlight the utopianism of commercialism, competitiveness, ownership, and Money-seeking.

Chen et al. (2019) attempted to compare Trump's and Clinton's discourses in their

presidential campaign utilizing a corpus study and a textual analysis method to examine their speeches. The findings revealed that Clinton is disposed to coherent debates of public policies, whereas Trump is smart at attracting electors' feelings. Besides, Clinton is very optimistic and focuses on her view of what is coming, whereas Trump is very pessimistic and fixates on portraying a gloomy truth. Furthermore, Clinton seeks to get harmonies with the Americans, whereas Trump aims to emphasize distinctions between himself and his rivals. The researchers recommend more mixtures of conversations, discussions, interviews, and official documents in upcoming papers that could provide a complete linguistic description of the US politicians.

By the same token, Gusthini et al. (2018) conducted a study to analyze the speech acts of Clinton and Trump's political discourses in their trace to being the US president. The data were gathered and examined qualitatively. The researchers described the situation, examined the illocutionary speech acts, and explored the power dimensions. The researchers found that Trump and Clinton employed the illocutionary act as a powerful tool with categorizations of commissive, expressive, and representative. Furthermore, they used power to convince the people to elect them and make voters trust them as good future presidents.

Similarly, Azizah and Alpia (2018) and Mufiah and Rahman (2018) did similar studies to investigate the different kinds of IAs in Trump's inaugural speech in 2016 and also his inaugural one in 2017, respectively. The researchers qualitatively collected and analyzed the data. Azizah and Alpia found one hundred seventeen contexts, while Mufiah and Rahman found sixty-three ones. The results of the study by Azizah and Alpia show that

the representatives are the most used because Trump always tries to represent his informative and helpful nature, followed by expressives, declaratives, commissives, and directives successively. Almost similar to them, Mufiah and Rahman's findings show that the representatives are also the most used, followed by directives, declaratives, commissives, and expressives successively.

Loko (2018) conducted a pragmatic study on Trump's delivered discourse at the "Republican National Convention" in 2016. The aim of the paper primarily concentrates on the determination and the examination of linguistic characteristics of Austin and Searle's speech acts utilized in the language of politics to reveal the way Trump sets his intents and his bloc's prospects as well. The determination of illocutionary speech acts shows the existence of directive, declarative, expressive, representative, and commissive acts. The results show the domination of representative acts that display Trump's own views, uncovering his honest commitment to make his party rule the US. Trump used directive acts to propose specific resolutions. In contrast, Trump used commissive acts to show how to deal with the security and peace challenges when elected. Moreover, Trump used expressive illocutionary acts to reflect his psychological condition when he addressed the public at the event.

Mariani et al. (2019) endeavored to study Leech's (1983) politeness principle and Searle's (1979) speech act theory in Trump's election triumph speech. The research aims to investigate illocutionary speech acts and politeness in his speech. The findings of the research indicate that all the maxims were used by Trump, who followed the maxims to show politeness. Moreover, four speech acts (directives, representatives, commissives,

and expressives) are found in his speech.

Balogun and Murana (2018) investigated the production of pragmatic presuppositions and the use of politeness strategies in Trump's speech during his presidential inauguration. Regarding politeness, Balogun and Murana argued that the speech, though, obviously has sufficient preventable face threats caused mainly by broad critique and allegation. In spite of using hedges to alleviate the threat connected to his critique that makes them inescapably tolerable, they are still gloomily unforgettable.

Most research about Trump focuses on his use of language. People study his communication through methods like speech act theory, critical discourse analysis, and the study of metaphors. These methods show that Trump often uses simple sentences and strong language to show authority and create division. Some studies compare his negative and divisive style with other leaders who use more hopeful or policy-focused language. Others examine his politeness but disagree on whether Trump follows polite norms. These studies left some gaps. Many focus only on a few speeches or tweets, missing the bigger picture, like how different audiences react to Trump's words or the long-term effects on politics. They often categorize Trump's statements but do not link them to accurate political results, like policy changes or increased division among people. Comparisons with politicians like Clinton or Obama often miss insights from political science or psychology that could explain the effects of his rhetoric on society. Ethical issues, such as spreading misinformation or incivility, need more exploration. Some studies focus heavily on language structure and overlook how his communication breaks norms, affecting political communication. All these gaps encourage the researcher to investigate

Trump's political discourse and how Trump's rhetoric pragmatically violates social norms.

2.3 Language Deviation

Jovanović (1991) states that language speakers are familiar with the language rules they speak, which makes communication probable. Yet, language is changeable, and so are the rules that lead to the engendering of communication. That is why, sometimes, these rules could be clearly expressed and composed. Occasionally, these rules are kept due to political, public, and commercial reasons. However, these rules turn out to be norms or standards that are maintained, simulated, or deviated from. These social norms, according to Bicchieri (2006), master communications within a community, dictating what is deemed suitable, satisfactory, or predictable in particular situations, like honesty, politeness, or esteem for others. They are imposed through casual agreements (e.g., approval, disapproval) and assumed through socialization. To illustrate, following conversational turn-taking or evading taboo expressions are norms in interactions.

In contrast to the norms, a deviation is a collection of linguistic options out of the extent of a generally acceptable alternative (Ren & Yu cited in Hamza, 2020). Jovanović (1991) and Wales (2011) argue that when not following the standards, speakers break the norms, resulting in the presence of deviation (or deviance). To put it another way, Crystal (1995) points out that deviance is demonstrated in making unpermitted sentences or utterances because of non-compliance with what is agreed upon. Similarly, Kachru (1992) states that it mirrors a linguistic production categorized by properties that are different from the norm, while Chapman (1973) sees deviation as "linguistic usage considered to depart from

normal expectations of users of the language" (p. 114).

Mansoor and Salman (2021) see that several obstruction difficulties may originate from deviation for the readers regarding the regular course of speech, but deviation denotes a curiosity and amazement that attracts the readers' awareness and inspires them to pursue an explanation of the content. It stimulates the readers' linguistic consciousness and comprehension of literary works and their stylistic differences. Consequently, it is a powerful way to augment the writing in which it takes place. This is assured by Leech (2008), who argues that deviation is highly likely to be due to the intentions of the author at some level rather than being the result of random or haphazard linguistic behaviour.

Deviation and its types have been given a lot of attention in different fields, especially in literature. The main ideas of deviation are presented in detail by Leech (1969, 2008), Short (1996), and Leech and Short (2007). Their contributions are prominent and central, enriching the existing literature with great information on deviation. Whenever a researcher writes about deviation, s\he should refer to them.

As a linguistic phenomenon, Short (1996) believes deviation psychologically influences hearers and readers. For example, when deviation occurs in a poem, it will be evident and notable. By the same token, Leech (1969) argues that poetry contains a lot of irrefutable deviations, and they are deemed to be the most unique aspect of poetry and other kinds of text. Leech (1969) adds that the poet should deviate from the norms and rules of typical language if they want to create a creative work.

Deviation is diversely categorized; it could be triggered linguistically or pragmatically.

First, linguistic deviation refers to a set of inexact features of a linguistic act. It is composed of various types: lexical, grammatical, phonological, semantic, graphological, dialectical, register deviations, and historical periods (Leech, 1969). Second, pragmatic deviation, which is the attention of the present research, emerges due to unsuitable pragmatic performance (Leech, 2008).

Zidane (2017) claims that pragmatic standards are crucial for proper language use. They are divided into numerous rules violated for the sake of making a successful interaction in discourse. The normative rules that govern language use are extensive. Nonetheless, the key pragmatic principles identifying suitable discourse contain politeness, cooperation, truthfulness, relevance, and some others. These maxims form discursal standards. However, some speakers usually do not adhere to these norms, leading to pragmatic deviation.

2.3.1 Pragmatic Deviation

Zidane (2017) defines pragmatic deviation as the improper utilization of grammatical sentences. Pragmatic deviation is not an aberration, rather, it is a strategy used to aid the talker or the author to focus on individual tendencies, determine the essence of public relations, and mirror a kind of creative linguistic performance. In general, people use it in their daily life talk, especially literary writers such as poets, novelists, and dramatists who use it to reflect everyday conversation.

Zidane (2017) states that literary writers use pragmatic deviation for many reasons, including affecting readers of literature, learners of language, and researchers. In addition, literary writers portray the life of people by using their own style and also describe their

performances and dialogues through the characters' talk. They also show human beings' regular and irregular demeanour in their works to make the situation similar to everyday life. Therefore, they usually use pragmatic deviation as a stylistic tool to create artistic language, generate comedy, depict individual tendencies, and show notable features of language. In brief, pragmatic deviation is not haphazard; it is used as an intentional device to generate a specific effect on the reader or hearer.

Hamza and Nordin (2023, 2024a, 2024b) analyze pragmatic deviation in Trump's political discourse by applying three theories, namely Leech's (2014) (im)politeness principle, Grice's (1975) cooperative principle, and Searle's (1969) speech act theory respectively. Hamza and Nordin (2023) explored how Trump deviates from Leech's politeness maxims. For illustration, Trump's utterance, "We are going to end Nancy Pelosi. She's crazy" (Trump, 2022, 02:31), does not adhere to the maxim of generosity by revealing offense rather than an advantage to Pelosi's wants. Hamza and Nordin (2024a) also examined Trump's utterances, which violate Grice's conversational maxims. For example, in an interview with journalist Cooper, Trump describes Cooper as "a professional announcer[laughing]" (2016, 2:39). This utterance flouts the maxim of quality as it is ironic. Additionally, Hamza and Nordin (2024b) investigated how Trump does not obey Searle's felicity conditions of speech acts. To exemplify, Trump's utterance, "...I apologized to my mother years ago for using foul language[laughing]" (Trump, 2016, 45:54), disobeys the sincerity condition because Trump does not intend to apologize to his mother, but this statement is sarcasm to withhold apologies to his opponents.

Eelen (2001, as cited in Mills, 2003) argues that the politeness model covertly or overtly concentrates merely on politeness and looks at impolite behaviour as a deviation from the

norms. To illustrate, any witticism or sarcasm is a deviation. Many examples of Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness could create deviation from the Conversational maxims, but an absence of politeness breaks interpersonal norms as well. Concerning this, Lakoff (1973) proposed a new maxim, "Be polite." However, the maxims of politeness and cooperation seem to be jointly exclusive. Therefore, a talker frequently is not able to simultaneously be honest, informative, pertinent, transparent, and polite. For example, "How do you like this dress?"—one answers: "Lovely colors," attempting to evade informing him of his actual view so that he could not offend him. However, if one follows Grice's maxims strictly, one could answer: "I think it does not suit you," thus hurting him (Barbe, 1995, p. 57).

Leech (2008, p. 120) provides a framework consisting of his (im)politeness maxims and Grice's conversational maxims (quality, quantity, relevance, and manner). Leech gives some examples from Bernard Shaw's play *You Never Can Tell* by George to show the discordance between the politeness principle and the cooperative principle. According to Geyer (2008, p. 14), any mutually recognized deviation from the cooperative principle and its maxims gives rise to conversational implicature. The fact that they indicate what is inferred in conversation makes both the cooperative principle and the conversational maxims immensely useful in the pragmatic analysis of verbal interactions.

Moreover, equating the norms with Grice's conversational maxims, Grundy (1995) points out that violating the norms goes along with the Conversational maxims in the sense that by deviating from the conversational maxims, the speaker does so with the norms. So, norms are deemed equal to Conversational maxims, which are usually taken to be thoughts that look at language as a group of norms. These norms could be deviated from

by using figurative language rather than literal language, which is the norm. Similarly, Bowles (2010, p. 26) claims that pragmatic deviation entails deviating from the norms of Grice's cooperative principle and Leech's politeness principle. Bowles (2010) provides an example of PD from *The Caretaker* play regarding deviation from conversational norms utilizing Grice's cooperative principle (conversational maxims) and Leech's politeness principle (politeness maxims). "Aston: ... Anyway, we were just sitting there, having this bit of a conversation...then suddenly she put her hand over to mine...and she said, how would you like me to have a look at your body?" (Bowles, 2010, p. 27). Here, Aston does not understand the woman's question: how to take a look at his body. This kind of ambiguity generates a comic effect and shows Aston's failure to grasp her utterance correctly. Thus, it is a deviation from Grice's cooperative principle, as the following conversation shows:

(1) Davies: Get out of it. (Pause).

Aston: Yes, to come out with it just like that. Struck me as odd.

Davies: They've said the same thing to me.

Aston reacts with the expression 'a bit odd' to ensure he does not comprehend what is meant by the woman's utterance, which is harassing him, and expects her utterance to break the maxim of relevance by talking about something not related to the topic, holidays. Pragmatic deviation is also found in Davies' replies, which are not coherent. This also produces a comic effect and shows that he does not entirely understand the woman's utterance, and so does Aston. So, Aston understands cooperation norms and thus takes the woman's question plainly, incapable of making regular implications from hers.

On the other hand, Davies is unable to construct an informative and coherent reply. These conversational deficits hinder their capability to communicate socially (Bowles, 2010).

Furthermore, Goffman (1983) assumes that speakers often breach the felicity conditions of speech acts and Conversational maxims. This leads the hearer to reconsider what is said and look at it as humour, understatement, overstatement, and facetiousness. Those present an organized, conventional way of changing from saying something literally to implicating something else, an assumed informative collection that provides much pliability in the premise-based inference and reference. Although the felicity conditions and the conversational maxims could give an insufficient way for identifying when a person is frank or collaborating as a participant, breaking one or more of these maxims obviously could give a socially documented indication that something uncritical, wary, or unworldly is meant.

To sum up, a pragmatic deviation is an inappropriate performance of the felicity conditions of the illocutionary speech acts, the politeness maxims, and the conversational maxims that go against the norms of a specific community. Speakers, who may be uncooperative, impolite, or insincere, pragmatically deviate from the norms to achieve specific purposes. They can use exaggerated expressions to boast about their accomplishments or sarcastic ones to insult their opponents. This can be seen in Trump's political discourse when Trump says, "I am the best president in the history of the United States" and "Biden is the worst president in the history of the United States" (Trump, 2022, 27:21). Moreover, these maxims and conditions could align and discord with each other. This is represented in Trump's statement that the election was rigged, in which all these maxims and conditions are not observed because the statement lacks evidence, also,

these maxims and conditions discord with each other. For instance, when Trump expresses his feelings toward the ten impeachers who lost the election, this shows genuine information and feelings, but this discords with the maxim of sympathy that invites the speaker to be sympathetic with others who experience misfortune. As a result, the researcher conducts a study on pragmatic deviation in the area of political language, applying three pragmatic models to Trump's political discourse.

2.4 Theoretical Framework

The researcher adopts three theories in the current study: (1) Grice's (1975) theory of conversational implicature, in which Grice presents the cooperative principle and the conversational maxims. These maxims are applied to Trump's political discourse by showing how they are violated, (2) Leech's (2014) (im)politeness principle in which Leech presents the (im)politeness maxims. These maxims are used to analyze Trump's political language by revealing how they are not observed, and (3) Searle's (1969) speech act theory, in which Searle presents the felicity conditions of illocutionary speech acts. These conditions are applied to Trump's rhetoric by uncovering how these conditions are defective and not performed. In addition, these maxims and conditions could align and discord in Trump's political discourse. Figure 2.2 explains the theoretical framework of the current study.

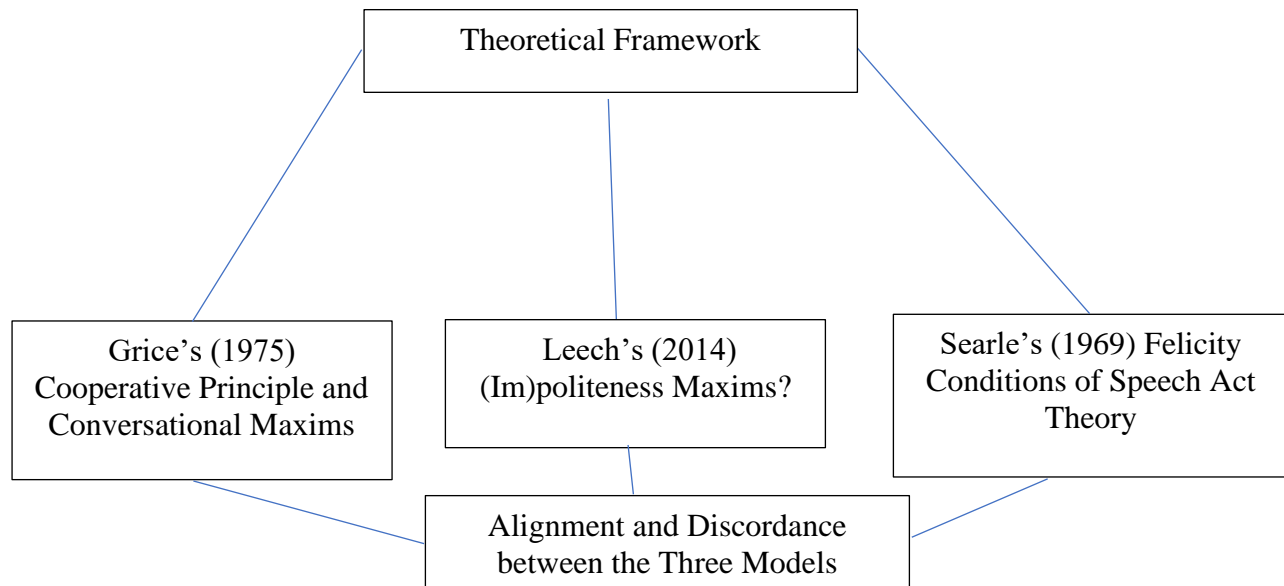


Figure 2.2 The Organization of the Theoretical Framework

This figure shows the theoretical framework that is used in the current study. The researcher has applied Grice's (1975) conversational maxims, Leech's (2014) (im)politeness maxims, and Searle's (1969) felicity conditions of speech acts to Trump's political discourse. These are investigated to show how they are broken in Trump's rhetoric. Moreover, the researcher discusses the relationship between these maxims and conditions by showing how they align and discord in Trump's political language.

2.4.1 Grice's Theory of Conversational Implicature

Grice (1975) presents implicature theory, noting that individuals in everyday speech do not frequently express something straight but hint at it; the talker is frequently able to include implicature in which information is not expressed obviously, inviting the hearer to identify what is intended and implied. Two kinds of implicature are presented:

conventional implicature, which refers to the conventional meaning of the expressions that are utilized, determining what is implied and aiding in identifying what is uttered, and conversational implicature, which refers to what is intended by the speaker who says something and means something else. This conversational implicature is subdivided into two types: generalized and particularized conversational implicatures. Generalized conversational implicature takes place alone; it is independent of the features of context to comprehend what is intended, while particularized conversational implicature is dependent on these features of context to help comprehend what is intended.

Levinson (1983) points out that considering conversational maxims because they generate implications further than the apparent meaning of what is said. Grice named implications as conversational implicatures, which is different from terms such as logical implication, and entailment and logical consequence. Such terms are generally used to indicate inferences that spring entirely from logical or denotative content. Implicatures cannot be deemed "semantic inferences"; instead, they can be implicit assumptions relying on the speaker's intentions and specific anticipation relating to the collaboration of ordinary interaction. Similarly, Yule (1996) states that conversational implicatures are mainly instances of what is meant rather than what is spoken; speakers communicate meaning by utilizing implicatures while hearers recognize them by inference. The inferences chosen are those that will keep the supposition of cooperation.

2.4.2 Cooperative Principle and Conversational Maxims

Talks permit speakers and hearers to exchange information. They are expected to be honest and performative when they are engaged in a talk to produce a meaningful one,

which is the primary purpose of communication. They need to express their honest intentions and the significance of what is uttered. Such a talk cannot be considered a haphazard sequence of unconnected words articulated reciprocally by interactants. Thus, talks are collaborative tries grounded on a mutual understanding and goal (Ayunon, 2018; Cruse, 2000). Grice (1975) summarizes this in his cooperative principle, which reveals the way individuals appropriately grasp others' intentions by standard norms in human interaction. Grice's (1989) form of what a conversationalist covertly approves runs as follows: Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged (p. 26).

Moreover, Grice (1975; 1989), within this model, suggests four principles (quantity, quality, relevance, and manner) and terms them conversational maxims. Grice assumes that interactants in a talk generally try to be honest, informative, pertinent, and perspicuous. Verschueren and Ostman (2009) claim that the cooperative principle relies on the contributors who are naturally rational and cooperative; while they are communicating with each other, excluding several situations, individuals' communications are meant to show informativeness. The following is a set of supermaxims and sub-maxims suggested by Grice (1989, pp. 26-7) that talkers are predicted to observe when interacting:

Quantity Maxim: Make your contribution as informative as is required (for the purposes of the exchange), [and] do not make your contribution more informative than is required...

Quality Maxim: Do not say what you believe to be false [and] do not say that for which

you lack adequate evidence...

Relation Maxim: Be relevant...

Manner Maxim: Be perspicuous various maxims such as: Avoid obscurity of expression, avoid ambiguity, be brief (avoid unnecessary prolixity), [and] be orderly.

Grice's (1975) cooperative principle depends on the idea that a logical talker generally needs to observe the cooperative principle and conversational maxims. However, Flowerdew (2013), Leech (1980), Mey (2009), and Tsuda (1993) concur that, in daily communication, people are not frequently obedient to the cooperative principle, trying to avoid providing whatsoever that produces damage to their faces or hearers'. Being honest is not simple, and thus, they violate Grice's conversational maxims.

2.4.2.1 Deviation of Cooperative Principle and Conversational Maxims

Grice never anticipated strict obedience to the Conversational maxims; Grice was primarily interested in the way these maxims were 'flouted,' so urging the listener to infer the hidden meanings from clues that can be obtained from the situation; in other words, conversational implicature (O'Keeffe et al., 2011, p. 62). Grice utilizes the words "floutings" or "exploitations" of the Conversational maxims. Such words could generate a lot of the traditional "figures of speech". Therefore, apparently and deliberately flouting the Conversational maxims, the speaker could force the hearer to infer their intentions (Levinson, 1983). To illustrate, a speaker can break the maxim of quality when saying, 'Our house becomes a fridge in January' as a metaphor for 'it is cold.' The hearer will try to deduce what is meant to grasp that 'the house was very cold indeed' (Cutting, 2002, p. 38).

Huang (2007) comments that the Conversational maxims could be obviously and deliberately violated. Confronted with such an apparent flouting, two choices are left to the hearer. The speaker may abandon the cooperative principle. However, they could choose the second choice, which is assuming that the speaker is still cooperative and maintains the cooperative principle despite his obvious non-adherence to the conversational maxims. Therefore, following the second choice, the speaker conveys additional messages behind the apparent level. Also, the speaker is aware that the hearer can determine what kind of messages they are.

Cruse (2000, 2006) and Mey (2009) believe that conversational implicatures appear when an intended violation of the Conversational maxims occurs in situations such as when the listener knows that the talker flouts the maxims, the listener knows that the talker makes the listener recognize this violation, and the talker does not seem he will opt out of the cooperative principle. Therefore, the listener should not take what is said literally, and they have to make additional efforts to understand what is meant. Grice (1989) argues that a speaker in a conversation might not achieve one or all the Conversational maxims: (a) when violating them by deceiving, (b) opting out by uttering 'I would not like to speak about it,' (c) conflicting the maxims by being honest but providing too much information, and (d) when intentionally flouting them.

1. Maxim of Quantity

When giving too much or too little information than is required, the quantity maxim is not observed. As the following illustration shows (Grice, 1975):

(2) A: Do you like my dog?

B: It is good.

B's utterance deviates from the maxim of quantity because it does not answer A's question, and therefore, B's utterance provides less information. B is aware that being informative is required to answer A's question. However, B implicates something that A has to understand; perhaps B does not like the dog and provides a polite answer by violating this maxim.

2. Maxim of Quality

The speaker can infringe on the quality maxim when saying something that is obviously not true (Cutting, 2002). For illustration, when the speaker utters an exaggerated untrue statement and the hearer knows this is not true; saying 'I am dying of sleep' does not mean 'I am actually dying', and this is clear to the hearer who has to understand that 'I am extremely tired and need to sleep'.

3. Maxim of Relevance

The talker deviates from the maxim relevance when s/he provides information that is irrelevant to the topic (Grice, 1975), as the following example illustrates:

(3) Mother: It's time you were in bed.

Jamie: Mum! I've got this homework to finish.

The mother tells her son that he is supposed to be in bed, but Jamie responds to her with an obviously unrelated reply, saying that he neither takes nor refuses her suggestion.

Therefore, Jamie superficially deviates from this maxim but still keeps the cooperative principle and urges his mom to deduce that Jamie is not content with her suggestion of having homework to do (Leech, 2014).

4. Maxim of Manner

The speaker can deviate from the manner maxim when saying something obscure, ambiguous, verbose, and unorderedly (Grice, 1975). This deviation is shown in the following example:

(4) A: Let's get the kids something.

B: Okay, but I veto I-C-E C-R-E-A-M-S.

B breaks the manner maxim (avoid ambiguity) by uttering the letters of the expression 'ice-creams,' and thereby expresses to A that B does not prefer that this word is said openly in the presence of kids because if they hear it, they will ask for some (Levinson, 1983).

Flowerdew (2013) believes that many participants do not observe Grice's conversational maxims for being polite and keeping positive relationships. Equally, the talker, breaking the conversational maxims, could be grasped as showing politeness. This shows the need for a maxim to be combined with the cooperative principle.

In the current research, Grice's maxims are employed to code the data that contains Trump's pragmatic deviation, for example, deviation from the maxims of quality (such as untruthful statements), manner (such as ambiguous expressions), quantity (such as lengthy statements), and relevance (such as shifting the topic). All these maxims are

investigated to show how Trump does not follow them and what implications are behind such deviation.

Grice (1989) also suggests some maxims, such as moral, polite, and aesthetic, which can typically be followed or not followed by interactants in conversation and generate implicature. However, no further steps were taken to discuss these maxims, as the four above, and therefore, an opportunity was opened for the researchers to explore them in detail to fill the gap left by Grice. This can be seen when Trump says, "We will have by early next year almost 500 miles of wall[between the US and Mexico]" (Trump, 2022, 05:10). Here, Trump benefits the US people by building this wall to prevent illegal immigration and drug trafficking, but the information is not highly accurate, and so, the deviation from the quality maxim appears. This shows that Trump prefers polite conduct over adherence to Grice's maxims. According to Grice's cooperative principle, Trump's utterance only does not follow the maxim, but Grice falls short of accounting for Trump's polite intention. This gap emphasizes the need to integrate Leech's (im)politeness maxims and Searle's felicity conditions of speech act to see the relationship between them to help understand Trump's political discourse.

2.4.3 What is Politeness?

Geyer (2008) sees that "politeness is associated with civil or well-mannered behaviour and with social attributes such as good upbringing, status and formal etiquette" (p. 1). Geyer (2008) adds that because of the emergence of Brown and Levinson's (1978, 1987) groundbreaking politeness theory, the scholarly notion of politeness has emerged as a central theme of inquiry across diverse disciplines- pragmatics, sociolinguistics, social

psychology, anthropology, and language acquisition, to mention just a few. A recent focus on politeness in such various areas has urged well-known journals to publish different issues about this phenomenon, resulting in the appearance of various definitions and understandings (Arndt & Janney, 1985; Blum-Kulka, 1987; Fraser, 1990; Geyer, 2008; Gu, 1990; Ide, 1982; Lakoff, 1973, 1989; Leech, 1983; Usami, 2006). Those eminent writers have discussed politeness from numerous viewpoints.

Brown and Levinson (1987) connect politeness to the face concept, which is borrowed from Goffman (1967), that can be embarrassed, humiliated, or face lost, suggesting some strategies to soften face-threatening acts.

Leech (2014) sees politeness as a form of informative behaviour that is naturally present in language and between cultures. It is considered a global trend in societies. To be polite is to talk or act in a manner that provides a high value not merely to the talkers themselves but to listeners as well or any third party. In addition, Leech (1983) presents the politeness principle, suggesting six maxims that should be followed to be polite. The same model is revised by Leech (2014), presenting ten maxims.

Similar to Leech, Gu (1990, p. 242) presents a politeness model with its maxims to avoid conflict, connecting politeness with moral societal norms. Gu argues that politeness belongs to a community that approves of its standard restraints on its people. By the same token, for Ide (1982) and Usami (2006), politeness is defined as softening interaction.

Eelen (2001, p. 2) mentions that Lakoff is "the mother of modern politeness theory" because Lakoff was a pioneer who studied the theory of politeness from a pragmatic

standpoint. Lakoff (1989, as cited in Lakoff & Ide, 2005) adopts Grice's concept of the cooperative principle, aiming to consider politeness. For Lakoff, politeness either encompasses attention to others by obeying the norms that are framed by a culture regarding face and avoidance of threatening it, or “wakimae” (a Japanese term for linguistic politeness) by obeying conventional norms, for example, the prospect that the norms can be adhered to.

Blum-Kulka (1982) argues that politeness is a proper public demeanour as identified by the norms of the cultures. Following the same line, Fraser (1990) proposes “the conversational contract” and sees politeness as a way of following this contract that founds behavioural norms. However, Arndt and Janney (1985) reject this notion of standard norms of appropriateness. Instead, they replace the idea of politeness with the idea of interpersonal supportiveness, which “refers to avoiding interpersonal conflicts rather than confirming social expectations” (Arndt & Janney, 1985, p. 282).

Leech's theory of politeness complements broader politeness frameworks by seeking and keeping social harmony through using politeness maxims. Whereas Brown and Levinson's theory concentrates on mitigating threatening speech acts, Leech's theory improves this by suggesting some maxims that support polite interaction. This aligns with Lakoff's politeness rules but presents a more rule-based approach. Agreeing with Leech's perspective, Gu, Ide, and Usami see politeness as a softening communication tactic. Besides, following Leech, Gu provides maxims to avoid conflict in interaction, and Fraser proposes the conversational contract to preserve the norms. However, Arndt and Janney (1985) reject this thought of standard norms of appropriateness, replacing the idea of

politeness with the idea of interpersonal supportiveness. These frameworks show politeness as a dynamic interplay of universal principles (such as common esteem) and socially responsible tactics, with Leech's maxims giving an organized lens to examine how language navigates social power while keeping explicit-level courtesy.

2.4.3.1 Leech's Principle of Politeness

Grice (1975) proposes a politeness maxim, but Grice does not go a further step to talk about it. Leech (1983) improves on Grice's suggestion of this maxim and forms a new model, the politeness principle, to clarify several situations that the cooperative principle is unable to explain. Thus, Leech (1983) argues that speakers usually use politeness when they express something indirectly since indirectness may diminish the imposition that can be imposed on others. To illustrate, a speaker can use indirectness to request someone to do something, but the form is interrogative in order not to make them feel imposed, as in 'Can you open the door?' (Srinarawat, 2005). Thus, according to Leech (1983), the politeness principle is both a maxim that can be attached to the cooperative principle and an essential complement. This maxim saves the cooperative principle from the critical problem left behind.

Leech (2014) revises his old theory of politeness that was suggested in 1983, considering studies on politeness during this long period. Leech presents a new politeness theory or model to be adopted. Leech calls it an alternative model from the one in his book (1983), recently reformed in his article (2007), and finally presented in its final form in his book (2014), arguing that the politeness principle is a constraint maintained in communication, affecting individuals to keep away from communicative disagreement and keep

communicative agreement. Therefore, politeness focuses on keeping away from disharmony and enhancing harmony, merely hitherto as these are obvious in interaction, precisely the kinds of meanings that are uttered or implied. So, the general function of the politeness principle is to diminish the effect of impolite utterances and increase the impact of polite utterances.

Moreover, Leech (1983) introduces a list of maxims within his politeness principle similar to Grice's conversational maxims within the cooperative principle. Leech argues that the politeness maxims are required so that one can elucidate the connection between what is said and what is meant in communicative exchange. These maxims are extremely wide, applicable, and distinctive. They cannot be deemed rules for respectable demeanour, but statements of norms that are kept, followed, or maintained.

Leech (2014) reformulated his politeness maxims in (1983), in which Leech discussed six: tact, generosity, approbation, modesty, agreement, and sympathy. Leech (2014) suggests one super-constraint, known as the general strategy of politeness, which includes all maxims, is defined as "in order to be polite, S expresses or implies meanings that associate a favorable value with what pertains to O or associates an unfavorable value with what pertains to S (S = self, speaker)" (p. 90). Using this strategy, the speaker tries to confirm that threatening is evaded since interactants get back to keep away from disagreement that could appear if each followed their schema selfishly via speech. Also, they get forth in a different way to appease others. Here, Leech talks about the interaction of meaning. Thus, individuals talking politely could covertly or obviously follow their own egotistical schemas. However, psychological incentives are not related to the

pragmatics of politeness. Pragmatics is concerned merely with informative behaviour, and pragmatically, politeness deals with expressing meanings in agreement with the superconstraint.

Within the general strategy of politeness, Leech (2014, pp. 92-98) includes four maxims in addition to the six suggested in his book (1983). The maxims of obligations of both the speaker and others to each other are opinion reticence and feeling reticence. The ten maxims are: (a) generosity maxim: "give a high value to O's wants," (b) tact Maxim: "give a low value to S's wants," (c) approbation Maxim: "give a high value to O's qualities," (d) modesty Maxim: "give a low value to S's qualities," (e) obligation of S to O Maxim: "give a high value to S's obligation to O," (f) obligation of O to S Maxim: "give a low value to O's obligation to S," (g) agreement Maxim: "give a high value to O's opinions," (h) opinion-reticence Maxim: "give a low value to S's opinions," (I) sympathy Maxim: "give a high value on O's feelings", and (j) feeling-reticence Maxim: "give a low value to S's feelings" as shown in Figure 2.3:

The component maxims of the General Strategy of Politeness			
Maxims (expressed in an imperative mood)	Related pair of maxims	Label for this maxim	Typical speech-event type(s)
(M1) give a high value to O's wants	Generosity, Tact	Generosity	Commissives
(M2) give a low value to S's wants		Tact	Directives
(M3) give a high value to O's qualities	Approbation, Modesty	Approbation	Compliments
(M4) give a low value to S's qualities		Modesty	Self-devaluation
(M5) give a high value to S's obligation to O	Obligation	Obligation (of S to O)	Apologizing, thanking
(M6) give a low value to O's obligation to S		Obligation (of O to S)	Responses to thanks and apologies
(M7) give a high value to O's opinions	Opinion	Agreement	Agreeing, disagreeing
(M8) give a low value to S's opinions		Opinion reticence	Giving opinions
(M9) give a high value to O's feelings	Feeling	Sympathy	Congratulating, commiserating
(M10) give a low value to S's feelings		Feeling reticence	Suppressing feelings

Figure 2.3 The Politeness Maxims within the General Strategy of Politeness (Leech, 2014)

Leech (1983, 2014) claims that there are differences and similarities between the cooperative principle and the politeness principle. The maxims of the cooperative principle and politeness principle are regulative standards that could be followed and broken with different levels of force and utilized to create implicatures. Also, both the politeness principle and the cooperative principle have component maxims that could discord with each other. Also, the politeness maxims could discord with the conversational maxims.

2.4.4 What is Impoliteness?

The theories of politeness paid attention to the ways communicative strategies are used to encourage or preserve public concord in communication, which is politeness. Nevertheless, little research has been conducted on communicative strategies that attack others and cause conflict, which is impoliteness (Culpeper, 1996, 2011; Eelen, 2001; Holmes, 2006; Locher & Watts, 2008; Mills, 2003). However, Leech (2014) affirms that extensive consideration has been given to impoliteness as a subject of inquiry recently due to the widespread occurrence and markedness of impolite demeanour when it takes place.

Leech (2014) points out that Culpeper's (1996, 2005) definition of impoliteness is the most frequently quoted, adding that Culpeper's contribution to this domain is more prominent than others. Culpeper (1996, 2005 as cited in Leech, 2014) believes that impoliteness occurs when (a) the talker threatens the face purposefully, or (b) the listener sees and/or makes demeanour as purposefully threatening the face, or an amalgamation of (a) and (b).

Culpeper (2011) claims that impoliteness is an undesirable orientation to definite behaviours happening in definite situations. It is continued by prospects, wishes, and /or views about a public group, especially how an individual's or a group's characteristics are influenced by others in communication. Established deameanours are seen damagingly—deemed not polite when conflicting with the way a person anticipates them to be, how they desire them to be, and/or how they consider these behaviours should be. These Attitudes frequently contain or are supposed to contain sensitive results for a contributor; they produce or are supposed to produce affront. Numerous aspects could exacerbate how attacking an impolite action occurs, such as understanding whether conduct is powerfully deliberate or not. In brief, impoliteness, more precisely 'linguistic impoliteness,' according to Culpeper (2019), characteristically means that speech can be utilized to produce affront or is supposed to produce affront.

Culpeper (2011, p. 22) sees “impoliteness is very much in the eye of the beholder, that is, the mind's eye” (p. 22). It is dependent on the way one understands the utterance and the act and their link to the context, emphasizing strategic face attacks. Influenced by Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory, Culpeper (1996) presents his impoliteness model, which is re-stated by Culpeper (2005). Culpeper's theory adapts Brown and Levinson's theory for application in a new situation, presenting a new model of impoliteness that motivates others to write about impoliteness.

Moreover, Mills (2003) claims that impoliteness is frequently assigned to somebody based on not having maintained the civilly allowed politeness conduct that other interactants suppose would be anticipated in a specific context. To illustrate, being direct when making requests in English culture, where indirectness should typically be present,

or not using official hellos and thanks, where their presence is deemed polite, particularly if something is repeated, that civilly allowed politeness norms inside the specific society of practice were broken. By the same token, Watts (2003) and Locher and Watts (2008) propose that impoliteness is undoubtedly a noticeable shape of public behaviour, meaning that it is in contradiction of the norms of tolerable, suitable demeanour effective for continuing public communication. Leech (2014) concludes that when participants follow the social norms, they are polite and cooperative, and any deviation from these norms is considered impolite and uncooperative.

While Culpeper's (1996) model of impoliteness highlights tactic face-attacks and Locher and Watts (2008) define impoliteness as a discursive, context-dependent assessment, this research follows Leech's (2014) theory of impoliteness for its organized emphasis on how individuals deliberately break the norms of politeness. Culpeper prioritizes hostility to reveal power, while Locher and Watts think of impoliteness as subjective and mutually exchanged. However, Leech's theory offers an obvious taxonomy for studying intentional, autonomous acts of rudeness, such as Trump's ironic remarks towards Biden ("Sleepy Joe") in political language. Leech's theory helps understand Trump's conduct, which often intends to govern or dominate the discussion without looking for harmony or agreement.

2.4.4.1 Leech's Principle of Impoliteness

Eelen (2001) and Mills (2003) believe that several writers mentioned that impoliteness is incomparable to politeness. So, it needs to be investigated alone, not within the politeness framework. Leech (2014) disagrees with them and argues that to begin developing

impoliteness theories, investigators should depend on politeness theories, which are both considered closely associated phenomena.

Leech (2014) presents a model of impoliteness by reversing the General Strategy of politeness to a General Strategy of Impoliteness in which “the speaker will express/imply evaluative meanings that are favorable to the speaker and unfavorable to others” (p. 221). So, the General Strategy of politeness is oriented toward agreement and face preservation, while the General Strategy of Impoliteness is oriented towards disagreement and facing threats. Therefore, the maxims of the General Strategy of politeness are revised to form a new theory of impoliteness. Leech (2014) adds that impoliteness encompasses giving a favourable cost to the speaker and an unfavourable cost to the others. However, the violation of these maxims is scalar, like the observance of the politeness maxims.

Leech (2014) remarks that it is important to distinguish that impolite conduct is similar to polite conduct in that both are frequently implicated. In other words, both are possibly implicated rather than stated. However, the attitude to utilize implicature is possibly powerful regarding impoliteness because it functions as a self-protective one. The talker could argue that it was not impolite, and the increase of impoliteness in a fiercer conflict could be avoided.

2.4.4.1(a) Deviation of Politeness Maxims

Leech (2014) believes that, similar to Grice's cooperative principle, the politeness principle could be broken, suspended, or disobeyed. A justifiable politeness model should be the foundation for a model of impoliteness because it is a non-adherence or

infringement of the politeness maxims. Leech (2014) applies his theory of impoliteness (deviation of the ten maxims as shown in Figure 2.4) to Albee's play *Who is Afraid of Virginia Woolf?* (1962), which is well-known for the rude, violent oral manners of its two key heroes, Martha and George.

1. Deviation of Generosity Maxim

Leech (2014) states that deviation from this maxim can be in the form of threats and curses, in which the utterer shows their tendency to convey offense rather than an advantage to the listener. Curses such as 'damn you' and threats show impoliteness.

2. Deviation of Tact Maxim

Leech (2014) points out that the deviation from this maxim can be in the form of unsoftened orders and requests when the speaker does not evaluate the wishes of others but his own. For example, 'go answer the door' shows a direct order.

3- Deviation of Approbation Maxim

Leech (2014) states that the deviation from this maxim is in the form of insults, accusations, and complaints when the talker gives low cost to others' qualities. To explain, George describes Martha as "*YOU SATANIC BITCH!*" (Act 2, p. 72), which shows an insult to his wife.

4. Deviation of Modesty Maxim

Leech (2014) asserts that the deviation from this maxim is in the form of boasts and complacency when the talker gives a high cost to their qualities. Leech (2014) explains

the deviation of this maxim when Martha begins to boast of the significant advantage that George got in marrying her as she is the school's president's daughter:

5. Deviation of S Obligation to O, (6) Deviation of Obligation O to S Maxims

Leech (2014) points out that the deviation from S Obligation to O maxim can occur when giving low cost to the speaker's obligation to others; the speaker withholds thanks and apologies. The deviation from Obligation O to S maxim can happen when giving high cost to others' obligation to the speaker who demands thanks and apologies. Leech (2014) illustrates the deviation from these maxims in the dialogue when Martha wants George to apologize to her, but he does not do so: (7) MARTHA: "Well, aren't you going to apologize?" GEORGE "[*squinting*]: For what, Martha?" (Act 2, p. 63)

7. Deviation of Agreement Maxim

Leech (2014) argues that the deviation from this maxim can take the form of mutual disagreement or contradiction by giving low cost to others' opinions. For illustration, 'I do not agree with you' indicates disharmony between the speaker and listener:

8. Deviation of Opinion Reticence Maxim

Leech (2014) states that the deviation from this maxim can take the form of opinionated behaviour when the speaker gives a high cost to their opinion. For example, 'I insist on my opinion' shows how the speaker is opinionated.

9. Deviation of Sympathy Maxim

Leech (2014) believes that the deviation from this maxim can occur when giving low cost to others' feelings; the speaker expresses antipathy to others. Martha tells George, "*You make me puke!*" (Act 1, p. 6), and George insults her, e.g., "*You disgust me*" (Act 3, p. 109).

10. Deviation of Feeling Reticence Maxim

Leech (2014) states that the deviation from this maxim can happen when giving high cost to the speaker's own feelings; the speaker exaggerates their own suffering by grumbling and grouching.

The categories of constraint violation of the "General Strategy of Impoliteness."

Violation of Maxim (expressed in an imperative mood):	Related pair of maxims	Label for the maxim violated	Typical speech-act type(s)
(M1) give an unfavorable value to O's wants	Generosity / Tact	Generosity	Refusing, threatening
(M2) give a favorable value to S's wants		Tact	Ordering, demanding
(M3) give an unfavorable value to O's qualities	Approbation / Modesty	Approbation	Insulting, complaining, telling off
(M4) give a favorable/high value to S's qualities		Modesty	Boasting, being complacent
(M5) give an unfavorable/low value to S's obligation to O	Obligation	Obligation (to O)	Withholding thanks or apologies
(M6) give a favorable/high value to O's obligation to S		Obligation (to S)	Demanding thanks and apologies
(M7) give an unfavorable/low value to O's opinions	Opinion	Agreement	Disagreeing, contradicting
(M8) give an favorable/high value to S's opinions		Opinion reticence	Being opinionated
(M9) give an unfavorable/low value to O's feelings	Feeling	Sympathy	Expressing antipathy to O
(M10) give a favorable/high value to S's feelings		Feeling reticence	Grumbling, grouching

Note: S = speaker; O = other(s), typically the addressee.

Figure 2.4. The Impoliteness Principle within the General Strategy Impoliteness (Leech, 2014)

Leech's impoliteness maxims offer an organized lens to examine pragmatic deviations in Trump's discourse. These violations are not unintentional but tactical, employing impoliteness to divide the public, disempower opposition, and develop a devoted group of supporters. By framing Trump's discourse via Leech's maxims, this research shows how intentional deviations from the norms of cooperation help gain political power, redesigning public communication into a struggle over identity and beliefs instead of supporting peaceful, rational arguments.

2.4.5 Austin's Theory of Speech Act

In endeavouring to convey themselves, not merely do individuals make well-formed phrases and sentences, but they accomplish actions by uttering words. These are known as speech acts which include numerous tags like thanking, apologizing, complimenting, inviting, promising, or requesting, which are related to the talker's intended messages (Austin, 1962; Cruse, 2000; Horn & Ward, 2006; Levinson, 1983; Mey, 2000; Yule, 1996).

Birner (2013) claims that the speech act theory is intrinsically pragmatic because it includes: (1) the speaker intends something in their utterance and (2) the listener needs to infer from what is uttered. The speaker's purpose is more than is obvious only from the literal meaning of the uttered words, and consideration should be given to the context if the listener wants to infer what is intended.

2.4.5.1 Performatives vs Constatives

Austin revealed the illocutionary speech acts by observing that the appropriate superficial

expressions such as "I request you to help me," "You are invited to come," and "I open this session" are performative. Performatives refer to these sentences that form the talker's performance of the ISA found in the verb. Constatives refer to sentences that are correct when representing things as found in reality. Otherwise, constative sentences are untrue. However, according to Austin, performatives cannot be deemed correct or incorrect, but they are appropriate or inappropriate. Being appropriate, the talker represents things with their sentences when they utter them in a truthful situation, or else they are inappropriate (Vanderveken & Kubo, 2001). To illustrate the difference between performatives and constatives, the following examples are given:

(11) I drive a white car.

(12) I apologize.

(13) I name this ship The Albatross.

(14) I bet you £5 it will rain.

The sentences above are syntactically the same: the tense, the mood, and the person. However, from a pragmatic perspective, they are not the same. In sentence (11), the speaker states (constative) something which can be true or false. If the hearer knows that the colour of the car is silver and hears the speaker says it is white, this will be untrue. In sentences (12,13, and 14), the speaker performs an action, and a true or false reply makes no sense here. So, these sentences are not statements; apologizing is not a statement but an action that is done when uttered. The same goes for naming the ship; when the speaker utters this, they declare something that makes a change in the world, the act of declaring (Thomas, 1995).

2.4.5.2 Explicit vs Implicit Performatives

Levinson (1983) argues that Austin's first proposal's distinction between performative and constative is later refused by him, ending up with a general theory. Consequently, two vital explanations are suggested: Performatives are shifted from a particular category of utterances that have unique syntactic and pragmatic characteristics to a broad category that contains explicit and implicit (primary) performatives. The last class includes numerous kinds of utterances. In the second explanation, performatives and constatives are included in a universal theory of illocutionary speech acts and become particular sub-categories.

Austin (1962) defines explicit performative as a term that indicates the utilization of words that achieve an act only when the speaker utters it. Numerous speech acts are implicit and thus produce a pragmatic effect by expressing the speaker's illocutionary force (their intended meaning), and this meaning is usually done directly implicitly (as cited in Grundy, 2000). To illustrate:

(15) I'll pick you up at the airport.

(16) I promise to pick you up at the airport.

The speaker does not necessarily utter the explicit verb for promising to do the act of promising. Ostensibly, sentence (15), which has an implicit performative, could have an analogous influence on the listener, as does sentence (16), which has an explicit performative, for convenience. Also, the speaker can make a statement when pronouncing

I assert . . . or I predict . . . , just as a promise or a request can be made with, I promise . . . or I request . . . (Degand, 2009, p. 1011).

2.4.5.3 Locutionary, Illocutionary, and Perlocutionary Acts

Austin (1962) suggests three main acts when saying something: locutionary, illocutionary, and perlocutionary, which are considered stages of investigation that conceive the meaning of an utterance:

1) Yule (1996, p. 48) sees that a locutionary act is the primary act of what a person utters. It produces a linguistic sentence that is meaningful. In other words, this act deals with the formation of sounds and words that generate sentences. So, it is related to the form of utterances that should be well-formed to produce a locutionary act.

2) Horn and Ward (2006) point out that illocutionary acts are the most essential invention within the speech act theory. Uttering words in a definite context, an illocutionary act is made to achieve a specific function in that utterance, such as when one apologizes, christens, or promises.

3) Cruse (2000) states that the speaker performs a perlocutionary act when uttering words that are clear in a locutionary act. So, language is an instrument that is used to perform perlocutionary acts. For example, when the talker attempts to convince the listener to do something, they ordinarily need to talk to them. However, talking alone does not constitute a convincing act. The hearer, who has been convinced, has to perform the act that is urged by the speaker. Therefore, a perlocutionary effect of convincing has been created.

Huang (2007) discusses the key differences between illocutions and perlocutions: the speaker intends illocutionary acts, whereas they sometimes intend perlocutionary effects. Also, the speaker fully controls illocutions, whereas they do not fully control perlocutionary effects. In addition, illocutions become obvious when the speaker utters the words, whereas perlocutions typically do not become so till after the speaker has made the utterance. Moreover, illocutions are ostensibly specific, whereas perlocutions are frequently nonspecific. Lastly, illocutions have more connection to locutions than perlocutions do. Similarly, Austin (1962) demonstrates the difference between locutions, illocutions, and perlocutions when a speaker utters, "Shoot her!". The locutionary act means that they tell the hearer to shoot, and 'her' refers to a woman. An illocutionary act means that they order the listener to do something. A perlocutionary act means they convince the hearer to do something.

2.4.5.3(a) Austin's Classification of Illocutionary Speech Acts

Austin (1962, pp. 150-1) provides a general classification of the illocutionary speech acts:

1. Verdictives mean when a jury or arbitrator gives a verdict. It mainly gives a result for something factual or a value that is hard to be sure of. For example, an assessment or appraisal is made by the speaker due to the others' acts. This type includes assessing, appraising, and reckoning.

2. Exercitives mean when the speaker exercises influence, authority, or rights. This type includes ordering, warning, advising, and appointing.

3. Commissives mean when the speaker commits to do something, promising to do something. This type contains ambiguous declarative sentences or intended announcements, which could be called espousals. Also, this type has a relationship to the first and the second types.

4. Behabitives mean when the speaker shows attitudes and public demeanour. This type includes thanking, cursing, commending, and apologizing.

5. Expositives mean how the speaker fits their utterances into the present course of discussion or how they use them. This type includes arguing, assuming, conceding, and postulating.

2.4.5.4 Austin's Felicity Conditions

Austin presents a group of conditions that performatives (illocutionary acts) must follow to be successful or felicitous. They are known as 'felicity conditions'. Austin suggests that performatives are not 'true' or 'false,' but it is possible to be unhappy. Then, Austin catalogues all the situations in which the performatives are possible to be unsuccessful' 'unhappy, 'infelicitous, or 'inappropriate' (Levinson, 1983).

Hadiati (2019) claims that pragmatic researchers have focused on speech acts for many years. However, limited studies have been conducted regarding the felicity conditions. Pragmatic investigators are typically concerned about the organization of the speech acts, and some of them discuss the utterance's felicity conditions. In pragmatic studies, these conditions are crucial because they give an adequate clarification of what is uttered that

is not possible to be clarified by utilizing truth-conditional semantics. Austin (1962) presents six rules of the felicity conditions:

A. (i) There must be a conventional procedure having a conventional effect, (ii) The circumstances and persons must be appropriate, as specified in the procedure, B. The procedure must be executed (i) correctly and (ii) completely, C. Often, (i) the persons must have the requisite thoughts, feelings, and intentions, as specified in the procedure, and (ii) if consequent conduct is specified, then the relevant parties must do so. (p. 15)

Austin (1962) claims that to violate one or all these conditions, the speaker's utterance will be infelicitous. Austin (1962) mentions that violating these rules has no equivalent position. The speaker who violates conditions A and B will produce "misfires," which means the speaker's intentions fail to appear. Also, the speaker who violates condition C will produce "abuses," which are difficult to perceive when the speaker produces an utterance, and the illocutionary act will not be performed felicitously or sincerely. For illustration:

(17) I hereby divorce you.

This utterance can be felicitously and infelicitously performed by the speakers of a sentence (17) in various situations. If a British speaker directs this utterance to his wife, divorce will not be achieved because, as in condition A (i), there is no procedure like when uttering such an utterance in the British context; something will happen. On the contrary, if a Muslim speaker does this thrice successively, divorce will be achieved because such a procedure is found in such a culture (Levinson, 1983, pp. 229-30). Moreover, Austin's

(1962) illustration of a saint who baptizes animals violates the felicity conditions because animals cannot be baptized.

2.4.6 Searle's Theory of Speech Acts

Coulthard (1985) claims that Austin suggested his speech act theory, which is just the beginning. Unfortunately, Austin passed away before developing it. There are some gaps left in his theory; Searle suggested four felicity conditions for the typical or liturgical performatives without providing so for other performatives. Fortunately, Searle (1969) develops Austin's speech act theory and offers a new 'speech act' claiming that speaking a language is engaging in a rule-governed form of behaviour. To put it more briskly, talking is performing acts according to rules (p. 22).

Searle (2001) criticizes Austin's distinction between performatives and constatives, the notion that promising and ordering are actions and thus performatives, while stating and describing are sayings and thus constatives. However, this difference does not hold since when the speaker states and describes something, they are doing actions similar to when they promise or order. In addition, Austin's claim that a statement can be true or false can also be applied to other performatives like warnings. Also, it is possible for the speaker to explicitly use performative verbs with statements such as "I hereby state that it is raining." Therefore, for Austin, it is as if whatever is uttered can be performative, and that will make the idea pointless.

Moreover, Searle (2001, p. 87) criticizes Austin's difference between implicit and explicit performatives. For example, the difference between "I promise to come" and "I intend to come" is not workable since only the explicit performatives are performative. Thus, Searle

defines performatives within the speech act theory as some illocutionary acts that could be achieved when the speaker utters a sentence that has an explicit performative verb. Such utterances are deemed performatives, while all utterances are deemed performance.

Furthermore, Searle revisited Austin's three terms: locutions, illocutions and perlocutions. Searle replaced locutionary acts with propositional acts. In communication, talkers produce verbal or visual utterances. Also, performing simple illocutionary acts makes them able to convey propositions with forces such as predicting to convey propositional content with several truth conditions. Therefore, the illocutionary acts are composed of a force (F) and a proposition (P). Besides, please, help me and you will help me are both similar sentences and convey illocutions with similar propositional content with dissimilar forces. While is it snowing? And are you coming? convey illocutions with dissimilar propositional content with similar forces (Vanderveken & Kubo, 2001). In addition, Searle (2001) distinguishes between the following terms:

Performative utterances, performative sentences, and performative verbs...A *performative sentence* is a sentence whose literal utterance in appropriate circumstances constitutes the performance of an illocutionary act named by an expression in that very sentence in virtue of the occurrence of that expression. A *performative utterance* is an utterance of a performative sentence token such that the utterance constitutes the performance of the act named by the performative expression in the sentence. A *performative verb* is simply a verb that can occur as the main verb in performative sentences. (p. 87)

To summarize, Searle (1979) believes that the speech act theory is the focus of different disciplines, such as linguistics, semantics, and pragmatics. The speech acts are achieved by using conventional conditions and linguistically expressed by using the illocutionary force-indicating devices. The constitutive rules, which are part of human knowledge, create them. Therefore, the speech act theory examines how acts and meanings are contextually interconnected.

2.4.6.1 Searle's Classification of Illocutionary Speech Acts

Searle (1979) provides a catalogue of illocutionary verbs instead of illocutionary acts. But according to Austin's viewpoint, which is criticized by Searle, the matter is the same; cataloguing English illocutionary verbs is identical to illocutionary acts; two different verbs have to mark various illocutionary acts. Sometimes, the way the addresser does an illocutionary act is marked by certain verbs, such as announcing, ordering, promising, and reporting might be announced, but it is not on all of them because it is not a name given to the kind of illocutionary act. However, it is how the speaker performs the act. Therefore, announcing is not just announcing, but it is stating, ordering, and promising.

Searle (1979) argues that six connected problems are found with Austin's classification in increasing order of significance: a determined misperception among acts and verbs is found, not the whole verbs are illocutions, overmuch interference of the categories is found, overmuch heterogeneity inside them is found, many verbs catalogued in these categories are not content with the definition that is provided to them and, a compatible criterion of classification is absent.

Searle (1976) subdivides illocutionary speech acts into some classes by choosing three important aspects of illocutionary acts: illocutionary point, direction of fit, and expressed psychological state, which make the foundation of a classification of the essential categories of illocutions. There are five main types of illocutionary acts: representatives (or assertives), directives, commissives, expressives, and declarations. Austin's classification is defective because it lacks principles for recognizing one type of illocutionary force from another.

1. Representatives. The illocutionary point of this category is that the addresser commits themselves to the truthfulness that is expressed in the propositions. This category is measurable based on a measurement that encompasses true and false (Searle, 1976).

2. Directives. The illocutionary point of this class is when the addresser tries to make the listener perform something (Searle, 1976).

3. Commissives. The illocutionary point of this category is when the addresser is committed to performing something in the future.

4. Expressives. “The illocutionary point of this class is to express the psychological state specified in the sincerity condition about a state of affairs specified in the propositional content” (Searle, 1976, p. 12).

5. Declarations. The illocutionary point of this category is that when the addresser performs an act of this class, they change the world. By performing the act successfully, the agreement between propositional content and the world is guaranteed (Searle, 1975).

Trognon (2001, p. 131) mentions that satisfying an illocutionary speech act can be done when its propositional content is true according to the direction of fit of its illocutionary force. This condition is highly crucial because it is against the fulfillment of assertives, which are dependent on the world, not the interactants, to the fulfillment of commissives, which are limited since satisfying them can be done when their propositional contents are correct due to their performances.

2.4.6.2 Searle's Felicity Conditions of Speech Act Theory

Searle (1969) criticizes Austin's felicity conditions and claims that these conditions mutually make the illocutionary force of the speech acts and not merely ways in which the illocutionary act is felicitous or infelicitous. To rephrase this, the felicity conditions refer to "the constitutive rules—rules that create the activity itself—of speech acts" (p. 38). Therefore, when one speaks, they perform speech acts as stated in these rules. Sbisa (2009) and Sadock (2006) mention that Searle follows Austin by proposing to study these conditions that should be met to have the act appropriately and non-defectively fulfilled. For each condition on the appropriately performed act, Searle suggests a rule to the impact that the illocutionary force indicating devices must merely be pronounced to have the felicity conditions fulfilled. The fulfillment of the conditions and the talker's utilization of linguistic tools that designate the connected illocutionary force due to ordinary language conditions make the taker perform the illocutionary impact to interact with the force of what is uttered to the listener.

Vanderveken (2001) claims that because of their rational form, the illocutionary acts involve the conditions of success and fulfillment. By nature, the illocutionary speech acts

are deliberate actions that talkers usually endeavour to achieve. Generally, individuals succeed or fail when attempting to achieve the illocutionary acts. For illustration, putting themselves under a lawful responsibility to perform an act, the talker has to succeed in conveying to which action they mean to obligate themselves. Also, they possess the entitlement to place themselves under that responsibility. Furthermore, the illocutionary speech acts could fail to be fulfilled even though they are successful when there is no match between the propositional content and the world. For example, false assertive acts can be made, commissive acts can be broken, and directive acts can be disobeyed. Consequently, the speakers' accounts could be inaccurate, and their discussions disrespected. The talkers who are sincere desire their endeavoured illocutionary speech acts to be performed successfully and satisfyingly. In brief, as someone is unable to endeavour to achieve or comprehend the Illocutionary acts without comprehending their conditions of success and fulfillment, the main goals of the speech act theory are to explain repetitive success and fulfillment theories.

Cutting (2002) comments that if the speaker wants to perform the speech acts appropriately and successfully, some felicity conditions must be matched. According to Austin, all individuals must recognize the Felicity conditions that include the participants' roles and the context; they have to carry out the action entirely and express sincere intentions. However, according to Searle, the speech acts have a universal condition that the listener has to listen and comprehend what is uttered, and that the talker does not have to pretend or mispresent. For example, when promising someone to do something, the speaker has to have a belief that they can do it and that it is in the listener's interest.

Searle's felicity conditions on the illocutionary acts are essential and satisfactory conditions for them to be performed. These conditions are: (1) essential conditions mean when the speaker performs the act, they have the intention that what they utter is counted as a recognizable act and the speaker's intention will be identified by the listener (Huang, 2007), (2) propositional content conditions determine what kind of propositional content the speech act is to take, (3) preparatory conditions identify the requirements of context, particularly concerning the talker's and the listener's knowledge and elective situations), and (4) sincerity conditions determine the kind of psychological state of the talker that the SA expresses (Sbisa, 2009).

Vanderveken (2001) writes, as he and Searle state, that the conditions of success of illocutionary acts can be defined from the constituents of their illocutionary force and propositional content. An illocutionary act of form F (P) is non-defectively achieved according to the situation in which the talker makes a success in performing the illocutionary point of force F on proposition P with the mode of achievement of F, and P satisfies the propositional content conditions of F, the talker makes a success in assuming the propositions determined by the preparatory conditions of F, and s\he succeeds in conveying "the degree of strength of F the mental states of the modes determined by the sincerity conditions of F about the fact represented by the propositional content P. Therefore, a talker produces a speech act of promising in a situation of utterance whose point will be to commit himself\herself to perform an act (this is the illocutionary point) in order to place himself\herself under a commitment to perform that act (this is the achievement mode), s\he will perform it (this is propositional content condition), s\he

implicitly assumes that s\he can do that act that benefits the listener (this is preparatory condition), and s\he conveys a robust intent to achieve that act (this is sincerity condition).

Searle (1969, pp. 66-7) states that each kind of illocutionary speech act contains a group of conditions that are essential for the success and felicitousness of those acts. For illustration, the conditions for some kinds of illocutionary speech acts are presented in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1

The Rules of Some Illocutionary Speech According to Searle (1969, 1979)

Illocutionary Speech Act	Propositional Content Condition	Preparatory Condition	Sincerity Condition	Essential Condition
Thank	Past Act A done by H.	A benefits S and S believes A benefits S.	S feels grateful and appreciative for A.	Counts as an expression of gratitude or appreciation.
Apology	Past A done by S.	A harms S and S believes A harms S.	S regrets A that S did to H.	Deems as an utterance of guilt and regret by S for A.
Warn	Future event or state, etc., E.	1. H has reason to believe E will occur and is not in H's interest. 2. It is not obvious to both S and H that E will occur.	S believes E is not in H's best interest.	Counts as an undertaking to the effect that E is not in H's best interest.
Greet	None	S has just encountered (or been introduced to, etc.) H.	None	Counts as courteous recognition of H by S.

Congratulate	Some event, act, etc., E related to H.	E is in H's interest and S believes E is in H's interest.	S is pleased at E.	Counts as an expression of pleasure at E.
Request	Future act A of H.	1. H is able to do A. S believes H is able to do A. 2. It is not obvious to both S and H that H will do A in the normal course of events of his own accord.	S wants H to do A.	Counts as an attempt to get H to do A.
Assert, Affirm	State, Any proposition p is true in a world when the state of affairs that it represents exists in that world.	1. S has evidence (reasons, etc.) for the truth of p. 2. It is not obvious to both S and H that H knows (does not need to be reminded of, etc.) p.	S believes p.	Counts as an undertaking to the effect that p represents an actual state of affairs.
Question	Any proposition or propositional Function.	1. S does not know 'the answer', i.e., does not know if the proposition is true, or, in the case of the propositional function, does not know the information needed to complete the proposition truly. 2. It is not obvious to both S and H that H will provide the information at that time without being asked.	S wants this information.	Counts as an attempt to elicit this information from H.
Promise	Future Act A of S.	1. H wants S to do the promised act to H. 2. S is certain that H wants S's Act to be done to H.	S tends to do the promised act.	S undertakes to do the promised act.
Declare	PC of declaratives must represent something that happens at the moment of declaration.	S is truly able to carry out the action of declaring and H knows that H can carry out the declaration of his utterance.	S has a certainty that the proposition is accurate and can carry out the act of declaring.	S has intentions to perform the act of declaration to make a change.

2.4.6.2(a) Deviation of Searle's Felicity Conditions of Speech Acts

Schiffrin (1994) states that individuals use language for speech acts since they engage in principles that make these acts: utterances are considered non-defective and successful performances of speech acts when some conditions are fulfilled. The rules are dependent on linguistic knowledge (e.g., the relationship between tense and the reference time of an event) and knowledge about the world (e.g., that people may be obliged to behave in certain ways). This permits some linguistic tools to show the force of illocutions. These kinds of knowledge and their interaction with each other are expected to be a component of competence. The conditions are fundamental to the speech act theory, the way of recognizing and classifying them.

Pratt (1977) and Vanderveken and Kubo (2001) affirm that uttering a well-formed sentence is not enough to be performed appropriately. However, some conditions must be present so that the speech acts can be done happily or appropriately. These are rules that language users presume in communication. These rules create knowledge that is shared by these language users, who use them in their communication to produce correct and effective speech. Allan (1997) illustrates that when the speaker says, I promise to take you to a movie tomorrow. If the talker has an intention to do it, the utterance will be felicitous. However, if they do not commit themselves to the act of promising, the utterance will be infelicitous.

Vanderveken (2001) believes that a talker could produce untrue implicit assumptions. Also, they could convey tendencies that they do not possess. Therefore, they can perform a successful utterance, but it is defective. They can incorrectly produce a promise that

does not benefit the listener. Also, they could produce an untruthful promise that they have no intention to preserve. In situations like this, they perform a defective illocutionary act. Logically speaking, s\he can perform that act non-defectively in a situation when s\he is successful in performing it and fulfills its felicity conditions in that situation. Agreeing with Vanderveken (2001), Birner (2013) points out that any speech act can be unhappy when a speaker breaks the conditions that govern the speech acts, which are intrinsically connected with the context of what is uttered, and therefore they are intrinsically pragmatic; the conditions for using these acts are dependent on the appropriateness of context.

In sum, ideally, the talker's performance following what they utter has to be consistent with the content of the performed speech act. Therefore, when they promise something, they have to do that act; when they order others to do something, they need not be furious if they next do it; when they ask a question, they need to wait for others to reply to that question when they provide a name to a ship, they need not subsequently mention it by another term, etc. Therefore, any speaker can choose their utterance to be defective by not following the felicity conditions or non-defective by obeying them in performing the illocutionary speech acts (Cruse, 2000).

Searle's felicity conditions, which show the norms for a speech act to be performative and non-defective (e.g., propositional content, preparatory, sincerity, and essential), present a framework to investigate how Trump pragmatically breaks interactive norms to fulfill political objectives. For example, Trump's untrue statement ("the election was rigged") flouts the sincerity condition because of lacking honest intent, yet tactically mobilizes followers to provoke riots. Correspondingly, Trump's declaration ("I ended it[ISIS] all

through executive order.”) disregards the preparatory, as ISIS still exists. By disobeying these conditions, Trump’s discourse makes felicitous utterances defective, possibly redesigning public rhetoric by increasing divisions, strengthening devotion, and weakening institutional confidence.

2.4.6.3 Direct and Indirect Speech Acts

Searle et al. (1980) state that in the speech act theory, a typical difference exists between direct speech acts and indirect speech acts. Direct speech acts mean when the talker utters what they intend, while indirect speech acts mean when they intend something more than what is uttered. Searle (1975, as cited in Mey, 2009) claims that in comprehending speech acts, the superficial understanding of what is uttered usually has precedence over any other understanding taken from it. So, comprehending an indirect speech act, for example, "Would you mind passing me the salt?" is more complex than comprehending direct speech acts, "Please pass me the salt," since it necessitates a lengthier deductive process. So, in the illocutionary speech act, according to Searle (1979), the talker conveys to the listener more than they utter by depending on their collective contextual knowledge, both linguistic and nonlinguistic, with the overall controls of reasonableness and interpretation, which are done by the listener.

2.4.7 Discordance and Alignment between the Three Models

Grice’s conversational maxims, Leech’s politeness maxims, and Searle’s felicity conditions of the speech acts can discord and align in a specific situation. They discord with each other in the sense that uttering an utterance leads to an adherence to a politeness maxim rather than a conversational one, felicity conditions, or vice versa. To put it in

other words, the speaker may be acting politely at the expense of being honest or may do the opposite by being honest but impolite. They align with each other in the sense that all of them- Grice's maxims, Leech's maxims, and Searle's conditions are deviated from in uttering a specific utterance. In other words, the speaker may deviate from all these pragmatic principles in a particular situation and, therefore, they align in not obeying the maxims and conditions.

Barbe (1995), Bowles (2010), Brown and Levinson (1987), Cutting (2002), Eelen (2001), Leech (1983, 2008, 2014), Wenting (2017) claim that Grice's conversational maxims and Leech's politeness maxims could discord with each other to trigger implicatures. If addressees see that the addressers do not appear to be obeying Grice's conversational maxims to the fullest, they try to seek out a reasonable clarification in the rules of politeness; telling lies mitigates offence. For example:

(22) Tom: I'm getting fat hh.

John: [silence]:

Context: Tom and John are friends. Tom speaks about how fat he is and asks John to respond to him. Nevertheless, John does not reply and remains silent.

Here, lacking a reply implies John concurs with Tom's utterance, yet is highly polite to express accord. John can explicitly keep the politeness principle either by lying (breaching the quality maxim) or by keeping silent (breaching the quantity maxim). Thus, John goes with the second alternative. Probable infringement of politeness might be hidden by not telling the truth or being less informative than is needed when being silent. Therefore, this discordance means that the speaker, in following the politeness principle, should evaluate

the relative significance of matching aims (Leech, 2014).

Moreover, a speaker may tell the truth and thus offend the listener. Here, the speaker tries to be transparent, informative, honest, and relevant at the expense of being polite (Barbe, 1995; Bowles, 2010; Leech, 2008, 2014; Geyer, 2008). The following situation is about someone asking his friend for an opinion about a dress. His friend thinks that this dress is not suitable:

(23) Allan: How do you like this dress?

Roni: I think it does not suit you.

Context: Allan and Roni are friends. Allan asks Roni about the dress Allan wears. Roni replies that this dress is not suitable for Allan.

Roni can simply say lovely colour to evade informing Allan of Roni's true view to show politeness. However, if Roni severely follows Grice's conversational maxims, he will say this dress does not suit Allan, and therefore, Roni observes the maxim of quality by telling Allan the truth but offending Allan and breaking the common norms of politeness (approbation maxim) (Barbe, 1995).

In addition, a speaker could not follow Searle's felicity conditions in the speech acts, but their utterance still seemed inoffensive. For illustration, "I promise to support you." By virtue of this inner background of the performance of this speech act, the talker who will not back the listener when needing it would not be deemed as an obligation to make a promise: the talker behaves as if a promise has been made, yet this kind of promising is

empty (Oishi, 2006).

It is assumed that Grice's conversational maxims, Leech's politeness maxims, and Searle's felicity conditions of the speech acts might be violated (Goffman, 1983; Leech, 2008, 2014), and thereby, they align (they are in line with each other) in a specific situation in which all these pragmatic principles are deviated from. In such a case, a speaker does not follow any maxim or condition; they produce an impolite, insincere, and infelicitous utterance. For clarification, when someone praises someone else, they should be honest and not exaggerate a compliment. However, if exaggerated, it will violate the maxims of quality and approbation (Leech, 2014) and, thus, it is defective.

In sum, sometimes, a speaker could say something that deviates from Grice's conversational maxims to respect Leech's politeness maxims. Besides, on occasion, a speaker follows Grice's maxims to show their truthfulness without paying attention to Leech's maxims, and thus, an impolite behaviour emerges. Also, Searle's felicity conditions of the speech act discord with both or one of Grice's and Leech's maxims, causing a defective or non-defective utterance, yet it is still cooperative and polite or vice versa. Moreover, all these pragmatic principles suggested by Grice, Leech, and Searle can go together and are deviated from by a speaker in a specific situation. Thus, they utter something impolite, untruthful, and defective. To illustrate:

Trump's rhetoric tactically uses pragmatic violations via Searle's infelicitous conditions (e.g., dishonest statements such as "the election was rigged" breaking these conditions), Leech's maxims of impoliteness (e.g., boasting such "I am the best president" violating the maxim of modesty), and Grice's maxims (e.g., ambiguities such as "I know the

competition” infringing the manner maxim). While Grice shows how Trump’s discourse damages the norms of collaborative interactions, Leech’s model explains Trump’s deliberateness behind face-threatening hostility, and Searle’s conditions reveal how Trump manipulates supremacy and reality to declare power. Collectively, these models complement each other: Grice determines the operational violations in interactive norms, Leech focuses on the aggression rooted in such breaches, and Searle shows the performative infelicity of the discourse. In Trump’s rhetoric, these breaches combine to achieve several intentional tactics, such as dividing the public, disempowering adversaries, and rallying support.

2.4.8 Context

Huang (2007) sees context as a concept that is utilized extensively in existing knowledge, yet an exact definition of context is complex to provide. However, broadly speaking, context refers to any relevant features of the dynamic setting or environment in which a linguistic unit is systematically used (p. 13).

Leech (1983) sees context as any background knowledge supposed to be part of the talker and listener, and it benefits the listener to interpret what is meant by the talker's utterance. Cutting (2002) refers to the context of background knowledge that is either "interpersonal knowledge," definite and probable particular knowledge about the talkers' history, or "cultural general knowledge" that the majority of individuals have in their brains about the domains of natural life.

Mey (2000) and Pratt (1977) concur that the speech act theory offers a means of speaking about what is uttered regarding the superficial grammatical features of the utterances, how

they are produced according to the situation, the interactants' tendencies, prospects, and intents, the kind of relation between the interactants, and the undeclared conditions and norms that can be comprehended when making and receiving the utterance. Therefore, according to Levinson (1983), to offer the felicity conditions for the illocutionary speech acts will be to determine precisely how the context has to be in order for a particular utterance of a sentence that is conventionally used to perform that type of act actually to perform it on an occasion of utterance (p. 245)

Mey (2001) states that those who are interested in pragmatics have to seriously focus on circumstantial rules when they describe the speech acts and, generally, individuals' utilization of language. Thus, these contextual rules for a specific act that has been performed must be obeyed, or else no speech act is there, whether one utters or writes something.

As far as politeness is concerned, Leech (2014) believes that it entirely depends on the context and on the understanding of the interactants in order not to have some statements like "polite expressions," "polite meanings," or "polite utterances" in or out of context.

As far as the conversational implicature is concerned, Grice (1975) presents the conversational implicature, which conveys an extra degree of meaning not found in what is said literally. Concerning the conversational implicature, what is implicated differs because of what is uttered in the situation.

In sum, context has a vital part in interpreting what is intended by the speaker. Without it, it is extremely hard to comprehend the speakers' intentions. And since pragmatics studies

language in context, these pragmatic theories, the speech act theory, the politeness principle, and the cooperative principle, are highly dependent on context.

2.4.9 Constructivism and Discourse Analysis

Shanthi et al. (2015) believe that constructivism or interpretivism worldviews are usually related to studies that follow a qualitative method. The researchers focus on examining societal topics that are concerned with individuals' lives. Besides, Jorgensen and Phillips (2002) see constructivism as a blanket expression for a set of novel models about cultural and societal life. They (2002) argue that discourse analysis (which is adopted in the current study as explained below) is simply one of numerous societal constructionist methods. Nonetheless, it is a method that is extensively utilized by societal constructionists. Discourse analysis follows the linguistic philosophy of structuralism and poststructuralism in that accessing the real world can be done through language that individuals utilize to make depictions of the real world that cannot be deemed just a reversal of an already current world, but it contributes to constructing the real world. This is not to negate the fact that the real world exists. Depictions and meanings are actual. Also, concrete substances exist, yet through discourse, they merely become meaningful.

Constructivism is against a positivist orientation, according to Merriam and Tisdell (2016) and Patton (2015), that assumes truth is present in the world. This truth is noticeable, unchanging, and assessable. When studying this truth, knowledge is deemed scientific, and it encompasses the formation of rules. Experimental studies presumed a position of positivism. The reason for this objection is, as assured by Merriam and Tisdell (2016), that truth is socially made; no sole, noticeable truth exists. However, many various truths

or understandings of a single situation exist. Knowledge is not found by the researchers; they are concerned with the individuals' interpretations of what they experience, the construction of their worlds, and the meaning they ascribe to what they experience. Qualitative researchers usually aim at achieving comprehension of the way individuals perceive their lives, explain the process (instead of the result or output) of creating meaning, and designate the way individuals understand their experiences. Within constructivism, Denzin and Lincoln (1985) state that "terms like credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability replace the usual positivist criteria of internal and external validity, reliability, and objectivity" (p. 27).

As for the philosophical assumptions, Cheek (2004), Flick (2009), and Holloway and Wheeler (2010) claim that the historical context of discourse analysis is social constructionism. The research questions concentrate on how the process of constructing the truth could be examined in any discourse. The discourse analysis is built on the fact that not only does language reflect the social reality and people of society, but it also assists in forming practical data ranging from newspaper reports to meetings. Such data is important to the researcher who will focus on the extracts of these reports or meetings in their study. Cheek adds that by grounding the discourse analysis in poststructuralism and postmodernism interpretations of social reality, the discourse analysis necessitates merely examination of the content of data, such as syntactic structures and semantic features, but also examines the data that are formed concerning their situatedness. The old ways of analyzing content, as Sacks (1996 as cited in Cheek, 2004) argues, fail to account for the insistence with which certain stories or explanations are put forth, take hold and shape images of [whatever is focused on] (p. 59). Therefore, a significant supposition that

supports discourse analysis as a method of research given by poststructuralism and postmodernism interpretations, is that language cannot be deemed clear or neutral. All speech, even everyday natural speech, has no general meaning but a given specific meaning in a talk exchange between the addresser and addressee in a specific context in which this discourse takes place.

Schaffner (1996) and Taylor (2001) state that discourse analysis is used in the fields of linguistics, sociolinguistics, politics, and others. Undoubtedly, investigators are usually concerned with discourse analysis since they try to discover a mode of qualitative study for different kinds of documents. By the same token, Fairclough (2013) asserts that researchers can apply discourse analysis in various societal fields like mass media and utilize it to describe the speech related to a specific field like political discourse.

Johnstone (2018) claims that researchers have utilized discourse analysis to answer numerous types of questions that are related to language: What is involved in knowing a language? How do words, sentences, and utterances get associated with meanings? How does language change?. Pragmatically speaking, to look at collections of honest dialogue, the experts of discourse analysis help define the socially formed informative principles that comprehension depends on and the way individuals are assumed to accomplish something via what they utter.

By relying on the discourse analysis method and constructivism, this research shows pragmatic violations in the language of politics as socially constructed strategies that create truth, power relationships, and social awareness. Constructivism assumes that meaning is made via language and communication, showing pragmatic violations (e.g.,

breaking Leech's or Grice's maxims) not as simple linguistic irregularities but as deliberate tactics to reconsider norms and beliefs. Discourse analysis uses this by examining leaders' exploitation of deviations, such as Trump's overstatements ("the best president in the US"), provocative tags ("false media"), or tactic vagueness—to create conflict-ridden stories, legalize authority, or attack rivals. This approach uncovers how violations serve as performative acts that strengthen power mechanisms (e.g., dividing "us vs. them" duals) while mirroring and redesigning social morals. Eventually, the incorporation of discourse analysis and constructivism highlights that pragmatic violations are not unbiased but are politically stimulated tactics through which politicians use language to master meaning, encounter current norms, and reconstruct shared comprehension of ideological objectives.

2.5 Studies Related to Language Deviation

Several studies have been conducted to investigate deviation grammatically, linguistically and pragmatically (Alirezazadeh & Talebinezhad, 2014; Alkhazaali, 2018; Castiglione, 2013; Dyakiv et al., 2021; Hameed & Al-Sa'doon, 2015; Hamza, 2020; Hussain et al., 2020; Khan et al., 2024; Majid, 2024; Mansoor & Salman, 2020; Li & Shi, 2015; Rahman & Weda, 2019; Ren & Yu, 2013; Zidane, 2017).

Hameed and Al-Sa'doon (2015), Hussain et al. (2020), Khan et al. (2024), Mansoor and Salman (2020), and Majid (2024) similarly carried out a linguistic study on deviation in literature whose characteristic is a linguistic deviation that happens on various levels; "lexical, semantic, syntactic, phonological, morphological, graphological, historical, dialectal, and register." Deviation kinds were wholly explored and linguistically examined

in these papers depending on Leech's (1969) categorizations. Hameed and Al-Sa'doon analyzed Angelou's poem *Still I Rise*, Hussain et al. collected their data from Dickens' novel *Hard Times*, Khan et al. analyzed Shawl's *Weeping Wisdom* poem. Majid examined Arabic and English poems, while Mansoor and Salman took their data from poetry, drama, and prose. A qualitative method of research was used to collect and analyze the data in these studies. The findings showed that numerous deviations are used for different purposes in the literature. They are "lexical, semantic, syntactic, phonological, morphological, graphological, historical, dialectal, and register."

Likewise, Li and Shi (2015) conducted a stylistic study on linguistic deviation in E. E. Cummings' eight poems to investigate the accomplishment of foregrounding in his poetry on graphological, lexical, and semantic levels. The work was based on Leech's (1969) theory and Xueyong's (2007) model for accomplishing foregrounding. The results indicated that Cummings used these kinds of deviation: graphological (the use of capitalization, decapitalization, and punctuation), lexical (the use of neologism), and semantic (the use of irony, metaphor, and hyperbole). Similarly, a quantitative study by Rahman and Weda (2019) intended to reveal the linguistic deviation in Shakespeare's plays and determine foreign respondents' difficulty in understanding deviations in literary texts. The data are ten plays, giving thirteen samples from these works to be verified by the respondents, who are thirteen students of Literature of English Language Studies at the University of Hasanuddin, Indonesia. A questionnaire was given to them to respond to multiple-choice questions. The results of the paper indicated that linguistic deviations in these plays are stylistically diverse and could be misinterpreted and misunderstood by foreign respondents.

Ren and Yu (2013) studied the deviation of language in advertising. The purpose of this study is to discuss numerous deviations in English advertising to familiarize advertisers with deviations in ads. The data of the research are examples from two representative English magazines, *Time* and *Fortune*, in which he analyzed phonological, graphological, lexical, and grammatical deviations. Using a qualitative approach, the study showed that deviation is given much attention in English ads, that could arouse readers' attention to continue the ad and even convince them to purchase the products marketed.

Alkhazaali (2018) explored the stylistic value and different kinds of linguistic deviations in virtual discourse on grammatical, orthographical, lexical, and sociolinguistic levels. A qualitative method was utilized to gather and examine the data from different websites, chat rooms, and web comments. The conclusions show that stylistic values were found in linguistic deviation since they implied the aims and intents of the addressee. Besides, grammatical and orthographical deviations were found to show speed in writing, while sociolinguistic deviations show the characteristics of the speakers' and writers' cultural and societal positioning. Finally, the research showed that lexical deviations were used to conceal their identity, title, creed, or ethnicity.

Alirezazadeh and Talebinezhad (2014) examined numerous kinds of syntactic deviations in Faulkner's novel *The Sound and the Fury* and emphasized the role of syntactic deviation in modern and psychological English literary texts. An analytical descriptive technique was used to address the questions, and the samples were taken from three chapters of the novel to determine the kinds of syntactic deviation according to Leech's (1969) framework. The study uncovered two kinds of syntactic deviation: incorrect

grammar and syntactic rearrangement. Also, syntactic deviations in this novel played a vital role in enhancing and portraying the psychological and modernist side. Similarly, Hamza (2020) addressed polysyndeton as a grammatical deviation in Shakespeare's *Othello* and the purpose behind using this figure of speech. The study followed a qualitative method to gather and examine the data. Some selected texts were investigated to answer the study questions. The findings of the short paper indicated that Shakespeare stylistically and consciously used polysyndeton in his play to accomplish some functions: decelerate movement between the elements of utterances, highlight the polysyndetic elements, increase rhythm to them, balance them, display the characters' failure of grammatical rules, and improve the audience's astonishment and excitement.

Moreover, Dyakiv et al. (2021) studied communicative deviance by interviewees in political contexts in German and Ukrainian. The researchers aimed to address the characteristics of informative deviations as a perceptive and simultaneously discursive event in Ukrainian-German language interviews as far as the respondents' perspectives are concerned. A quantitative approach was employed in this study. The findings of the study showed that the kinds of communicative deviance in the language of politics are common in both countries, yet mirror general and social particulars provided the characteristics of Ukrainian and German languages and current realia, customs, norms, and rubrics of interaction. Lastly, Dyakiv et al. recommended investigating deviations in interviews and other media genres.

A great deal of previous research into deviation reviewed above focused on the different types of deviations: grammatical, syntactic, phonological, morphological, graphological,

dialectal, register, lexical, semantic, historical, orthographical, and sociolinguistic in literary texts and other fields. However, they did not refer to pragmatic deviations that can be found in the fields of literature, novels, drama, poetry, and other fields as well.

Furthermore, there is a relatively small body of literature that is concerned with pragmatic deviation found in literary works (Castiglione, 2013; Zidane, 2017). The first study was done by Castiglione, who focused on "semantic and pragmatic deviances in two poems by Geoffrey Hill and Susan Howe." Castiglione argued that deviations are considered intrusions or associations of complexity. A qualitative method of research was used in this paper to examine the data of the two works gained through an understanding assignment given to ten English first-year students, which included easy open-ended questions. The findings of the paper indicated that such deviations were to be considered as associations of complexity. However, Castiglione claimed that this paper is a preliminary phase; further practical measures are necessary. The second study was conducted by Zidane, pragmatically exploring the use of deviation in literary works when analyzing different examples extracted from different novels. In general, this paper endeavors to reveal the influence of pragmatic deviation on the weightiness of literary text and the variance of language use. Findings showed that pragmatic deviation is frequently used in literary genres so as to display the characters' viewpoints and to decorate the author's style. Thus, it becomes a stylistic tool mirroring language used within literary discourse. Henceforth, it could be a style of novelty completed through curiosity and features of the formed texts, whether in literary texts or not. Nevertheless, both studies are criticized as they lack discussion; this shows no familiarity with related findings. Also, they have not adopted any pragmatic model for their analysis of the literary

texts.

Thus far, very few studies have been done on pragmatic deviation in all fields, and many have been done on other types of deviation, especially in the field of literature. Therefore, this current study intends to fill this theoretical, methodological, and empirical gap and investigate pragmatic deviation in the field of politics, which has been paid little attention as far as pragmatic deviation is concerned.

2.6 Studies Related to Grice's Cooperative Principle

Several researchers researched the cooperative principle and conversational maxims (Al-Qaderi & Alduais, 2019; Awwad et al., 2019; Ayunon, 2018; Cristina, 2021; Faridah et al., 2018; Iswahyuni, 2019; Made & Devi, 2022; Muslah, 2015; Ngenget, 2017; Nur, 2018; Ojukwu & Osuchukwu, 2019; Sidabutar & Johan, 2022; Suryadi & Muslim, 2019)

Cristina (2021) conducted a study investigating the kinds of implicature in *FRIENDS*, an American TV show. Cristina followed Grice's (1975) theory to study implicature and Leech's (1969) theory of figurative language to explore the forms of the implicature. Cristina used a qualitative approach, adopting Sudaryanto's (2015) interview method to collect textual information and the pragmatic identity technique to investigate the information. The implicature was found in thirty situations. The findings of the study indicated that twenty situations are particularized conversational implicatures, and ten are generalized implicatures that were utilized by *FRIENDS*. Besides, figurative language was found in the implicature; four contexts have personification, three ones that have simile, eight have a metaphor, nine have hyperbole, three have irony, while metonymy, synecdoche, oxymoron have only one, and there are no litotes. Hyperbole is utilized the

most.

Suryadi and Muslim (2019) also explored Grice's types and functions of conversational implicature in Chekhov's play *The Bear* and applied it in teaching the English language. Additionally, they followed a descriptive qualitative method with a purposeful sample. The instrument was observation. The results of the research showed that the two types of implicature and their functions were found in the play. What is more, the researchers argue that the play provides information that can be utilized to enhance the ELT students' speaking skills.

Awwad et al. (2019) conducted a theoretical study on the interpretations of violations of conversational maxims. The purpose of the study was to review some situations that discussed the violation of conversational maxims. The reviewed studies were related to literary works, everyday speech, and religion. Findings uncovered that the context plays a chief part in changing the implicature, where the utilization of Grice's maxims conveys a veiled message to ornament the options to make specific meanings shades regarding production and understanding.

Made and Devi (2022), Ojukwu and Osuchukwu (2019), and Sidabutar and Johan (2022) adopted Grice's (1975) cooperative principle to analyze their data. Ojukwu and Osuchukwu (2019) discussed Nelson Mandela's political speeches, while Made and Devi, and Sidabutar and Johan analyzed the movies *Tangled* and *Willoughbys* sequentially. All these three studies followed a qualitative approach to collect and examine the data. Also, all of them adopted a documentary analysis method. Their findings showed that all of Grice's conversational maxims are respected and followed in the dialogues. However,

these studies did not go deeper and were just confined to adherence examples of Grice's cooperative principle and Conversational maxims.

Correspondingly, Al-Qaderi and Alduais (2019) studied the universal nature of Grice's conversational implicature and applied it to Arabic political discourse. The data were from a documented interview with an ex-president on an Egyptian TV channel in 2014. Ten contexts were engendered and investigated to denote the violation of conversational maxims. The study's findings showed the probability of applying Grice's theory to Arabic situations. Also, it indicates a need for this theory towards speech regulation and that the speakers intentionally and unintentionally flout the maxims. However, they claimed that the generalizability of this study lacks high credibility because of the small amount of data examined. Therefore, they suggested that future papers should consider gathering more data and creating more instances of conversational maxims to generalize the universal nature of this theory.

Nur (2018) researched the non-observance of the conversational maxims in Ibsen's play *The Wild Duck*. She followed a descriptive qualitative method to gather and examine the texts extracted from the play. To analyze the data, the researcher adopted Krippendorff's (2004) content analysis technique to make reproducible and valid implications from manuscripts. The results of this research indicated that all four maxims are violated in the play. The maxim of quantity is broken more than others. Similarly, Iswahyuni (2019) conducted a study on Grice's implicature in River's plays, *Sherlock Holmes* and *The Mystery of the Aquilla*. The research aimed to uncover the different kinds of observance and non-observance in these plays. Also, the researcher followed a descriptive qualitative

approach with a purposive sample, analyzing and describing some utterances and dialogues of these plays. The findings showed that the characters flout the maxims to create implicatures. In addition, the researchers found thirty-five situations; eleven follow the cooperative principle and observe the maxims, while twenty-six do not. What is more, the maxim of quality is more highly violated than others, showing that the characters are not honest.

By the same token, Muslah (2015) carried out a study on Grice's implicature to find out the violation of the conversational maxims in three short stories by different writers: Mavuso's *The Wedding*, Jacobs' *A Love Passage*, and Dickens' *The Baron of Grogswig*. A qualitative approach was also used to gather and examine the textual information. Similar to Nur (2018), Muslah found that the maxim of quality is more highly violated than others, showing that the characters are untruthful. Similarly, Faridah et al. (2018) attempted to study the flouting of Grice's maxims in Banjar Madihin art. A qualitative approach was followed to collect the data, which was composed of ten videos selected haphazardly (the date or place of presentation) and taken from YouTube. The researchers gathered the data by recording and note-taking and examined them by utilizing the normative technique. They found thirty-five situations: six breaches of the quantity maxim, eight of the quality maxim, eleven of the relevance maxim, and ten of the manner maxim. This shows that the maxim of relevance is more highly violated than others, showing that the artists are conversing on irrelevant topics.

Ngenget (2017) reexamined Grice's conversational maxims in "Manado Malay language," which is utilized by the individuals who settle in Manado and its environs. The objectives

of the paper are to discover (1) how the cooperative principle can be broken by the speakers of that language? Moreover, (2) what is the intention of the engendered implicatures? A qualitative descriptive approach was utilized to gather and examine the data that were taken from the instructors' recorded dialogues during lunchtime at Unika De La Salle Mando in 2016. The researcher's instrument for recording the dialogues is a cellular program known as "Audio Notes." The results show that the speakers of that language are acquainted with implicatures that are made in the dialogue as a result of infringing the maxims. Implicatures are made since the addressers wish to provide information to their addressees. In addition, evidence was found of speakers of the Manado language creating implicatures to make fun of. However, the study can be criticized as the data collected is restricted to four examples; for each maxim, one example is given. More evidence should have been given to support the findings of the paper.

Similar to Ngenget (2017), Ayunon (2018) conducted a study on Grice's cooperative principle in analyzing utterances in a conversation, specifically on Facebook. The study endeavored to reconsider the adherence or non-adherence of Grice's Conversational maxims in posts on Facebook. A qualitative method was used to analyze the conversations posted on Facebook. The sample is fifty posts shared by thirty-seven persons, including twenty-five women and twelve men who are Ayunon's friends on Facebook. Findings showed that the posters are frequently liable to infringe the maxims, especially the maxim of quantity, so as to accomplish several intentions, blending mockery and fun in their posts. Finally, Ayunon recommended further studies on non-adherence to Grice's cooperative principle and Conversational maxims to examine actual conversations.

Up to now, the focus of the studies has been on literary works, everyday speech, and a few attempts in the political area that needs more and more research, for it is rich with different types of pragmatic deviation of Grice's cooperative principle and the Conversational maxims. Regarding the analysis of Trump's political discourse, the deviations from conversational maxims have not been investigated extensively. Hence, this situation has compelled the researcher to conduct research in this area.

2.7 Studies Related to Searle's Speech Act Theory

Some researchers have conducted studies to examine Austin's and Searle's speech act theory (Akinkulore, 2020; Azizah & Alpia, 2018; Dianita & Sofyan, 2023; Dylgjeri, 2017; Gusthina et al., 2018; Khalid & Amin, 2019; Hadiati, 2019; Hashim, 2015; Mufiah & Rahman, 2018; Ojukwu & Osuchukwu, 2019; Purwadi, 2021).

Akinkulore (2020) studied political language to investigate the importance of the context in conveying a pragmatic sense by using Austin's (1962) speech act theory. The data were qualitatively collected from Nigerian President Umaru Yar'Adua's political speeches from 2008-2009. Akinkulore analyzed Austin's three levels: locutionary, illocutionary, and perlocutionary acts. The findings of the research showed that context is vital in understanding and interpreting speech acts, whose application to political language helps to improve comprehension of this field. Therefore, as recommended by the researcher, more research is needed to explore speech acts in political areas.

Dylgjeri (2017) investigated the kinds of illocutionary speech act theory in Albanian Prime Minister Edi Rama's political discourse after the voting in 2013. The data, which were taken from his first speech to the Albanians, were qualitatively gathered and

examined. The findings of this short study reveal that the PM used commissive speech acts more than assertive and expressive ones as commitments to do several forthcoming acts. Likewise, Khalid and Amin (2019) examined the kinds of illocutionary acts in the political discourse of Ricardo Rodriguez, head of UNAMI in Erbil (15\8\2018), and Kurdistan Iraqi PM Nechirvan Barzani (3\8\2018) on the annual ceremony to the Yazidi victims who were killed in 2014 by Daesh (an illegal force). A qualitative method was also utilized in this study. The results showed that Barzani and Richard used all illocutionary acts, emphasizing assertive ones due to the sad situations that oblige them to produce emotional and motivational utterances.

Similar to Dylgjerii (2017) and Khalid and Amin (2019), Hashim (2015) explored the sorts of illocutionary acts in the political language by John Kerry during the US elections in 2004 and President W. Bush's Opening Speech about the economy and middle-class families in 2001. A qualitative approach was also utilized in this study. The researcher argued that both Kerry and Bush used illocutionary speech acts. Commissive ones were given more attention than others by Kerry to commit himself to future actions, while Bush focused on assertives more than others because of the true value of his propositions and showing emotions towards others. Identically, Azizah and Alpiaah (2018) and Mufiah and Rahman (2019) did similar studies to investigate the different kinds of illocutionary speech acts in Trump's inaugural speech in 2016 and also his inaugural speech in 2017, respectively. The results of the study by Azizah and Alpiaah showed that the representatives are the most used because Trump always tries to represent his informative and helpful nature, followed by expressives, declaratives, commissives, and directives successively. Almost similar to them, Mufiah and Rahman's findings show that the

representatives are also the most used, followed by directives, declaratives, commissives, and expressives successively.

Along the same lines, Purwadi (2021) examined the various types of illocutionary acts in former PM Julia E. Gillard's political speeches. The same approach was utilized to gather and examine the textual information. Also, findings showed that representatives were the most used because Gillard always tried to represent her informative nature and talk about herself. Then commissives came in second place, followed by directives, expressives, and declaratives successively. By the same token, Gusthini et al. (2018) analyzed the speech acts of Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton's political language in their quest to be the US president. The data were gathered and examined qualitatively. The researchers found that Trump and Clinton employed the illocutionary act as a powerful tool with categorizations of commissive, expressive, and representative. Furthermore, they used power to convince the people to elect them and make voters trust them as good future presidents.

The studies discussed above follow the same approaches: qualitative, with almost similar aims, discussing the types of illocutionary acts, attempting to uncover which ones are used the most and the reasons behind their uses, and with little variation in conclusions. However, all these studies did not discuss or refer to Austin's or Searle's felicity conditions of the speech acts that can be appropriate or inappropriate; they only showed numerous illocutionary acts and compared them to each other. However, very few studies (Dianita & Sofyan, 2023; Hadiati, 2019; Ojukwu & Osuchukwu, 2019) refer to Searle's felicity conditions. These are discussed below.

Hadiati (2019) investigated the felicity conditions (propositional, preparatory, sincerity,

and essential) of illocutionary speech acts in Banyumasan (a dialect of standard Javanese in Indonesia) everyday speech. The researcher conducted this study by utilizing a qualitative approach. The results of this paper showed the realization of Banyumasan conditions found in declarations, directives, expressive, commissives, and representatives. The speakers observe the conditions of the speech acts, and therefore, their utterances are felicitous. Similar to Hadiati, Ojukwu, and Osuchukwu (2019) analyzed South African Leader Nelson Mandela's speeches as far as Searle's (1969) four conditions and whether his speeches obeyed them. The same approach was followed. The same results were found: Mandela fulfilled all of Searle's conditions, and his speeches were appropriate and not defective. Similarly, Dianita and Sofyan (2023) analyzed the conditions of illocutionary speech acts in the film *Knives Out*. Similar to Hadiati and Ojukwu and Osuchukwu, Dianita and Sofyan followed the same approach and argued that the actors observe the conditions of speech acts in their speeches. However, these studies do not go deeper and analyze deviant examples of Searle's conditions; they only show how individuals adhere to these conditions and fulfill the speech acts. This shows a dearth in this less explored area, as Hadiati claimed. Therefore, the current study tries to fill this gap and shows how Searle's conditions are deviated from in Trump's political discourse.

2.8 Studies Related to Leech's (Im)politeness Principle Model

Several studies have been done on Leech's politeness principle (Akmal & Candrasari, 2019; Atmowardoyo et al., 2018; Ewurum & Chukwu, 2018; Hasan et al., 2021; Hikmahwati et al., 2021; Jameel & Sameer, 2021; Leyang & Xiaoting, 2021; Lustyantie & Dewi, 2019; Mariani et al., 2017; Ogayi & Osondu, 2021)

Hasan et al. (2021) investigated Leech's (1983) politeness model in the play *King and I*, which was written by Rodgers and Hammerstein, and the way the dramatis personae used the politeness maxims in their conversations to accomplish a successful interaction. The investigators, who used a qualitative method to gather and investigate the literary text, analyzed nine instances and focused on imperative dialogues and the maxims of generosity and tact. The results uncovered that the dramatis personae observe the maxim of generosity by showing a high cost to others' wants and that of tact by giving a low value to their wants and causing no impositions on others, especially in requesting, ordering, and advising. Analogous to Hasan et al. (2021), Leyang and Xiaoting (2021) conducted a study on the same model, aim, approach, and genre of writing, which is Lao She's play, *Teahouse*. Six dialogues were analyzed. Different from Hasan et al. (2021), Leyang and Xiaoting (2021) explored all six maxims. The findings of the generosity and tact maxims are similar to those of Hasan et al. (2021). Besides, the findings of the approbation maxim showed how the characters praise each other and show mutual respect, while the modesty maxim is used to express humility. Also, the maxim of agreement is adhered to by avoiding any contradiction when the characters are engaged in a dialogue, and the same is true of sympathy by being sympathetic to each other.

By the same token, Hikmahwati et al. (2021) investigated the various types of Leech's (1983) politeness principle and the strategies of Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory in the characters of *Akeelah and the Bee* film. Also, the researchers followed a qualitative approach. The data were chosen from two scripts: the film and the books. The findings revealed that the characters observed the politeness maxims. The maxim of approbation was used the most, followed by agreement, tact, modesty, and sympathy

sequentially. In addition, the characters mitigated their dialogues by utilizing some strategies, such as positive politeness, which was used the most, and negative politeness.

Jameel and Sameer (2021) examined the relevance of Leech's (1983) politeness principle and Searle's (1969) speech act theory in Richard Nixon's and George W. Bush's selected political speeches. The researchers used qualitative and quantitative methods to collect and analyze the data that were taken from YouTube. The results of this research showed that the maxim of generosity is observed when Richard Nixon shows politeness with his opponent, George W. Bush, and tries not to permit the separation of his nation. Besides, both observe the maxim of tact by mitigating their requests and that of modesty by showing humility when talking to their audiences. In addition, both adhere to the maxim of agreement by moderating contradictions with the audience to unite the country. Moreover, the maxims of agreement and approbation were used the most. Furthermore, Nixon and Bush used four speech acts: assertive, commissive, directive, and expressive.

Similarly, Mariani et al. (2017) endeavored to study Leech's (1983) politeness principle and Searle's (1979) speech act theory in Donald Trump's election triumph speech. The goal of the research is to investigate IAs and politeness in his speech. A qualitative approach was used to gather and examine the speeches, which were twenty-one examples. The results of the study indicated that Trump observes the maxim of generosity by benefiting others and offering a chance to the US people. Moreover, Trump follows the tact maxim by giving a low value to his desire to benefit others since Trump aims to unite the US. In addition, Trump observed this maxim when praising his opponent, Hilary Clinton. Besides, Trump adheres to the modesty maxim when talking to his opponent,

Hilary Clinton, to show modesty. Furthermore, Trump observes the agreement maxim by mitigating contradiction with the audience. Also, Trump followed the maxim of sympathy when showing sympathy for his opponent, Hilary Clinton, who was defeated in the election. However, this study is restricted to the observance of the maxims and does not show how Trump deviates from these maxims. Therefore, the present study contrasts with this study and explores Trump's deviation from not only six maxims but all of Leech's (2014) ten maxims.

Atmowardoyo et al. (2018) studied the use of Leech's (1983) politeness principle in the interaction of EFL teachers and pupils in Grade VIII of SMP Negeri twenty-three Makassar. A qualitative method and conversation analysis were used. Interview and observation techniques were utilized to gather the data. Seven meetings between EFL teachers and thirty-eight pupils were observed via video recording. The EFL teacher and three haphazard pupils were selected to be interviewed. The results of the study revealed that the teacher utilized all of Leech's maxims, with much emphasis on tact one. Furthermore, the researchers argued that the politeness principle generates intimacy between the teacher and his pupils, creates esteem conduct of pupils, and supports them to have an encouraging tendency toward the lecture that noticeably stimulates them to partake more enthusiastically in the learning process. Finally, Atmowardoyo et al. recommended further studies in different areas, especially regarding the deviation of the politeness principle by teachers and pupils in English learning. This point motivated the researcher to conduct a study on the deviation of Trump's political language.

The above studies have focused on Leech's (1983) politeness principle, which is an old

model that was reframed by the writer himself in 2014. They also discussed how people obey politeness maxims and the reasons behind their observance of the politeness principle.

Several new studies have given attention to the violation of Leech's (1983) politeness principle. Lustyantje and Dewi (2019) did one on the observance and non-observance of Leech's (1983) politeness principle in Lenong Betawi's funny talk known as *Anak Durhaka*. A descriptive approach and content analysis method were used. The data, which were gathered through interviews, observations, and document analysis, were four hundred sixty-five examples. The findings of the study showed that the maxim of agreement was the most adhered to, followed by tact, sympathy, generosity, approbation, and modesty maxims. Besides, the maxim of approbation was the most violated, followed by sympathy, modesty, agreement, generosity, and tact maxims. Finally, the researchers recommended further research in this field.

Ewurum and Chukwu (2018) studied the violation of the politeness principle in agitators' language in selected Nollywood eco-films. The paper studied the different kinds of politeness maxims that were not followed in these selected films. The researchers adopted Leech's (1983) politeness principle. The data were qualitatively analyzed by examining fifty situations. The findings of the research showed that the agitators in the films did not use mitigating strategies and, therefore, violated Leech's politeness maxims. The most violated maxim was agreement, followed by approbation and sympathy. Additionally, the characters break the maxim of tact by giving a high cost to their wants at the expense of others. Also, they infringe the maxim of approbation by humiliating each other and that

of agreement by giving a low value to each other's opinions. In addition, they do not adhere to the maxim of sympathy by showing high antipathy and low sympathy for each other's feelings. Finally, the researcher recommended further studies to be done on the violation of Leech's politeness maxims in political language.

In the same vein, Akmal and Candrasari (2019) investigated linguistic politeness in the language of politics. It was done qualitatively by gathering and examining the data of twelve candidates' debates in 2017 to elect the governor of Aceh province. The researchers followed Leech's (1983) politeness principle. Fifty-two chosen contexts were examined by observing the candidates' speeches. The results show that some of the candidates violated some maxims: tact when most candidates gave a high cost to their wants at the expense of others, generosity when they endeavoured to humiliate their opponents, and modesty when they strongly praised themselves by showing their own unique characteristics.

Ogayi and Osondu (2021) studied the violation of Leech's (1983) politeness principle in Akachi Ezeigbo's novel *Roses and Bullets*. The paper explored the types of politeness maxims and why they were violated. The researchers qualitatively gathered and analyzed the data, which consisted of twenty-one situations taken from the novel. The researchers found that the maxims were violated, leading to numerous forms of conflicts, bitterness, instigation, and even death. The characters violated the maxim of generosity by showing a low value to others' wants and seeking their own benefit. In addition, they broke the maxim of tact by giving a high cost to their wants at the expense of others. Besides, they did not observe the maxim of approbation by insulting each other. Additionally, they

violated the maxim of modesty by strongly praising themselves. Also, they did not follow the agreement maxim by giving a low value to others' opinions and maximizing disagreement between each other. Furthermore, they infringed the maxim of sympathy by showing high antipathy and low sympathy for others' feelings. Finally, the researchers recommended further research to be done on the violation of Leech's politeness principle in different areas.

Leech (2014) presents a new model for the violation of the maxims and suggests a new model for analyzing the deviation of language. Almost every paper that has been written on Leech's politeness principle did not refer to this new model, but they focused on Leech's (1983) politeness principle and how people followed or did not follow it. In brief, all the studies above, whether violation or non-violation of politeness maxims, did not refer to Leech's new model of impoliteness principle, which is the focus of the present thesis. However, the researcher found one study on Leech's new model done by Santoso et al. (2020), who examined the politeness principle and how EFL educators and students utilize it. The investigators gathered the textual information by using observation and questionnaire instruments and analyzed them qualitatively. The results revealed that the two teachers used and observed all of Leech's maxims of politeness except modesty, which was not found in their findings. Nevertheless, they did not discuss the deviation of the politeness principle, which is the attention of the current research.

Leech (2014) claims that impoliteness has been given significant attentiveness as a subject of inquiry lately because of the high frequency of impolite behaviour and the markedness of impolite behaviour, which becomes noticeable when occurring. Therefore, researchers

have begun to investigate this phenomenon by proposing and applying different theories of impoliteness to various situations. The following are recent studies that have been done on impoliteness (Abdelkawy, 2019; Alemi & Latifi, 2019; Colaco et al., 2021; El-Falaky, 2019; Ibrahim, 2020; Koike et al., 2022)

Abdelkawy (2019) conducted a study on impoliteness in the Arab TV political program *Al-Atijah Al-Muakis (the opposite direction)* broadcasted on Al-Jazeera, a Qatari TV channel. The researcher chose two episodes, applying Culpeper's (2011) impoliteness model to explore its strategies and categories. A qualitative approach was followed to collect and analyze the data, where seventy-six examples were found in the two episodes. The findings of the study revealed that numerous impolite examples were used in the program, including all the categories of the model. In addition, straight insults were found; personalized negative assertions came first, followed by personalized negative references, personalized negative vocatives, and lastly, personalized third-person negative references, which are not straight insults.

Similarly, Colaco et al. (2021) examined the occurrence of impoliteness strategies utilized by people in their political debates online and uncovered their motives for utilizing these strategies. The researchers adopted Culpeper's (1996, 2005) impoliteness model to qualitatively analyze the data, which included one hundred fifty-five impolite examples taken from the online news portal Malaysiakini. The researchers argued that impolite strategies existed to show irritation, more precisely, to suppress irritation.

By the same token, Alemi and Latifi (2019) studied Culpepper's (1996) impoliteness and Bousfield's (2008) impoliteness models in the discussions between Republicans and

Democrats, the chief American political parties in 2013, over the government shutdown subject. The study aims to explore the occurrence of impoliteness strategies used by the two parties against each other. Also, a qualitative method was used to gather and examine the data, which were videos of the Democrats' and Republicans' speeches on diverse events during the US government shutdown. The findings of the research indicated that all the strategies were used to make their contenders behave according to their predilections. Lastly, the researchers pointed out that impoliteness research is scarce in the field of politics, recommending more studies on this less-explored area.

Following the same line, El-Falaky (2019) studied Culpepper's (1996, 2005) impoliteness in the first Egyptian TV debate between two presidential candidates, Abdel M. Aboul Fotouh and Amr M. Moussa. The study aims to examine the strategies they utilize for impoliteness. The paper used qualitative and quantitative methods to analyze the data, which consisted of thirteen examples. The results of the study revealed that both used different strategies of impoliteness to show power, misrepresent each other's political reputation, and threaten each other.

Parallel to El-Falaky (2019), Ibrahim (2020) attempted to study impolite speech on Twitter and the influence of age and sex on the utilization of impolite tweets on political matters. Also, the researcher qualitatively and quantitatively analyzed one hundred tweets that were posted by English netzines that commented on different political matters. The researcher adopted Culpepper's (1996) impoliteness model. The study's findings showed that Twitter is full of impolite political comments. Furthermore, people aged between 15 and 25 seldom commented on political issues, while those between 25 and 35 commented

a lot and used impolite words on these issues. Also, males used more impolite expressions than females, especially females between 55 and 60 years old. Finally, the researcher recommended further studies on impoliteness similar to this one.

Similar to Ibrahim (2020), Koike et al. (2022) also did a study on the impoliteness of some tweets of the Real Academia Española. The researchers claimed that impoliteness should be seen from the viewpoint of the persons, mirroring their own experiences and familiarity, and recognizing the standards of their societies. The researchers followed Bousfield's (2008) impoliteness model to analyze the data, which included fifty-six tweets between various netizens. Fourteen participant-viewers valued each netizen's tweet, judged, and commented on the impoliteness on a 5-point scale. The results of the paper revealed that there were several harmonies concerning the concept of impoliteness, which sets of individuals appeared to position themselves in everyday day. Also, the majority of viewers judged the insults as impolite. The researchers argued that the politeness theories focused on face-to-face interaction and limited the literature on impoliteness, recommending that researchers do more studies on this less-researched area.

The studies reviewed above concentrated on the application of impoliteness in dialogues and conversations, adopting either Culpeper's (1996, 2005, 2011) model of impoliteness or Bousfield's (2008) impoliteness. The current study discusses Leech's (2014) impoliteness principle, which contains ten maxims. More specifically, the study investigates the deviation of these maxims in Trump's political discourse to fill the gap in this less-studied area.

2.9 Studies Related to discordance and alignment between the Three Models

In addition to the previous studies discussed in sections (2.6, 2.7, 2.8), there are some few studies that explored the discordance and alignment of the pragmatic principles (Farahin, 2020; Karim, 2016; Mariani et al., 2017; Lulu, 2019; Ojukwu & Osuchukwu, 2019; Wenting, 2017).

Karim (2016) conducted a study on Leech's (1983) politeness principle and Grice's (1975) cooperative principle in a guest's complaint at X Hotel in Kuta-Bali. The paper aims to explore the guests' and the receptionist's observance and non-observance of the politeness maxims and conversational maxims, and the kind of speech acts used. The data is a sequence of dialogues made at the hotel reception. The researcher follows a qualitative method to examine the data according to the adopted models. Findings show that the receptionist respects politeness maxims and conversational maxims, but the guest does not. Moreover, the receptionist uses commissive speech acts while the guest employs directive ones. However, this paper analyzes the models separately without linking them to each other to show how they discord or align. In addition, the writer does not refer to the felicity conditions or explain how some of them are not met.

Wenting (2017) studied the relationship between Grice's cooperative principle (1975) and Leech's (1983) politeness principle in everyday Chinese speech and how they can go side-by-side for better interaction. A qualitative approach is adopted in this research. The researcher applies the models to some everyday Chinese dialogues to show the conflict and collaboration between politeness and conversational maxims; some speakers prefer politeness over truthfulness or clarity, some do the opposite, and others observe both. The

researcher argued that the two models need to cooperate for better interaction. Similarly, Lulu (2019) attempted to examine the differences between Grice's cooperative principle (1975) and Leech's (1983) politeness principle in English and Chinese commentators' speeches that are taken from competitive electronic sports. The researcher uses a quantitative approach in which a random sample is chosen, consisting of four English-Chinese e-sport commentaries. The findings of the research showed that the Chinese pay more attention to politeness, while the English focus on observing the conversational maxims when commenting on the gamers' performance. However, both papers focus on specific situations and do not take a further step to include the felicity conditions of the speech acts. Besides, they do not include situations in which speakers can simultaneously deviate from all these maxims and conditions. The present thesis tries to address this issue.

On the same token, Farahin (2020) conducted a paper on an Indonesian Islamic preacher, Ustaz Zulkifli Muhamad Ali's religious speech. The paper aims to explore Grice's (1975) cooperative principle and Leech's (1983) politeness principle in Ali's speech. The researcher examines and gathers the data qualitatively. The data are taken from YouTube. Farahin argues that Ali follows Grice's Conversational maxims and Leech's politeness maxims when giving sermons to the people. However, no reference to conflicts between the maxims is shown in the paper, and only some utterances are analyzed separately according to the models. Moreover, the researcher recommended further studies on politeness and cooperation.

Ojukwu and Osuchukwu (2019) discussed Nelson Mandela's political speeches pragmatically, adopting Austin and Searle's speech acts theory and Grice's cooperative

principle and the Conversational maxims: quantity, quality, relation, and manner. Their objective is to analyze Mandela's speeches as far as Austin's felicity conditions and Grice's cooperative principle, and whether his speeches obey them. They used selective sampling for the collection of data. Findings showed that Mandela followed Austin's conditions, and his speeches were happy. Also, his speeches adhere to Grice's cooperative principle and conversational maxims. However, this study does not go deeper and limits adherence to examples of cooperative principles and conversational maxims that could be found in Mandela's speeches. Furthermore, they analyze the speeches separately without linking the models together.

Mariani et al. (2017) endeavored to study Leech's (1983) politeness principle and Searle's (1979) speech act theory in Donald Trump's election triumph speech. The goal of the research is to investigate illocutionary speech acts and politeness in his speech. A qualitative approach was used to gather and examine the speeches, which were twenty-one examples. The findings of the paper indicated that all maxims were used by Trump, who followed the maxims to show politeness. Trump also uses different kinds of illocutionary speech acts. However, this study does not show how Trump deviates from the maxims of politeness and the felicity conditions. Therefore, the present research will address this gap to show how these maxims and conditions can be discorded and aligned.

The studies reviewed above concentrated on discussing Leech's (1983) politeness principle, Grice's (1975) cooperative principle, and Austin's (1962) and Searle's (1969) felicity conditions of the speech acts separately by showing how the speakers observe or do not observe the Conversational maxims, the politeness maxims, and the felicity

conditions. Some of these studies attempt to combine some of the maxims to show the discordance, but do not show how all of them discord and align with each other in specific situations at the same time. Consequently, the present thesis endeavours to fill this gap and combines the maxims and conditions to show how they discord and align with Trump's political discourse.

2.10 Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework shown in Figure 2.5 is developed based on the theoretical framework and past studies. In the current study, the overarching concept is pragmatic deviation, which refers to the inappropriate performance of the pragmatic principles. Thus, the researcher draws on three theories: Leech's (2014) impoliteness principle, Grice's (1975) cooperative principle, and Searle's (1969) speech act. The derived concepts from these theories are Leech's (2014) impoliteness maxims (generosity, tact, approbation, modesty, obligation of S to O, obligation of O to S, agreement, opinion-reticence, sympathy, and feeling-reticence), Grice's (1975) conversational maxims (quality, quantity, relevance, and manner), and Searle's (1969) felicity conditions of illocutionary speech acts (propositional content, preparatory, sincerity, and essential). These derived concepts are likely to discord and align, as shown in Figure 2.5.

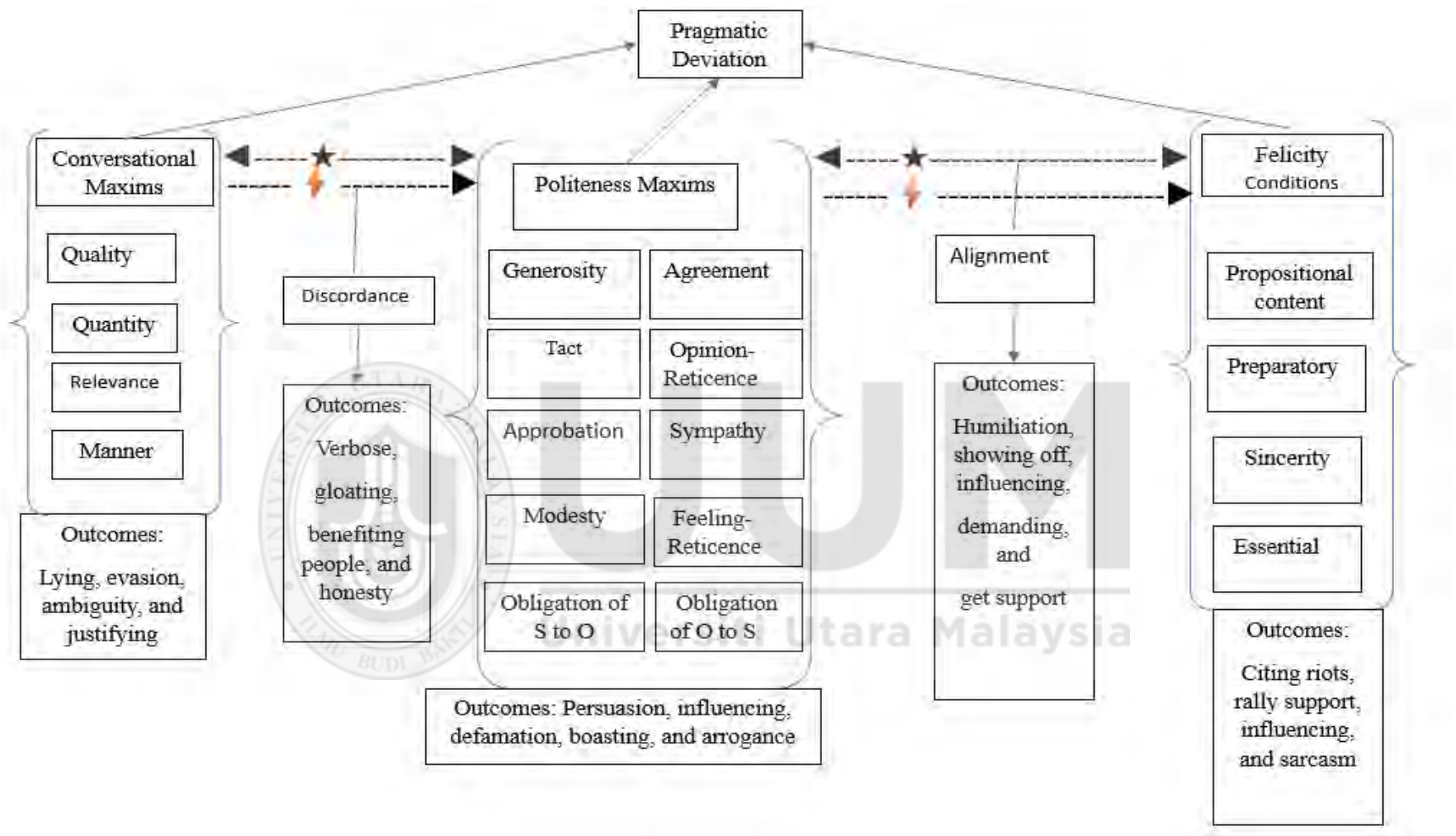


Figure 2.5 The Conceptual Framework of the Study

This figure shows that pragmatic deviation is caused by Grice's conversational maxims, Leech's (im)politeness maxims, and Searle's felicity conditions of illocutionary speech acts, which is indicated by using a solid straight arrow (\rightarrow). In addition, the bidirectional arrow, which has a star symbol within it ($\leftarrow\star\rightarrow$), indicates that these three models can align with each other, while the lightning bolt arrow ($---\text{⚡}---$) shows the discordance between these models. Deviating from these models results in expected outcomes, as shown in the figure. Therefore, based on this conceptual framework, the researcher suggests an eclectic model that combines all these pragmatic principles in the study.

Integrating Grice's cooperative principle, Leech's (im)politeness principle, and Searle's theory of speech act offers a multi-dimensional framework to investigate Trump's political discourse pragmatically, each discussing definite aspects of the research questions. Grice's four conversational maxims (quantity, quality, relevance, manner) identify operational deviation in the social norms (e.g., lying or shifting the topic), uncovering how Trump employs truthfulness and relatedness. Leech's (im)politeness maxims (generosity, tact, approbation, modesty, obligation of S to O, obligation of O to S, agreement, opinion-reticence, sympathy, and feeling-reticence) decipher relational aggression, revealing insults, mockery, and self-exaggeration as weapons to divide society and declare supremacy. Searle's felicity conditions of illocutionary speech acts (propositional content, preparatory, sincerity, and essential) reveal performative power, indicating how unlawful orders or dishonest claims dramatically mirror authority while avoiding executive legality. Collectively, these models indicate the way deviation functions not in separation but as interlinked strategies (misleading truth, increasing polarization, and weakening

organizational credibility. In addition, Grice's, Leech's, and Searle's frameworks show that they can match and clash. They align when Trump's utterances deviate from all these models; false claims break Grice's quality and Leech's generosity maxims and Searle's conditions of statement. They can discord when Trump's discourse breaks some of the maxims while adhering to felicity conditions and vice versa; expressing truth violates Leech's sympathy maxim but observes Grice's quality maxim and Searle's conditions of expressive speech act. Their amalgamation provides a holistic view of how language employs reality, relations, and power in political discourse.

2.11 Summary

In the beginning, the researcher provides an introduction to the chapter. Next, the concept of language and politics was explained. Then, language and leadership were discussed, followed by a presentation of Trump as a political leader. Next, language deviation with emphasis on pragmatic deviation is discussed. Also, the theoretical framework includes Grice's (1975, 1989) cooperative principle and conversational maxims, Leech's (2014) model of (im)politeness principle, and Searle's (1969) speech act theory, and the discordance and alignment between these models are provided in detail. After that, the recent studies on different kinds of language deviation are reviewed. Then, studies related to Grice's cooperative principle, Searle's speech act theory, Leech's (2014) (im)politeness model, and discordance and alignment between these models are elucidated. Finally, the chapter provides the conceptual framework of the study.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The current chapter elucidates the procedures and methods the researcher used in this thesis, as shown in Figure 3.1. It establishes the design of the study, which discusses the philosophical worldview or paradigm, the kind of research, the method, and its characteristics. Then, it elaborates on the sampling and the research tools. After that, it explains the data collection procedures that the researcher employed in this study. Next, it discusses the data analysis procedures that are used in this study. Then, a pilot study is presented. Finally, this chapter explains the ethical considerations the study follows.

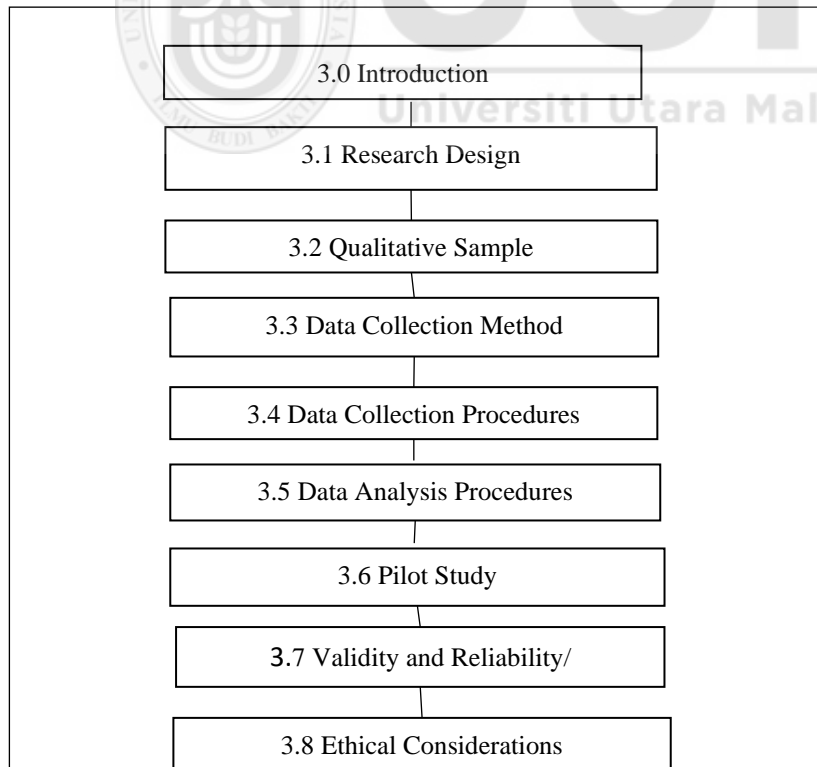


Figure 3.1. The Organization of Chapter Three

3.2 Research Design

The design of the study presents the thesis framework and connects the study parts. It presents the investigators with the chance to cautiously reflect on the study and design how they can address the study. Therefore, it is an organized design to investigate a specific issue that defines the kind of research and its structure (Ali, 2017; Patton, 2015). In addition, Ragin (1994) thoroughly and comprehensively defines it as a plan for collecting and analyzing evidence that will make it possible for the investigator to answer whatever questions they have posed (p. 191). The plan of an examination reaches all the parts of the study, from the tiny units of gathering data to the choice of procedures for analyzing them.

Nordin (2017) and Patton (2015) believe that the research design needs to be built on the considerations of the best approach in conducting a study. Making such a choice is not grounded in what makes one approach better than the other; every investigator needs to think about the kind of approach that will meet the requirements of their work. The selection of a specific methodology depends perilously on the relationship between methodology and research aims. To put it in other words, as argued by Flick (2009), instead of thinking about the choice for/against qualitative or quantitative approaches, this choice has to be identified by the appropriate approach for the problem under investigation and the questions and objectives of the research.

The current study intends to investigate pragmatic deviation in Donald Trump's political discourse; it aims to discover the pragmatic principles (Leech's (2014) politeness maxims, Grice's (1975) conversational maxims, and Searle's (1969) felicity conditions) that are deviated from in Trump's political discourse. Also, it tries to explore the alignment and

discordance between the pragmatic principles in Trump's political discourse. Therefore, the emphasis of the research is on these three models that are related to its aim to examine pragmatic violations in Trump's rhetoric. Grice's conversational maxims determine how Trump's discourse breaks the norms of cooperation (e.g., providing unproved information about banning travels from and to China flouting the quality maxim), Leech's impoliteness maxims explain why these violations are deliberately antagonistic (e.g., gloating towards rivals' electoral losses infringing the feeling-reticence maxim), and Searle's felicity conditions uncover Trump's defective rhetoric (e.g., ironic apologies deviating from these conditions). Collectively, these models present a multifaceted lens through which to analyze Trump's language as both an interactive breakdown and a tactical political tool.

Lukenchuk (2025), Rapley (2007), and Wellington (2000) point out that a perfect study necessitates referring to paradigms or worldviews in the researcher's research or, at least, being conscious that these worldviews affect the researcher when conducting their study. Qualitative investigators use worldviews that consist of a group of views they refer to in their studies, and these kinds have progressed gradually. Four worldviews represent the beliefs of researchers and shape the practice of the research they refer to in their qualitative studies: pragmatism, advocacy/participatory, constructivism or interpretivism, and postpositivism. Since the investigator is concerned with the construction and interpretation of meaning and reality, constructivism is the most suitable paradigm for the current study.

Vanderstoep and Johnston (2009) claim that the aim of following a qualitative method is “more descriptive than predictive” (p. 167). The objective is to deeply comprehend the

perspective of those who are interested in the research. So, the current study is a descriptive qualitative approach since the researcher collects the data from words and sentences. Creswell (2012), Flick (2009), Vanderstoep and Johnston (2009), and Wellington (2000) point out that qualitative researchers use non-statistical data instead of statistical data to express what they learn about a specific phenomenon to explore a problem and develop a detailed understanding. Thus, according to Dornyei (2007), a qualitative study is intrinsically based on language. In the current study, the researcher qualitatively analyzes and elucidates utterances grounded on the pragmatic deviation from Leech's politeness maxims, Grice's Conversational maxims, and Searle's felicity conditions of speech acts in Trump's political discourse.

Merriam (2016) recommends that if the researcher uses a particular type of qualitative design, they have to outline this kind of qualitative study and what it is about. They have to be clear and justify their choice of this specific methodology that addresses the research questions. The present study employs a discourse analysis approach to analyze pragmatic deviation in Trump's political discourse. Creswell (2012), Flick (2009), Ercan and March (2016), Taylor (2001), Vanderstoep and Johnston (2009), and Wertz et al. (2011) mention that discourse analysis is a key method of analysis used by qualitative researchers. McMullen (2011) claims that discourse analysis is called a method of analysis; a methodology; a perspective on social life that involves metatheoretical, theoretical, and analytic principles (p. 205). It is used to conceptualize and analyze language.

Moreover, Wertz et al. (2011) point out that the discourse analysis method focuses on written and verbal expressions with attention to their social contexts, ways of making meaning, and consequences. It focuses explicitly on a part of the data and intensely

analyzes a small number of extracts from the corpus of data. Likewise, Flick (2009) states that discourse analysis deals with the use of language in specific situations and how meanings, definite identities, information, and applications are formed by depicting something in a way equated with others. To illustrate, the kind of language used by the media and in conversation among individuals about a specific topic. The researcher can analyze such discourse and its effect on comprehending the topic well. Holloway and Wheeler (2010) argue that discourse analysts must be aware of the situation in which action occurs so that the situation can be analyzed as well. In the current research, the researcher applies a discourse analysis method to pragmatically analyze Trump's discourse according to the context, which has a crucial role in understanding language deviation. To examine the data according to a discourse analysis method, the researcher adopts three models: Grice's conversational maxims, Leech's politeness maxims, and Searle's felicity conditions of speech acts.

3.3 Research Sample

The sampling technique the researcher follows in this qualitative study is non-random probability sampling, more specifically, purposeful sampling. Merriam and Tisdell (2016) point out that such sampling is dependent on the supposition that the researcher desires to find out, comprehend, and get a sense so that they can solve the problem of the study. Ball (1990, as cited in Cohen et al., 2007) adds that generally, the researcher uses a purposeful sample to approach well-informed individuals who possess much information about specific topics because of their experience or power. On the other hand, Cohen et al. (2007) claim that the researcher may avoid using a random sample because it is mainly unfamiliar with specific topics and is not able to refer to what interests the investigator,

as claimed by Herring (2004), such sample ruins context that is deemed significant in the interpretation of the discourse analysis findings, and therefore a purposive sample is vital. Furthermore, Cohen et al. argue that non-random sampling could not be represented, and its notes could not be generalized since these issues are not its central aim, but it aims to gain thorough material from some specific individuals.

The present study sample is of the 45th president of the USA, a Republican Party member, and Donald Trump's political discourse. Trump is well-known for his directness in some of his speeches and has been deemed a controversial president since his early career. His speeches are subject to broad discussions by many researchers (Azizah & Alpiah, 2018; Balogun & Murana, 2018; Chen et al., 2019; Gusthini et al., 2018; Mariani et al., 2017; Mohammadi & Javadi, 2017; Loko, 2018; Mufiah & Rahman, 2018; Nguyen, 2018; Swaim, 2015) because Trump uses different strategies that make him distinctive. Therefore, the researcher selected Trump as the sample for this study because of his unique qualities and his language. Generally, Trump represents a model for the US president and a politician who attempts by any means to gain support from the public and appear exceptional.

Taylor (2001) believes that in analyzing qualitative data, including qualitative discourse data, the researcher is likely to use a much smaller sample because, according to Bowen (2005), the emphasis is on quality rather than quantity. Besides, Sandelowski (1995) claims that individuals, artifacts, locations, documents, and secondary data can become samples because they have information that provides about a specific phenomenon. Qualitative researchers use the size of samples that could be individuals, observations, interviews, documents, or some events. Therefore, the sample of the current study is

Trump's political discourse, interviews, and speeches that already existed and were downloaded from YouTube.

To address the research questions, the investigator attempts to use Trump's political discourse, but how many documents should the researcher use? This question haunts the researcher. This is emphasized by Flick (2009) and Merriam and Tisdell (2016), who claim that such a question probably bothers the inexperienced qualitative investigator. Fortunately, Merriam and Tisdell assert that it is always dependent on the questions of the research, the collected data, the investigation forward, and the resources the investigator needs to use to back the research. Lincoln and Guba (1985) recommend that the researcher should take samples until reaching a point of saturation. Reaching saturation means that the investigator begins to see the same behaviours in documents; no new insights appear. Moreover, Morse (1995) and Vasileiou et al. (2018) believe that in qualitative research, saturation is the most widespread leading criterion for measuring the sufficiency of purposeful samples. In the current study, the collection of data is saturated after coding Trump's quotations, which encompass all the concepts of the three adopted models as represented in the codebook (see section 3.6.2.1). This codebook contains all the concepts and Trump's quotations and shows how saturation is achieved.

Johnstone (2018) points out that specialists in the discourse analysis method utilize different types of data, encompassing records of audible, visual, written documented communications, aphorisms, and different virtual interactions. Likewise, Taylor (2001) states that the analysts might select documents because these documents are not broadly illustrative but extremely definite, claiming that they deserve to be analyzed (e.g., they

are linked to influential or famous individuals. Thus, the researcher purposefully selected three oral documents: two interviews and one speech, as shown below:

1. Trump's direct Speech to the crowd in Illinois on 6/25/2022 in support of candidate Congressperson Mary Miller to be reelected and Darren Bailey to be elected as the governor of Illinois.
2. Trump's interview with Fox News Channel reporters Martha MacCallum and Bret Baier in the Fox News Town Hall in front of the people who are allowed to ask him some questions directly. This happened in Scranton on 3\6\2020 to talk about different issues.
3. Trump's interview with CNN Channel reporter Anderson Cooper in the Republican Presidential Town Hall in front of people. This happened in Milwaukee on 3\29\2016 to talk about the candidacy for the 2017 US president.

As mentioned above, these documents are of two types: two interviews and one speech, as shown in Table 3.1. The researcher intends this for certain reasons: to answer the research questions, to saturate all different kinds of pragmatic deviation adopted in this thesis (Grice's and Leech's maxims and Searle's felicity conditions), and to triangulate the data. Besides, the researcher intentionally selects speeches and interviews from different periods to see how Trump behaves during and after his ruling as the US president and also to answer the questions of the study. In addition, the reason for including two interviews and one speech is that one speech and one interview do not fully answer the research questions. So, more documents are needed to achieve the objectives of the study. Because the nature of the adopted theories, such as Grice's and Leech's maxims,

necessitates face-to-face dialogues to check how these maxims are deviated from, an extra interview is needed. Besides, the study focuses on discourse regardless of the document type to answer the research questions. Consequently, to achieve the aims of the research, these three samples of Trump's political discourse are collected utilizing a qualitative approach. His utterances are pragmatically investigated to see how Trump deviates from language by using three pragmatic models that are related to what the speaker means, intends, and offends.

Table 3.1

Details of the Sample of the Present Research

The Title of the Document	Type	The Date	The Place	The Total Number of the Words
Direct Speech to the Crowd in Illinois	Speech	6/25/2022	Illinois	8957
Interview with Fox News Channel reporters Martha MacCallum and Bret Baier	Interview	3\6\2020	Scranton	10010
Trump's interview with CNN Channel reporter Anderson Cooper	Interview	3\29\2016	Milwaukee	12052

3.4 Research Instruments

The issue of choosing a specific method for collecting the data is not based on the preference of one over another, similar to the choice of the methodology, but on the problem, aim, and the kind of sample used. This is assured by Merriam and Tisdell (2016), who argue that “the data collection techniques used, as well as the specific information

considered to be data in a study, are determined by the researcher's theoretical orientation, by the problem and purpose of the study, and by the sample selected" (p. 106).

3.4.1 Oral Documents

Moreover, qualitative researchers have many other instruments they can use to answer research questions. These can be interviews, observations, documents, artifacts, diaries, letters, and students' journals. However, Polkinghorne (2005) states that in qualitative studies, three main instruments exist: interviewing, observing, and documenting. The present work employs the third kind, which is documents, more specifically visual (oral) documents, which can be used as a stand-alone method, as claimed by Flick (2009). Documents can be written or oral sources about an experience. Likewise, these documents are seen by Patton (2015) as a blanket term that refers to an extensive set of visual, written, concrete, and digital data related to the inquiry. Documents are naturally a regular segment of the study context and do not change the context as it happens when the researcher is supposed to be present in interviewing persons or observing them. They are already existing data that can be straightforwardly accessed. Such materials exist both physically and online. So, the kind of instrument used in this study is oral documents (preexisting data) that are taken from YouTube (Trump's political speech and interviews), as explained above, to address the questions of research. The researcher will watch the videos and then transcribe them to be coded and ready for analysis.

The researcher purposefully selected three oral documents: two interviews, one with Fox News and another with CNN News, and one direct speech, a public speech in Illinois. A public speech is a formal talk given to a group of people to provide information, convince

them of something, or inspire them. It uses clear messages and confident speaking, along with gestures and body language, to keep the audience engaged. Often, speakers use special techniques to influence how people think or to encourage them to take action (Lucas, 2020). These documents exist online in the form of videos on YouTube. The researcher chooses them to help analyze Trump's political discourse qualitatively by applying three pragmatic principles: Grice's (1975) cooperative principle and conversational maxims, Leech's (2014) (im)politeness principle and (im)politeness maxims, and Searle's (1969) speech act theory and the felicity conditions of speech acts to answer the research questions as shown in Figure 3.2:

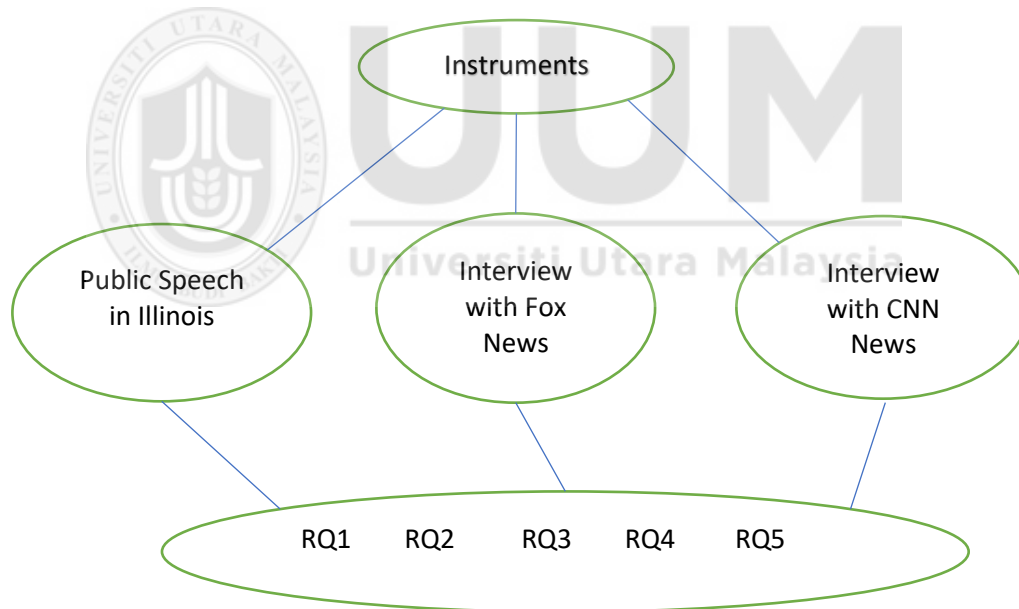


Figure 3.2. Instruments of the Present Research

While Trump’s 2022 direct speech focuses on promising and claiming (“*I will make America great again*”) to rally support, his 2020 interview relies on Grice's deviations (“*I*

know the competition”) and Leech’s impoliteness maxims (*“apologize for what?”*) to avoid answerability and withhold information. Jointly, these three documents demonstrate how pragmatic violations familiarize the situation: written discourse forms calamities, while unexpected dialogue implements domination. Although these documents are different in format, they show a vital tactic—destabilizing linguistic norms to redesign political truth.

3.5 Data Collection Procedures

The purpose of collecting data is to provide proof of the issue under study. The proof takes the shape of depictions that individuals presented of what they have experienced. The investigator examines that proof to make an essential depiction of what they experienced. The data serves as the foundation on which the results of the research are grounded. The investigator takes extracts from the data to demonstrate the results and reveal to the readers the way of deriving the results from the evidentiary material (Polkinghorne, 2005). Usually, the proof is in the shape of excerpts, quotations, or entire passages from individuals’ experiences, viewpoints, beliefs, emotions, and information extracted from various types of (oral) documents that are transformed into written texts through transcription. (Patton, 2015; Polkinghorne, 2005).

Bowen (2009), Creswell (2012), and Merriam and Tisdell (2016) provide some beneficial procedures for gathering qualitative documentary data. The researcher adapts these procedures in the current study:

a) Determine the existence and accessibility of the documentary data. The researcher, as reported by Creswell (2012), has to detect the kinds of documentary data that could give

good evidence to address the questions of the study. Thus, according to Merriam and Tisdell (2016), the investigator has to be responsive when it comes to discovering good documentary data. In the current study, the researcher identifies the oral documents that are found on YouTube. Accessing them is easy as they are available on YouTube, and everyone can watch or obtain them freely without restrictions or permission. The researcher watched many videos at different times (before, during, and after Trump's presidency) to choose the most relevant ones to the research questions. Therefore, the researcher selected three speeches, two interviews, and one direct speech to saturate the data and answer the research questions.

b) Determine the authenticity, completeness, and usefulness of the documents. Bowen (2009) claims that the investigator should identify the presence, obtainability, advantage, and trustworthiness of specific documentary data. They have to take into consideration the authentic goal of each document, its situation, and the addressees. Because they are biased explainers of the documentary data, they should be accurate and clear when analyzing the data. As argued by Merriam and Tisdell (2016), given the slight differences in the authentic online documentary data, it is significant to refer to the quoted excerpts that tackle the topic under the study. In the current work, the investigator assesses the authenticity of each chosen document, as shown above, in which the researcher provides details of each document: the author, the location, the kind of document and audience, and the purpose. Besides, the investigator provides direct quotations from Trump's political discourse to enhance the authenticity of this qualitative study.

c) The investigator should follow a structure for coding and cataloguing the documentary

data. By coding the data, the investigator can easily reach them when they want to analyze and interpret them. In the current work, first, the researcher watches the oral documents, then chooses the most valuable and relevant documents that are related to the research questions, determines their authenticity, and then transcribes the data. On his computer, the researcher creates a file folder in which the data of the documents is put in Microsoft Office Word to be coded.

3.6 Data Analysis Procedures

Creswell (2012), Flick (2014), and Patton (2015) point out that analyzing qualitative data, which is a central stage of the study process, occurs after accessing data, deciding on the samples, and collecting and elaborating data.

Flick (2014) and Patton (2015) believe that to analyze textual information is to understand it. This necessitates the consolidation, reduction, and interpretation of individuals' utterances and the investigator's reading and perception. The process of analyzing data is done in order to make meaning. This process is complicated as it needs back-and-forth movement between physical parts of textual information and non-concrete notions, between description and clarification, which all form the results of research.

Creswell (2012) suggests some steps needed to analyze and interpret qualitative data. Thus, in the current study, the researcher follows these steps, linking them to the current work as follows:

3.6.1 Preparing and Organizing the Data.

To prepare the data to be analyzed, the researcher has to organize an enormous quantity of materials, transfer individuals' speech or writing to a file type, and make choices concerning data analysis manually or electronically (Creswell, 2012).

Creswell (2012) suggests that at the initial step in analyzing qualitative data, the investigator organizes data into computer files. In the current study, the researcher first watches the videos on YouTube to purposefully select the ones that are relevant to and answer the research questions. Then, the relevant videos are downloaded and placed in a computer folder to be watched again and transcribed. The researcher might listen to the tapes to begin the process of analysis. This needs converting what is said to documents in a computer to be analyzed. This process is known as transcription, which converts recorded videos or tapes into textual data. According to Dornyei (2007), it permits the researcher to be familiar with data in depth because the investigator can be immersed in the data.

Edwards and Lampert (1993) and Martinez (2012) believe that the researcher could utilize a transcription program to type textual documents, or they could transcribe the data themselves. In both cases, a transcriptionist needs a particular device to assist in making transcripts. This apparatus involves a tool that allows the transcribers to begin, pause, or speed up the recorded videos. In the current study, after downloading the video from YouTube, the researcher transcribed the information from the video. The researcher opens a blank document on his computer to type what the researcher hears from the video, using a media player to quickly pause and start the video while transcribing so that the

researcher cannot skip any information. The process of pausing and starting is continuous until the end of transcribing the first draft. After finishing the process of transcribing the oral information, the researcher replays the video to check for the exactness of reaching the final draft, which is a verbatim transcript of the oral discourse.

Rapley (2007, pp. 54-56) proposes regulations that the researcher can consider when producing their transcripts. These are followed in the current study:

a) The title of the transcript is called either extract¹, fragment¹ or simply transcript¹. In the present thesis, the researcher uses transcript¹ for the transcribed document.

b) The researcher can put the title in parentheses to enable them to easily and quickly identify where this transcript comes from. In addition, Rapley (2007) suggests developing some ways to mark extracts, especially those with a more extended period, in such a way so that the researcher could discover where they come from, which section of the video they have taken from to watch it again for re-checking the ideas. In the current work, the researcher provides the period in which the speakers produce their utterances after their names to enable the researcher to go back to the original video where necessary and even to facilitate this for the reader.

c) The researcher needs to identify each speaker on the left-hand side of the transcript. Also, the researcher has to label the speaker by using descriptors such as Doctor, Teacher, or their abbreviated terms (Dr., Tr.). In the current study, the researcher uses Mr. Donald Trump.

d) The researcher needs to give each line a number when s/he writes about extracts. This

helps the researcher to rapidly look up a particular segment of the conversation, without the need to replicate that segment in the transcript. In the current study, the researcher automatically puts in line numbers by choosing to restart each page in an Office Word document. This way, according to Rapley (2007), helps transcribe very long stretches of talk.

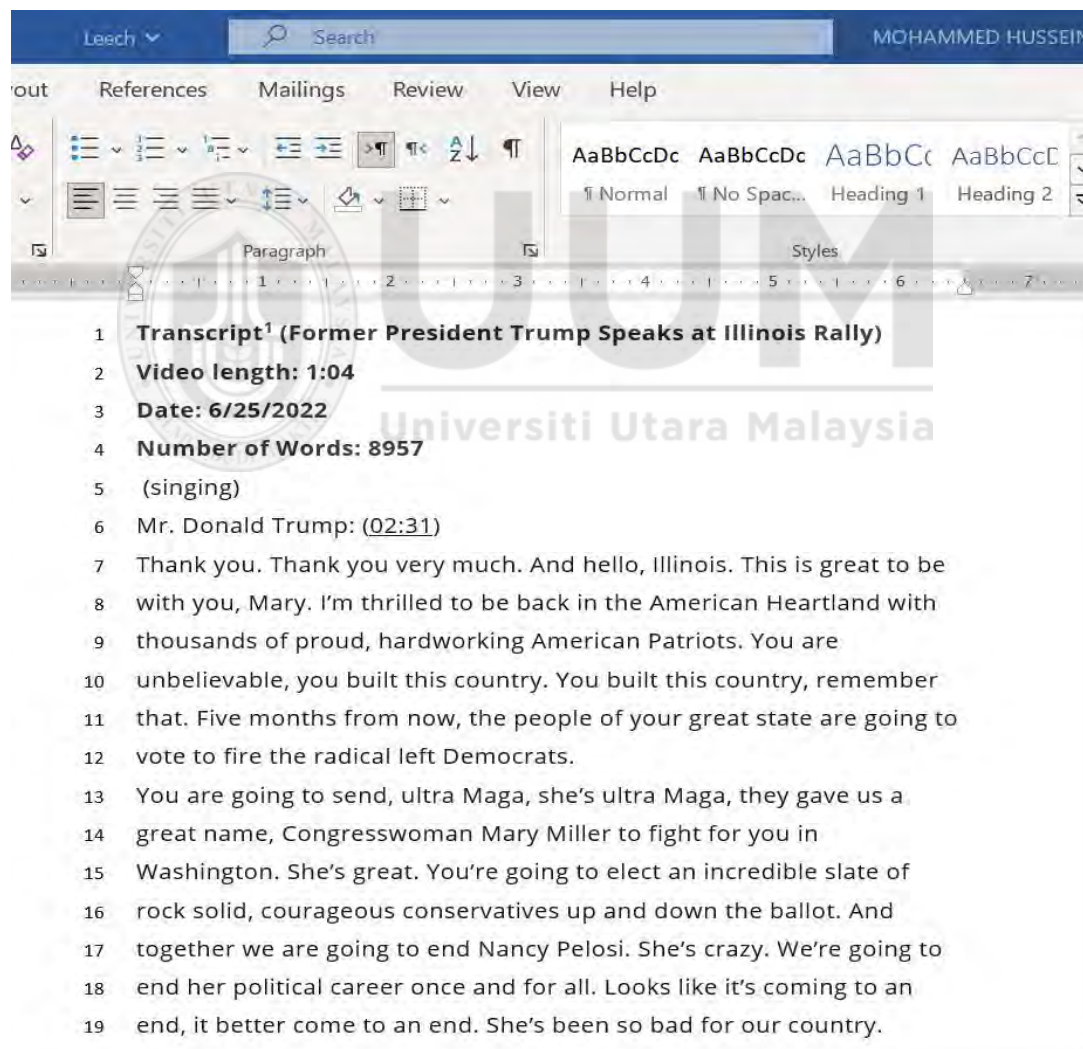
e) The researcher has a multitude of options as to what to incorporate and separate and how to present what they decide to incorporate, such as pauses, laughing, interruptions (the use of a hyphen), overlapping, garbled speech, emphasis, held sounds, and paraphrasing others. In the current study, all these points are taken into consideration wherever found. Moreover, the researcher will add the video length, the number of words, and the date of the transcribed video. Transcript Screenshot 3.1 shows adherence to these rules.

Patton (2015) states that because computers are popular, researchers can analyze the data manually or electronically. Using a computer program to analyze data qualitatively, the investigators aim to simplify the way of saving, examining, categorization, demonstrating, displaying data, assigning codes or tags to data, searching, and pinpointing precise expressions. Creswell (2012) proposes the following basic guidelines for utilizing a computer program:

(a) a word processing file should be converted into a text file, or it can be imported straight into the computer application. This word processor is a group of textual data, like skimmed documents, (b) a computer application should be selected. This application needs to contain the characteristics of saving, arranging, looking for, and giving tags or

codes to the data, (c) A file should be entered into the application and named, (d) sentences or paragraphs that are related to a person's speech should be marked in the document, (e) words, sentences, and even paragraphs should be coded from the beginning of the document to the end, (f) Code matches should be searched after the coding process, and (g) the codes should be collapsed into categories with attestations for them.

In the current study, the researcher uses a Microsoft Word program and hand-coding data. All the above procedures for using a software program are followed by the researcher.



Transcript Screenshot 3.1 Adherence to Rapley's Rules of Transcription

3.6.2 Exploring and Coding the Data.

After the researcher arranges and transcribes the data and decides to examine it manually or electronically, they should start analyzing it. This involves exploring and coding the data initially (Creswell, 2012; Edwards & Lampert, 1993; Flick, 2009; Patton, 2015; Saldana, 2013).

Flick (2009) and Patton (2015) point out that exploring the data is the initial stage in the process of analyzing it. An initial investigative examination in qualitative studies involves the researcher exploring the data to get an overall understanding of it, considering its structure, and seeing if there is a need to include extra data. To illustrate, Agar (1980, as cited in Creswell, 2012) suggested that the researcher should read the transcripts in their entirety several times. Immerse yourself in the details, trying to get a sense of the interview as a whole before breaking it into parts. Similarly, Linneberg and Korsgaard (2019) see that whether the researcher codes for written or spoken language, coding presents a valuable skill that allows them to immerse in the data deeply. In the current work, the researcher is immersed in textual information by reading and rereading the transcripts to comprehend the coded materials and saturate the data fully.

Dornyei (2007) states that qualitative researchers often begin examining the textual information by coding it first, whatever the methodology adopted. Dornyei and Linneberg and Korsgaard (2019) concur that coding is used to provide a specific material that is biddable and pliable. The researcher can code concrete and non-concrete data. The purpose of using codes is to reduce and simplify the textual information. The investigator highlights text excerpts and labels them effortlessly as determined, restored, or classified

in the coding process. Patton (2015) and Edwards and Lampert (1993) add that the researcher could forget most of the data because of the large amount of data collected. Thus, when the researcher collects their data, they should label codes in a way that suits the research structure.

Moreover, Shanthi et al. (2015) recommend that the researcher should read the data considering context when coding since, without context, it is hard to recognize the addresser's intention, which could be misinterpreted if it is read in isolation. Consequently, in the discourse analysis, the researcher should read the textual data more than once when coding them to sufficiently examine the addresser's real intentions. In the present research, the researcher reads the data many times and gets information about the US culture concerning the presidential elections, President Trump, foreign policy, and local issues to familiarize themselves with the data to classify it correctly as a deviation from the pragmatic concepts. Considering these issues, the researcher can identify and interpret Trump's discourse and the reasons behind such deviations.

Saldana (2013) suggests that the researcher can use an existing scheme or develop new or hybrid coding procedures that are modified to fit the unique requirements and disciplined anxieties of their research. Consequently, the following steps are hybrid coding procedures that the researcher adapts to coding the qualitative data:

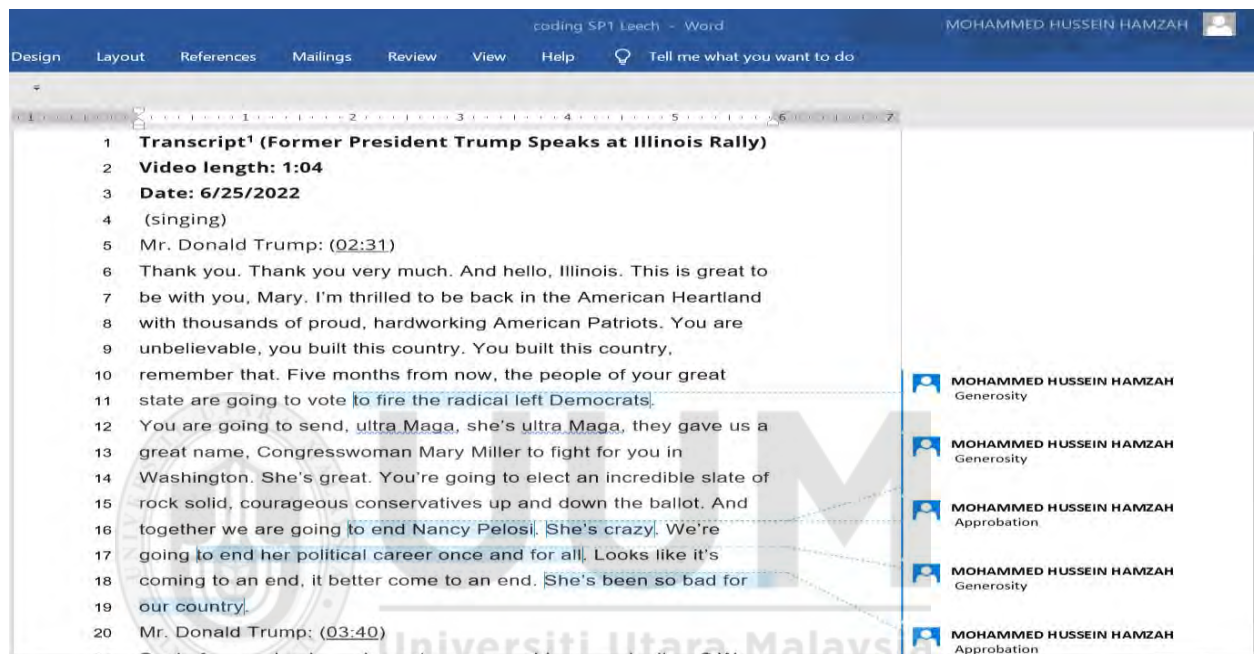
- a) Getting a sense of the entire transcript by reading the transcript more than once, carefully, as recommended by Dorney (2007) and Martinez (2012)
- b) Copying the transcript into three similar documents to be coded separately according to the three adopted models. In other words, the researcher makes three copies of the same

transcript. Then, the researcher begins with only one document and codes it according to Leech's (2014) impoliteness principle; then, another copied document is coded according to Grice's (1975) Conversational maxims, and the same for Searle's (1969) felicity conditions of speech acts. This is because the three models are different and hardly applied to one document at the same time; it is difficult to search for all these maxims in the document at one time, and the stream of thoughts may be blocked due to this large number of concepts.

c) Beginning the process of coding. This process involves coding words or phrases that precisely define the meaning of the textual information (Creswell, 2012; Mason, 2006). In the current research, the researcher uses the codebook to code the data by utilizing the property of comments in Microsoft Word software, which appears on the right margin. Thus, the researcher separately assigns descriptive notations to Trump's utterances that deviate from Leech's, Grice's, and Searle's models.

d) Rereading after coding the whole document to look for more evidence (Edwards & Lampert, 1993; Flick, 2009; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). The researcher rereads the whole document line by line to check the deviated utterances as he codes for concepts until he feels that all the deviant utterances are highlighted and coded. This is emphasized by Cohen et al. (2007) and Shanthi et al. (2015), who believe that in discourse analysis, the researcher should read the textual data more than once when they code them to sufficiently examine the talker's real intentions. So, the researcher tries to achieve the point of saturation when no new ideas emerge from this document. Therefore, the researcher chooses three samples to saturate the concepts of the adopted models and stops collecting

more data to avoid redundancy. This is assured by Flick (2009), who argues that adding more data should be stopped when a concept's "theoretical saturation" is achieved. Transcript Screenshot 3.2 shows the coding process according to one of the adopted models (Leech's impoliteness principle).



Transcript Screenshot 3.2 The Process of Coding (Leech's Model of Impoliteness Principle)

Creswell (2014) raises one of the issues that is related to coding that the investigator has to (a) generate codes that are merely based on the developing data gathered from contributors (inductive approach), (b) utilize predesigned codes and suit the textual information to these codes (deductive approach), or (c) mix these two approaches; a mixture of developing and predesigned codes (abductive approach). In some social disciplines, the old method allows the codes to arise when the researcher analyzes the data. In some other disciplines, a widespread method recommends the utilization of predesigned codes taken from existing theories that are being investigated. Hyde (2000)

claims that the induction process fits the kind of studies in which the concepts are not prominent. The severe use of deduction in qualitative studies would only be suitable in a highly varied list of conditions. That list of conditions is the concepts that are under the study are apparent from the beginning. In other words, as argued by Linneberg and Korsgaard (2019), the deductive approach is relevant when theoretical concepts directly exist to assist the investigator in grasping the phenomenon under the study.

Saldana (2013) comments that several methodologists recommend that the researcher choose a way of coding in which a group of codes are already predetermined to match their adopted existing theories or worldview of the study and to help them analyze the data to address the questions and aims of the study. Furthermore, Leeming (2018) believes that conscientiously using theories in analyzing qualitative data and cautiously considering philosophies of science could give the investigator a fresh and richer outlook on the data and make the findings of the study transferable to a broader scholastic comprehension. Leeming adds that a previous theory or wider existing theories play an important part in forming a qualitative study, leading the process of gathering and examining the textual information. On the other hand, some concepts from theories could be utilized eclectically to interpret the findings of the research instead of utilizing them for the sake of testing the theory as it happens in quantitative studies. In the current research, because the focus of the study is on pragmatic principles that are analyzed by applying the discourse analysis approach, and the concepts of the adopted models already exist, the researcher chooses the second approach of coding, using prior codes or categories from the existing theories and fit the data to them to make sense of findings and not to test the theories. These prior concepts are organized in a codebook (see Table

3.2) that amalgamates three adopted models with their explanations and direct quotations from Trump's political discourse, as the following sections discuss this point.

3.6.2.1 A Qualitative Codebook for the Predetermined Concepts from Three Adopted Models

Creswell (2014) suggests that researchers should develop a codebook for qualitative research. This codebook consists of a table containing a set of prior codes that investigators utilize to code the data. This codebook intends to present coded data descriptions and increase codes' consistency. Also, it consists of quotations in which the codes are found in the transcripts. In the current work, the researcher provides an adapted qualitative codebook that consists of the concepts from the three adopted models; the researcher brings the models together and puts them in one codebook to help identify the concepts in the data and reduce and analyze the data.

The researcher takes the concepts from Grice's model which consists of four conversational maxims (quantity, quality, manner, and relevance), Leech's model which is composed of ten maxims (tact, generosity, approbation, modesty, agreement, sympathy, obligation of others to the speaker, obligation of the speaker to others, feeling-reticence, and opinion-reticence maxims), and Searle's model which includes five classes (representatives, expressives, declaratives, directives, and commissives). When beginning the process of coding the data, the researcher assigns Trump's discourse with labels, which are the concepts that are taken from this codebook, and therefore the data are condensed. This condensation of the information helps the researcher saturate the data, understand the phenomenon in depth, and analyze the assigned situations. In analyzing

Trump's political discourse, the researcher will take the quotations from the codebook that classifies his speeches according to the adopted concepts. Besides, this codebook is useful to the researcher, the reader, the coders, and even other researchers who might apply it to their studies. This codebook is validated by two colleagues specializing in pragmatics and discourse analysis (see section 3.6.2.2). Table 3.2 displays the codebook created out of predetermined codes from the adopted models.

Table 3.2

The Codebook for the Predetermined Concepts from the Adopted Models

Concept	Explanation	Quote from Trump's Discourse
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Generosity 	Trump deviates from this maxim by threatening and bringing harm to his opponents.	"We're going to end her political career once and for all" (Trump, 2022, 2:30).
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Tact 	Trump deviates from this maxim by ordering and commanding others without giving appreciation to others	"I spoke to the leader of the Taliban and I said, Abdul don't ever do it. Don't do it Abdul. Don't shoot our soldiers anymore Abdul don't do it" (Trump, 2022, 21:53).
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Approbation 	Trump deviates from this maxim by dispraising and degrading the qualities of his opponents	"Liz Cheney, a real loser she is" (Trump, 2022, 8:01).
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Modesty 	Trump deviates from this maxim by boasting and showing off his own qualities.	"I will protect the Second Amendment and nobody has protected it like me " (Trump, 2022, 6:28).
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Obligation of Speaker to Others 	Trump deviates from this maxim by refusing to thank or apologize for others.	"I said, apologize for what? I see the tape. Apologize for what? " (Trump, 2016, 37:12)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Obligation of Others to Speaker 		"As I was getting elected, she came out, she had to apologize . It was a terrible

	Trump deviates from this maxim by demanding others to thank or apologize to him.	thing she said" (Trump, 2020, 10:40).
• Agreement	Trump deviates from this maxim by contradicting and disagreeing with others.	" I disagree with them. We will also keep men out of women's sports. Is that okay? Very unfair" (Trump, 2022, 41:33).
• Opinion-reticence	Trump deviates from this maxim by overvaluing his own opinion.	"The Unselect. I came up with that one of course, every time I say that they say, "No, actually, 100 years ago somebody else came up with that term." No, I think I came up with it" (Trump, 2022, 12:02).
• Sympathy	Trump deviates from this maxim by showing aversion to his opponents.	"They say they losing... So I was sort of proud of that " (Trump, 2022, 54:50).
• Feeling-reticence	Trump deviates from this maxim by expressing his own ordeal in exaggerated language.	"(Russia) totally fabricated and made up stories that didn't exist. They spied on my campaign, they got caught. Even Adam shift Schiff made up lies about Congressman Jim Jordan" (Trump, 2022, 9:41).
• Quality	Trump deviates from this maxim by not saying the truth or providing evidence for his claims.	"Why aren't they investigating massive election fraud and irregularities... ?" (Trump, 2022, 9:08)
• Quantity	Trump deviates from this maxim by providing too much or too less information in his speeches.	"As for the Republican party, we are today the party of life, and we are the party of everyone. We're the party of everyone " (Trump, 2022, 4:38).
• Relevance		"By the way, today it's hotter here than it is on the border " (Trump, 2022, 31:36).

• Manner	Trump deviates from this maxim by digressing from the topic he is talking about.	“Maybe it’s time we had a shot at them, just one shot. Right?” (Trump, 2022, 53:32)
• Representatives	Trump deviates from this maxim by being not perspicuous.	“The people of your great state are going to vote to fire the radical left Democrats ” (Trump, 2022, 2:31).
• Commissives	Trump deviates from this class by stating something false.	“One of the most urgent tasks for the Republican Party after this November will be to end the catastrophe Joe Biden has created on the southern border ” (Trump, 2022, 27:21).
• Directives	Trump deviates from this class by committing himself to do something, but he does not do it.	“ They need to stop the invasion of our country. It is truly an invasion” (Trump, 2022, 35:41).
• Expressives	Trump deviates from this class by ordering others to do something for him, but it is not done.	“She’s been so bad for our country.” (Trump, 2022, 2:31).
• Declaratives	Trump deviates from this class by expressing his attitudes towards others.	“ They’re pushing inappropriate sexual, racial, and political material on our children from the youngest possible age.” (Trump, 2022, 39:33)
	Trump deviates from this class by declaring something that will not be achieved due to his institutional role.	

3.6.2.2 Cohen Kappa Reliability Measurement

According to Warrens (2015), to evaluate the reliability of an instrument, scholars usually request two coders to categorize the same group of themes autonomously. The assessments of a group of themes into nominal groups are frequently summed up in a crosstab table. Because this table's row and column labels are equal, the table is usually called an agreement table, as shown in Table 3.3. It includes the relative frequencies of

the ratings of 324 examples. The researcher has given the three coded documents to two raters and asked them to agree or disagree with the assigned codes that cover the adapted models: Grice's (1987) cooperative principle (conversational maxims), Leech's (2014) impoliteness principle (impoliteness maxims), and Searle's (1969) speech act theory (the felicity conditions of illocutionary speech acts). To guide the raters, the researcher has given them a codebook (see section 3.6.2.1), which provides a detailed description of the predetermined concepts from the above-mentioned models with definitions and some quotations and asked them to look at the coding process independently. Thus, the agreement between the raters can be used as an indicator of the quality of the categories of the rating instrument and the raters' ability to apply them. High agreement between the ratings shows consensus in the analysis and interchangeability of the ratings. The researcher could then measure the level of the raters' agreement by applying Cohen's kappa coefficient (Cohen, 1960) interraters' reliability.

Cohen (1960) presents the Kappa (κ) coefficient as a statistical coefficient that measures the degree of agreement and reliability between two raters who classify each subject in a rating scale. The Kappa deemed only two coders and a nominal scale. Built on Cohen (1960), the basic hypothesis of the Kappa statistic is the ratio of the difference between the expected agreement by chance (P_e) and relative observed agreement (P_o) (Freitag, 2019, p. 5). The expected agreement (P_e) is calculated by chance and relies on the marginal sums of the confusion matrix, while the observed agreement (P_o) is the raw proportion of cases where two raters concur. Kappa has value 1 if there is perfect agreement between the raters, and value 0 if the observed agreement is equal to the agreement expected by chance (Tekinbas, 2024, p. 9). Numerous writers recommended

clarification or benchmark rules for values between 0 and 1. The most frequently utilized rules are given by Landis and Koch (1977), whose cataloguing suggests that 0.00 - 0.20 indicates slight agreement, 0.21- 0.40 shows fair agreement, 0.41-0.60 reveals moderate agreement, 0.61-0.80 deems substantial agreement, and 0.81-1.00 indicates almost perfect agreement.

Cohen's Kappa (κ) was chosen over other inter-rater reliability measures (e.g., Krippendorff's Alpha, percentage agreement, or Scott's Pi) because of its possibility to fit for chance concordance—a crucial characteristic in personal coding the data where unintentional consensus between coders could expand reliability approximations (Cohen, 1960; McHugh, 2012; Tekinbas, 2024). Different from percentage agreement, which endangers overemphasizing reliability by neglecting accidental agreement, the Kappa separates meaningful concordance by subtracting chance agreements, presenting a substantial measure for nominal data (Vieira et al., 2010; Gisev et al., 2013). While Scott's Pi adopts equal coder distributions—an impractical prospect in subtle tasks like classifying irony- the Kappa adjusts conflicting propensities, revealing real-world variableness in understanding subjective situations. Krippendorff's Alpha is multipurpose for comprehensive information or when many individuals are engaged. However, it is deemed too complex for this research, where merely two raters should decide between simple categories (Krippendorff, 2007).

The Kappa is supported by Landis and Koch's (1977) research and is frequently documented as the best method in language research (Tekinbas, 2024). Its straightforwardness is associated with archetypal practices in social sciences. While

Kappa can be impacted if categories are not consistently dispersed, such as when many replies select one category, this limitation was mitigated. Through training raters and refining the codebook, a rigorous analysis of pragmatic violations in Trump's rhetoric was warranted. Finally, the Kappa results support the research's key findings and recognize areas for methodological development. This strengthens its contribution to understanding the connection between language, authority, and public interaction in the language of politics.

While Cohen's Kappa is strong, it has limitations, as pointed out by Gisev et al. (2013), such as sensitivity to prejudice between coders and the total prevalence. In certain cases, a relatively high proportion of observed agreement could lead to a low Kappa value, and an unstable or prejudiced allocation may lead to a higher Kappa value than a more balanced allocation. To help interpret the Kappa values and recognize possible biases, the reporting of average proportions of agreement for positive and negative ratings, as well as the whole Kappa value, is recommended. Consequently, the current research provides the particulars of applying the Kappa and reveals the positive and negative ratings, offering a confusion matrix table.

Table 3.3

Cohen's (1960) Kappa for Interrater Reliability Measure

		Rater 2		
		Yes	No	Total
Rater 1	Yes	310	5	315
	No	1	8	9
	Total	311	13	324

This table shows that the two raters agree that 310 excerpts deviate from Grice's conversational maxims, Leech's politeness maxims, and Searle's felicity conditions. In addition, the raters agree that eight of the excerpts do not deviate from these pragmatic principles. Moreover, the first rater believes that 315 excerpts out of the total number do not follow the principles, while the second rater thinks that 311 excerpts break the principles. Furthermore, the first rater argues that nine excerpts do not violate the principles, whereas the second rater claims that thirteen adhere to the principles. The following is the application of Cohen's Kappa interrater reliability measurement:

Firstly, the relative observed agreement (represented as P_o) between the raters is calculated. This is the proportion of total ratings that both raters commented 'Yes' or both said 'No' as shown below:

The relative observed agreement(P_o)= (both said Yes + Both said No) / (total ratings)

$$P_o = (310 + 8) / (324) = 0.981$$

Secondly, the probability that the raters could have agreed purely by chance is calculated. This is the proportion of total ratings that both raters said ‘Yes’ and both said ‘No’ as shown below:

Probability of chance agreement on Yes: $\text{Raters(Yes)} = ((\text{Rater1Yes})/\text{total}) * ((\text{Rater2Yes})/\text{total})$

Probability of chance agreement on Yes: $\text{Raters(Yes)} = ((315)/324) * ((311)/324) = 0.931$

Probability of chance agreement on No: $\text{Raters(No)} = ((\text{Rater1No})/\text{total}) * ((\text{Rater2No})/\text{total})$

Probability of chance agreement on No: $\text{Raters(No)} = ((9)/324) * ((13)/324) = 0.001$

The probable agreement by chance (Pe) = $0.931 + 0.001 = 0.932$

Finally, the relative observed agreement and the probable agreement by chance are used to calculate Cohen’s Kappa:

$\text{Kappa} = (Po - Pe) / (1 - Pe)$

$\text{Kappa} = (0.981 - 0.932) / (1 - 0.932) = 0.720$

Cohen’s Kappa turns out to be 0.720. Built on the Land’s classification, the two coders merely had a “substantial” level of agreement. This value mirrors a robust, non-random agreement and is usually deemed acceptable in linguistics studies (Warrens, 2015), echoing a strong comprehension of objective violations, such as untrue statements or

unauthorized orders. This proposes that the raters robustly concur about coding the data, which improves reliability while maintaining qualitative understanding. Although the observed agreement between the raters is 0.98, which indicates a perfect agreement between the raters, the Kappa considers the agreement by chance. Disregarding the agreement by chance leads to over-optimistic, untrustworthy data (Tekinbas, 2024). Therefore, Kappa includes both the agreement by chance and the observed agreement.

3.6.3 Describing Findings

Creswell (2012) points out that qualitative researchers need to examine the texts to answer research questions. They need to do so in detail to describe their understanding of the textual information. Describing what is understood involves finding answers to the research questions and gaining a deep comprehension of the main phenomenon by describing the textual information. The investigator in the current study adopts a discourse analysis approach to analyze pragmatic deviation in Trump's political discourse. The following is an adequate explanation of the discourse analysis approach and then the application of this approach to Trump's political discourse to answer the questions of the research.

Vanderstoep and Johnston (2009) mention that some investigative methods exist when the investigator works with a documentary or already existing data, such as a movie, spoken words, newspaper articles, or videos. One of them is discourse analysis. Brown and Yule (1983), Cheek (2004), Chilton and Schaffner (1997), Cohen et al. (2007), Holloway and Wheeler (2010), Johnstone (2018), Merriam and Tisdell (2016), Rapley (2007), and Shanthi et al. (2015) concur that analyzing discourse is, essentially, analyzing

spoken or written words that are utilized in context. Cheek (2004), Holloway and Wheeler (2010), and Shanthi et al. (2015) add that discourse analysis is often used in media and communication research to analyze data (such as the speech of politicians).

Brown and Yule (1983) state that discourse analysis cannot possibly be limited to describing the content of language separable from its functions. They (1983) assert that the analysts of discourse analysis essentially adopt a pragmatic method to investigate what people say in context, which plays a significant part in interpreting discourses. To do so, the investigator should be acquainted with the addresser and addressee and the setting of the discourses. In the present research, the researcher analyzes the three copies of the same transcript separately after coding the data. Reading the transcript, the researcher depends on the context to elicit the speaker's intended meaning to see how Trump deviates from the language. Therefore, the researcher must know and provide context for each utterance to examine it properly. Then, the researcher applies the models to the transcript to answer the research questions in detail in the pilot study (see section 3.6). Moreover, the researcher considers the criterion of saturation by using three samples to make sure to include Grice's four Conversational maxims, Leech's ten politeness maxims, and Searle's four felicity conditions of the types of speech acts. These concepts are used to code the data, as shown in the codebook (see section 3.6.2.1).

3.7 Pilot Study

Teijlingen and Hundley (2001) comment that a pilot or feasibility study is conducted as a mini form of the full study. It indicates a diminutive form of total work and a particular preliminary test of a specific study method (which is preexisting data (oral document) in

this study). A pilot study, which is a vital component of a perfect research proposal, maximizes the possibility of achievement in the major research. Consequently, researchers must be motivated to include a feasibility study in their work and explain in detail what happened. What kind of real developments have been made to the design and process of the study?

Moreover, Teijlingen and Hundley point out that doing a pilot study is advantageous because it warns the researcher that the study might not succeed, the procedures might not be obeyed, or the instrumentation might not be appropriate or extremely complex. The pilot study aims to develop and test the appropriateness of instrumentation, estimate mutability in the findings to aid the investigator in determining the sampling size, and develop the questions and the research plan.

Being a mini-study to look at the trustworthiness of the research instrument, which is an official oral document, the pilot study is conducted with one of Trump's political discourses in which Trump held a rally in Mendon, Illinois, on Saturday, June 25, 2022, to back Congressperson Republican Mary Miller in her re-election try against Representative Democratic Rodney Davis for Illinois' 15th Congressional District. This speech is utilized to answer the research questions.

Collecting the textual information, the investigator first watches the video and then transcribes it. Next, the data of this speech are copied into three different files (Microsoft Word) to be read to code them separately according to the three adopted models: Leech's (2014) politeness maxims, Grice's (1975) Conversational maxims, and Searle's (1969) felicity conditions of speech act to analyze Trump's political discourse. After reading and

rereading them, the data are coded and recoded to be ready for analysis. The coded data are moved to the adapted codebook (see section 3.6.2.1), in which the concepts of the models are put together with Trump's quotations. Examining the textual information, the researcher has made some improvements to the research questions; some are merged and added, and some remain unchanged, as shown in Table 3.5. This is recommended by Vanderstoep and Johnston (2009), who argue that analyzing the textual information should occur after collecting the first text. This preliminary examination should identify the attention and techniques utilized in the next data gathering. Therefore, problems in collecting the textual information are determined and addressed too soon during the study process. Moreover, the researcher can change, adapt, and refine research questions, instruments, and methods by gathering textual information.

By the same token, Ismail and Kinchin (2018) believe that pilot studies give assessments of the final work. Depending on these assessments, the investigator could adjust and improve the methodological procedures before presenting the final work. Ismail and Kinchin (2018) add that the benefits of pilot studies can be significant for inexperienced and experienced investigators. Such studies are vital for a well-organized research plan. They are undoubtedly beneficial and important for quantitative and qualitative investigators since they have a well-organized group of goals and purposes to guarantee the rigour of the methodology and the reliability and validity of the instrument.

Moreover, In (2017) points out that piloting the study offers an essential idea for determining the size of samples, assessing the whole elements of the research, diminishing the investigator's needless efforts, and dissipating the resources of the study. Also, it offers

a good idea for other analogous research; consequently, the researcher should use comprehensive knowledge in the feasibility study. In the present research, the process of achieving the pilot study helps identify the sample size, which consists of three documents that saturate the data.

3.7.1 Pilot Study Findings

The codebook (see section 3.6.2.1) is used to analyze Trump's political discourse to answer the research questions. The researcher takes Trump's quotations from the codebook and applies the adapted concepts to see how Trump pragmatically deviates from these concepts. The findings of the pilot study show that Trump deviates from the pragmatic principles to achieve many reasons. Besides, the researcher argues that in many situations, discordance and alignment between the three adopted models occur; Trump sometimes shows politeness but is uncooperative or vice versa, while in other situations, Trump's discourse deviates from politeness, cooperation, and felicity. Table 3.4 reports the findings of the pilot study.

Table 3.4

The Findings of the Pilot Study

No	Theme	Excerpt from Trump's discourse	Outcomes
1	Leech's Impoliteness Maxims	"I will protect the Second Amendment and nobody has protected it like me" (Trump, 2022, 6:28).	Persuasion of the crowd, showing off, and insulting rivals
2	Grice's Conversational Maxims	Why aren't they investigating massive election fraud and irregularities" (Trump, 2022, 9:08).	Rejection of the election results, showing irony, withholding information, and

			mobilizing the crowd
3	Searle's Felicity Conditions of Speech Acts	"They need to stop the invasion of our country..." (Trump, 2022, 35:41).	Influencing the public, focusing on securing votes, and highlighting self-excuse
4	Alignment between the three Models	"Nobody thinks about America first. Well, America last. You look at Biden, we're America last" (Trump, 2022, 16:41).	Delegitimizing rivals, boasting, getting rally support, and avoiding responsibility
5	Discordance between the three Models	"They say they losing... So I was sort of proud of that" (Trump, 2022, 54:50).	Supporting public image, increasing public trust, backing allies, and establishing power

Below are some excerpts from Trump's political discourse, which are separately analyzed according to the codebook to answer the questions of the study.

1) Leech's Maxim of Modesty

Trump: "...I will protect the Second Amendment, and **nobody has protected it like me**" (Trump, 2022, 6:28).

Context: In his speech in Illinois in support of his candidates, Trump talks to the crowd about the Supreme Court's achievement concerning the Second Amendment to the Constitution. Trump informs and reminds them of his promise to protect this amendment better than anyone else.

According to Leech's (im)politeness principle, Trump seems to deviate from the maxim of modesty by giving high value to his quality when saying no one protected the Second Amendment like him. Trump boasts about his judicial achievements and reforms,

showing himself as the protector of the Constitution. This might discourage redundant self-praise in favour of modesty. Possibly positioning himself as the exceptional protector of constitutional rights, Trump develops his role beyond cooperative authority. These possible deviations may emphasize a strategy of self-aggrandizing and convincing exaggeration aimed at strengthening Trump's political personality.

The findings of the first question show that Trump appears to deviate from the maxims of politeness, such as modesty, tact, generosity, and others, by giving high value to himself and unfavourable value to others. Some reasons for this deviation are potentially to criticize, boast, gloat, insult, accuse his opponents, and rally support.

2) Grice's Maxim of Quality

Trump: **"Why aren't they investigating massive election fraud and irregularities ...?** And why didn't Nancy Pelosi and the Mayor of Washington DC, accept my offer on January 3...of 10,000 soldiers or National Guard or more, to protect the capital?" (Trump, 2022, 9:08)

Context: Losing the election in favour of Joe Biden, Trump accuses Pelosi and the Mayor of Washington DC of rigging and stealing the election. Despite the investigation of Trump's claim showing no evidence of fraud in the election (Eggers et al., 2021), Trump has continued with his accusation since the announcement of the election results. In addition, Trump claims that Pelosi and the mayor did not accept his offer to defend the capital, but there is still no evidence to support Trump's claim (Sadeghi, 2021).

According to Grice's cooperative principle, Trump probably breaks the maxim of quality

by providing information that lacks evidence. After losing the election, Trump claimed that the election was “rigged”, accusing House Speaker Pelosi and the Mayor of Washington of being engaged in rigging the election. Even though Trump is possibly not cooperative, the audience still understands what is implied in his utterance; it may imply that Trump does not admit the results of the election, conceivably blaming Pelosi and the Mayor for losing the election. Possible deviation from this maxim suggests that Trump’s rhetoric is intended to rally supporters through confrontational discourse, leading to social riots.

The findings of the second question reveal that Trump probably does not observe Grice’s conversational maxims, such as quality by providing information that lacks evidence, quantity by providing either more or less information about some issues, relevance by shifting to another topic, and manner by providing vague and long-winded utterances. The reasons for probable violations of these maxims are potentially to show irony, withhold information, keep good relationships with allies, mobilize supporters, and present himself as the best alternative for the nation.

3) Searle’s Felicity Conditions of Speech Act of Directives

Trump: **“They need to stop the invasion of our country.** It is truly an invasion. As we restore the rule of law to the immigration system, we must also restore law and order to our streets” (Trump, 2022, 35:41).

Context: During his presidency, Trump issued severe decrees to stop receiving immigrants. Trump is against bringing them to the US, and therefore, many talks with the

countries that facilitate the entrance of their citizens to the US are being held. Trump promised them severe measures and taxes. However, after his period, Trump wanted others to follow his orders as if Trump were still in office.

According to Searle's speech act theory, Trump may depart from the felicity conditions of the ordering speech act by commanding Biden's administration to prevent immigrants from entering the US. Trump's utterance seems defective in the sense that these conditions are not met to make it performative. The speech act of order requires a propositional condition that the speaker presupposes the hearer will do as stated in the utterance. However, the utterance does not fit this condition because the situation does not permit this utterance to happen; Biden's administration will not do it. Besides, this act requires a preparatory condition that the speaker is more powerful than the hearer. However, Trump no longer holds office and has no right or authority to order the current president of the US, Biden. In addition, the speech act of order needs a sincerity condition in which the speaker urges the hearer to do something as stated in the utterance. Nevertheless, Trump knows that his actions will not be allowed, as this is against the law, and Biden does not follow Trump's orders. Finally, the speech act of order requires an essential condition that what the speaker utters is considered an endeavour to urge the hearer to do the act because of his authority. However, it appears that Trump is not in a position to make it happen. Therefore, according to the situation, the speech act of order looks defective and unsatisfied. Regarding the fit direction of the illocutionary force of this act, Trump is probably trying to make the world fit his words by doing what he orders, but this does not happen. By doing so, Trump's discourse may be interpreted as an attempt to influence the crowd to make them believe that this is not just immigration but an invasion that should

be stopped, seeking to rally support for him.

The findings of the third question show that Trump appears to deviate from the felicity conditions of the speech acts (representatives, directives, commissives, expressives, and declaratives), such as the propositional content, preparatory, sincerity, and essential conditions, by providing a defective statement that is not satisfied. Possible deviation from these conditions, Trump's utterances are conceivably intended to rally support, focus on securing votes, criticize rivals, show Trump is better than Biden in tackling internal and external policies, mock those who request apologies, and highlight self-excuse.

Moreover, after coding the document according to the three adopted theories, the researcher found that some of Trump's utterances can align and discord with each other. This happens when one utterance can violate all these pragmatic theories, and so, these theories are in line with each other, while another utterance adheres to a theory but does not observe another theory. Thus, these theories are in discordance with each other. This makes the researcher add two research questions that enrich the present study and another look at the three adopted models when they are put together regarding the pragmatic deviation in Trump's political discourse. The added research questions are presented below:

- 4) How do Leech's politeness maxims, Grice's conversational maxims, and Searle's felicity conditions of speech acts align in Trump's political discourse?
- 5) How do Leech's politeness maxims, Grice's conversational maxims, and Searle's felicity conditions of speech acts discord in Trump's political discourse?

The following are some excerpts from Trump's discourse that are analyzed according to

the three adopted models to answer the fourth and fifth research questions.

4) Alignment between the three Models (the maxim of approbation, the maxims of quality and manner, and the felicity conditions of the assertion speech act)

Trump: “Nobody thinks about America first. Well, America last. **You look at Biden, we’re America last**” (Trump, 2022, 16:41).

Context: In his speech in Illinois in support of his candidates, Trump talks to the crowd and starts attacking Biden’s administration. Trump claims that Biden made America last because of Biden’s internal and external policies, hoping that America will become great again when voting for Trump’s candidates.

Trump’s rhetoric seems to break Grice’s maxims of quality and manner, Leech’s approbation maxim, and Searle’s felicity conditions of the assertion speech act, showing tactical violation across these pragmatic principles.

Trump appears to break Grice’s maxims of quality and manner. Possible deviation from the quality may happen when providing information that lacks proof. Trump claims that Biden makes America last, but no evidence is possibly provided to back up Trump’s claim. While the maxim of manner is not followed as Trump’s utterance looks ambiguous, how does Biden make America last? Is it politically, economically, socially, or what? Producing such an utterance is probably an attempt to widen the uncertainties about Biden’s authority.

Trump might violate Leech’s maxim of approbation by giving an unfavourable value of

Biden's qualities; "look at Biden, we are America last". It seems that Trump criticizes Biden's administration of the US and how the US became last during his period without identifying any positive characteristics, amplifying aggressive discourse.

Trump possibly flouts Searle's felicity conditions of assertion speech act by claiming that Biden made America last without giving any proof for that, and thus, this claim is not precise. Trump's utterance is infelicitous and non-performative because it deviates from the felicity conditions of asserting speech act; (1) the propositional content condition of the expressed proposition by giving an utterance that is not true as there is no evidence that Biden made America last, (2) the preparatory conditions by not providing details for the truthfulness of Trump's proposition that Biden is the worst president, (3) the sincerity condition when Trump does not commit himself to the truthfulness of the proposition, and (4) the essential condition of the proposition by not giving genuine information.

Trump's likely violations of the pragmatic principles of Grice's quality and manner maxims, Leech's approbation maxim, and Searle's felicity conditions of asserting speech act are probably associated with a tactical effort to disempower political opponents like Biden. Describing Biden's presidency as inadequate through unconfirmed claims such as "America became last," Trump strives to place himself as a preferable option, thus rallying voting support for his presidential run.

The findings of the fourth research question show that the three models, Leech's maxims, Grice's conversation maxims, and Searle's felicity conditions, are aligned in one situation regarding deviation. The motivations behind violations could function to delegitimize and undermine adversaries, exaggerate Trump's successes, support his narrative, avoid

responsibility, and getting rally support.

5) Discordance between the three Models (the maxims of sympathy and feeling-reticence with the maxims of quality and the felicity conditions of the expressive speech act)

Trump: “They[Boeing Company Airplanes]say they losing... So I was sort of proud of that” (Trump, 2022, 54:50).

Context: In his speech in Illinois in support of his candidates, Trump is talking to the crowd about the deal with Boeing, a US aerospace company. Trump criticizes those who made a deal with this company due to the large amount of money given to it. Trump refuses its offers to make a new deal, demanding to reduce the amount of money. The company announced that it was losing because of the failure to sign the deal, and Trump talks about this big loss.

Trump’s rhetoric about Boeing’s economic issues ("they are losing" and "I am sort of proud of that") possibly departs from Leech’s sympathy maxim. Trump gives an overstatement of Boeing owners’ emotional standing and a high cost to his own, underscoring satisfaction over empathy.

Despite this possible violation, Trump’s discourse adheres to Grice’s cooperative principle and Searle’s speech act. First, Trump follows Grice’s maxim of quality by honestly articulating his feelings towards Boeing. Similarly, Trump regards Searle’s felicity conditions of the expressive speech act, rendering it pragmatically non-defective. The propositional content condition shows that Trump’s discourse carries a plain expression

of *schadenfreude*, the preparatory condition uncovers that Trump's position permits him to openly criticize Boeing, the sincerity condition indicates that Trump's utterance sincerely expresses the sentiment towards the company, and the essential condition reveals that Trump's utterance serves as an expression of an overstatement towards the company. Regarding the direction of fit, there is in general, no direction of fit in expressives. The truth of the proposition expressed in an expressive act is presupposed (Searle, 1976) rather than changing the reality. So, what is presupposed here is that the gloating act is fulfilled properly.

The discordance between the principles of pragmatics (Leech's (im)politeness principle, Grice's cooperative principle, and Searle's speech act) might highlight Trump's deliberate discourse. While violating Leech's maxim of sympathy may show dissatisfaction with Boeing, observance of Grice's maxim of quality and Searle's felicity conditions of expressives could allow Trump to project frankness and establish power. This duality probably enables Trump to use sincerity as a way of confrontation, conceivably forcing the company to renegotiate by openly making their struggles as deserved.

The findings of the fifth research question uncover that the three models, Leech's maxims, Grice's conversation maxims, and Searle's felicity conditions, are discorded in one situation as far as the deviation is concerned. The reasons for this discordance may be supporting Trump's public image, increasing public trust, showing gloat, backing allies, mobilizing followers, exaggerating accomplishments, and establishing power.

After analyzing the textual information, the researcher improved the research questions by rephrasing, merging, and adding new ones to analyze the phenomenon under the study

in depth. Therefore, the final form of the five research questions appears in the following:

1. What types of Leech's (2014) politeness maxims are deviated from in Donald Trump's political discourse?
2. What types of Grice's (1975) conversational maxims are deviated from in Trump's political discourse?
3. What types of Searle's (1969) felicity conditions of speech acts are deviated from in Trump's political discourse?
4. How do Leech's politeness maxims, Grice's conversational maxims, and Searle's felicity conditions of speech acts align in Trump's political discourse?
5. How do Leech's politeness maxims, Grice's conversational maxims, and Searle's felicity conditions of speech acts discord in Trump's political discourse?

Teijlingen and Hundley (2001) claim that some researchers included a pilot study in their studies, and they usually mentioned that they benefited from them and revised their studies. However, they did not offer any details about the benefits and changes they made to them. Referring to these matters is important and valuable for other researchers who work on studies utilizing the same approaches, procedures, and instruments. Therefore, the researcher offers the reader the details of the improvements that occur after analyzing the data regarding the research questions, as shown in Table 3.5.

Table 3.5

The Improvements of the Research Questions after Piloting the Study

No	Old Question	New Question	Explanation of Changes
1	What are the purposes behind Trump's deviation of language?	----- ----	This question is deleted to avoid predictable claims about Trump's intentions. Also, the other questions that adopt three models implicitly discuss the reasons behind deviation.
2	What are the pragmatic principles that are deviated in Trump's discourse?	<p>1. What types of Leech's (2014) politeness maxims are deviated from in Donald Trump's political discourse?</p> <p>2. What types of Grice's (1975) conversational maxims are deviated from in Trump's political discourse?</p> <p>3. What types of Searle's (1969) felicity conditions of speech acts are deviated from in Trump's political discourse?</p>	This question is extremely broad. So, it is divided into three questions. Each question addresses a theory.
3	How does Trump break Grice's four Conversational maxims, Leech's ten politeness maxims, and Searle's felicity conditions of speech act?	4. How do Leech's politeness maxims, Grice's conversational maxims, and Searle's felicity conditions of speech	This question is modified by adding two questions to show how these pragmatic principles align and discord. The reason for this change is that this

		acts align in Trump's political discourse? 5. How do Leech's politeness maxims, Grice's conversational maxims, and Searle's felicity conditions of speech acts discord in Trump's political discourse?	question shows the same results in the other questions. Therefore, two questions are added to get a full understanding of pragmatic deviation in Trump's political rhetoric.
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3.8 Validity and Reliability/Trustworthiness

Morse and Richards (2002, as cited in Dornyei, 2007) point out that qualitative research is intrinsically subjective, informative, and limited to the context and the setting. In such studies, reality is comparative, and actualities are dependent on individuals' perceptions. Therefore, according to Dornyei, some investigators claimed that qualitative studies demand their steps and methods to attain validity, unlike those utilized in quantitative methods.

Merriam and Tisdell (2016) and Patton (2015) claim that, whatever the kind of study, the researcher can approach two vital issues, validity, and reliability, by focusing cautiously on the concepts of the study, how the investigator collects, analyzes, and interprets data, and how they present findings. Merriam and Tisdell add that when one is conducting a study, the trustworthiness of the research is paramount.

Four components are proposed to make up trustworthiness: credibility, dependability, transferability, and confirmability, corresponding to the quantitative assessment criteria

of validity and reliability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985 as cited in Creswell, 2007 & Dornyei, 2007)

3.8.1 Credibility

Credibility, the qualitative counterpart of internal validity, focuses on how the study findings correspond to reality (Dornyei, 2007). A qualitative investigator can utilize some strategies to make findings more credible. One famous strategy that reinforces the internal validity of research is triangulation (Coleman, 2022; 2012; Dornyei, 2007; Flick, 2009; Patton, 2015; Tise, 2024; Vanderstoep & Johnston, 2009). Flick sees that triangulation means investigators take various viewpoints on a topic under investigation or answer the questions of the study. Indeed, Dornyei comments that it is conventionally considered one of the most effective methods of lessening the opportunity for systematic bias in such qualitative studies since reaching identical conclusions about a topic utilizing other methods in collecting and analyzing the textual information or a sample with new participants, the uniformity presents powerful validity evidence.

Coleman (2022), Dornyei (2007), Flick (2009), Merriam and Tisdell (2016), Patton (2015), and Vanderstoep and Johnston (2009) concur that triangulation—whether the researcher uses one or more than one data gathering technique, numerous sources of data, numerous researchers, or numerous models—is a strong strategy utilized to enhance the credibility of his\her study because the data is built on numerous sources of data, people, or procedures. Therefore, it motivates the investigator to present a study that can be both precise and trustworthy. Quoting Patton (2015), Triangulation, in whatever form, increases credibility and quality by countering the concern (or accusation) that a study's

findings are simply an artifact of a single method, a single source, or a single investigator's blinders. In the current study, the researcher adopts three of the four ways of triangulation, utilizing numerous sources of data, investigator triangulation, and theory triangulation to achieve credibility for the study method.

The instrument of the current research is indeed an oral document, but the researcher uses different kinds of documents: Trump's direct speech with the people and two interviews with TV channels in which Trump is asked different questions about his presidency, elections, and political and local issues. Besides, the researcher adopts three samples that are intentionally and purposefully selected to include various periods of Trump's life, as shown in the research sample section (3.2). Denzin (1978, as cited in Turner & Turner, 2009) assured us that the researcher could collect data by utilizing a similar instrument from various sources or at varied periods.

The researcher adopts three theories in the current study: Leech's (2014) politeness principle, Grice's (1975) cooperative principle, and Searle's (1969) felicity conditions of the speech act theory to interpret the textual information to see how Trump deviates from the norms of society. So, more than one theory is used to analyze the data from various angles. Denzin (1978, as cited in Turner & Turner, 2008) claims that the findings of studies following this triangulation method are commonly thoroughly debated and present promising conclusions.

In addition to triangulation, Coleman (2022) and Tise (2024) point out that sufficient engagement in collecting data is another strategy; as it is recommended, the researcher should saturate the textual information and findings. This can be done when the researcher

begins to find similar ideas without discovering new ones, when collecting more data. Similarly, Morse (2015, 1995) believes that saturating data is the most commonly acknowledged warranty of qualitative thoroughness that writers offer to commentators and readers. Saturation is an important component of rigour. It is present in all qualitative research and is the key to an excellent qualitative study. The present work achieves saturation in collecting and analyzing the data.

Moreover, Coleman (2022), Creswell (2007, 2012), Flick (2009), Dornyei (2007), Merriam and Tisdell (2016), Patton (2015), and Tise (2024) agree that the qualitative investigator's integrity, which is also known as investigator's reflexivity, is another technique that is used to show the way the investigator influences and is influenced by the process of the study. Researchers should elucidate their predispositions, prejudices, and presumptions related to the study to be conducted. This elucidation enables the readers to effectively comprehend the way the investigator may have reached a specific understanding of the textual information. As Dornyei believes, the most significant method to guarantee a trustworthy plan is to give readers a picture of the investigator as an expert with honorable criteria and integrity.

Furthermore, Patton (2015) believes that continual alertness to the researcher's own biases and subjectivity (reflexivity) helps to produce more credible interpretations. To practice reflexivity, the researcher selects a subject or problem on which the investigator either has qualitatively conducted a study or will conduct it, presents a summarized plan of the procedures, either existing or planned, and discusses themselves as the instrument of gathering and examining the data. The investigator of the current research is aware of the

biases and subjectivity that are part of qualitative inquiry and follows systematic procedures from the beginning to the end to ensure the credibility of the research. However, reflexivity is not a concern in this work since the instrument of this study already exists (oral documents from YouTube). This is assured by Bowen (2009), who argues that reflexivity is frequently not a problem in studies that use documentary data because such data is not obtrusive and not reactive; it is not affected by the process of the study.

Dornyei (2007), Edwards and Lampert (1993), Flick (2009), Patton (2015), and Tise (2024) suggest an additional strategy which is known as peer review, which is done by requesting a coworker to take the role of the investigator in evolving or checking the coding plan and next showing the differences and similarities between both of them. It is an excellent strategy since even tiny differences or similarities provide valuable feedback for the research. In the current study, the researcher asked two raters specializing in pragmatics and discourse analysis to code three copies of the same speech I coded according to the adopted models to code them to see the differences and similarities. The two raters agreed with me concerning the coding way of Trump's political discourse and how I assigned the codes to his speech (see section 3.6.2.2).

According to Creswell (2012), the researcher has to investigate if the results from the instrument show validity. The following are some procedures that an investigator can use in the study: Identify an instrument (or test) that you would like to use, look for evidence of validity by examining prior studies that have reported scores and use of the instrument, look closely at the purpose for which the instrument was used in these studies, look as

well at how the researchers have interpreted (discussed if the instrument measured what it is intended to measure) the scores in light of their intended use, and evaluate whether the authors provide reasonable evidence that links their interpretation to their use. (p. 162)

All these notes are taken into consideration in the present work by identifying the kind of the instrument, which is oral documents, discussing the previous studies that have used similar instruments, and examining some studies to see their use of the instrument and why they use it and how they explore the results out of the instrument. Chapter two discusses numerous studies that are related to the current one.

3.8.2 Dependability

Dependability or reliability means the findings and interpretations of the research can be reproduced to some degree. To paraphrase, if another researcher repeats the same research, it will produce similar findings. Examples are given in a similar category by other researchers or by similar researchers in varied situations. This component is challenging in social sciences basically since human demeanour is not stable and no study is inevitably more dependable than others (Coleman, 2022; Dornyei, 2007; Flick, 2015; Patton, 2015; Silverman, 2015).

Lincoln and Guba (1985, as cited in Merriam & Tisdell, 2016) are the pioneers who conceptualized reliability in qualitative studies as "dependability" or "consistency." Instead of requesting that different investigators reach similar findings, an investigator wants others to agree that, provided the data gathered, the findings show a clear meaning—they show consistency and dependability. This is assured by Merriam and

Tisdell, who believe that the topic of dependability needs to be conceptualized differently when considering qualitative research. Reproduction of qualitative research will not yield similar outcomes, yet this does not devalue the outcomes of specific research; many understandings of similar textual information exist. What is significant in qualitative studies is that the outcomes show consistency with the textual information gathered.

Coleman (2022), Flick (2009), Patton (2015), Tise (2024), and Vanderstoep and Johnston (2009) propose some strategies a qualitative investigator uses to guarantee dependability. These are triangulation, peer review, the researcher's situation (these are discussed in 3.7.1), and the audit trail. The audit trail is a technique recommended by Lincoln and Guba (1985, as cited in Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Similar to auditors who authenticate the business accounts, distinct reviewers can authenticate the research results by adhering to the investigator's audit trail. Besides, Bowen (2009) and Patton (2015) believe that an audit trail is an effective trustworthiness technique that is created to authenticate the rigour of the researcher's information-gathering and confirmability of the gathered textual information because the researcher wants to minimize bias, maximize accuracy, and report impartially. Similarly, Dornyei (2007) sees that an audit trail is one of the techniques that chiefly help show the investigator's superior criteria and help convince the audience that the study is valid.

Moreover, Coleman (2022), Flick (2009), and Tise (2024) state that research auditing in qualitative studies fully depicts the way the researcher collects textual information, derives categories, and makes choices during the research process. It is a thorough explanation of the way the researcher conducts the research and analyzes the textual

information. In the current study, the dependability is enhanced by utilizing this strategy in which the researcher has a study log that registers notes on the procedures of conducting the study that has been conducted.

Silverman (2015) claims that when the researcher is dealing with data that are already available and unfiltered through the researcher's field notes, they will be more reliable than other methods, such as observations or interviews. The problems of dependability arise merely through the categories the researcher uses to examine the data. Therefore, s/he has to use them in a systematized mode. In the present work, the researcher adopts a documentation analysis method to examine Trump's political discourse, which was taken from YouTube. Thus, the data is easily accessible as they are available online. In addition, the researcher creates a codebook (see section 3.6.2.1) that consists of concepts taken from three adopted models and puts them together with Trump's quotations to be used systematically in the analysis of the data.

Coleman (2022), Dornyei (2007), Silverman (2015), and Tise (2024) suggest a standard method called "inter-rater reliability," which necessitates that the researcher gives collected data to another coder or expert for the sake of coding or analyzing a large portion of the documentary information individually by either utilizing the investigator's coding\analysis list of codes\concepts or creating the codes themselves) Moreover, they should be asked to code or analyze that data in a way that aligns with a settled group of codes/concepts. Then, both narratives are studied to review the proportion of agreements and disagreements. This provides the benefit of refuting any prejudice the researcher could include in the findings. Therefore, the researcher provided two coders with three

copies of the same speech that I coded according to the adopted models to code them to see the differences and similarities. Section (3.6.2.2) discussed this issue by applying Cohen's Kappa interrater reliability measurement.

Moreover, Coleman (2022), Creswell (2007), and Vanderstoep and Johnston (2009) believe that dependability may be increased when the investigator takes thorough notes by videotaping what others say and transcribing the videotape. Regarding the present research, the researcher collects the data from YouTube and then transcribes it.

3.8.3 Transferability

Coleman (2022), Flick (2009), Merriam and Tisdell (2016), Vanderstoep and Johnston (2009), and Tise (2024) assert that applicability or external validity is defined as the findings of a study that could be applied to another context. That is, the way the researcher can generalize the findings of the research. The issue of generalizing them bothers qualitative researchers from time to time. This is partly because they think of generalizing the findings similarly to what quantitative researchers do. Qualitative researchers properly select small, arbitrary, purposive samples since they want to deeply comprehend a specific phenomenon rather than discover what can be generally deemed accurate from the multiple. Moreover, Holloway and Wheeler (2010) claim that, like other qualitative research, the findings from the discourse analysis are not instantly generalizable; indeed, researchers are not overly concerned with generalizability since the investigation focuses on speaking and writing in a particular situation.

Lincoln and Guba (1985, as cited in Merriam & Tisdell, 2016) propose the idea of

transferability, which means the burden of proof lies less with the original investigator than with the person seeking to make an application elsewhere. The original inquirer cannot know the sites to which transferability might be sought, but the appliers can and do (p. 298). The researcher should give adequate textual information to make transferability probable.

Bowen (2005), Dornyei (2007), Morrow (2005), and Vanderstoep and Johnston (2009) state that to maximize the likelihood of the findings of a qualitative study transferring to other contexts, the researcher can use some strategies. One of the most common strategies is using rich, thick explanations. When using such explanations as a technique to enhance transferability, it describes the situation and contributors of the research, and a thorough explanation of the results with sufficient proof is offered in the form of quotations from interviewing contributors, field noting, and documentary data. In the current study, the researcher gives a rich and thick description of the sample, data gathering, analysis, and findings to make the study transferable.

Campbell et al. (2020), Palinkas et al. (2015), and Vanderstoep and Johnston (2009) suggest another strategy in which a researcher might deliberately choose a typical or model sampling to enhance transferability. Adopting a typical or model sample, the researcher depicts how the person is equated with others in a similar status to compare one's context with others. The result is that researchers are narrowing the gap between quantitative and qualitative approaches by acknowledging a small sample size but attempting to prove that the sample represents similar people within the population. In this present thesis, the researcher chooses a typical sample: the former president of the

US, Trump, one of the most controversial US presidents, and a typical example of politicians in general.

3.8.4 Confirmability

Guba & Lincoln (1989 as cited in Koch, 1994) and Nowell et al. (2017) state that confirmability, or the neutrality of the findings, the qualitative counterpart of objectivity, occurs when credibility, dependability, and transferability are all accomplished.

Flick (2009) explains that objectivity refers to consistent interpretation; different investigators examine similar textual information and reach similar findings, which implies that they show objectivity and reliability. This can be done by triangulating the findings of varied independent investigators.

Morrow (2005) points out that confirmability depends on the viewpoint that the trustworthiness of results is positioned in the textual information. The investigator has to sufficiently link the textual information, investigative procedures, and results to make the readers capable of confirming the sufficiency of the results. Numerous strategies can be utilized to achieve the aim of dependability, such as an audit trail. Table 3.6 shows the strategies for increasing trustworthiness in qualitative studies.

Table 3.6

The Strategies for Increasing Trustworthiness in Qualitative Studies

Strategy	Credibility	Dependability	Transferability	Confirmability
Triangulation	\	\		\
Data Saturation	\		\	
Researcher's Reflexivity	\			\
Peer Examination or Coder	\	\		\
Literature Review	\	\		\
Audit Trail		\		\
Clear Source of Data and Data Transcription		\		
Thick Description			\	
Typical sample			\	

In addition, Edwards and Lampert (1993) and Martinez (2012) claim that qualitative researchers must conduct their studies ethically to ensure validity and reliability. The following section discusses this issue.

3.9 Ethical Consideration

Coleman (2022), Edwards and Lampert (1993), Martinez (2012), and Dornyei (2007) agree that one feature of a good qualitative study is that it is done ethically. This means

the investigator must seek and obtain the official review committee's permission.

The present study uses preexisting documents, which are available on YouTube, as a form of data. The investigator does not affect the process of collecting the textual information, as it is in other methods of collecting data. This is assured by Bowen (2009), who argues that reflexivity is frequently not a problem in studies that use documentary data because such data is not obtrusive and not reactive; it is not affected by the process of the study. Besides, Hinds et. al (2016) and Tripathy (2013) believe that such textual information causes rarer ethical issues than utilizing other qualitative instruments (observation or interview) because the kind of data is published online and available to everyone to read and is known by its authors. According to Morgan (2022) and Rapley (2007), this consciousness frequently decreases the ethical issues related to utilizing public documents. To make ethical choices concerning the utilization of the available material online, investigators should not forget that the bigger the opportunity the content is deemed public, the less requirement to save the secrecy and particularity of the persons who formed it. Investigators should be careful with data that is not designed for public use. They should think of concerns that involve namelessness, consensus, and susceptibility.

3.10 Summary

The present chapter discusses the design of the study and elaborates on the methodology used. It begins with discussing the worldviews to choose one that fits the study: constructivism. A qualitative approach is chosen, and justifications are given for this choice. The current study deals with pragmatic deviation in Trump's political discourse,

which involves a discourse analysis method adopted to analyze his speech in context. Three oral documents are chosen as the research sample, followed by an elucidation of the data-gathering method and procedures. Data analysis procedures are elucidated, beginning with transcribing and coding the data using Microsoft Office Word software and ending with analyzing them to answer the study questions. A detailed pilot study is done to check the instrument, research questions, and saturation of the textual information. Also, the elements of trustworthiness are provided to present a credible work. Ethical considerations are also discussed.



CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

The current chapter presents the findings and discussions of the research. The chapter is divided into sections and subsections, preceded by an introduction of the chapter and ended with a summary. The first five sections provide the findings of the five research questions, and each is followed by a section that discusses these findings in some detail.

4.2 Findings of Research Question One

This section explores Trump's political discourse using a discourse analysis method, as acknowledged in chapter three, to answer the research questions. The section presents the findings by analyzing Trump's political discourse according to Leech's (2014) ten (im)politeness maxims. Three oral documents were chosen to answer the first research question: (1) Trump's direct speech to the crowd in Illinois and (2) Trump's interview with Fox News Channel reporters Martha MacCallum and Bret Baier. The relevant parts in the excerpts are in bold to help readers focus on the deviant utterances. The first research question is: What types of Leech's (2014) politeness maxims are deviated from in Donald Trump's political discourse?

4.2.1 Theme 1– Generosity Maxim

Text (1): Trump: “The people of your great state are going to vote to fire the radical left Democrats.... **We are going to end Nancy Pelosi. She's crazy. We're going to end her**

political career. She's been so bad for our country” (Trump, 2022, 02:31).

Context: In his speech in Illinois in support of his candidates, Trump talks to the crowd about US House Speaker Nancy Pelosi, who is a member of the Democratic Party and the US House Speaker. Trump says that they are going to “end” the reign of the Democratic Party and Pelosi's career, describing her as a “crazy” woman who is “bad” for the US.

According to Leech's (im)politeness principle, perhaps Trump deviates from the maxim of generosity by expressing no advantage to others' wants; House Speaker Pelosi's wants are meant, in this context. Trump says, “We are going to end Pelosi,” describing her as “crazy” and “bad.” Trump's rhetoric could be an attempt to discredit her publicly, potentially refusing Pelosi's position as the US House Speaker. To deviate from this maxim, Trump could attempt to convince the people that Pelosi should not be elected by the crowd and elect his candidates who will make America great again, as Trump asserts.

Text (2): Trump: **“It's time to finally and completely smash the radical left's corrupt education cartel....** They want to teach all the wrong things.... they're pushing inappropriate sexual, racial, and political material on our children...” (Trump, 2022, 39:40).

Context: Talking to Trump's supporters in Illinois to urge them to elect Trump's candidates, Trump criticizes “the radical left's corrupt education” system because this system tries to impose materials that have ideological content. According to Trump, the children of the US will be influenced by the educators, promising to suggest some reforms for the education system.

Following Leech's (im)politeness principle, Trump appears not to adhere to the maxim of generosity because Trump gives a low value to the radical left's corrupt education system, promising to suggest key reforms to counter this impact. According to Trump, this system forces some materials on school students. Possible deviation from this maxim, Trump may be attempting to persuade the people that the education system, which was established by “the radical left”, is claimed to damage the students and should be changed. This will conceivably motivate the public to support Trump's candidates in reforming the system of education.

4.2.2 Theme 2 – Tact Maxim

Text (3): Trump: “**They need to stop the invasion of our country.** It is truly an invasion. As we restore the rule of law to the immigration system, we must also restore law and order to our streets” (Trump, 2022, 34:44).

Context: In his speech in Illinois in support of the candidates, Trump is talking to the crowd about the immigration issue in the US. During his presidency, Trump issued severe decrees to stop receiving immigrants from other nations. Trump is against bringing them to the US, and therefore, a lot of talks with the countries that facilitate the entrance of their citizens to the US are being made. Trump ordered them to stop coming to the US. However, after his term, Trump may still want others to prevent immigration by ordering Biden’s administration to do so.

It seems that Trump deviates from Leech's tact maxim by giving a high value to the speaker's wants and increasing the demands. Here, Trump appears to limit the Biden

administration's choices and present himself as a satisfactory solution to follow Trump's order to stop immigrants from entering the US. Probable violation of this maxim, Trump's rhetoric might presume continuing authority to give orders to others and have them done, although Trump no longer holds office. Furthermore, Trump may attempt to influence the crowd to make them believe that this is not just immigration but an "invasion" that should be stopped. Consequently, Trump could assert dominance over others.

Text (4): Cooper: "I did. In fact, there's the video right there." (Cooper, 2016, 07:15)

Trump: "Did you see the sign the protester was holding?" (Trump, 2016, 07:18)

Cooper: "No, I didn't." (Cooper, 2016, 07:19)

Trump: **"Do me a favour. Take a look at what was on the sign"** (Trump, 2016, 07:20)

Context: Journalist Cooper talks to Trump about the incident between Trump's campaign manager, Corey Lewandowski, and Reporter Michelle Fields. Cooper reminds Trump that Lewandowski has already done the same thing to a protester. Defending Trump's campaign manager, Trump asks Cooper if Cooper saw the sign the protester held. Cooper said, "I didn't." This leads Trump to order Cooper to do something for him by looking at the sign.

Giving a high cost to the speaker's wants and increasing the obligation on the listener seems to deviate from Leech's maxim of tact. This could be seen when Trump restricts Cooper's options (e.g., Could you see the sign?), but Cooper has to choose one, which is looking at the sign. The reason for this likely deviation from this maxim is that Trump's

tone probably reflects confrontational rhetoric because of Cooper's question about Lewandowski's actions. In addition, Trump might try to defend Lewandowski, potentially setting himself as the arbitrator of truthfulness.

4.2.3 Theme 3 – Approbation Maxim

Text (5): Trump: “**J. B. Pritzker...is one of the worst.** I had to deal with this guy...on COVID, **he was as bad as anybody there is. He did a horrible job.... He was a disaster. His numbers are terrible.** Everybody’s fleeing your state” (Trump, 2022, 19:59).

Context: In his speech in Illinois in support of Candidate Darren Bailey's election as governor in 2022, Trump talks to the crowd about J. B. Pritzker, the 43rd governor of Illinois. Trump described Pritzker’s handling of the COVID-19 outbreak in the city and how people were leaving the city because of the large number of infected and dead cases.

In conformity with Leech’s (im)politeness principle, Trump seems to violate the maxim of approbation by disregarding Pritzker's qualities, which could be interpreted as dissatisfaction. Trump claims that Pritzker did “a horrible job” in dealing with the disease that affected the people and caused numerous casualties during Pritzker’s period as the governor of Illinois, so Pritzker should not be re-elected as the Illinois governor. In fact, by making such remarks about Pritzker, Trump may attempt to undermine rivals and rally support for his candidate, Darren, who is presented as capable of developing the city.

Text (6): Cooper: “Your opponents are suggesting, on the Republican side, are suggesting that this says something about your leadership, that you’re condoning this kind of thing” (Cooper, 2016, 09:32)

Trump: "I've watched Ted Cruz.... **He didn't even know what state he comes from,** ok? I watched him talking about he comes from the state of Florida. Fort Hood is in Texas, by the way..." (Trump, 2016, 09:39).

Context: Journalist Cooper asks Trump about the opponents who question Trump's leadership. Trump says, "I think my leadership is very good" (Trump, 2016, 09:39) and begins talking about Sen. Heidi Cruz, who is Trump's rival in the 2016 presidential nomination.

According to Leech's principle of (im)politeness, Trump probably does not follow the maxim of approbation when undermining the qualities of Ted Cruz. Trump's utterance could be understood as questioning Cruz's political identity when claiming that Cruz does not know "where he comes from." Trump's rhetoric may intend to influence public opinion by showing Cruz as an inadequate candidate, while portraying Trump as a desirable candidate to be elected as the US president instead.

4.2.4 Theme 4 – Modesty Maxim

Text (7): Trump: "Over four incredible years, **we achieved more than perhaps any administration in history.** We did it despite all of the things that were done to us. Compare how great America was just two years ago with...today" (Trump, 2022, 25:21).

Context: In an Illinois rally in support of his candidates, Trump speaks to the crowd about the situation in the US during his four-year presidency and other periods. Trump requests them to compare his time as president with Biden's. Trump criticizes Biden's administration and the way it deals with local and international issues.

Emphasizing his own achievements by giving a high value to Trump's qualities probably does not adhere to Leech's maxim of modesty. This is apparent when Trump uses superlatives (e.g., "better than any"), showing that his period as a US president is better than perhaps any administration in history" of the US. Holding the office, Trump claims that the US was great and influential, but now it is no longer great. Trump's statement illustrates this: "You look at Biden, we're America last" (Trump, 2022). This deviation might serve to create an image of unparalleled leadership in the minds of the US audience, potentially targeted at framing electoral support for his congressional candidates.

Text (8): Cooper: Cruz has challenged you to debate him. (Cooper, 2016, 36:23)

Trump: "Give me a break. The guy has challenged me – **he's lost every debate**" (Trump, 2016, 36:29)

Context: Journalist Cooper talks to Trump about Trump's opponent in the presidential election in 2016, Ted Cruz, who has challenged Trump to debate. Trump responds to Cooper by saying that Trump does not want to debate Cruz anymore because Trump defeated Cruz in all the debates.

According to Leech's (im)politeness principle, Trump does not appear to follow the maxim of modesty by exaggerating Trump's qualities over Cruz's, claiming that Trump is a good debater. Trump's rhetoric asserts that he won all debates against Cruz, and thus, there is no need for more debates. This stance could leave little room for modesty. Probable Deviation from this maxim could raise Trump's status; possibly aimed at refusing to participate in more debates serves to position himself as a dominant leader and

reinforces his claim to leadership.

4.2.5 Theme 5 – Obligation of S to O Maxim

Text (9): MacCallum: "...Do you think that you should make any apology for what you've said about liberal judges or not?" (MacCallum, 2020, 10:37)

Trump: "...a Justice [Ginsburg]...criticize me badly. And I just responded.... But if they say something to me, I'm not allowed to say back. **You had another justice say something that was somewhat derogatory, and all I did was respond.**" (Trump, 2020, 10:40).

Context: Trump's interview with Fox News Channel reporters Martha MacCallum and Bret Baier in the Fox News Town Hall in front of the people who are allowed to ask Trump some questions directly. Here, Reporter MacCallum asks Trump whether it is possible to make an apology to Judge Ginsburg due to Trump's criticisms of her. Trump does not apologize to her as she was being condescending and instead, Trump wants her to do so.

It appears that Trump does not observe Leech's maxim of obligation of S to O by giving a low cost to the speaker's obligation to others. Here, when asked to make an apology, Trump refuses to apologize to Judge Ginsburg as Trump responds to her criticisms. Consequently, Trump might frame the struggle as a matter of mutual exchange of criticisms between him and her. This could be interpreted as Trump refuses to apologize and absolve her of blame. By avoiding apologetic utterances like 'I am sorry' or 'I apologize,' Trump may attempt to highlight self-exoneration over propitiatory language, potentially using confrontation to project an image of resolute power. Thus, Trump's

utterance suggests a denial of wrongdoing that would necessitate an apology.

Text (10): Cooper: "You said on the radio right here in Wisconsin the other day that you do apologize and you believe in apologizing. When was the last time you actually apologized for something?" (Cooper, 2016, 45:16)

TRUMP: "... We started this with Corey, my campaign manager. Will you apologize. I said, **apologize for what? I see the tape. Apologize for what? I've love to apologize.** It would be so much easier..." (Trump, 2016, 45:28)

Context: Interviewer Cooper asks Trump about Trump's apologies and when the last time Trump made an apology was. Trump gives Cooper an example of Trump's campaign manager, Corey Lewandowski, who was accused by Fields of grabbing Fields' arm when Fields tried to question Trump during the conference in Florida in March 2016. Trump and Lewandowski denied Fields' allegations (Kirell & Miller, 2017). Thus, Trump refuses to apologize for that because Trump states that nothing wrong was done by Lewandowski.

According to Leech's (im)politeness principle, Trump possibly deviates from the maxim of obligation of S to O when giving a low value to the speaker's obligations to others. This is demonstrated when Trump replies, "Apologise for what?" suggesting that Trump does not see the situation as deserving an apology. Therefore, Trump refuses to apologize to Fields, conceivably asserting Lewandowski's innocence of grabbing Fields' arm. The motivations behind Trump's discourse are perhaps to emphasize loyalty to his campaign manager and deflect external critiques.

4.2.6 Theme 6 – Obligation of O to S Maxim

Text (11): MacCallum: "...Do you think that you should make any apology for what you've said about liberal judges or not?" (MacCallum, 2020, 10:37).

Trump: "...We had a justice come out and criticize me badly.... Justice Ginsburg ...during the election, she came out, **she had to apologize**. It was a terrible thing, she said. She should have never been allowed to say it" (Trump, 2020, 10:40).

Context: During an event with Fox News Channel reporters Martha MacCallum and Bret Baier, Trump joined a Town Hall where the audience could raise some questions. At this event, MacCallum asked if Trump would apologize to Judge Ginsburg for his criticism. Trump replied that he would not, showing that Judge Ginsburg had been very critical of him, and hence, Trump thought there was no need to apologize.

Trump appears to depart from Leech's maxim of obligation of O to S by giving a high cost to others' obligation to the speaker who demands apologies from others. Here, Trump demands the judge's apology for what she said about him, despite the reciprocal nature of their criticisms. Potential violation of this maxim suggests that Trump could reject admitting his criticisms of the judge and instead require an apology for slamming him, probably shifting accountability onto the judge. This utterance might be intended to position Trump as the target of unjust criticism and reinforce a story in which Trump is unfairly criticized and thus worthy of vindication.

Text (12): Text (6): MacCallum: "...Do you think that you should make any apology for what you've said about liberal judges or not?" (MacCallum, 2020, 10:37)

Trump: “.... **I didn’t respond like Schumer..., the way he said we’re going to hit back like you’ve never seen before.** That was a real intimidation.... If a Republican did what Schumer did, they’d be in jail right now...” (Trump, 2020, 10:45)

Context: Reporter MacCallum asks Trump whether it is possible to apologize to Judge Ginsburg because of Trump's criticisms of this judge. Trump does not apologize to the judge because the judge criticizes Trump. After that, Trump begins talking about Senate Majority Leader Democrat Chuck Schumer, who is claimed to threaten to hit back at the judges. This makes Trump demand that Schumer apologize for threatening the judges.

According to Leech's principle of (im)politeness, Trump does not seem to observe the maxim of the obligation of O to S when providing a high value to others' obligation to the speaker who demands apologies. It seems that Trump demands that Schumer apologize to the judge for the comments Trump describes as threats. To deviate from this maxim, perhaps Trump assigns responsibility to Schumer while not referring to the inquiry directed at himself, demanding an apology for what was said. Therefore, Trump could shift the direction of the statements Trump made against the judge by referring to those of Schumer, possibly reframing the argument to depict himself as less responsible.

4.2.7 Theme 7 – Agreement Maxim

Text (13): Trump: “It’s politically incorrect. See, **I disagree with them.** We will also keep men out of women's sports. Is that ok? Very unfair" (Trump, 2022, 41:33).

Context: In a speech at an Illinois rally in support of his candidates, Trump is speaking to the crowd about banning transgender women from joining sports that are related to

women. This is Trump's promise that would be fulfilled if the US voters re-elect Trump as the US president in 2024. Journalist Yurcaba (2022) reports that including transgender persons in sports squads is less likable. Most US citizens, around 62 percent, mentioned that transgender sportspersons have to be permitted to join the sports squads that are related to their actual gender when they were born.

By expressing disagreements with opposing opinions, Trump appears to violate Leech's maxim of agreement. Here, Trump disagrees with those who support the idea of giving rights to transgender women to participate in women's sports. Trump does not seem to mitigate his contradiction with opponents, possibly criticizing them for making such decisions. Trump, conceivably deviating from this maxim, might attempt to associate his position with the reported majority rejection of transgender women participating in women's sports, as stated by Yurcaba (2022).

Text (14): Cooper: "You're running for president of the United States." (Cooper, 2016, 15:23)

Trump: "Excuse me, **I didn't start it. I didn't start it.**" (Trump, 2016, 15:29)

Cooper: "But, sir, with all due respect, that's the argument of a 5-year-old." (Cooper, 2016, 15:33)

Trump: "**No, it's not.**" (Trump, 2016, 15:37)

Context: Journalist Cooper talks to Trump about Sen. Heidi Cruz's wife, whose husband is Trump's rival in the presidential nomination in 2016. Cooper wonders why Trump

retweeted Cruz's wife's photo together with Trump's typical wife's while Trump could avoid retweeting strange individuals, as Cooper believes. Cooper argues with Trump that doing such an act is unacceptable, but Trump disagrees with Cooper about that.

Under Leech's theory of (im)politeness, Trump appears not to follow the maxim of agreement by expressing disagreement with Cooper's view. Trump disagrees with Cooper's comments when Trump states, "I did not start it," and "No, it is not." This might show that Trump does not try to moderate his role regarding the argument for posting Cruz's photo. This likely deviation could serve as a tactic to defend his public image through decisive framing and deflecting accountability without recognizing alternative views.

4.2.8 Theme 8– Opinion Reticence Maxim

Text (15): Trump: “If I renounced my beliefs, which I won’t do, **if I agreed to stay silent, if I stayed at home, if I said that a corrupt election was wonderful, the persecution would stop immediately.** But I can’t do that...” (Trump, 2022, 13:26).

Context: At an Illinois gathering to support his candidates, Trump is speaking to the crowd about the election after losing the presidential race to Biden in 2020. Trump does not accept the election results and claims that they are corrupted and rigged, even though the investigation showed no evidence to support his claims (Eggers et al., 2021).

According to Leech's (im)politeness principle, Trump possibly breaks the maxim of opinion reticence by exaggerating his opinion. It appears that Trump refuses to accept the election and believes that it was rigged. Not only does Trump reject the results of the

election, but he also states that if he had kept silent and remained at home, the harassment would cease at once. However, it seems that Trump did not keep silent and insisted on his position that the election was “corrupt”. Trump’s rhetoric may be attempting to convince the public of his victimhood and the illegality of the voting result. Therefore, the repetitive claims of a rigged election are potentially aimed at contributing to tensions that culminated in civil unrest.

Text (16): Cooper: It’s about a third of your campaign is funded by other people. (Cooper, 2016, 17:32)

Trump: **No, it’s not. No, it’s not, not a third.** Whatever the hats are, they also cost something. (Trump, 2016, 17:39)

Context: Journalist Cooper speaks to Trump about the sources of funding for Trump’s campaign for the presidential election in 2016. Cooper says that people have given much money to Trump’s campaign, but Trump insists it is a little money.

By asserting his perspectives, Trump seems not to follow Leech’s maxim of opinion reticence. This could be seen when Trump states that the people’s funding for the presidential campaign is very little. As a result, Trump possibly highlights his stance by repeating ‘not’ three times in replying to Cooper’s comment, that people’s funding is about a third of the campaign. Trump’s tactic might form public awareness by moderating financial donations from electors, conceivably to keep the image of individuality from external impact. Trump’s refusal to admit Cooper’s claim might mirror a try to keep control over the story surrounding the funding of his campaign.

4.2.9 Theme 9 – Sympathy Maxim

Text (17): Trump: **Kinzinger...is out, he quit. Almost all of the impeachers are gone,** you know, the 10 impeachers? We won a big one the other day, **he got slaughtered.** Name is Rice from South Carolina, **he was out, he's gone** (Trump, 2022, 12:35).

Context: At an Illinois rally to support his candidates, Trump speaks to the crowd about the ten House Republicans who have endorsed a single article of impeachment, accusing Trump of "incitement of insurrection" over the Jan. 6, 2021, riots at the US Capitol following the election in 2021 in which Trump lost the presidential race to Biden. The article reads that Trump, addressing his followers on the day of the unrest, “willfully made statements that, in context, encouraged — and foreseeably resulted in — lawless action at the Capitol, such as: “if you don't fight like hell you're not going to have a country anymore” (Naylor, 2021, para. 4). Trump talks about two of them Kinzinger and Rice who lost the House election.

According to Leech's (im)politeness principle, Trump may violate the maxim of sympathy by diminishing Kinzinger's and Rice's emotional standing. Trump might use confrontational rhetoric about them and the other impeachers and how they lost the election, using phrases such as “got slaughtered” and “gone,” framing their consequences as resulting losses. Possible deviation from this maxim suggests that Trump's utterance could be interpreted as trying to publicly criticize the ten impeachers for impeaching him, implying that their voting defeats were a direct consequence of their impeachment decision against Trump.

Text (18): Cooper: It wasn't even a pro-Cruz super PAC; it was an anti-Trump super PAC. (Cooper, 2016, 16:39)

Trump: Excuse me, they were Romney people. Romney is, you know, **very embarrassed that he did so badly four years ago. The guy choked like a dog and lost an election...** (Trump, 2016, 16:45)

Context: Journalist Cooper speaks to Trump about Sen. Heidi Cruz's wife. Cooper keeps asking Trump about retweeting Cruz's wife's photo together with Trump's wife's. Cooper argues with Trump that the picture is not by the PAC (organizations that support Cruz in the presidential campaign). Nonetheless, Trump insists that this act was done by Cruz's supporters, who already supported Mitt Romney in the presidential election in 2012. Then, Trump begins talking about Romney's loss in the election.

By disregarding Romney's emotional standing, Trump seemingly violates Leech's maxim of sympathy. Trump describes Romney as "a choked dog" without using softened expressions, which may directly increase face-threats. In addition, it seems that Trump's utterances openly emphasize Romney's election loss, lacking a sympathetic tone. To probably deviate from this maxim, Trump's discourse might be intended to show antipathetic rhetoric, conceivably highlighting Romney's voting loss, illustrated through unalleviated expressions such as "choked like a dog" and "did so badly," reinforcing Trump's political supremacy.

4.2.10 Theme 10 – Feeling Reticence Maxim

Text (10):

Trump: It [America] is **a nation that is begging Venezuela and Saudi Arabia** for oil. **It is a nation that surrendered in Afghanistan, leaving dead soldiers, American citizens, and \$85 billion worth of the finest military equipment in the world behind. It's a nation that allowed Russia to devastate a country, Ukraine, killing hundreds of thousands of people.** And it will only get worse. It would never have happened with me and it didn't happen with me. (Trump, 2022, 01:18)

Context: Trump is speaking to the crowd at an Illinois rally to get support for his candidates. Trump describes the situation the US has been through during Biden's administration, criticizing the foreign policies that Biden has followed.

Considering Leech's (im)politeness principle, Trump might deviate from the maxim of feeling reticence by giving a high value to his feelings. Here, Trump seems to complain about the situation in the US, which is claimed to face a lot of issues under Biden's rule. Trump describes the US as a nation that begs to get oil, surrenders to Afghanistan, and permits Russia to ruin Ukraine and kill people. Trump appears to claim that under his presidency of the US, this would never happen. Trump might attempt to express his emotional discontent by making the crowd sympathetic to him and emphasizing policy differences during his administration compared with Biden's. This discourse is potentially associated with campaign plans meant to mobilize voters' support for Trump's candidates, conceivably portraying them as desirable choices in future voting.

Text (20): Baier: "...you haven't talked to him[Obama] since." (Baier, 2020, 10:37)

Trump: I was at the funeral of President Bush, sat next to him[Obama] and I said, "Hello."
And then I said, "Goodbye." That's about it. No, **I didn't like the job he did. I didn't like the job that he and Biden did. I didn't like the position they put us in. I didn't like what he did to our military, our military. We didn't even have a military. Our military was so depleted. And I tell this story yet, I hate to tell it because it's embarrassing.** (Trump, 2020, 10:40)

Context: Interviewer Baier asks Trump whether Trump met President Obama during the funeral of former President Bush in the Oval Office. Trump responds to Baier by saying that greetings were exchanged between Trump and Obama during the meeting. Then, Trump begins talking about Obama's administration of the USA.

According to Leech's (im)politeness principle, Trump probably violates the maxim of feeling reticence by providing a high cost to the speaker's feelings. It seems that Trump shifts the talk and begins grumbling about Obama's administration of the US. Trump's utterances might have unsoftened criticisms, such as criticizing Obama's administration of the military force without mitigated expressions, such as hedging. By possibly deviating from this maxim, Trump's rhetoric could be understood as utilizing overt dissatisfaction toward Obama's policies, while Trump may position himself favourably by contrast. In addition, this probable deviation might mirror voting positioning tactics, commonly used in political discourse, to conflict leadership records and rally support.

4.3 Discussions of the Findings of Research Question One

The objective of research question one is to discover the types of Leech's (2014) maxims of politeness principle that are deviated from in Trump's political discourse. The findings revealed that Leech's (2014) ten (im)politeness maxims are deviated from in Trump's political discourse. This is in line with Leech's theory of (im)politeness principle that suggests the deviation of these maxims. Also, the findings of the current study are consistent with those of some studies conducted by Akmal and Candrasari (2019), Ewurum and Chukwu (2018), Lustyantje and Dewi (2019), and Ogayi and Osondu (2021), who showed speakers' deviation from politeness maxims. For instance, Ewurum and Chukwu's findings revealed that the agitators in the Nollywood eco-films violated Leech's maxims. Correspondingly, Ogayi and Osondu (2021) found that the characters in Akachi Ezeigbo's novel *Roses and Bullets* did not observe the politeness maxims. In the same vein, Akmal and Candrasari's (2019) results exhibited that some of the twelve governor candidates of Aceh province violated some maxims: tact, generosity, and modesty. In addition, Lustyantje and Dewi explored the observance and non-observance of Leech's (1983) politeness principle in Lenong Betawi's funny talk and found that the speakers observed and did not observe the maxims in different situations.

However, the findings are contrary to many studies (Atmowardoyo et al., 2018; Hasan et al., 2021; Hikmahwati et al., 2021; Jameel & Sameer, 2021; Lembang & Xiaoting, 2021; Mariani et al., 2017; Santoso et al., 2020) that showed speakers' adherence to politeness maxims. For example, Atmowardoyo et al. analyzed the speeches of EFL teachers and thirty-eight pupils. The results of the paper argued that the teacher and students observed

all of Leech's (1983) six maxims. Similarly, the findings of Hikmahwati et al. (2021) showed that the characters of *Akeelah and the Bee* film observed all of Leech's (1983) six politeness maxims. Likewise, Leyang and Xiaoting (2021) argued that the characters in Lao She's play *Teahouse* followed the politeness maxims. Besides, Hasan et al. (2021) found that Leech's (1983) tact and generosity maxims, which were only investigated, were followed in the dramatis personae's dialogues in the play *King and I*. By the same token, the findings of Jameel and Sameer (2021) exhibited that Richard Nixon's and George W. Bush's political speeches adhered to Leech's politeness maxims. Furthermore, Santoso et al. (2020) examined the kinds of politeness maxims utilized by two EFL teachers. The findings showed that the teachers observed nine of Leech's (2014) politeness maxims. Moreover, Mariani et al. (2017) endeavoured to apply Leech's (1983) politeness maxims in Donald Trump's election triumph speech. The results of the study indicated that Trump followed six maxims.

Moreover, the findings of the first theme suggested that Trump seems to deviate from the maxim of generosity by giving a low cost to others' wants, showing no advantage to the US House Speaker Pelosi's and "the radical left" party's wants. Trump's rhetoric could be interpreted as showing intimidation, promising to discredit his opponents publicly. This finding could be attributed to Trump's campaign strategies that are intended to convince the public that his rivals' electability is undermined while augmenting support for his endorsed candidates. This finding is supported by that of Akmal and Candrasari (2019), who argued that most candidates attempted to humiliate their opponents. In addition, this finding is in line with that of Ogayi and Osondu (2021), who found that the characters in Akachi Ezeigbo's novel *Roses and Bullets* show a low value to others' wants and seek

their own benefit. Furthermore, the finding of the current research is supported by the findings of El-Falaky (2019), who studied Culpepper's (1996) impoliteness between two Egyptian presidential candidates, revealing that both use different strategies of impoliteness to misrepresent each other's political reputation and threaten each other. Therefore, due to this deviation, a massive gap between Trump and his rivals was formed. This is assured by the findings of Chen et al. (2019), who analyzed Trump's discourse, claiming that Trump aims to emphasize distinctions between himself and his rivals.

Nevertheless, the finding of the generosity maxim is different from that of Mariani et al. (2017), who found that Trump observes this maxim by benefiting others, offering a chance for the US people. Besides, the finding of this maxim is contrary to those of Hasan et al. (2021), who argued that the *dramatis personae* in the play *King and I* are polite and show a high cost to other's wants, and Leyang and Xiaoting (2021), who found the same in the play *Teahouse*. Similarly, this maxim's finding is incompatible with that of Jameel and Sameer (2021), who found that Richard Nixen is polite with his opponent, George W. Bush, and tries not to permit the separation of his nation.

Deviating from Leech's maxim of generosity conveys pragmatic and sociopolitical implications. First, in political discourse, unalleviated threats or antagonistic language (e.g., wanting bad luck for opponents) endanger separating electors, as such strategies increase social clashes and ruin public confidence. Consequently, politicians could take advantage of following this politeness maxim to fill ideological divisions and soften polarity among voters.

Moreover, these findings highlight the significance of pragmatic competence in language

education. Language learners had better focus on improving their understanding of face-threatening acts and softening tactics to evade accidentally antagonistic interactions. Teachers could sustain this by incorporating plain instruction on politeness frameworks into syllabuses and employing genuine instances to differentiate adversarial and propitiatory speech acts.

Lastly, this study underscores avenues for more studies in the future. Researchers can examine how politicians deviate from the generosity maxim, intend their discourse, and anticipate long-term sociopolitical consequences. Such work could extend theoretical and applied awareness of generosity deviations in public communication.

Moreover, the findings of the second theme showed that Trump appears not to follow the maxim of tact by giving a high value to the speaker's wants and increasing the imposition on others. Trump orders President Biden to prevent immigrants from entering the US, envisaging Trump is in the proper position to give orders to others. Trump's rhetoric may presume continuing authority to give orders to others and have them done, although Trump no longer holds office. This finding could be related to the reason that Trump tries to influence the public to get rally support. This finding is found in studies conducted by (Akmal & Candrasari, 2019 Ewurum & Chukwu, 2018 Lustyantje & Dewi, 2019 Ogayi & Osondu, 2021) that displayed the speakers give a high cost to their wants at the expense of others. However, the finding of this maxim is not similar to some studies (Hasan et al., 2021; Jameel & Sameer, 2021; Lembang & Xiaoting, 2021; Mariani et al., 2017; Santoso et al., 2020) that showed the speakers give a low value to their wants and cause no impositions on others. For instance, Jameel and Sameer (2021) argued that Richard Nixon

and George W. Bush mitigated their requests when talking with their supporters, hoping they would benefit their audience. Likewise, Mariani et al. (2017) claimed that Trump observes this maxim by giving a low value to his desire to benefit others since Trump aims to unite the US.

The findings of the second theme emphasize essential implications for political discourse and second language (L2) education. First, politicians endanger people's confidence by prioritizing self-seeking over cooperative politeness strategies, such as imposing their favourites or terminating others' perceptions. Such behaviour could broaden social polarization by encouraging antagonistic relations between politicians and voters and among political groups. To soften divisions, politicians could implement comprehensive rhetoric that stabilizes self-representation with the recognition of shared requirements.

In addition, the findings stress the pedagogical implication of pragmatic competence in language education. Learners have to improve their knowledge of Leech's maxim of tact, which underlines decreasing obligations to others. Teachers could incorporate obvious instruction on diminishing face-threatening acts, such as utilizing indirect requests or hedged expressions, into the program of study, giving instances of tactful interaction in genuine situations.

Lastly, this study encourages more studies into deviations from the tact maxim. These studies could investigate how such deviations affect public awareness, such as electors' behaviour or their strategic utilization in social media, and how direct and indirect requests are used. Such analyses could widen the theoretical and practical perception of tactful utterances in all types of discourse.

In addition, the findings of the third theme exhibited that Trump seems to deviate from the maxim of approbation by giving a low cost to others' qualities, which may be seen as disrespectful. Uttering such remarks against his rivals (Illinois Governor, Pritzker, and presidential nominee, Ted Cruz) suggests that Trump could attempt to undermine rivals and rally support for himself and his candidates. This finding is supported by the studies done by (Akmal & Candrasari, 2019; Ewurum & Chukwu, 2018; Ogayi & Osondu, 2021), who argued that the individuals tried to show each other's bad qualities, insulted, humiliated, and censured each other. Besides, the finding of this maxim is in line with those of Abdelkawy (2019) and Koike et al. (2022), who conducted a study on Culpeper's (2011) and Bousfield's (2008) impoliteness models and found that direct insults were exchangeable between the persons. In addition, Feldman (2023) claimed that Gandhi's famous utterance "I respectfully invite the [British] Government to arrest me" is ironically intended to humiliate the British administration. Nonetheless, the findings of this theme are different from those of Atmowardoyo et al. (2018), Hikmahwati et al. (2021), Jameel and Sameer (2021), Leyang and Xiaoting (2021), Mariani et al. (2017), and Santoso et al. (2020), who found that the speakers are polite by praising others and showing mutual respect. For instance, Mariani et al. (2017) claimed that Trump observes this maxim when praising his opponent, Hillary Clinton.

Deviating from the maxim of approbation conveys crucial implications in political, pedagogical, and academic fields. In the language of politics, politicians who use abusive or insulting comments risk separating voters. Thus, language prompts public scepticism and nurtures awareness of contempt. Reiterated antagonistic rhetoric could worsen divisions, broadening conflicts between political sections and their followers. To soften

this, politicians have to adopt some strategies, underscoring deferential conversations and evading personal arguments that weaken mutual supremacy.

In the educational domain, the analysis underlines the value of pragmatic competence. Second language learners could benefit from learning strategies such as praises or compliments to support positive communication. Teachers had better combine obvious lessons on such utterances into syllabuses, utilizing real examples to show how the maxim approbation functions in real-life situations.

Finally, the findings invite further studies into deviations from the maxim of approbation. These studies might examine why talkers break this maxim, for instance, strategic advantage or social variances, or investigate the application of this maxim in various discourses such as social media and political campaigns. Such a study could augment both theories of pragmatics and practical frameworks for discourse analysis.

Furthermore, the findings of the fourth theme uncovered that Trump probably violates the maxim of modesty by emphasizing his own achievements. Trump asserts that his period as the US president is better than others, and his refusal to debate his rivals. This finding is because Trump might endeavour to position himself as an unchallenged political leader, potentially framing electoral support for him and his congressional candidates. This finding is found in the studies conducted by Akmal and Candrasari (2019), Lustyantje and Dewi (2019), and Ogayi and Osondu (2021), who claimed that the speakers strongly praised themselves by showing their own unique characteristics. However, the findings of this theme are unlike those of Atmowardoyo et al. (2018), Hikmahwati et al. (2021), Jameel and Sameer (2021), Leyang and Xiaoting (2021), and Mariani et al. (2017), who

found that the speakers humbled themselves to show modesty. For instance, Mariani et al. (2017) found that Trump observes this maxim when talking to his opponent, Hilary Clinton, to show humbleness. In addition, Jameel and Sameer (2021) argued that Richard Nixon and George W. Bush lessened self-praise and showed humility when talking to the audience.

Deviating from the maxim of modesty shows vital implications for political discourse, second language learning, and academic research. In political situations, politicians who underscore self-glorifying over reasonable language risk ruining social trust. For example, recurring unsupported claims (e.g., some statements deemed as "imprecise" or "requiring proof") could reduce sincerity, increasing distrust among electors and worsening political divisions. To diminish this, politicians had better approve interaction strategies that shun extreme self-boasting, thus supporting the norms of politeness to maintain public support.

In language education, this analysis highlights the significance of pragmatic competence. Learners gain from instruction on recognizing humble expressions (such as moderating accomplishments) from bombastic ones (such as exaggerated self-boasting) to use culturally suitable language to support common harmony. Teachers are advised to use real examples of humble expressions in curricula, revealing how such strategies strengthen collaborative communication.

Lastly, these findings call for more studies on this theme. Researchers might explore why deviations from the maxim of modesty happen, for example, social variations and strategic self-praise, or investigate their social outcomes, such as division and distortion. Such a study could help scholars understand the theoretical and practical sides of

politeness norms in public discourse.

Besides, the findings of the fifth theme unveiled that Trump does not seem to adhere to the maxim of the obligation of S to O by giving a low value to the speaker's obligation to others. Trump refuses to apologize to others, asserting that it is a matter of mutual exchange of criticisms. The reason for not apologizing is that Trump's discourse could underscore self-exoneration over propitiatory language, possibly using confrontation to project an image of resolute power. The findings of this theme are contrary to the study conducted by Santoso et al. (2020), who found that the speaker gave a high value to others; apologies and thanks are produced by the teacher and his students in the class.

Violating the obligation S to O maxim has substantial implications for political language, second language learning, and academic research. In political situations, politicians who decline accountability for unpleasant or incorrect assertions erode public confidence, and thus, such strategies prioritize shifting blame over appeasing language, highlighting self-protective rhetoric (e.g., refusing wrongdoings) rather than reducing face threats to rivals. For example, refusing to apologize for individual criticisms of opponents intensifies separation, damaging collective supremacy and increasing public dissatisfaction. To mitigate this, politicians can follow responsibility mechanisms such as public apologies or evidence-based revisions to reestablish discursive understanding and decrease clashes.

In language education, these findings stress the status of pragmatic competence in administering societal obligations. Learners need to improve proficiency in applying the strategies of apologies, such as overt remorse and offers of restoration, to mitigate face-threatening acts properly. Teachers can use role-play exercises or genuine conversation

instances in curricula, indicating how politeness frameworks like Leech's maxims function in real-world dialogues.

Lastly, this analysis encourages more studies into deviations from the norms of obligation. Researchers can examine the sociocultural or contextual components driving such deviations, like power differences or intercultural interaction norms, and dissect their consequences in digital fields such as online discussions. Such a study could widen theoretical models of (im)politeness while presenting actionable insights for softening discourse-interrelated clashes.

Additionally, the findings of the sixth theme showed that Trump disobeys the obligation of O to S maxim by giving a high cost to others' obligations to the speaker who demands apologies from others. Trump demands Judge Ginsburg's apology for what the Judge said about him, despite a reciprocal exchange of criticisms between them. Trump refuses to acknowledge his criticisms of the judge and instead requires an apology for criticizing him, asserting that the judge's actions were inaccurate and warrant responsibility. Trump might make himself the topic of undue scrutiny, insisting that the critiques against him lack value and that Trump must instead obtain an apology. It can be interpreted that Trump sees his situation as a target of what Trump describes as unnecessary and unfair, justifying vindication. This finding is different from that of Santoso et al. (2020), who argued that others gave a low cost to the speaker's obligation; the student apologized to the teacher for being late, and the teacher responded to the student's apology by saying 'okay' to diminish the student's fault.

Violating the obligation of O to S maxim offers critical implications for political

discourse, second language pedagogy, and academic investigation. In political situations, politicians demanding apologies or appreciation from others with no mutual responsibility might weaken credibility among voters. For example, one-sidedly blaming others while declining blame develops argumentative conflicts. In mitigating division, political figures can follow responsibility mechanisms such as reciprocal apologies or evidence-driven discourse to lessen clashes and keep discursive accord.

In second language education, these findings focus on the weight of pragmatic competence in handling societal obligations. Learners had better highlight tactics such as presenting apologies over demanding them and observing norms that reduce obligations on others. Teachers could back this by incorporating lessons on apology frameworks like phrases of remorse and recognition of mistakes in curricula, employing actual instances to distinguish between confrontational and appeasing conversation.

Lastly, these findings invite more studies into deviations from Leech's maxims of obligation. Investigators might examine contextual reasons for making such deviations, such as power dynamics and societal variations, or their social outcomes, such as fabrication growth in social media. Such a study could evolve pragmatic theory and clash solution tactics.

Moreover, the findings of the seventh theme revealed that Trump does not appear to adhere to the maxim of agreement by disregarding others' opinions. Trump's discourse probably does not soften his contradiction to those who support the idea of giving rights to transgender women to participate in women's sports, potentially aimed at criticizing them for making such decisions. This might be because Trump associates his stance with

the reported public disapproval of transgender women taking part in women's sports. In addition, Trump could try to protect his public image by disagreeing with journalist Cooper. The finding of this theme is in line with the studies done by Ewurum and Chukwu (2018), Lustyantie and Dewi (2019), and Ogayi and Osondu (2021), who found that the speakers did not follow this maxim by giving a low value to others' opinions and maximizing disagreement between each other. For example, Lustyantie and Dewi (2019) argued that the speakers in *Anak Durhaka* Talk sometimes disagreed with each other by refusing suggestions. Moreover, Noort (2022) found that Gandhi's directive "Do or Die", in the "Quit India" speech, rejects negotiations with the British administration. However, the findings of this theme are different from some studies done by Atmowardoyo et al. (2018), Hikmahwati et al. (2021), Jameel and Sameer (2021), Leyang and Xiaoting (2021), Mariani et al. (2017), and Santoso et al. (2020), who argued that the speakers tried to reach a mutual agreement and avoid any kind of contradiction when they engaged in a dialogue. For instance, Mariani et al. (2017) claimed that Trump observes this maxim by mitigating contradiction with the audience. Similarly, Jameel and Sameer (2021) found that Richard Nixon moderated contradictions with the audience to unite the country.

Deviating from the agreement maxim presents fundamental implications across political, instructional, and scholarly arenas. In political language, politicians who use unsoftened criticisms like direct disagreements with no hedged words endanger developing oppositional conflicts, as such behaviour infringes the norms of politeness. For example, openly rejecting others' views without approval or alleviation, such as "I disagree," could threaten the stability of public confidence in leadership integrity. Fostering cooperative supremacy, politicians might use tactics, for instance, reduced disagreement (e.g., "While

I understand your view, I suggest...”) to stabilize confidence with interactive conformity.

For language education, these findings emphasize the value of pragmatic competence in handling contradictions. Learners must enhance skills in alleviating strategies such as hedging and indirect disagreement to lessen differentially clashes. Teachers could incorporate role-play situations or honest conversations into courses, illustrating how politeness frameworks like Leech's maxims function in cross-cultural interactions.

Finally, these findings accentuate the need for academic research into deviations from the maxim of agreement. More studies can investigate the sociocultural reasons behind such deviations (e.g., social interaction techniques, established power differences) and their wider cultural implications, such as socio-political polarity in social media. Such studies could augment theoretical frameworks in pragmatic principles while reporting practical strategies for softening discourse-related clashes.

Furthermore, the findings of the eighth theme displayed that Trump seemingly does not follow the maxim of opinion reticence by giving a high cost to his opinion. Trump appears to convey himself powerfully in such a way that his perspectives are non-negotiable. Not only does Trump reject the results of the election, but he also asserts that if he had kept silent and stayed at home, the harassment would cease at once. This may be because Trump's rhetoric is an attempt to persuade the public that the election was fraudulent and that Trump was the victim of presidential harassment. Consequently, the recurring claims of unreliable voting are possibly targeted at growing social uncertainty. This finding is not similar to that of Santoso et al. (2020), who pointed out that this maxim is observed when the teacher mitigated the force of her opinion by using the hedged phrase 'I think'

when talking to her student.

Deviating from the opinion reticence maxim offers vital implications for political discourse, second language learning, and academic inquiry. In political rhetoric, politicians who state unproven claims firmly (e.g., without hedging or recognition of options) could diminish social confidence, as such discourse expands argumentative communication and splits voters. For example, creating views as definite facts while rejecting counterpoints could exacerbate social conflicts. To diminish this, political figures can use hedged phrases (e.g., “it could be argued that...”) to incorporate self-guarantee with openness to conversation, lessening inflammatory rejoinders.

For language education, these findings zero in on the pragmatic competence in dealing with opinion expressions. Learners need to improve tactics like indirect contradictions (e.g., “I see your view. However, ...”) or strategic reticence to shun forcing standpoints in social communications. Teachers could use role-play scenarios and actual examples of softened discourse (e.g., diplomatic discussions) in the syllabus to illustrate how politeness frameworks function practically.

Lastly, the findings of this theme emphasize the necessity for more studies into violations of the maxim of opinion reticence. Investigators can dissect contextual reasons for such deviations (e.g., cultural communication styles, power dynamics) or their social effects (e.g., misrepresentation expansion in digital communication). Such research could improve pragmatic principles while providing means for strengthening collaborative discourse.

In addition, the findings of the ninth theme unveiled that Trump appears not to adhere to the maxim of sympathy by undermining others' emotional standing and showing no sympathy toward them. Trump tries to publicly criticize the ten impeachers for impeaching him, potentially depicting their losses as consequences of their impeachment ~~perspective~~perspectives and showing antipathetic rhetoric toward his opponents' ~~loss~~losses. The finding of this maxim is ascertained by those of Ewurum and Chukwu (2018), Lustyantje and Dewi (2019), and Ogayi and Osondu (2021), who argued that this maxim is not observed by showing high antipathy and low sympathy for others' feelings. However, the findings of this theme are not compatible with those of Atmowardoyo et al. (2018), Hikmahwati et al. (2021), Jameel and Sameer (2021), Leyang and Xiaoting (2021), Mariani et al. (2017), and Santoso et al. (2020), who mentioned that this maxim is observed by showing sympathy and reducing antipathy among the persons. For instance, Mariani et al. (2017) found that Trump observed this maxim when showing sympathy for his opponent, Hilary Clinton, who was defeated in the election. Correspondingly, the findings of Hikmahwati et al. (2021) showed that the characters of *Akeelah and the Bee* film observed this maxim by lessening antipathy and increasing sympathy in order to avoid conflicts and friction between them.

Violating the sympathy maxim offers implications for political communication, second language learning, and scholarly research. In political discourse, politicians who utilize confrontational language (e.g., apparent gloats or antipathetic words) endanger damaging social credibility and worsening division. For example, publicly commemorating rivals' losses (e.g., voting setbacks) without moderation infringes the norms of cooperative politeness, generating hostility and increasing institutional disputes. To soften this,

politicians can employ appealing tactics (e.g., recognizing mutual goals or expressing measured reactions) to decrease tensions and foster shared power.

For learners of the second language, these findings highlight the weight of pragmatic competence in handling relational dynamics. Learners have to improve their skills in empathetic interactions (e.g., words of camaraderie or diplomatic contradictions) to support social communications efficiently. Teachers could employ role-play exercises and real examples in the course, illustrating how sympathy frameworks are used in real-world situations (e.g., diplomatic talks and conflict resolution).

Lastly, this analysis motivates researchers to conduct more future studies. Investigators can examine contextual aspects driving unsympathetic discourse (e.g., social norms, media impact) or its social outcomes (e.g., divisions in social media). Such research could develop the principles of pragmatics, thus contributing to the advancement of appealing discourse strategies.

Besides, the findings of the tenth theme showed that Trump may not follow the maxim of feeling reticence by giving a high value to his own feelings. Expressing his emotions publicly about the situation in the US, which is described as begging to get oil, surrendering to Afghanistan, and permitting Russia to ruin Ukraine and kill people. Trump might attempt to express his emotional discontent by making the crowd sympathetic to him and emphasizing policy differences during his administration compared with Biden's. This is potentially linked to campaign plans intended to conflict with leadership records and rally support for Trump's candidates, possibly presenting them as preferable options within election situations. The findings of this theme do not conform with those of Santoso

et al. (2020), who pointed out that this maxim is observed when the teacher gives a low cost to her feelings despite her sickness. In addition, this maxim is found in a study by Chen et al. (2019), who analyzed Trump's discourse and argued that Trump is smart at attracting voters' feelings.

Infringing feeling reticence maxim carries significant implications for political discourse, second language education, and scholarly research. In political communication, politicians who utilize unsoftened terms of displeasure (e.g., antagonistic language or unconfirmed claims) can lose public confidence, as such behaviour increases the separation and undermines the norms of collaboration. For example, openly shaping criticisms without recognition of wider situations could raise public disbelief or misunderstanding. To soften this, politicians can follow diplomatic interaction strategies (e.g., truth-based criticisms or measured reactions) to underscore relational concord over antagonistic discourse.

For second language learners, this analysis focuses on the cruciality of pragmatic competence in handling emotional discourse. Learners had better enhance their skills in alleviating personal criticisms (e.g., shunning argumentative reveling or extreme self-disclosure) to make social communications courteously. Teachers could use real contexts of polite interactions (e.g., diplomatic talks, conflict resolution conversations) in the syllabus, showing how politeness frameworks are utilized practically.

Lastly, these findings invite further studies. Investigators can explore contextual aspects driving violations of feeling reticence (e.g., cultural norms, media impact) or their social outcomes (e.g., distortion production in digital communications). Such research would

improve pragmatic theory while providing actionable insights for strengthening supportive interactions.

4.4 Findings of Research Question Two

This section analyzes Trump's political discourse using a discourse analysis method, as acknowledged in chapter three, to answer the research questions. The section analyzes Trump's political discourse by applying Grice's (1975) four conversational maxims. Three oral documents were chosen to answer the second question: 1) Trump's direct speech to the crowd in Illinois, (2) Trump's interview with Fox News Channel reporters Martha MacCallum and Bret Baier, and (3) Trump's interview with CNN Channel reporter Anderson Cooper. The second research question is: What types of Grice's (1975) conversational maxims are deviated from in Donald Trump's political discourse?

4.4.1 Theme 1-Quality Maxim

Text (21): Cooper: "She[Michele] said she was almost knocked off balance, but she remained standing" (Cooper, 2016, 2:36).

Trump: "She said she was almost knocked off balance.... You want to read it? Or you want me to do it? **You are a professional announcer.** Why do not you read it? The bottom part[laughing]" (Trump, 2016, 2:39).

Context: Journalist Cooper asks Trump about the event that happened between Trump's campaign manager, Corey Lewandowski, and Reporter Michelle Fields. Fields accused Lewandowski of grabbing her arm when she tried to ask Trump during the conference in Florida in March 2016. Trump and Lewandowski denied her allegations (Kirell & Miller,

2017). Then, Trump took a paper from his pocket, Fields' letter, and handed it to the journalist to read, describing him as "a professional announcer." The journalist started reading some lines of the letter while Trump was talking, and the audience laughed.

According to Grice's cooperative principle, Trump seemingly deviates from the maxim of quality by saying something that lacks truth when informing the journalist, "You are a professional announcer" (Trump, 2016, 2:38), as the journalist's role is not an announcer. Trump appears upset by the journalist's insistence that Lewandowski grabbed Fields, and Trump is not allowed to clarify the situation. In the beginning, Trump requests the journalist to read something written on a paper, but the journalist keeps interrupting Trump. Thus, Trump hands it to him and asks him to read it, potentially mocking him by calling him "professional." Although Trump's utterance ostensibly does not observe the cooperative principle stated by Grice (1975), his utterance can be understood on a deeper level. Here, an implicature may show that Trump's utterance is not intended to be a compliment, implying that the journalist is unprofessional. Perhaps, Trump says something, but the opposite may be meant. The utterance could strategically employ mutual background knowledge to show displeasure, supporting Grice's remark that maxim violation could achieve communicative targets such as criticism or irony.

Text (22): Trump: Should I press charges? (Trump, 2016, 4:17)

Cooper: Are you going to? (Cooper, 2016, 4:18)

Trump: Sure! I don't know...because you know what? She[Michelle]was grabbing me....She had a pen in her hand which the Secret Service is not liking because they don't know what it is, **whether it's a little bomb**[interrupted] (Trump, 2016, 4:20).

Context: Trump says that Fields grabbed him by using a pen or maybe a bomb. So, it is his right to charge her with grabbing him as she did with his campaign manager.

To Grice's cooperative principle, Trump appears to flout the maxim of quality by saying something that lacks evidence: "She had a pen...whether it's a little bomb". Here, it seems that Trump has no evidence that this pen is a bomb. Despite the apparent deviation from this maxim, the audience can still recognize what Trump's utterance intended. The utterance implies that Trump does not mean the pen is a bomb, but he could make an allegation against Fields by claiming so because Fields, as Trump claims, exaggerated the incident of grabbing her arm by his campaign manager, Lewandowski. Responding to Fields' allegation that Lewandowski physically restricted her, Trump's rhetoric may be interpreted as trivializing the incident to confront the reliability of Fields' accusation and moderate the seriousness of the claimed situation.

Text (23): The Russia hoax was the greatest in history, there's never been anything like it..., **where they totally fabricated and made up stories that didn't exist. They spied on my campaign, they got caught.** (Trump, 2022, 09:44)

Context: In his speech at an Illinois rally to back Trump's candidates, Trump seems to accuse Russia of interfering in the 2020 US Presidential election, in which Trump lost the race. It appears that Trump claims that Russia created some stories that never occurred, influencing Trump's campaign at the expense of Biden's.

According to Grice's cooperative principle, Trump seems to violate the maxim of quality by providing information that necessitates sufficient evidence. Here, Trump appears to

accuse Russia of getting involved in the presidential election without providing any evidence. Despite ostensibly non-observance of the cooperative principle, the utterance can be grasped on a deeper level. Trump suggests that Russia was against his nomination and backed Biden's campaign illustrates a strategy that assigns election results to external players. This likely deviation from Grice's maxim might serve as a persuasive function targeted at turning responsibility for election defeats away from internal campaign factors.

4.4.2 Theme 2- Quantity Maxim

Text (24): Cooper: "... Your campaign manager, Corey Lewandowski, charged with simple battery for grabbing a reporter by the arm. Will he continue as your campaign manager?" (Cooper, 2016, 0:47)

Trump: Yes, he will. **I looked at the tape. I looked — it was my tape. It was at one of my places. I have great security and great security cameras. I gave the tape, and frankly, if you look at that, people have looked at it — in fact, I just left another area of Wisconsin, we had a whole big meeting with a whole group of people, big audience, tremendous audience, and they're all shaking their heads, give me a break, give me a break.** (Trump, 2016, 0:49)

Context: Cooper asks Trump about his campaign manager, whether Lewandowski will continue in his position after allegations of grabbing Journalist Fields' hand. In response to Cooper, Trump begins talking about the details of the incident.

According to Grice's cooperative principle, Trump possibly violates the maxim of quantity by providing too much information. The first part of Trump's answer is sufficient

to the reporter's question, but a long speech follows. Trump begins talking about the tape and the place in which the incident happened, and then about his visit to Wisconsin and the people there. Although Trump possibly deviates from this maxim, the audience can still grasp his utterances. Including too much redundant information could redirect focus from talks about his campaign manager to the tape, which Trump characterizes as usual and lacking evidence of concern.

Text (25): Cooper: But you're the only one who can solve terror problems in Pakistan? (Cooper, 2016, 8:35)

Trump: Yes, of the ones that are running, I'm the only one. I know what I'm running. **I know the competition.** And believe me, I know, I watched Ted Cruz" (Trump, 2016, 8:36).

Cooper: How though? (Cooper, 2016, 8:43)

Context: Reporter Cooper asks Trump about the terrorists' activities in Pakistan and Trump's claim of solving the problem of dealing with them there. Trump answers that he is the only one who knows how to end the terror there.

According to Grice's cooperative principle, Trump seems not to adhere to the maxim of quantity by providing less information. This is obvious in the reporter's response, saying, "How though?". The reporter does not know how Trump can deal with the problem of terror in Pakistan. However, Trump appears not to give the details of his strategies and how to tackle this issue in Pakistan. Trump's restricted revelation on the issue might violate the quantity maxim (giving inadequate information), potentially creating a

conversational implicature that Trump evades detailing his plans about Pakistan. This strategy is possibly intended to link to political presidency strategies, conceivably targeted at positioning Trump as a key leader who can undertake worldwide issues, thus appealing to voters and underscoring recognized capability in foreign policy.

Text (26): MacCallum: “But if it takes more troops to keep the Taliban from taking over Afghanistan, is that something you would be willing to do or no?” (MacCallum, 2020, 03:16)

Trump: Well, there’s a big question about the government of Afghanistan. There’s a big question about that whole situation in Afghanistan. We’re getting along very well with everybody. **We have to get our people back home. It’s not fair. We’re a police force over there. We’re maintaining things. Eventually, we have to leave. We don’t want to stay there for another 20 years. We don’t want to stay there for 100 years. We want our people to come back home** (Trump, 2020, 03:21)

Context: Interviewer MacCallum asks Trump about the US soldiers in Afghanistan and how to keep the Taliban (an Afghan militant movement) away from ruling the country. Trump responds by talking about the situation in Afghanistan, demanding the US withdrawal from there after many years.

Giving too much information and repeating the exact words, Trump appears not to follow Grice's maxim of quantity. For example, when Trump says, "We don't want to stay...we want to come back" (Trump, 2020, 03:21). Trump could utter one utterance to express an opinion about the presence of the US soldiers in Afghanistan. However, Trump gives a

long, repetitive speech that is probably not needed. Trump's public position backs withdrawing the US soldiers from Afghanistan, depicting the struggle as an extended battle with reduced strategic returns. This strategy may deviate from this maxim by simplifying the difficulties of the conflict, thus creating an implicature that remaining engagement is possibly ineffective. Such discourse might be associated with wider political aims that are targeted at echoing voter rejection of continuing military deployments.

4.4.3 Theme 3-Relevance Maxim

Text (27): Cooper: So some proliferation is ok? You also said, though, that you might support Japan and South Korea developing nuclear weapons of their own. Isn't that completely contradictory? (Cooper, 2016, 11:20)

Trump: No, no, not proliferation..." (Trump, 2016, 11:23).

Cooper: But that's contradictory about Japan and South Korea (Cooper, 2016, 11:24).

Trump: "**Iran is going to have it very — within...**" (Trump, 2016, 11:28).

Cooper: "But that's proliferation" (Cooper, 2016, 11:37).

Trump: Excuse me, one of the dumbest I've ever seen signed ever...by anybody, Iran is going to have it within 10 years.... I thought it was a very good interview in The New York Times (Trump, 2016, 11:38).

Context: Cooper asks Trump about the proliferation of nuclear weapons in South Korea

and Japan, and his interview with the New York Times, in which Trump expressed his worries about this issue. However, Trump supported it in South Korea and Japan. The reporter questions Trump's opinion about the same issue when saying "...that's contradictory about Japan and South Korea" (Cooper, 2016). In response to the reporter's question, Trump begins talking about Iran, which is proliferating nuclear weapons, as Trump claims.

Saying something that seems irrelevant to the topic, Trump probably infringes Grice's maxim of relevance. Trump is asked about the proliferation of nuclear weapons in the US allies, Japan and South Korea, but Trump probably shifts the discussion of nuclear production in these states to Iran, a state with argumentative relations with the US. Despite the likely deviation from the maxim, the audience can still understand the irrelevance of Trump's response to the reporter's question. Trump's shift may mirror a strategic evasion of openly discussing the patterners' nuclear policies. This redirection could minimize explicit commentary on sensitive issues involving allied states, which could serve as diplomatic tactics to lessen public observation of the US coalitions while highlighting criticisms of geopolitical opponents.

Text (28): Cooper: "Why do you think that the U.S. should start to withdraw their world presence from NATO, and what would you change about the organization so that we could remain involved?" (Cooper, 2016, 20:33)

Trump: "... **I did two basic and very large interviews.... I did the New York Times, which treated me unbelievably fairly.** And there was a front-page story on Sunday.... And part of it was NATO.... The other was the Washington Post." (Trump, 2016, 20:41)

Context: Interviewer Cooper asks Trump about withdrawing from NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization). Trump replies by talking about Trump's interviews with the two magazines, the New York Times and the Washington Post, and how the former treats Trump fairly. Then, Trump informs Cooper that his answer is on the magazine's front page.

According to Grice's cooperative principle, Trump seems to flout the maxim of relevance by providing information that appears not to be related to the question. This can be seen when Cooper asks Trump to give an opinion about withdrawing from NATO. However, it appears that Trump does not answer the question and shifts to another topic, which is talking about two magazines and how one of them treats Trump justly. Although Trump could not follow the maxim explicitly, the attendees can comprehend Trump's intended meaning implicitly. This rejection to talk about the subject may create an implicature that more debate is unnecessary, instead redirecting the interviewer and the audience to exterior sources (e.g., magazines) for his claimed positions. Trump's approbation of the magazine might conform to wider campaign strategies to appeal to voters who appreciate media engagement, conceivably positioning himself as being associated with institutional trust despite historical stresses. Such discourse could illustrate a tactical political interaction aimed at monitoring stories while reducing direct responsibility.

4.4.4 Theme 4-Manner Maxim

Text (29): Cooper: "You talked about the death toll. And then you said, I alone can solve. What do you mean by that?" (Cooper, 2016, 8:02)

Trump: "I think I alone because **I know my competition. Look, I know my competition**" (Trump, 2016, 8:17).

Cooper: "But you're the only one who can solve terror problems in Pakistan?" (Cooper, 2016, 8:20)

Context: Reporter Cooper asks Trump about the terrorists' activities in Pakistan and Trump's claim of solving the problem of dealing with them there. Trump answers that he is the only one who knows the competition. Then, the reporter rephrases his question to learn what Trump means.

Regarding Grice's cooperative principle, Trump may not observe the maxim of manner by providing an obscure expression when saying, "I alone because I know my competition" (Trump, 2016, 8:17). This is apparent in the reporter's rephrasing of his first question because the reporter does not understand Trump's response to him. However, Trump's utterance could be understood on a deeper level, implying that Trump is possibly much more familiar with tackling various issues alone than the rest of the candidates, who do not know how to deal with such issues. Thus, Trump's campaign discourse may underscore his remarkable policy stance and leadership characteristics, possibly placing him as an unusually fit presidential nominee relative to other candidates.

Text (30): Cooper: "You would be fine with them [Japan, South Korea, Saudi Arabia] having nuclear weapons?" (Cooper, 2016, 12:30).

Trump: "No, not nuclear weapons, but **they have to protect themselves**, or they have to pay us" (Trump, 2016, 12:32).

Context: Cooper asks Trump about the proliferation of nuclear weapons in some countries and whether it is ok to have them in South Korea, Japan, and Saudi Arabia. Also, the reporter asks him about his interview with the New York Times, in which Trump expressed his worries about this issue, but Trump seems to support nuclear weapons production in these countries. Trump answers the reporter by informing him that Trump does not accept nuclear weapons in these countries, and they must “protect themselves” or “pay us” to protect them against any international threat.

In consonance with Grice’s cooperative principle, perhaps Trump deviates from the maxim of manner by saying something ambiguous. Trump uses the term “protect,” which might have more than one meaning; either Japan, South Korea, and Saudi Arabia defend themselves with the weapons they have, or they need the proliferation of nuclear weapons. Taking context into account, Trump’s utterance could implicitly mean Japan, South Korea, and Saudi Arabia can have nuclear weapons despite Trump’s initial disapproval of these countries producing nuclear weapons. It seems that Trump shuns taking a decisive public position on the nuclear abilities of the US partners (Japan, South Korea, and Saudi Arabia) while emphasizing diplomatic engagement with these states.

Text (31): Cooper: "Couldn't you just let it go, though? Do you have to retweet some random person sending you..." (Cooper, 2016, 16:39).

Trump: **No, I don't let things go so easy. And let me tell you something. I don't let the — if I were running the country, I wouldn't have people taking advantage of the United States in trade and in every other way. Believe me, I wouldn't have China walking away with trade deficits of \$505 billion a year. I wouldn't have Mexico**

laughing at us how stupid we are with trade deals and at the border. I wouldn't let Japan get away what they're doing with, you know, devaluation of the yen. China big league devaluation. No, I — when somebody...(Trump, 2016, 16:41)

Context: Journalist Cooper asks Trump about his relationship with Sen. Heidi Cruz, who is Trump's rival in the presidential nomination in 2016, wondering about the reason Trump retweeted Cruz's wife's photo together with Trump's wife's. In response to Cooper, Trump does not accept his suggestion and begins talking about numerous issues that are connected to China, Mexico, and Japan.

In agreement with Grice's cooperative principle, Trump appears to flout the maxim of manner by providing a long-winded speech when answering Cooper's question with unwanted prolixity. The first part of Trump's response could be adequate, but then Trump talks about the damage caused by China and Mexico to the US trade. Despite this probable deviation from the maxim, the audience can recognize Trump's implied meaning. Trump's discourse suggests that Trump wants the public to look at the US as robust and self-governing, not straightforwardly influenced by others. Simultaneously, Trump's discourse is possibly intended to zero in on vital issues such as trade to persuade electors that Trump is the corrective alternative.

Text (32): Cooper: "So you're saying you don't want more nuclear weapons in the world, but you're ok with Japan and South Korea having nuclear weapons?" (Cooper, 2016, 13:08)

Trump: "I don't want more nuclear weapons. I think that — you know, **when I hear Obama get up and say the biggest threat to the world today is global warming**, I say,

is this guy kidding?” (Trump, 2016, 13:10)

Context: Cooper speaks to Trump about his interview with the New York Times in which Trump talked about the proliferation of nuclear weapons in Japan, South Korea, and Saudi Arabia, and whether it is okay to have them in North Korea and Iran. Cooper told Trump that Trump had two different opinions about the same issue: supporting the proliferation of nuclear weapons in some nations while declining this in others. Responding to Cooper, Trump says he does not want more weapons and begins talking about President Obama.

Being disorderly when answering the reporter’s question, Trump could violate Grice’s maxim of manner. Trump, who is asked whether it is okay with some countries (Iran and North Korea) having nuclear weapons, rejects this idea. Then, Trump shifts from one topic to another when talking about President Obama and his speech about global warming. Possible deviation from this maxim suggests that Trump’s utterance implies that he avoids talking about the issue of some countries having nuclear weapons and tries to shift the dialogue to another topic. Additionally, Trump’s discourse is potentially meant to criticize Obama’s policy on climate change, while shaping his approach to nuclear production as insufficient. By contrasting these topics, Trump’s rhetoric might set Obama’s leadership as unbalanced with national security concerns, conceivably positioning himself as a remedial substitute. This strategy is probably linked to campaign stories targeting electors, highlighting security procedures over environmental shields and global diplomacy.

Text (33): Audrey Strein: I want to say Republicans have failed to come up with an alternative plan to Obamacare. How do you plan to rally the Republicans around a plan and what would be included in that? (Strein, 2020, 00:19)

Trump: And **what we'd like to do is totally kill it**, but come up, before we do that, with something that's great. What we've done is we've really managed Obamacare... (Trump, 2020, 01:19)

Context: Trump's interview with Fox News Channel reporters Martha MacCallum and Bret Baier in the Fox News Town Hall in front of the people who are permitted to ask Trump several questions. Here, one of the attendees, Strein, asks Trump about Obamacare (the system of health in the US) and the plans by the Republicans to change this system of health. In response to the attendee's question, Trump promises to endorse a new health system.

According to Grice's cooperative principle, Trump's utterance assumes not to adhere to the maxim of manner because the utterance probably has an ambiguous expression, "kill it," which could mean either cause death or put an end to something. Despite the overt non-adherence of the maxim, the utterance can be grasped on a covert level. The utterance may imply that Trump intends the utterance to mean 'to end the Obamacare health system and replace it with another good new one.' Trump's discourse might serve as a tactical mobilization, which is associated with wider election strategies targeted at getting public support through splitting policy agendas rather than collaborative adhering to norms.

4.5 Discussions of the Findings of Research Question Two

The objective of research question two is to discover the types of Grice's (2014) conversational maxims that are deviated from in Trump's political discourse. The findings showed that Grice's (1975) four conversational maxims are deviated from in Trump's

political discourse. This is in line with Grice's (1975) claim that these maxims can be broken in several situations. Furthermore, the findings of this question are found in those of (Ayunon, 2018; Faridah et al., 2018; Iswahyuni, 2019; Ngenget, 2017; Nur, 2018; Muslah, 2015), whose findings showed that individuals do not observe Grice's (1975) conversational maxims. However, the findings are not consistent with those of (Made & Devi, 2022; Ojukwu & Osuchukwu, 2019; Sidabutar & Johan, 2022), who found that the speakers adhere to Grice's conversational maxims.

The findings of the first theme unveiled that Trump appears to break the maxim of quality by saying something that lacks evidence. After the reporter's insistence that Trump's campaign manager grabbed Fields, Trump calls the reporter a "professional announcer," which could be an ironic phrase as Trump does not believe in what he says, potentially implying that the journalist is not professional. This deviation might show displeasure, supporting Grice's statement that a maxim violation could achieve communicative goals such as criticism or irony. Besides, Trump probably employs deprecating rhetoric to face Fields's allegation against his campaign manager and undermine the incident. Additionally, accusing Russia of involvement in rigging the US presidential election without evidence, Trump's discourse is possibly intended to blame external actors for his election loss. These findings are backed by those of Ayunon (2018), Faridah et al. (2018), Ngenget (2017), and Muslah (2015), who argued that individuals do not observe the maxim of quality by not telling the truth. For example, Ayunon (2018) found that the people who comment on Facebook use sarcasm to violate the quality maxim. Similarly, the findings of Nur (2018) and Iswahyuni (2019), who analyzed dramatic texts, showed that the characters are not honest. Nevertheless, findings of this theme differ from those

of Made and Devi (2022), Ojukwu and Osuchukwu (2019), and Sidabutar and Johan (2022). Those claim that persons observe the quality maxim by saying the truth and providing evidence for what is said. To illustrate, Ojukwu and Osuchukwu (2019) argued that Mandela, who gives the court correct statements, observes this maxim, while Made and Devi (2022) and Sidabutar and Johan (2022) claimed that the movie characters, providing evidence, respect this maxim.

Flouting Grice's maxim of quality has essential implications for political discourse, language education, and academic inquiry. From a political point of view, if politicians take part in deceptive language such as unverified allegations, irony, or mockery, they may weaken social credibility. Thus, they should focus on exact accuracy, provide verifiable evidence for claims, and avoid hostile language that decreases cooperative discourse to keep voter confidence.

For the second language classrooms, the findings of this theme underscore the cruciality of pragmatic competence in intercultural communications; learners are advised to improve proficiency in factual expressions (e.g., evading fake assertions), proof-built debate, and courteous rhetoric to direct second-language communications efficiently, while teachers could underscore this by combining instruction on Grice's quality maxim into the course. They can do so when they utilize real situations of collaborative discussions, such as diplomatic conversations and evidence-proven arguments illustrating obedience to this maxim.

Finally, the findings of this theme encourage further research; scholars could dissect the elements of context to show the non-observance of Grice's maxim of quality. Also, they

might contain social interaction norms and examine cultural consequences (such as falsification). Besides, studies can analyze educational interferences to improve pragmatic understanding in second language learners, like programme designs incorporating Grice's maxims. By zeroing in on organizational and ethical factors of truth in language, such research could increase practical and theoretical awareness of how observance or non-observance of cooperative maxims creates public confidence and social reliability.

In addition, the findings of the second theme revealed that Trump appears to violate the maxim of quantity by giving too much information and too little information than is needed. Giving too much information might indicate that Trump wants to shift the focus from one topic to another. Consequently, this deviation could be provoked due to Trump's intention to redirect attention from talks about his campaign manager to the tape in which journalist Fields accused the manager of grabbing her. In addition, Trump's repetitive, long, discontent discourse about the presence of US troops seems to echo the electorate's refusal to continue military deployments. Besides, giving little information may show Trump's implicit evasion of sharing his plans about Pakistan, which reveals Trump as a key leader who is able to address international issues, thus appealing to voters and emphasizing his acknowledged capability in foreign policy. This theme is found in the studies of Ayunon (2018), Faridah et al. (2018), Iswahyuni (2019), Ngenget (2017), Nur (2018), and Muslah (2015), who found that individuals do not observe the maxim of quantity by giving too much or too little information. Also, Lodge (2006) argued that Mandela tactically deviated from Grice's quantity maxim by deleting obvious blame for apartheid atrocities in significant speeches (e.g., 1994 inauguration: "The time for healing has come"), providing less information. Nevertheless, this theme is not found in those of

Made and Devi (2022), Ojukwu and Osuchukwu (2019), and Sidabutar and Johan (2022), who claimed that individuals observe the maxim of quantity by giving sufficient information.

Grice's quantity maxim being broken presents implications for some fields such as political discourse, second-language pedagogy, and academic research. In the language of politics, politicians, who overcomplicate or exclude crucial material, could foster social doubt. For example, too much speech or obscurity could complicate precision and lead to distortion. So, politicians should follow steady disclosure and confirm transparency and competence in their messages to keep confidence with the public. However, if they fail to do so, disagreements between politicians and voters might be worsened.

For the second language classrooms, the findings of this theme underscore the cruciality of pragmatic competence in handling informational sufficiency; learners are advised to develop proficiency to avoid unnecessary explanation (too much information) or inadequate amplification (vague brevity) to emphasize concise yet detailed interactions, while teachers could discuss this by adding lessons on Grice's quantity maxim into the syllabus. For instance, they can employ role-play exercises and actual conversations to illustrate context-suitable instructions.

Finally, the findings of this theme encourage further research about circumstantial reasons behind violations of this maxim, social effects of informational unfairness, and educational frameworks for teaching stable instruction in cross-cultural situations. This calls for an investigation of Grice's quantity maxim to emphasize informational accuracy in creating practical and ethical discourse.

Additionally, the findings of the third theme showed that Trump possibly breaks the relevance maxim (irrelevant information to the topic) when he was asked about nuclear proliferation in South Korea and Saudi Arabia. Trump shifts the talk to Iran and North Korea, which could imply a strategic evasion of openly discussing partners' nuclear policies. This shift may reduce public comments on classified topics involving allied nations, which could function as diplomatic strategies to reduce public observation of the US allies while emphasizing criticisms of geopolitical rivals. Such rhetoric is probably intended to conform to wider interactive strategies to maintain allied stability by shunning the critique of allies, even when departing from their policy positions. This finding is supported by those of Faridah et al. (2018), Iswahyuni (2019), Ngenget (2017), Nur (2018), and Muslah (2015), who found that individuals do not observe the maxim of relevance by providing information not relevant to the topic. However, the findings of this theme are contrary to those of Made and Devi (2022), Ojukwu and Osuchukwu (2019), and Sidabutar and Johan (2022), who claimed that individuals observe the maxim of relevance by saying something relevant to the interaction. For example, Sidabutar and Johan (2022) found that movie characters observe this maxim by answering the question relevantly. Similarly, Ojukwu and Osuchukwu (2019) argued that Mandela respects this maxim by following a logical organization of his utterances.

Grice's relevance maxim being violated, this provides political, learning, and academic implications; politicians could show evasion or rejection of responsibility when they repeatedly shift subjects or avoid inquiries, diminishing social confidence. Thus, they should discuss questions to preserve clarity and reduce lengthy information that might form a public doubt.

For the second language classrooms, the findings of this theme underscore the cruciality of pragmatic competence in keeping subject coherence; learners are advised to develop tactics to shun unreasonable subject shifts, give priority to related contributions, and link to the norms of collaborative interaction, while teachers could simplify this by using instruction on the adherence to relevance maxim in the program. This can be done when they integrate sincere instances to clarify a well-organized topic.

Finally, the findings of this theme encourage further research about flouting relevance maxim. Upcoming research might explore why talkers flout this maxim, such as for tactical evasiveness, or dissect its use in digital discourse, such as social media discussions or political campaign language. Such studies could augment the pragmatic theory's awareness of lengthy consistency while providing practical frameworks to investigate and soften disagreements in social and cross-cultural interactions.

Additionally, the findings of the fourth theme indicated that Trump appears to deviate from the maxim of manner by giving obscure expressions, long-winded speech, disorderly words, and ambiguating his speech. Trump answers the question ambiguously by using the term "protect," which has more than one meaning: either South Korea, Japan, and Saudi Arabia defend themselves with the weapons they have, or they need the proliferation of nuclear weapons. Trump may avoid providing a decisive public stance on the nuclear capabilities of the US allies, underscoring diplomatic engagement with these allies. This tactical emphasis could juxtapose with his management's more confrontational discourse toward antagonistic nations (Iran and North Korea), and potentially echo a larger foreign policy agenda that stabilizes alliance-making with stress on geopolitical

opponents. This finding is found in the studies done by Ayunon (2018), Faridah et al. (2018), Iswahyuni (2019), Ngenget (2017), Nur (2018), and Muslah (2015), who found that individuals do not observe the maxim of manner by being ambiguous, obscure, not brief, and unorderedly. For example, Nur (2018) and Iswahyuni (2019), who analyzed dramatic texts, revealed that the characters use ambiguous and unclear language. Also, Noort (2022) found that Gandhi's directive "Do or Die", in the "Quit India" speech, is a powerful performative utterance that highlights moral urgency over precision, thus breaking this maxim. However, the findings of this theme are not found in those of Made and Devi (2022), Ojukwu and Osuchukwu (2019), and Sidabutar and Johan (2022), who claimed that individuals observe the maxim of manner by being perspicuous. For illustration, Made and Devi (2022) and Sidabutar and Johan (2022) argued that movie characters follow this maxim when they provide pure and clear-cut evidence.

Grice's maxim of manner being flouted, this provides political, learning, and academic implications; politicians use ambiguous, unclear, or disorderly discourse because they could foster social doubt. Thus, violations ambiguate clarity and impede realistic understanding. Politicians should emphasize clarity and precision in their discourse and keep away from strategies that misrepresent facts to soften misapprehensions and maintain social confidence.

For the second language classrooms, the findings of this theme underscore the cruciality of pragmatic competence in generating unambiguous language; learners are recommended to advance tactics to shun explicitly complicated or ambiguous discourse and instead highlight structured and perspicuous interactions designed for cross-cultural

situations while teachers could back this by incorporating instruction on this maxim into curricula and utilize actual instances such as political language or diplomatic talks to illustrate practical observance of the norms of clarity.

Lastly, these findings invite more studies into the violation of this maxim. More research can explore why talkers flout this maxim, such as tactical ambiguity, or examine how it is applied to digital rhetoric, such as unclear language in social media and vague campaign discourse. Such studies could augment pragmatic theory's awareness of clarity and order while presenting practical frameworks to investigate and improve clarity in public language.

4.6 Findings of Research Question Three

This section explores Trump's political discourse using a discourse analysis method, as acknowledged in chapter three, to answer the research questions. The section presents the findings by analyzing Trump's political discourse according to Searle's (1969) Speech Act Theory and felicity conditions. Three oral documents were chosen to answer the third research question. (1) Trump's direct speech to the crowd in Illinois, (2) Trump's interview with Fox News Channel reporters Martha MacCallum and Bret Baier, and (3) Trump's interview with CNN Channel reporter Anderson Cooper. The third research question is:

3. What types of Searle's (1969) felicity conditions of speech acts are deviated from in Trump's political discourse?

4.6.1 Theme 1-Felicity Conditions of Speech Acts of Representatives

Text (34): Trump: "The election was rigged and stolen and now our country is being

systematically destroyed” (Trump, 2022, 27:22).

Context: After announcing the results of the 2020 election, in which Trump lost in favour of Joe Biden, Trump stated that “the election was rigged”. Despite the investigation of Trump's claim showing no evidence of fraud in the election (Eggers et al., 2021), Trump has continued his accusation since then. As a result of this, the US is “destroyed”, as Trump asserts.

Per Searle’s speech act theory, Trump seems to deviate from the felicity conditions of the speech act of assertion by claiming that the 2020 presidential election was “rigged” without providing sufficient supporting evidence. Trump's assertion is possibly defective and non-performative due to the deviation from the felicity conditions; the propositional content of this speech act requires that the expressed proposition is true and exists in that world. Here, Trump’s utterance appears not to be true, and there is no evidence for his claim that the election was “rigged”. Moreover, the preparatory conditions require that the talker should have the power to give proof or details for the truth of the stated proposition. However, Trump does not provide any evidence of fraud in the election and is not in a position to do that. In addition, the sincerity condition requires that the talker has committed himself to believing in the truthfulness of the stated proposition. Searle (1985) argues that when one makes a claim, they convey a belief and oblige themselves to its truthfulness, to the existence of a fact. Here, what is claimed does not exist; therefore, Trump appears not to commit himself to the truth of his claim. Besides, the essential condition involves the speaker's proposition representing a real condition of affairs. However, Trump's claim conceivably does not represent that condition and is probably

not genuine information.

Failing to perform the speech act of assertion, the claimer's words do not make the words fit the world. Therefore, the appropriate conditions of this act are possibly defective and not satisfied, as Trump's utterance may not provide any evidence about the presidential election. Trump's rhetoric seems to violate Searle's felicity conditions of assertion speech acts by underscoring private benefits over the norms of collaboration. This could encompass doubting election observation measures, potentially increasing claims of election rights despite questioned proof, and rallying supporters through argumentative rhetoric aligned with social turbulence. Such tactics could break the propositional content, preparatory, essential, and sincerity conditions of assertion, necessitating honest claims, public comprehension, and obligation to absolute precision.

Text (35): Trump: “It’s a nation where free speech is no longer allowed, where crime is rampant, where the economy is collapsing, where more people died of COVID.... It’s a nation...no longer respected or listened to around the world.” (Trump, 2022, 1:01:22)

Context: Trump is speaking to the crowd about the situation in the US under Biden's administration. Trump criticizes the steps imposed by Biden's administration, such as restraining free speech, economic reforms, and health procedures, which, as Trump asserts, make the US “no longer respected...by the world.”

Claiming that the USA does not permit free speech, the economy falls, and many persons passed away because of virus disease (COVID), Trump appears to violate Searle's felicity

conditions of the speech act of assertion. This probably makes Trump's utterances defective and non-performative due to the deviation from the felicity conditions of the assertion speech act; the propositional content of this speech act needs the expressed proposition to be factual and happen in the world. However, Trump's utterances seem to lack evidence, inviting scepticism. Additionally, the preparatory conditions necessitate the speaker to provide evidence for the truth of the stated proposition. However, Trump does not appear to give any evidence that free speech is restrained and that the economy and the health system will suffer. Furthermore, the sincerity condition requires that the speaker commits to believing in the stated proposition's sincerity. Nevertheless, Trump's claim is possibly not found in the world. Moreover, the essential condition requires the talker's proposition to signify a real condition of affairs. Still, Trump's claim might not signify that condition and is not genuine information.

Trump's discourse is assumed to deviate from the felicity conditions of assertion speech acts by increasing opposed claims about authority under the present administration, seemingly criticizing its effectiveness through tactical stories targeted at the election setting for the 2024 presidential campaign. Such rhetoric might need proof-building claims and circumstantial accuracy, by creating criticisms as real despite disputed cogency. This could go with political tactics to rally support through contrary stories, potentially aimed at manipulating public disappointment to mobilize electoral camps, with documented connections to election mobilization strategies.

4.6.2 Theme 2-Felicity Conditions of Speech Acts of Commissives

Text (36): MacCallum: "...you say you're going to protect them, but your administration

is also fighting Obamacare and the courts. So how do you promise people that you're going to protect them based on that?" (MacCallum, 2020, 02:22)

Trump: **"We want to terminate Obamacare because it's bad...if we can get the House, you'll have the best healthcare, health insurance anywhere on the planet...we have to get the House, we have to obviously keep the White House"** (Trump, 2020, 02:40).

Context: In an interview with Fox News in 2020 before the election, Trump is asked about Obamacare (that was "signed into law by President Barack Obama in 2010, the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act—generally known as the Affordable Care Act or ACA—is responsible for the most sweeping reforms of the United States' healthcare system" (Davis & Hall, 2022, para. 1)) and how Trump will deal with this issue in the US. Trump promises to end this issue by replacing Obamacare with a new, perfect one when Trump is reelected as the president of the US.

According to Searle's theory of speech act, Trump may not follow the felicity conditions of the speech act of promising, which requires a commitment to do a future action for the benefit of others. Trump's utterance seems defective and non-performative due to the deviation from the felicity conditions; the propositional condition mirrors the circumstance that the utterance content should be related to a forthcoming incident, and this incident will be the speaker's act. Trump promised the audience that he would end the Obamacare law and replace it with a new one if he won the race for the white house, but he did not win. In addition, the preparatory condition requires that when one promises to do something, the incident will have an advantageous outcome for the listener and not occur by itself. Here, Trump promises a new healthcare law that is in the interest of his

people and will approve it if winning the election. However, Trump did not replace this law with a new one during his presidency, and cannot carry out this action since he lost the election. Furthermore, the sincerity condition requires that when one promises to do something, they truly intend to fulfill the forthcoming act. Nevertheless, it appears that Trump cannot genuinely promise that he will replace Obamacare and endorse a new one if he already knows that he is not reelected. Moreover, the essential condition involves the speaker committing himself to fulfilling the forthcoming act. But Trump does not take the action. Therefore, the felicity conditions of this speech act (promising) are conceivably defective and not satisfied, as Trump lost the election, Obamacare still exists, and his promise has not been achieved.

Regarding the direction of fit, using a commissive act makes the world suit the utterance, but Trump seems not to make the world suit his utterance; the world does not fit his intention. Instead, probably, Trump's campaign promises may frequently concentrate more on securing ballots than presenting truthful plans.

Text (37): Jennifer Nolan: "And I want to know how are you going to control the illegal immigration without support from the democratic party?" (Nolan, 2020, 04:08)

Trump: "... **We will have by early next year almost 500 miles of** wall. And once we have that wall, it's going to stop drugs, it's going to stop big percentages of everything coming in. Okay." (Trump, 2020, 04:58)

Context: Trump's interview with Fox News Channel reporters Martha MacCallum and Bret Baier in the Fox News Town Hall before the audience, who are allowed to ask Trump

some questions. One of the attendees, Nolan, asks Trump about the unlawful immigrants from Mexico and how to control this issue. Trump replies by talking about building a wall of 500 miles on the border between the US and Mexico. However, according to the US Customs and Border Patrol (CBP) website, 452 miles of border wall have been constructed as of January 5, 2021 (US Customs and Border Protection, 2021).

According to Searle's speech act theory, Trump seems to violate from the felicity conditions of the speech act of promising by not committing himself to making a future action for the public: building 500 miles of border wall between the USA and Mexico. The four felicity conditions of this speech act are seemingly not achieved; the propositional content condition shows that Trump promised that 500 miles of the border wall would be built, but only 452 were constructed. Moreover, the preparatory condition indicates that Trump promised the public to build these miles, which would stop illegal immigrants, so that no drugs would be smuggled. Yet, the border wall is 500 miles incomplete, and drugs are still smuggled (Morgenstern, 2024). Besides, the sincerity condition shows that Trump probably does not commit to building these miles. Additionally, the essential condition reveals that Trump did not build all these miles as promised. As a result, the felicity conditions of this speech act could be defective. To deviate from these conditions, Trump's campaign discourse may be intended to employ convincing strategies to mobilize electoral support for the 2024 presidential election.

4.6.3 Theme 3-Felicity Conditions of Speech Acts of Directives

Text (38): Trump: **"They need to stop the invasion of our country.** It is truly an invasion. As we restore the rule of law to the immigration system, we must also restore law and

order to our streets” (Trump, 2022, 34:45).

Context: During his presidency, Trump issued severe decrees to stop receiving immigrants from Mexico. Trump also made a lot of talks with the countries that facilitate the entrance of their citizens to the US, promising severe measures and taxes. However, after his period, Trump still wants others to put an end to this despite no longer holding office.

Indirectly ordering Biden’s administration to prevent immigrants from entering the US, Trump appears not to follow Searle’s felicity conditions of the speech act of ordering. Thus, Trump's utterance is assumed to be defective because the conditions are not met to make it performative. The speech act of ordering necessitates a propositional condition that the talker presupposes the hearer will do the act as stated in the utterance, but, in this situation, the utterance does not fit this condition since the situation does not permit this utterance to happen; Joe Biden’s administration will not follow this order. Besides, the speech act of ordering involves a preparatory condition that the talker has authority over the hearer. However, Trump is not the president of the US and has no right or authority to order the current president of the US, Biden. In addition, the speech act of ordering needs a sincerity condition in which the speaker wants the hearer to do the action stated in the utterance. Nevertheless, Trump knows that his actions will not be done as it is probably against the law, and Biden does not follow Trump's orders as Trump is no longer the US president. Finally, the speech act of order requires an essential condition that the talker's utterance is considered as an endeavour to make the hearer do the act because of his authority. However, it appears that Trump is not in a position to get it done.

Regarding the direction of fit of the illocutionary force of ordering, Trump uses the speech

act to make the world suit his utterance by Biden, but Trump possibly fails. Therefore, considering the utterance context, the speech act of ordering might be unsatisfied and defective. Trump's discourse, which frames immigration as a factual "invasion" demanding immediate measures, could have hyperbolic rhetoric to rally support, conceivably targeted at positioning himself as a desirable choice to the existing administration. But his order appears to lack governmental authority to impose obedience on others.

Text (39): Trump: **"It's time to stop going often gentle on the hardened criminal element in this country....** When we find these vicious repeat offenders, we need to put them behind bars...for extended periods of time. They need to receive the death penalty."

(Trump, 2022, 39:10)

Context: Speaking at the rally in Illinois to push them to vote for Trump's candidates, Trump talks about crime in the USA, assuring severe penalties for the criminals. The issue is controversial between Trump and Biden; Trump believes that the offenders should be put in jail and sentenced to death, while Biden is against the death penalty and demands that there should be restrictions on gun possession.

According to Searle's speech act theory, Trump seems not to adhere to the felicity conditions of the ordering speech act because Trump orders Biden to put criminals in jail and sentence them to death. However, Trump is not in a position to give orders as Biden is the current president of the USA. This can be seen in the fact that the felicity conditions of this act are not achieved. The propositional content condition shows that Biden could not follow Trump's order because of Biden's higher authority over Trump. In addition, the

preparatory condition reveals that Trump has no authority over Biden to make orders. Besides, the sincerity condition indicates that Trump is aware that the order will not be performed as Biden is the current president. Furthermore, the essential condition uncovers that Trump's attempt to make Biden follow the order might be meaningless because of the authority Trump lacks. Thus, the conditions of this act are probably defective. Trump's rhetoric may be interpreted to seek rally support by breaking this speech act, possibly positioning himself as a desirable alternative to Biden.

4.6.4 Theme 4-Felicity Conditions of Speech Acts of Expressives

Text (40): Cooper: "But you don't know any specific examples that you've apologized, ever" (Cooper, 2016, 45:50).

Trump: "**I apologize to my wife for not being presidential on occasion.** She's always saying, Darling, be more presidential" (Trump, 2016, 46:00).

Context: Interviewer Cooper and Trump are talking about Trump's apologies, and Cooper asks him about the last time He apologized. Trump answers that unless someone did something wrong, they must apologize, jokingly providing an example of an apology Trump made to his wife.

In consonance with Searle's theory of speech act, Trump may violate the felicity conditions of the speech act of apologizing because Trump did nothing wrong that pushes him to apologize to his wife, and thus has no real intention to do this act. This makes Trump's utterance seems defective and non-performative due to the deviation from the felicity conditions; the propositional content of this speech act involves that the apologizer

believes they did something terrible to the hearer before apologizing as mentioned in the utterance, but in this situation, Trump did not offend or hurt his wife and thus his apology to his wife is probably no more than a joke. Besides, the felicity conditions of apologizing require a preparatory condition that the apologizer is certain that they harmed the listener and must be responsible for the thing about which the regret is expressed, and that the proposition is true. However, the proposition appears not to be true, and Trump has no accountability for not being president at a particular time. Therefore, his apology to his wife is not intended to be so. Furthermore, the sincerity condition of this act requires that the talker is sincere in regretting their act, but Trump's utterance is conceivably ironic. Moreover, the essential condition of this act requires that the speaker expresses his psychological state to the listener and counts as an expression of regret at the illocutionary point. Nevertheless, it appears that Trump does not intend to apologize to his wife since Trump is jokingly uttering the act of apologizing.

Generally, no word-to-world direction of fit in expressive speech acts exists concerning the direction of fit. The truthfulness of the proposition stated in an expressive act is implicitly assumed (Searle, 1976). So, what is presupposed here is that nothing wrong is done, and the act of apologizing is not fulfilled properly. Therefore, in this situation, the felicity conditions of apologizing are possibly defective and not satisfied. Trump's non-observance of these conditions is probably depicted by his tactical rejection of apologizing for observed insignificant topics and his trivializing position toward those pursuing a remedy. Thus, Trump's discourse could be understood as mocking requests for remorse as politically driven rather than discussing practical grievances.

Text (41): Cooper: “But you don’t know any specific examples that you’ve apologized, ever” (Cooper, 2016, 45:50).

Trump: "Apologize for what? I'd love to apologize. It would be so much easier.

Apologize, Corey, you’re fired ...” (Trump, 2016, 45:09)

Context: Interviewer Cooper asks Trump to provide examples of his apologies. Trump argues with the interviewer about the way of making apologies because Trump believes that one can apologize if one makes mistakes. Thus, Trump gives an example of the campaign manager, Lewandoski Corey. Trump apologizes to Corey for firing him from the position, but Trump does not genuinely mean it.

According to Searle's speech act theory, Trump seems to deviate from the felicity conditions of the apologizing speech act since Trump ironically utters the apology, which is empty. Thus, the four felicity conditions are not met. The propositional content condition shows that Trump does not intend to regret it because Trump jokingly apologizes to Corey for an action that was not done. Moreover, the preparatory condition reveals that the utterance seems not to be true, and that no harm was done to Corey, who is still in the position. Besides, the sincerity condition indicates that Trump does not genuinely feel remorse for the action, which is not present at all. Additionally, the essential condition uncovers that Trump's utterance does not express Trump's psychological state, as it does not count as an expression of remorse. Thus, the felicity conditions of this speech act are conceivably not entirely fulfilled. Such deviation could appear because Trump avoided discussing questions associated with delivering apologies to others and withholding apologies to persons Trump considers unworthy of such actions,

potentially aimed at highlighting self-excuse over appeasing rhetoric and frequently refusing demands for responsibility as unjustified.

4.6.5 Theme 5-Felicity Conditions of Speech Acts of Declaratives

Text (42): Trump: "...We are going to end Nancy Pelosi. She's crazy. We're going to end her political career once and for all" (Trump, 2022, 02:30).

Context: Trump is talking to the crowd about the candidates Trump supports for election in November 2022. Trump also talks about Nancy Pelosi, the Speaker of the US House of Representatives, and calls on the crowd to end her politically by voting for his candidates.

According to Searle's speech act theory, Trump's utterance probably does not follow the felicity conditions of the speech act of declaring because his utterance does not change the world. Trump's utterance seems defective and non-performative due to the deviation from the felicity conditions; the propositional content condition of this speech act requires successfully performing the act of declaring assurances that the propositional content resembles the world at the time of declaring. If Trump successfully and felicitously performs the act of declaring that Trump is going to influence Pelosi politically, then she is politically impacted. However, her political career is still active, even if Trump's candidates win the election. The preparatory condition of declaring involves the talker in power creating a state of affairs stated in the propositional content by uttering in force. However, Trump may not be in a position that enables him to change the world and impact her political career; Trump is not the president or the judge of the US Supreme Court to do so. The sincerity condition of this act requires that the talker believes that the

proposition is true and can carry out the act of declaring. Nonetheless, the proposition might lack truth because Trump cannot affect her career politically. The essential condition of this act requires that the speaker has the intention to perform the act to make a change. Yet, Trump appears not to have a real intention to make the illocutionary point; thus, no change can be made.

Regarding the direction of fit, the act of declaring has a double direction of fit, both world-to-word and word-to-world (Searle, 1979). Here, seemingly neither Trump's words fit the world; he cannot impact her career, nor does the world fit his words; she is and will be a politician regardless of his words, and that makes no difference. So, the felicity conditions of declaring are probably defective, as argued by Searle (2007); the speech act of declaring is not done when infelicitously said. Trump's discourse may be meant to urge electors to back his Congressional candidates while competing with figures like House Speaker Pelosi. This discourse could show a determined, oppositional position toward Pelosi.

Text (43): Trump: “.... I ended it all through executive order.... We wiped out the ISIS caliphate 100%. Our military did such an incredible job.” (Trump, 2022, 40:34)

Context: In an Illinois rally, Trump talks to the crowd about the achievements made when Trump was the president of the USA. Trump declares that ISIS (a militia group in Syria and Iraq) is entirely defeated by an "executive order." However, according to Atienza (2024), ISIS was not completely beaten then.

According to Searle's theory of speech act, Trump appears not to adhere to the felicity conditions of the declarative speech act because Trump's utterance does not make any

change to the world. Thus, the felicity conditions of this act are potentially not followed. The propositional content uncovers that Trump did not rout ISIS. In addition, the preparatory condition shows that Trump is not in a position to announce the end of ISIS ultimately because ISIS still exists, and Trump is no longer the US president. Moreover, the sincerity condition reveals that the proposition is not genuinely authentic, and the utterance does not have any effect on the world. Besides, the essential condition indicates that the utterance has no real intention to make a change in the world by totally wiping out ISIS. To deviate from these conditions, Trump's rhetoric may be intended to underscore electoral support for Trump's candidates, conceivably targeted at opposing his leadership with Biden's through tactical juxtaposition targeted at electoral mobilization.

4.7 Discussions of the Findings of Research Question Three

The objective of research question three is to examine the types of Searle's (1969) felicity conditions of illocutionary speech acts that are deviated from in Trump's political discourse. The study adopts a qualitative approach and a discourse analysis method to answer the research question. The findings showed that Searle's (1969) felicity conditions of illocutionary speech acts are deviated from in Trump's political discourse. This is in line with Searle's (1969) and Vanderveken's (2001) claim that these conditions can be defective in several situations.

The findings of the first theme showed that Trump probably does not adhere to Searle's felicity conditions of representatives when Trump makes claims without providing any satisfactory supporting evidence, such as his claim that the 2020 presidential election is rigged. The reason for deviating from this maxim is that Trump's discourse possibly seeks

personal advantage over the norms of collaboration, which may lead to questioning election observation procedures and rallying supporters through confrontational rhetoric associated with public instability. Framing assertions without considering these conditions, Trump's discourse might be linked to pragmatic tactics that focus on persuasion over adherence to interactive ethics, that may divide public reactions. This finding is in line with those of Dianita and Sofyan (2023), Hadiati (2019), and Ojukwu and Osuchukwu (2019), who showed that the participants follow the felicity conditions of representatives. For example, Dianita and Sofyan (2023), who pragmatically analyzed the conditions of speech acts in *Knives Out* Film, argued that the actors respect the conditions and perform the act happily by being truthful to each other. Hadiati (2019), who examined the felicity conditions of the speech acts in Banyumasan (a dialect of standard Javanese in Indonesia) everyday speech, found that the speakers give sincere information when talking to the hearers, while Ojukwu and Osuchukwu (2019) claimed that Mandela was honest in describing himself as a good politician. Thus, the observance of these conditions is followed.

Searle's felicity conditions of representatives being violated call for important implications for political language, second language pedagogy, and academic research. Politicians who publicize deceptive or unsupported claims endanger public confidence and established authenticity; as such, violations of the norms of honesty and responsibility are significant to collaborative interaction. To soften social disharmony and deception, politicians should emphasize sincere precision, basing their assertions on confirmable proof to evade increasing public uncertainty or disturbance.

For second language education, these findings highlight the requirement of pragmatic

competence in recognizing factual interaction from misleading discourse. Learners are recommended to significantly increase proficiency in assessing claims, providing disputes with proof, and comprehending the ethical outcomes of distorted rhetoric. Teachers could deal with this by combining instructions on (in)felicity conditions of this speech act into the course, utilizing examples of inaccurate and accurate expressions to model observance of honest interaction and underscore the jeopardies of fabrication.

Finally, this analysis invites the need for more studies in the future. These studies might dissect deviations in the language of politics and social media and their social effects, such as institutional suspicion. Thus, researchers could develop the principles of pragmatics while enhancing frameworks to neutralize misrepresentation and advance precision in public discourse.

The findings of the second theme indicated that Trump appears to violate the felicity conditions of commissive speech acts by committing himself to a forthcoming action that endorses a new law of healthcare. However, Trump did not fulfill it because he lost the 2020 presidential election. Trump makes confident, emotional promises that attract his followers, even if they are uncertain how Trump will complete them. This common strategy in political language may target mobilizing voters for Trump's 2024 presidential run by highlighting popular phrases over practical information rather than following explicit, applicable promises. This theme was found in the studies that were conducted by Dianita and Sofyan (2023), Hadiati (2019), and Ojukwu and Osuchukwu (2019), who found that the felicity conditions of commissive speech acts are respected. For illustration, Dianita and Sofyan (2023) claimed that the actors observe the conditions by fulfilling the act of warning. Similarly, Hadiati (2019) claimed that successfully and non-defectively

the talkers respect the felicity conditions of promising, while Ojukwu and Osuchukwu (2019) argued that Mandela fulfilled his promises he made to his people.

Searle's felicity conditions of commissive speech acts being disobeyed call for important implications for political language, second language pedagogy, and academic research. Politicians' language could diminish social trust when promising to do something they cannot achieve, which causes less accountability and public distrust in authority. Therefore, politicians have to associate their promises with feasible policy frameworks and try to ensure precision to maintain voter support. However, if they fail to obey these norms, doubt will be maximized, and democratic engagement will be undermined.

For second language education, these findings highlight the requirement of pragmatic competence in considering how to make honest obligations and honour them in cross-cultural interactions; learners are advised to augment proficiency to show real promises and shun over-committing. They have to link their rhetoric to the norms of genuineness, while teachers could tackle this by combining instruction on felicity conditions into the syllabus and employing role-play exercises. For example, they can use diplomatic dialogues to create trustworthy discourse. In addition, educators should focus on tactics such as hedging untruthful speeches or explaining doubts to take responsibility.

Finally, this analysis invites the need for more studies in the future; investigators can investigate contextual reasons behind unachieved promises, such as tactical misinformation in polling campaigns, and their social results, such as institutional distrust. To build research in the theory of speech acts and focus on clear, interactive conduct could improve pragmatic theory while providing tools to strengthen confidence and

responsibility in public rhetoric.

The findings of the third theme uncovered that Trump might violate the felicity conditions of directive speech acts by ordering Biden's administration to prevent Mexican immigrants from entering the US. Trump knows that his actions will not be done as it is against the law, and Biden does not follow Trump's orders as Trump is no longer the US president. Trump's rhetoric appears to have the intention to mobilize voters, potentially positioning himself as a preferable alternative to the present administration. This tactic appears to mirror a wider pattern of using oppositional discourse to establish leadership claims despite their separation from official procedures of supremacy. This theme was found in the research of Dianita and Sofyan (2023), Hadiati (2019), and Ojukwu and Osuchukwu (2019), which found that the felicity conditions of directive speech acts are followed. For instance, Hadiati (2019) maintained that the conditions of the speech act of commanding are observed as the hearer did the action, while Ojukwu and Osuchukwu (2019) pointed out that the government took Mandela's advice, rendering the appropriateness of the act.

Searle's felicity conditions of directive speech acts being deviated from provide crucial implications for political language, second language pedagogy, and academic research. Politicians' language could undermine public confidence when releasing orders beyond their institutional authority. For example, imposing imperatives on persons or organizations with higher power (legal or judicial institutions without appropriate jurisdiction) that may increase doubt about their credibility. Thus, politicians had better zero in on requests over directives when they deal with higher supremacy and associate

their rhetoric with practical norms. This is to shun surpassing institutional mandates and maintain acceptability.

In the second language classroom, pragmatic competence in the speech act of directive involves that one should differentiate between commands that require authority and requests that permit options. Learners are recommended to augment tactics to rule out unsuitable directives. For example, they should avoid ordering teachers or supervisors and instead utilize well-mannered requests (e.g., ‘Could you clarify...please?’ or ‘May I inquire...?’) to recognize ranked mechanisms in cross-cultural communications. Teachers could tackle this by adding instruction on felicity conditions into the course and employ role-play exercises (like workplace discussions and academic advising) to demonstrate context-suitable imperatives. In addition, educators should focus on linguistic markers such as conditional phrases and modal verbs that distinguish orders from requests to publicly promote standardized communications.

Finally, this analysis invites the need for more studies in the future; investigators can dissect context-dependent triggers of such deviations (such as social supremacy-distance norms and established authorities), and their social outcomes (such as official confidence weakening and public doubt). Such studies might develop pragmatics theories while presenting frameworks to diminish misunderstandings and emphasize responsibility in political and cross-cultural discourse.

The findings of the fourth theme showed that Trump possibly does not adhere to the felicity conditions of expressives when he jokingly apologizes to his wife and his campaign manager. In fact, Trump did not do anything wrong that forces him to make an

apology to them, and thus has no real intention to do this act. Trump's utterance may show his strategic refusal to apologize for perceived unimportant subjects and his unconcerned stance toward those who seek redress. Therefore, Trump's rhetoric might make fun of requests for regret as politically driven rather than addressing practical complaints, which are conceivably related to tactics that highlight disobedience over relational responsibility. These findings are in line with those of Dianita and Sofyan (2023), Hadiati (2019), and Ojukwu and Osuchukwu (2019), who argued that individuals follow the felicity conditions of expressives. To illustrate, Dianita and Sofyan (2023) claimed that the actors follow the felicity conditions of the speech act of condolence because they convey honest ideas, while Hadiati (2019) showed that participants truthfully praise the goods after taking the context into account. Finally, Ojukwu and Osuchukwu (2019) argued that Mandela honestly thanked people and showed pleasure to his fellows.

Searle's felicity conditions of expressive speech acts being flouted suggest fundamental implications for politicians, second language educators, and academic researchers. Providing deceitful apologies, politicians' utterances may diminish public confidence. For example, tactical apologies that lack sincere regret increase social doubt and separation among political players. Thus, politicians need to follow the norms of genuineness in apologies and clarify their words of remorse associated with applicable efforts to deal with grievances. But if they fail to do so, suspicion will increase and institutional authority will weaken.

In the second language classroom, pragmatic competence in expressives requires overcoming genuine apologies that recognize misconduct and highlight relational

restoration. Learners are advised to enrich tactics to evade empty or suppressed apologies and instead use linguistically and socially suitable words of remorse. For example, they have to use clear admission of accountability and offers of regret, while teachers could approach this by combining instruction on felicity conditions of this act into programs and employing real examples, such as public apologies in digital communication and diplomatic interactions, to clarify sincerity markers like direct responsibility and sympathetic phrases. Likewise, educators should pay attention to the results of dishonest apologies, which could damage trust and lead to misunderstanding.

Finally, the findings of this theme call for further research to analyze the violations of Searle's conditions of expressives; researchers can investigate appropriate motivations of deceitful apologies (e.g., tactical political communication), and their social effects (e.g., division or institutional mistrust). Besides, studies could analyze educational frameworks to explain the genuineness of apologies, especially in cross-cultural situations.

The findings of the fifth theme revealed that Trump seems to flout the felicity conditions of declarative speech acts by declaring that Trump will influence Pelosi's career politically. However, Pelosi is still active in her position. Neither Trump's words fit the world; Trump cannot impact her career, nor does the world fit his words; Pelosi is and will be a politician regardless of his words, which make no change. Trump's rhetoric could be seen as pushing voters to support his candidates while affecting figures like House Speaker Pelosi. This discourse may reveal an oppositional stance toward Pelosi, conceivably focusing on obvious interactive tactics such as polarized expressions and assumed declarations rather than planned personal motives. This finding is in line with

that of Khurshid and Janjua (2022), who argued that Mandela's utterance, "the time for healing has come," is defective as it excludes white South Africans from direct guilt. However, Hadiati's (2019) findings showed that the felicity conditions of declarative speech acts are observed when the speaker changes the world via their utterance.

Searle's felicity conditions of declarative speech acts being departed from, this provides key implications for political language, second language education, and academic research. Politicians' utterances could diminish social confidence, such as promises requiring institutional support, which could create scepticism and reduce trust because of breaking the responsibility norms critical to collaborative governance. Thus, politicians should relate declarations to achievable policies, to shun obligations beyond their power or capability, and to maintain voter credibility.

In the second language classroom, pragmatic competence in declarative acts includes (1) grasping how to form realistic commitments and (2) avoiding invalid claims in cross-cultural situations. Learners are advised to enhance tactics to communicate practical objectives and explain contingencies. For example, they can use hedges for the unreal declarations, while teachers could deal with this by using instruction on the felicity conditions of this act in programs. Also, they can utilize diplomatic consensus and policy announcements to demonstrate observance of honesty and practicality patterns.

Lastly, the findings of this theme call for further research to analyze declarative violations (e.g., cultural anticipation of discourse and election tensions), and their social outcomes (e.g., elector discouragement). Grounded on the theory of speech act and highlighting clear, interactive behaviour, such research could enrich pragmatic principles for

strengthening clarity in political and cross-cultural rhetoric.

4.8 Findings of Research Question Four

This section examines Trump's political discourse using a discourse analysis method to answer the research questions. The section presents the findings by analyzing how Leech's politeness maxims, Grice's conversational maxims, and Searle's felicity conditions of speech acts align with Trump's political discourse. Three oral documents were chosen to answer the fourth research question. (1) Trump's direct speech to the crowd in Illinois, (2) Trump's interview with Fox News Channel reporters Martha MacCallum and Bret Baier, and (3) Trump's interview with CNN Channel reporter Anderson Cooper. The fourth research question is: How do Leech's politeness maxims, Grice's conversational maxims, and Searle's felicity conditions of speech acts align with Trump's political discourse? Figure 3.3 summarizes the findings of this section.

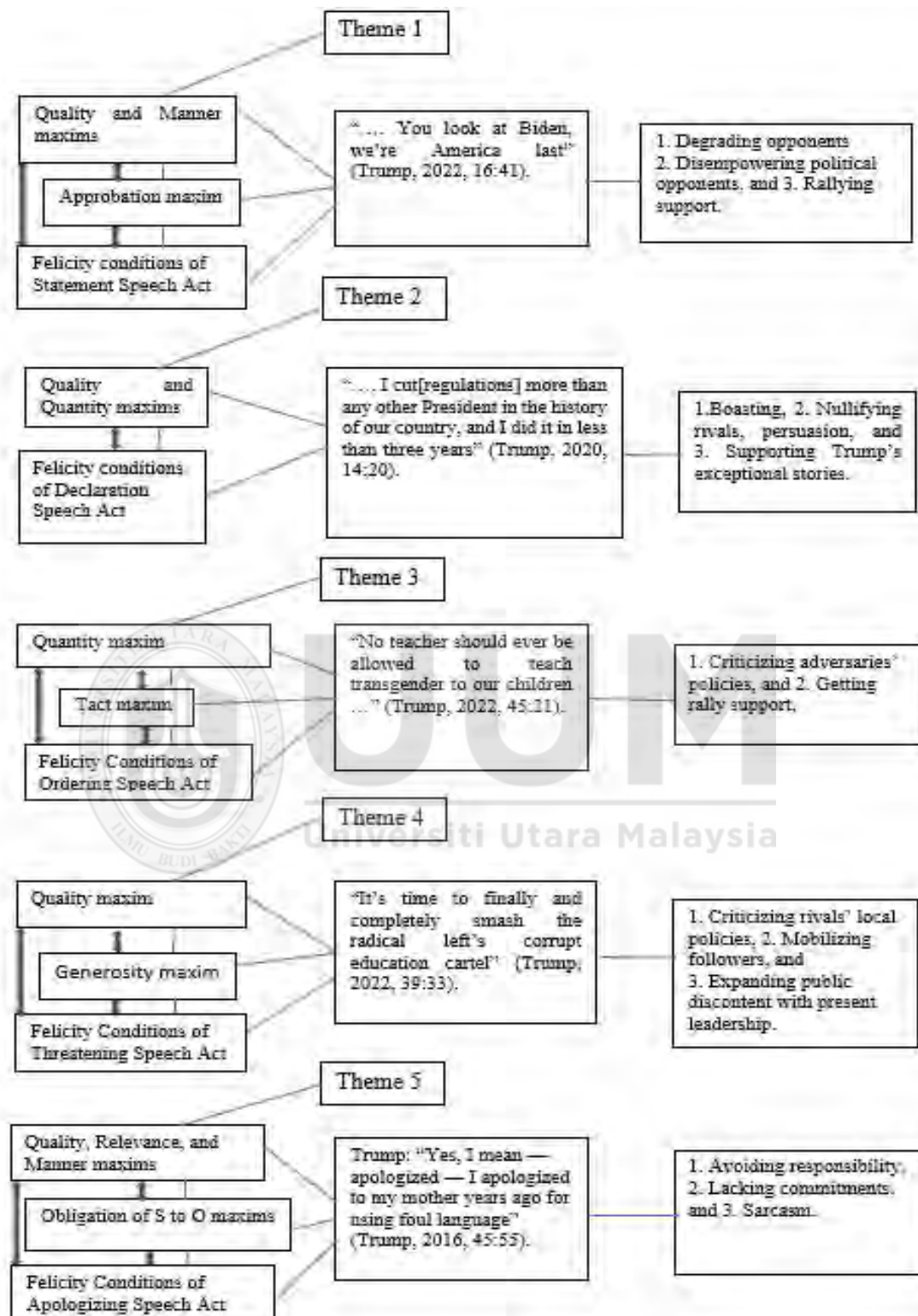


Figure 3.3 The Summary of the Findings of Research Question Four

4.8.1 Theme 1-Alignment between Maxims of Quality, Manner, and Approbation and Felicity Conditions of Assertion Speech Act

Text (44): Trump: “Nobody thinks about America first. Well, America last. **You look at Biden, we’re America last**” (Trump, 2022, 16:41).

Context: In his speech in Illinois in support of his candidates, Trump talks to the crowd and begins criticizing Biden’s administration. Trump claims that Biden made “America last” because of Biden’s internal and external policies, hoping that America will become great again when voting for Trump’s candidates.

Trump’s rhetoric seems to break Grice’s maxims of quality and manner, Leech’s approbation maxim, and Searle’s felicity conditions of the assertion speech act, uncovering strategic deviations across these models.

Trump appears to breach Grice’s maxims of quality and manner. Deviating from the quality may occur when giving information that lacks evidence. Trump claims that Biden makes “America last”, but no evidence is given to support Trump’s claim. While the maxim of manner is probably not observed as Trump’s utterance seems unclear and vague, in which way does Biden make “America last”? Is it politically, economically, socially, or what? Uttering such an utterance is conceivably an attempt to broaden the uncertainties about Biden’s administration.

Trump seemingly violates Leech's maxim of approbation by undermining Biden's qualities: "Look at Biden, we are America last." It could be seen that Trump criticizes Biden's administration of the US and how the US became last during Biden’s period

without recognizing any positive characteristics, potentially amplifying oppositional discourse.

Trump possibly deviates from Searle's felicity conditions of assertion speech act by claiming that Biden made America last without providing any adequate evidence for that. Thus, this claim appears inaccurate. Trump's utterance is probably infelicitous and non-performative because of deviating from the felicity conditions of asserting speech act; (1) the propositional content condition of the expressed proposition by giving an utterance that could not be true as there is no evidence that Biden made "America last", (2) the preparatory conditions by not providing details for the truthfulness of Trump's proposition that "America[is]last" during Biden's term, (3) the sincerity condition when Trump might not commit himself to the truthfulness of the proposition, and (4) the essential condition of the proposition by not giving genuine information.

Trump's likely violations of the pragmatic principles of Grice's quality and manner maxims, Leech's approbation maxim, and Searle's felicity conditions of asserting speech act associated with a tactical effort to disempower political opponents like Biden. Describing Biden's presidency as "America[became]last," Trump may be an attempt to strive to place himself as a preferable option, probably rallying voting support for his presidential run.

Text (45): Trump: Joe Biden is the worst president in the history of our country
(Trump, 2022, 27:21)

Context: In an Illinois rally, Trump talks to the crowd about the issues in the USA and

Biden's administration. Trump criticizes President Biden by calling the president the "worst" of all the US presidents.

Trump's discourse appears to deviate from Grice's maxims of quality and manner, Leech's approbation maxim, and Searle's felicity conditions of the assertion speech act, revealing tactical deviations across these theories. First, Trump possibly flouts Grice's maxim of quality since Trump provides information that lacks evidence; no proof shows that Biden is "the worst" US president. Besides, perhaps Trump does not observe the maxim of manner because of the obscurity of his utterances and undefined comments on policy collapses. Second, Trump probably does not follow Leech's maxim of approbation because Trump undermines Biden's qualities by considering Biden as "the worst" US president, conceivably rejecting Biden's accomplishments during Biden's presidency. Third, maybe Trump violates Searle's felicity conditions of the asserting speech act because of claiming without any verification. Thus, the propositional content condition shows that the utterance seems unactual. Besides, the preparatory condition might reveal that no details are given to show how Biden is "the worst" US president. Additionally, the sincerity condition uncovers that Trump seemingly does not believe the statement is true. Furthermore, the essential condition indicates that Trump's utterance is assumed to be an exaggeration and untruthful information. These violations are potentially linked with a tactical effort to delegitimize Biden's management, probably aimed at depicting it as unsuccessful in setting Trump as a superior choice. Violating the principles of pragmatics, such as using ambiguity and hyperbole, this discourse could be interpreted as pursuing to rally voting support through separation rather than collaborative conversation. This analysis might show how deviations from Leech's, Grice's, and Searle's principles meet

in oppositional political discourse, underscoring conviction over responsibility.

4.8.2 Theme 2-Alignment between Maxims of Quality, Quantity, and Modesty, and Felicity Conditions of Declaration Speech Act

Text (46): Trump: **I've cut regulations more than any president.... I cut more than any other president in the history of our country**, and I did it in less than three years (Trump, 2020, 14:20).

Context: Trump is asked about the role of the Environmental Protection Agency, which focuses on regulations and fees, and how Trump dealt with these issues during his time as president. Trump begins speaking about the agency, the regulations he made, and how he cut them more than any other US president. This claim of being the best president who cut the regulation is not precise, as Colman and Wire (2018) reported.

Trump's utterance seems to deviate from Grice's maxims of quality and quantity, Leech's modesty maxim, and Searle's felicity conditions of the declaration speech act, showing strategic deviations across these models. First, Trump could not observe Grice's maxim of quality by providing information that requires evidence when Trump does not give proof of cutting the regulations more than any US president. Moreover, Trump may deviate from the maxim of quantity by repeating the same utterances instead of one that can be concise; this is probably to emphasize Trump's viewpoint that he is the best US president. Second, Trump could infringe Leech's maxim of modesty by giving a high value to his own qualities: "I've cut regulations more than any other president," which might be meant that Trump augments his identified achievements without admitting contextual restrictions or antecedents' accomplishments. Third, Trump appears not to

follow Searle's felicity conditions of the speech act of declaring by incorrectly declaring that Trump cut the regulations better than any US president, which does not change the world. Therefore, Trump's utterance is possible to be infelicitous and non-performative as a consequence of deviating from the felicity conditions of declaring speech act: (1) the propositional content condition of the proposition by not representing the world at the moment of performing this act; if performing this act non-defectively, this means that Trump's utterance is true, but it seems not, (2) the preparatory conditions by showing that Trump could not be the best president in cutting the regulations, (3) the sincerity condition by providing information that might lack truth and Trump could carry out the action of declaring, and (4) the essential condition by revealing that Trump may not intend to perform the act of declaring to make changes. Perhaps these violations mutually discredit political opponents, strengthen an extraordinary narrative, and rally supporters through polarizing rhetoric.

Text (47): Cooper: Do you sometimes wish you had a little bit more of what she[Trump's wife] called "calmness"? (Cooper, 2016, 55:12)

Trump: They know I'll bring the country — you know, we have the expression, **make America Great Again. They know I will make America great again.** The world isn't going to take advantages of us anymore. (Trump, 2016, 55:17)

Context: Journalist Cooper asks Trump about the calmness of his wife and children. Trump responds by praising the family and its strength. He adds that the family is confident that he will make the US great again.

Trump's discourse appears to violate Grice's maxims of quality and quantity, Leech's modesty maxim, and Searle's felicity conditions of the declaration speech act, reflecting a tactical departure from these theories. First, Trump seems not to observe the maxim of quality by giving information that lacks sufficient evidence. Trump declares that he "will make America great again" without policy specifics. In addition, Trump could breach Grice's quantity maxim by repeating the same words as the famous slogan, "Make America Great Again," without elaboration. Second, Trump may deviate from Leech's maxim of modesty because Trump provides a high cost to his qualities. Trump declares that "I will make America great again," suggesting non-observance of the politeness norm of modesty, which usually supports humbleness or equalized recognition of mutual efforts, such as "we can work together to advance America." Third, Trump seems to violate Searle's felicity conditions of the declaratives. The propositional content condition reveals that Trump's utterance is assumed to be unclear: How will Trump make the US? great again? Furthermore, the preparatory conditions show that Trump's utterance could lack context-based evidence, such as policy frameworks. Additionally, the sincerity condition indicates that Trump's rhetoric might lack commitment to real precision, so the utterance probably does not an effect. Moreover, the essential condition uncovers that Trump's utterance possibly fails to perform obvious consequences (physical policy alteration). To deviate from these maxims and conditions, Trump could be trying to advance his 2024 presidential campaign. Perhaps using unproven declarations such as "I can make America great again," antagonistic framing of rivals, and overstated self-boasting, Trump suggests controlling pragmatic deviations to set himself as an exceptionalist leader.

4.8.3 Theme 3-Alignment between Maxims of Quantity and Tact and Felicity Conditions of Ordering Speech Act

Text (48): Trump: **No teacher should ever be allowed to teach transgender to our children without parental consent. Got to have parental consent”** (Trump, 2022, 45:21).

Context: In his speech in Illinois in support of his candidates, Trump is talking to the crowd about the issue of transgender individuals in the field of sports and at school, ordering to stop them. Trump seems to disagree with the opinion that supports transgender women joining sports that are related to women. Journalist Yurcaba (2022) reports that including transgender persons in sports squads is less likable. Most US citizens, around 62 percent, mentioned that transgender sportspersons have to be permitted to join the sports squads that are related to their real gender when they were born. Trump talks about it at school and how it should not be permitted without parents’ agreement. Trump appears to order Biden’s administration to stop this and get parents’ permission before teaching pupils about transgender at schools.

Trump’s rhetoric might depart from Grice’s maxim of quantity, Leech’s maxim of tact, and Searle’s felicity conditions of the directive speech act, showing strategic deviations across these pragmatic principles.

First, Trump may violate Grice’s quantity maxim by providing more circumlocutory words than necessary. Trump’s phrase “should ever be allowed to” is possibly unnecessarily wordy, adding redundant prominence. Instead, Trump could use a model

verb such as “should” to express the idea clearly. In addition, Trump repeats the expression “parental consent,” which might not add new information and unnecessarily emphasizes the same idea.

Second, Trump seemingly deviates from Leech’s maxim of tact by giving a high value to his wants. Trump’s discourse may be a try to force Biden’s administration to stop teaching transgender issues in schools. However, Trump is a former president who could not order those who have institutional authority over him.

Third, Trump possibly does not follow Searle's felicity conditions of order speech act: (1) the propositional content condition by presupposing that Biden will follow Trump's order, but the context shows that Trump probably lacks authority to impose it, (2) the preparatory condition by revealing that Trump no longer holds authority over Biden's administration as Biden is the incumbent president, (3) the sincerity condition in which the act cannot be done by Biden who might not follow Trump's orders, and (4) the essential condition by showing that Trump is not in a position to order Biden's administration, which operates independently.

These violations are conceivably linked to a wider tactic to model Biden’s policies as misaligned with public benefits, potentially rallying support for Trump’s 2024 presidential campaign. By departing from the norms of pragmatics, Trump’s rhetoric may be seen to develop stories of institutional dysfunction, implicitly presenting himself as a key figure who can address the challenges that face the US educational system.

Text (49): MacCallum: “But what about Afghanistan?” (MacCallum, 2020, 02:38)

Trump: **I kept the oil**.... I used to say, once they were in there[Iraq], **keep the oil. They never kept the oil**.... In Syria, **we kept it**.... **We kept the oil. So, we kept the treasure** (Trump, 2020, 02:44)

Context: Interviewer MacCallum asks Trump about the situation in Afghanistan. In response to the interviewer, Trump talks about the situations in Iraq and Syria. As a president, Trump sent troops to Syria to protect the oil, which became under the US control. But, in Iraq, the troops did not keep the oil despite Trump's calls for Obama's administration to do so, as Trump claims.

Trump's utterances might violate Grice's maxim of quantity, Leech's maxim of tact, and Searle's felicity conditions of the directive speech act, reflecting tactical departures from these principles of pragmatics.

Trump probably does not adhere to Grice's maxim of quantity by repeating the same phrases. Trump's repetitive use of "keep the oil" more than four times may create unnecessariness, giving no supplementary precision or context. This possibly violates the principle of succinctness, as replication functions as an emphasis rather than informational effectiveness.

Perhaps Trump does not follow Leech's maxim of tact because Trump could increase the imposition on others to make them do something. Trump's order to "keep the oil" in Iraq may be understood as enforcing requests on others (Obama's administration) without observing institutional possibility. This might flout the tact maxim that invites decreasing obligations, highlighting assertive pressures over mutual commitment.

Trump conceivably deviates from Searle's felicity conditions of the ordering speech act. The propositional content condition reveals that Trump's order to Obama's administration to "keep the oil" in Iraq could not be done because Trump lacks authority as he is a former president. In addition, the preparatory condition shows that perhaps Trump has no institutional authority to impose such an order after departing the office. Besides, the sincerity condition uncovers that Trump's command assumes obedience from Obama, despite historical proof revealing the US troops never controlled the Iraqi oil during both administrations, implicitly weakening the order's sincerity. Furthermore, the essential condition indicates that Trump's utterance suggests failure to make a change because Obama did not follow Trump's order.

Deviating from these maxims and conditions, Trump's rhetoric could mirror a tactic effort to contrast his presidential period with that of Obama's, criticize Obama's policies, and highlight differences between their administrations, reinforce Trump's political narrative through oppositional rather than collaborative discourse.

4.8.4 Theme 4-Alignment between Maxims of Quality and Generosity and Felicity Conditions of Threatening Speech Act

Text (50): Trump: **"It's time to finally and completely smash** the radical left's corrupt education cartel" (Trump, 2022, 39:33).

Context: In his speech in Illinois in support of his candidates, Trump is speaking to the crowd about education under the rule of the Democrats. He claims that this education system needs reforms because of teaching the pupils about transgender. This issue is

controversial in the US, and Trump constantly criticizes those who support transgenderism (Thoreson, 2025). Trump promises to “smash” the current system of education if he wins the election again.

Trump’s discourse could flout Grice’s maxim of quality, Leech’s maxim of generosity, and Searle’s felicity conditions of the threatening speech act, mirroring tactical violations of these three models.

First, Trump might not adhere to Grice’s maxim of quality by saying something lacking adequate evidence. Trump accuses the US education system of “corrupt” without providing any supporting proof that this system is “corrupt”.

Second, Trump appears to deviate from Leech’s maxim of generosity by giving an unfavourable value to others’ wants. Trump may not show an advantage to the Democrats’ priorities in reforming the educational system, probably depicting their objectives as harmful rather than pursuing mutual ground.

Third, Trump possibly does not observe Searle’s felicity conditions of threatening speech act: (1) The propositional condition content of the proposition shows that the threat lacks practicability as Trump possibly does not have the institutional authority to enable him to “smash” the educational system, (2) the preparatory conditions of the proposition reveals that Trump’s discourse may not show any disadvantageous outcome for the system because Trump no longer holds the office to have his act done, (3) the sincerity condition of the proposition uncovers that Trump could not show actionable steps to “smash” the current system of education, and (4) the essential condition indicates that Trump might

not perform the act of smashing as Trump seemingly lacks authority to enforce it.

These violations may be seen as connecting to a wider tactic to challenging the legitimacy of the present authority and depict its internal policies, such as education, as unproductive. By violating pragmatic norms, utilizing inaccurate, confrontational, oppositional framing and exaggerated warnings, Trump's discourse probably develops narratives of administrative ineffectiveness, potentially setting himself and his candidates as essential options. This could demonstrate how the language of politics can polarize the social opinion, highlight influential techniques, and rally voting support.

Text (51): Trump: One of the most urgent tasks for the Republican Party after this November will be **to end the catastrophe Joe Biden has created on the southern border**. (Trump, 2022, 27:21).

Context: In an Illinois rally, Trump talks to the crowd about the measures that will be taken to end the problem on the southern border, which is Mexico. Trump promises to "end" the drug smuggling and illegal immigrants from Mexico. Trump claims that "Biden has created" such thing by not imposing any measures to prevent such acts. Therefore, Trump says that after November 2022, all these issues will be resolved. However, these issues remain without any solution after November (Morgenstern, 2024)

Trump's rhetoric could break Grice's maxim of quality, Leech's maxim of generosity, and Searle's felicity conditions of the threatening speech act, illustrating strategic non-adherence to these three theories.

First, perhaps Trump does not follow Grice's maxim of quality because of saying

something that lacks evidence. Trump has not ended the issue of illegal immigration from Mexico even though Trump's candidates won.

Second, Trump could not obey Leech's maxim of generosity because Trump gives an unfavourable cost to Biden's wants when Trump shows no advantage to Biden's administration when accusing this administration of creating “a catastrophe” on the US-Mexico border.

Third, Trump seemingly does not follow Searle's felicity conditions of a threatening speech act. The propositional content condition shows that Trump possibly does not perform the act of threatening as the situation remains unfulfilled after the declaration. Besides, the preparatory condition indicates that Trump conceivably has no authority to pose a threat to Biden's administration, even if Trump's candidates secure polling triumphs in November. Additionally, the sincerity condition uncovers that Trump's utterance could not genuinely perform the act of threatening. Moreover, the essential condition reveals that Trump's utterance may not show any commitment to perform this act, as Trump is supposed to be the US president to fulfill the threat.

These deviations are possibly seen to mobilize polling support to elect Trump's candidates, potentially seeking to expand public discontent with present leadership.

4.8.5 Theme 5-Alignment between Maxims of Quality, Relevance, and Obligation of S to O, and Felicity Conditions of Apologizing Speech Act

Text (52): Cooper: "You said on the radio right here in Wisconsin the other day that you do apologize and you believe in apologizing. When was the last time you actually

apologized for something?" (Cooper, 2016, 45:25)

Trump: "... Yes, I mean — **apologized — I apologized to my mother years ago for using foul language**" (laughing) (Trump, 2016, 45:55).

Context: Interviewer Cooper asks Trump about the last time Trump apologized to someone. Trump answers him that unless one does the wrong thing, they must apologize. The interviewer again asks Trump to provide an example of Trump's apology. However, Trump replies jokingly that Trump apologizes to Trump's mom "for using foul language".

Trump's utterance might not adhere to Grice's maxims of quality and manner, Leech's maxim of Obligation of S to O, and Searle's felicity conditions of the apology speech act, demonstrating strategic non-observance to these three models.

First, Trump suggests a violation of Grice's quality and relevance maxims. Trump's discourse could flout the quality maxim by saying something that seems ironic. Trump's utterance, "I apologized to my mother," is not intended to be an apology because Trump did not do something wrong to his mom to apologize. Also, Trump seems to deviate from the relevance maxim when shifting the talk from one topic (e.g., apologies to rivals) to another (e.g., ironic apologies to his family).

Second, Trump appears to deviate from Leech's maxim of Obligation of S to O by giving a low value to his obligation to others. Trump may hold apologies by rejecting the idea of apologizing to his rivals, potentially employing ironic discourse to reduce his perceived obligations.

Third, Trump possibly does not observe Searle's felicity conditions of the apologizing speech act. Firstly, the propositional content condition of the proposition shows that the apologizer did not do any harm to his mother because Trump's utterance is seemingly a joke. Secondly, the preparatory conditions reveal that Trump did not damage his mother by producing the act, nullifying the apology's proposition. Thirdly, the sincerity condition indicates that Trump's rhetoric probably lacks genuine regret. Fourthly, the essential condition uncovers that Trump may not be serious in his regret as he jokingly apologizes to his mother.

These violations cooperatively could collectively serve to disapprove established norms of responsibility, modelling Trump as unrestrained by collaborative or apologetic patterns. By departing from the principles of pragmatics through divergence, irony, lack of commitment, and withholding apologies, Trump might construct a story of non-compliance, conceivably setting himself as a leader unconstrained from institutional norms.

Text (53): Cooper: But you don't know any specific examples that you've apologized, ever (Cooper, 2016, 45:50).

Trump: Apologize for what? I'd love to apologize. It would be so much easier. **Apologize, Corey, you're fired.** (Trump, 2016, 45:09)

Context: Journalist Cooper asks Trump to give an example of apologies Trump has made. In response to Cooper, Trump argues with Cooper about the way of making apologies because Trump believes that one can apologize if making mistakes. Therefore, Trump

provides an example of his campaign manager, Corey Lewandowski. Trump apologizes to Corey for firing him from the position, but Trump does not genuinely mean the utterance of an apology.

Trump's rhetoric appears not to follow Grice's maxims of quality and relevance, Leech's maxim of Obligation of S to O, and Searle's felicity conditions of the apologizing speech act, mirroring tactical violations of these three principles. First, Trump seems to violate Grice's maxim of quality because of providing information that lacks enough supporting evidence. Perhaps Trump ironically apologizes to his campaign manager, though the manager has done no wrongdoing. Also, Trump possibly flouts Grice's maxim of relevance by being irrelevant to the subject. Trump seems to shift the topic to the campaign manager, who is not addressed by the interviewer, distracting conversational unity. Second, Trump probably departs from Leech's maxim of obligation of S to O because of withholding apologies. Trump may refuse to apologize to opponents, potentially overlooking the norms of politeness to acknowledge commitments to keep social accord. Third, Trump might not follow Searle's felicity conditions of the apologizing speech act. First, the propositional content condition shows that Trump's utterance could lack real harm, making it semantically empty. Second, the preparatory condition reveals no harm, and the manager campaign still holds the position. Third, the sincerity condition uncovers that Trump's utterance is not assumed to express authentic regret as it is apparently sarcastic. Fourth, the essential condition indicates that may be Trump does not count as an expression of remorse.

These departures from the norms might mutually function to diminish answerability and

constitute a personality that lacks an expressed remorse. By breaking these principles, Trump may portray apologies as pointless restraints, conceivably placing himself as a figure who projects certainty and sidesteps concession.

4.9 Discussions of the Findings of Research Question Four

The objective of research question four is to explore the alignment between Leech's politeness maxims, Grice's conversational maxims, and Searle's felicity conditions of speech acts in Trump's deviant political discourse. The findings showed that the three models, Leech's politeness maxims, Grice's conversational maxims, and Searle's Felicity conditions of speech acts, are aligned in one situation regarding deviation. This aligns with Leech's (2014) claim that Grice's and Leech's maxims can align with each other; a speaker might try to break both conversational and politeness maxims.

The findings of the first theme showed that Trump seems to deviate from all three pragmatic principles that are suggested by Grice (1975), Leech (2014), and Searle (1969). Perhaps Trump's discourse does not adhere to Grice's quality maxim because his utterance may lack evidence and manner maxim since it possibly provides unclear information about Biden's administration. Trump might not observe Leech's approbation maxim when disapproving Biden's administration. Trump probably does not follow Searle's felicity conditions of assertion speech act because of an inaccurate statement. Trump's deviations from these maxims and conditions could align with a strategic effort to disempower political opponents. Trump may seek to position himself as a superior alternative to mobilize voter support for his candidacy. These pragmatic deviations meet in their function; maybe all these theories emphasize how Trump's language focuses on

argumentative persuasion over collaborative norms. This can be done by using vagueness, unconfirmed claims, and criticisms to undermine rivals.

Breaking these principles of pragmatics has important implications for politicians, second language educators, and academic researchers. Politicians' utterances could underscore the risks of using deceptive, vague, or criticized discourse when emphasizing provocative or unconfirmed assertions, such as unfounded allegations and vague language. Thus, they weaken public confidence and institutional authority to maximize social division. Political figures have to follow collaborative norms: shunning false assertions, giving proof-building disputes, and engaging considerately with rivals to soften mistrust and balance civil language. But if they did not succeed in adhering to these endangers, they would increase public scepticism, which could undermine democratic commitment and public cohesion.

In the second language classroom, pragmatic competence is necessary to navigate cross-cultural communications efficiently. This encompasses shunning ambiguous phrases, contemptuous comments, and unproven assertions. Teachers are advised to incorporate instruction on collaborative and courteous interaction into the course and employ actual instances. For example, they can use cautious conversations and fact-based expressions to exhibit precision and courtesy. Moreover, educators had better detect general pitfalls such as mockery and exaggeration and direct students in accepting tactics (e.g., hedges).

Lastly, the findings of this theme call for further research about violations of these pragmatic principles; researchers can investigate the motivations behind such non-observance, such as political incentives for divisions, social outcomes, and

misrepresentation proliferation to reinforce precision, esteem, and responsibility in second language education. Investigators could formulate actionable tactics to support the norms of collaborative discourse, safeguard social and cross-cultural communications, and emphasize transparency and sympathy. Such a study is important for discussing the undermining consequences of antagonistic discourse and developing ethical interaction practices internationally.

In addition, the findings of the second theme revealed that Trump probably departs from the three principles of pragmatics; Trump possibly flouts Leech's maxim of modesty by being conceited and Grice's maxims of quality and quantity by being untruthful and long-winded, respectively, while the felicity conditions of declaring speech act by providing a declaration that could lack truth. Perhaps Trump's language tactically flouts these models in a combined effort to set himself as better than former US presidents and increase support for his polling campaign. Breaking these principles, Trump might develop stories of unique leadership, potentially comparing his period with that of forerunners while dividing public discussions to rally support for the elector association with his candidacy. So, Grice, Leech, and Searle agree that such discourse breaches the norms of collaborative interactions, which pay attention to persuasion over honesty, performativity, or humility.

Disobeying these models carries crucial implications for politicians, second language teachers, and academic scholars. Politicians, who employ unproven claims such as overstated accomplishments, self-praise declarations, or unnecessary discourse, highlight the dangers of public trust and institutional authority. They also increase scepticism and divisions among the public. To maintain responsibility, politicians had better follow

obvious interaction tactics and structure claims in supportable proof, shun overstatement, and obey norms of humbleness. Such linkage with collaboration is important to restoring confidence and balancing relationships between politicians and voters.

For the second language classroom, pragmatic competence requires skills in evading bombastic, misleading, or verbose rhetoric; learners are recommended to emphasize tactics for concise, honest, and modest discourse, such as hedged hyperboles or authentic sources. Teachers have to use the instruction on these strategies in the core curriculum and employ actual instances, such as respectable language and verified discussions, to foster transparency and honesty. Also, educators need to determine frequent drawbacks such as exaggerated language and redundant phrases and direct students to follow pragmatic substitutions such as "Our efforts participated to..." vs. "I alone accomplished...").

Lastly, the findings of this theme call for further research about violations of these principles of pragmatics. Researchers could dissect circumstantial factors of arrogant or unreliable language (such as polling motivations), social effects of misleading political rhetoric (such as elector indifference and institutional mistrust), and educational agendas to encourage humbleness and accuracy in second language contexts. By securing research in pragmatics and sociopolitical investigation theories, scholars could advance actionable tactics to support answerability, clarity, and understanding in public and cross-cultural language, and eventually nurture ethical interactions that oppose separation and distortion.

Moreover, the findings of the third theme uncovered that Trump appears to violate pragmatic principles (Leech's (im)politeness principle, Grice's cooperative principle, and

Searle's speech act theory). Trump seems to break Leech's maxim of tact by being untactful, Grice's maxim of quantity by providing long-winded and repetitive speech, and Searle's felicity conditions of directives by ordering Biden's and Obama's administrations despite lacking authority as Trump is not the US president. These pragmatic violations are possibly linked to a tactical effort to form public perception by setting Biden's policies as not in line with elector predilection, conceivably framing Trump's candidature as the essential counteractive to reestablish alignment with voter preferences, seeking rally polling support. Grice, Leech, and Searle jointly emphasize how such rhetoric underscores confrontational persuasion by utilizing circumlocution, pressure, and orders to redesign public awareness and maximize voting aims.

Deviating from the principles of pragmatics (Grice's quantity and manner maxims, Leech's modest maxim, and Searle's felicity conditions of directives) offers key implications for political language, second language learners, and academic research. Politicians utilize recurring discourse or make orders to officials who hold higher institutional power. This could erode credibility and public confidence. They are advised to adhere to tactful interaction tactics: highlighting succinct talks, replacing requests with commands, and shunning argumentative discourse to soften miscomprehension and tensions with voters or partners. This supports cooperative supremacy and diminishes separation.

In the second language classroom, students should improve pragmatic competence to evade wordy, hasty, or contextually improper discourse, such as direct orders versus courteous demands. Teachers are advised to add instructions on nuanced interaction into

the course and employ real instances to distinguish successful and unsuccessful language. In addition, educators have to underline the relational values of language options and direct students to understand how tactful demands augment collaboration, while sharp commands could trigger opposition.

Lastly, the findings of this theme call for further research about the causes of pragmatic violations. Investigators can explore contextual reasons for tactless discourse (such as authoritarian impacts or voting tactics) and social causes of provoking language (such as weakening institutional confidence or public disappointment). Scholars could enhance actionable tactics to foster precision, esteem, and responsibility across political, instructional, and cross-cultural fields by conducting research in frameworks like Grice's, Leech's, and Searle's models.

Furthermore, the findings of the fourth theme suggested that Trump probably does not wholly adhere to the three adopted principles of pragmatics. Trump seems to flout Leech's maxim of generosity by showing no advantages to others rather than benefiting them, Grice's maxim of quality by providing something that needs proof, and Searle's felicity conditions of the threatening speech act by not ending the corruption of education because of lacking authority. Deviating from these maxims and conditions, Trump's rhetoric could be aimed to persuade the public by shifting blame to Biden's administration for the external (e.g., education) and internal (e.g., illegal immigration from Mexico to the US) policies and the continued support for the present authority as disadvantageous. Thus, Trump could position himself and his Congress candidates as corrective choices, pushing electors to approve their polling campaigns. This story is possibly formed to weaken the

current administration while encouraging a political change linked to Trump's political platform.

These pragmatic principles being broken have vital implications for political discourse, second language education, and academic inquiry. Politicians, using threats, false claims, or disparaging discourse, could decrease public confidence and increase social division. Politicians should focus on authentic discourse, replace oppositional rhetoric with collaborative proposals, and establish responsibility through actions associated with common interests. These tactics support shared comprehension and lessen awareness of controlling intent.

In the second language pedagogy, students have to improve pragmatic understanding to keep away from damaging or misleading language in cross-cultural communications, while teachers are advised to use instruction on ethical interaction patterns (e.g., kindness, genuineness, and face-saving acts). This involves various instances of aggressive versus cooperative discourse, which accentuates the societal outcomes of pragmatic alternatives. Also, educators should provide students with tools to understand and follow contextually proper phrases.

Lastly, the findings of this theme call for further research about the drives and influences of pragmatic violations; scholars might examine contextual motivations, such as voting encouragements or social awareness of authority, and cultural impacts, such as misleading or intimidating discourse on institutional confidence and civic involvement. When they conduct such studies within these pragmatic models, actionable perceptions for enhancing interaction practices across domains could be generated.

Additionally, the findings of the fifth theme exhibited that Trump may not observe all of the three pragmatic models. Trump seems not to follow Leech's maxim of Obligation of S to O by withholding apologies, employing irony, Grice's maxim of quality by being ironic, and that of relevance by shifting to another topic, and Searle's felicity conditions of apologizing speech act by providing information that could lack genuine regret. Violating these maxims and conditions may function as shifting personal blame, rejecting requests for apologies, and diminishing rhetoric around his commitments to others. Thus, Trump's utterances may be interpreted as attempts to position him as a leader unrestricted from institutional norms. Perhaps this links to wider strategies to appeal to the public, probably assessing oppositional discourse over diplomatic involvement, thus rallying support. This illustrates the interplay of pragmatics in creating political individuality and public awareness.

Violating pragmatic principles (Grice's quality and relevance maxims, Leech's obligation of S to O maxim, and Searle's felicity conditions of expressive speech acts) carries fundamental implications for politicians, learners, teachers, and researchers. Politicians who give dishonest apologies such as shifting accountability or utilizing mockery could undermine public confidence and increase social doubt. Thus, politicians had better highlight real rhetoric. This can be done by avoiding misleading statements, focusing responsibility on apologies, and respecting honest, subject-specific conversation. If politicians fail to associate discourse with intention increases division, and institutional authority will be weakened.

In the second language classroom, students had better improve pragmatic competence to

shun dishonest, sarcastic, or off-topic discourse, while teachers should incorporate instruction on ethical interaction norms in the programs. This involves different instances of genuine versus insincere apologies and modeling tactics to maintain relevant coherence in speaking and writing. Besides, educators need to highlight pragmatic options' relational and social effects, and provide students with tools to engage politely and positively in cross-cultural situations.

Lastly, the findings of this theme call for further research about the reasons and outcomes of pragmatic non-observance; researchers might analyze how speakers use false apologies and shift the topic in social media and political language. In addition, investigators could investigate social consequences. To build such research in these three frameworks could create tactics to support responsibility and transparency across disciplines.

4.10 Findings of Research Question Five

This section dissects Trump's political discourse using a discourse analysis method acknowledged in chapter three to answer the research questions. The section presents the findings by analyzing how Leech's politeness maxims, Grice's conversational maxims, and Searle's felicity conditions of speech acts discord in Trump's political discourse. Three oral documents were chosen to answer the fifth research question. These are (1) Trump's direct speech to the crowd in Illinois, (2) Trump's interview with Fox News Channel reporters Martha MacCallum and Bret Baier, and (3) Trump's interview with CNN Channel reporter Anderson Cooper. The fifth research question is: How do Leech's politeness maxims, Grice's conversational maxims, and Searle's felicity conditions of speech acts discord in Trump's political discourse? Figure 3.4 summarizes the findings of

this section.

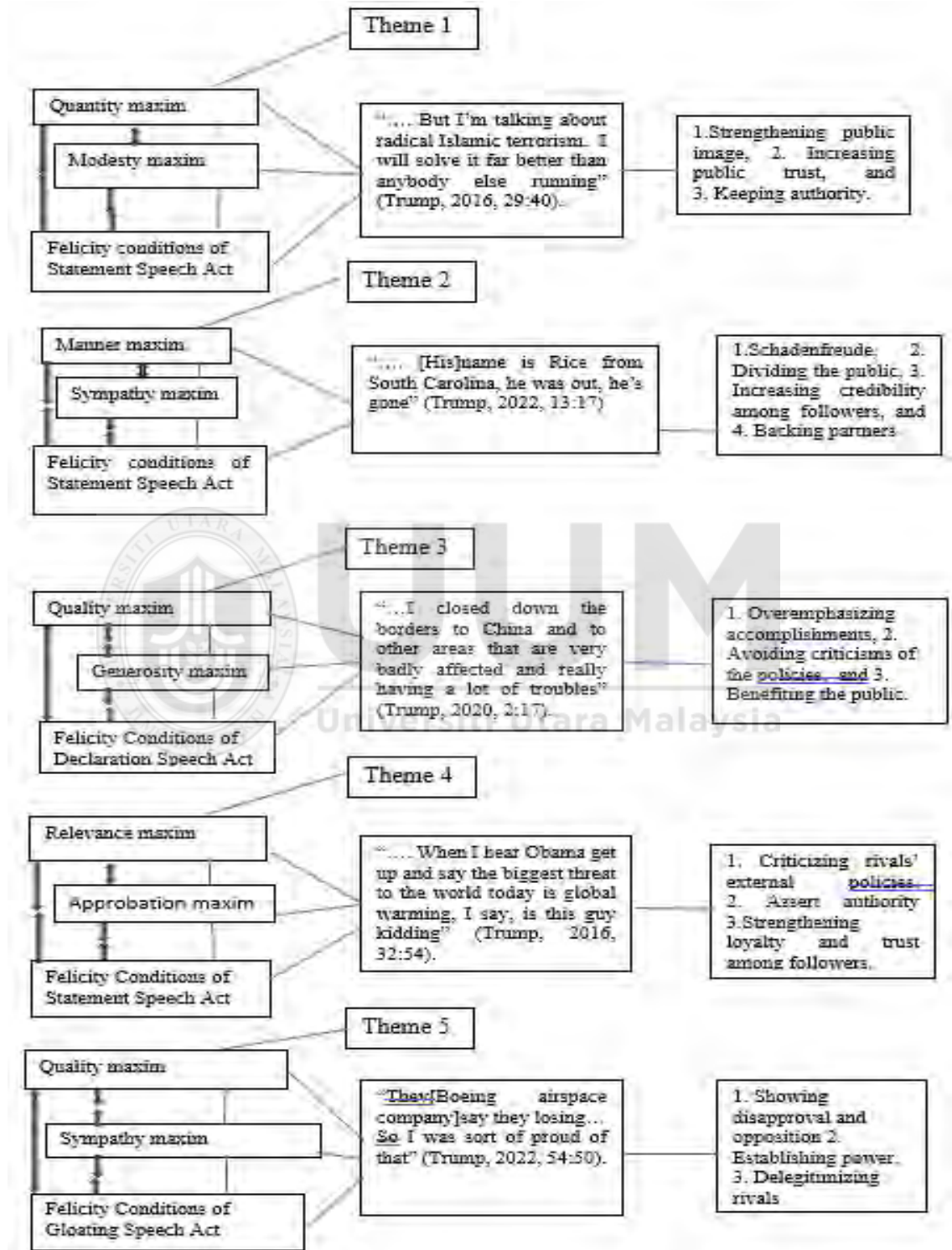


Figure 3.4 The Summary of the Findings of Research Question Five

4.10.1 Theme 1-Discordance between Maxims of Modesty and Quantity with Felicity Conditions of Promising Speech Act

Text (54): Cooper: "But, I mean, there's problems in many different countries, problems in the United States. How can you solve the problems all the way over in Pakistan when the Pakistanis, themselves, are struggling with it?" (Cooper, 2016, 29:30)

Trump: "Look, look, Pakistan is a very...vital country for us because they have a thing called nuclear weapons.... But I'm talking about radical Islamic terrorism. **I will solve it far better than anybody else running**" (Trump, 2016, 29:40).

Context: Reporter Cooper asks Trump about the terrorists' activities in Pakistan and Trump's claim of solving the problem of dealing with them there. Trump answers that Trump is the only one, "than anybody else", who knows how to solve the issue, but no details are provided.

Trump's discourse probably violates Grice's cooperative and Leech's (im)politeness principles. First, Trump probably does not observe Grice's maxim of quantity because Trump possibly does not provide significant details about the planned solutions for the problem in Pakistan, withholding the complexity of information required for clear interaction. Second, Trump may not follow Leech's maxim of modesty by emphasizing his qualities when claiming that he is "better than any US president" in handling Pakistan-related issues. These violations could be interpreted as underscoring a pattern of self-praise and strategic vagueness, which might function to strengthen Trump's perceived influence while deflecting responsibility for particular policy mechanisms.

In contrast, Trump follows Searle's felicity conditions of promising speech act since his promise to solve the problem in Pakistan is achieved as stated (Afzal, 2020). As a result, his utterance is performative and non-defective due to the adherence to the felicity conditions: (1) the propositional content condition shows that the future act is satisfied, (2) the preparatory condition reveals that the problem is solved, benefiting the Pakistanis, (3) the sincerity condition indicates that genuine intention exists to fulfill Trump's promise, and (4) the essential condition uncovers that Trump commits himself to fulfill the act which is successfully and performatively accomplished. Regarding the direction of fit, Trump makes the world fit the words; his words shape reality. This observance may permit him to project reliability and intentionality, even as his wider discourse shuns humility or precision.

The coexistence of violations (Grice's and Leech's theories and obedience (Searle's speech act theory) highlights a designed tactic. While violating Grice's quantity and Leech's maxims could strengthen Trump's image as an exceptional leader, observing Searle's felicity conditions might safeguard his pledges to maintain an appearance of lawfulness. Perhaps this dichotomy allows Trump to concurrently promote confidence through performative obligations (solving the problems in Pakistan) and avoid scrutiny through self-boasting and complexity. The discordance of these pragmatic principles within a specific discourse may be seen as demonstrating how politicians could selectively use linguistic norms to stabilize persuasion, trust, and avoidance in complicated interactive situations.

Text (55): But you also had a great victory in the United States Supreme Court...for supporters of a thing called the Second Amendment.... I told you...that **I will protect the Second Amendment, and nobody has protected it like me.** (Trump, 2022, 05:35)

Context: In an Illinois rally to support the candidates, Trump speaks to the crowd about the US Supreme Court and the Second Amendment, which was endorsed during Trump's presidency. Trump promised the crowd to protect this amendment. Thus, according to the White House (2025), when Trump was re-elected as the US President in 2024, Trump signed an order to finish the federal government's violation of the Second Amendment right to defend the judges, their families, and their freedoms.

Trump's discourse seemingly does not adhere to Grice's and Leech's principles of pragmatics. First, Trump may not observe Grice's maxim of quantity because of giving too much information by redundantly repeating the word "protect". Maybe this strategy prioritizes rhetorical emphasis over communicative clarity. Second, Trump conceivably does not adhere to the maxim of modesty because of exaggerating as the protector of the Second Amendment. This could discourage unnecessary self-aggrandizement in favour of modesty. Potentially setting himself as the unique protector of constitutional values, Trump might extend his role beyond cooperative political norms. These violations probably highlight a tactic of self-praise and persuasive overstatement to strengthen his political personality.

Contrarily, Trump follows Searle's felicity conditions of promising speech act because the promise to protect the amendment is achieved by signing an order to protect it. Thus, the four felicity conditions are met. The propositional content condition uncovers that

Trump fulfills the future act by signing the order, the preparatory condition indicates that Trump benefits the judges and their families by having institutional authority to act, the sincerity condition shows that Trump genuinely intends to achieve the commitment, and the essential condition reveals that Trump is committed to fulfilling the act. As a result, this act is felicitous and non-defective.

Violating Grice's and Leech's models and satisfying Searle's theory of speech act mirrors a deliberate rhetorical strategy. Trump's non-observance of Grice's quantity and Leech's modesty maxims could strengthen his image as a determined defender of the Constitution. Concurrently, Trump's observance of Searle's felicity conditions could augment the perceived credibility to keep authority. This discordance possibly permits Trump to leverage self-praise and repetition for persuasion while basing commitments in linguistically authentic structures. In addition, this clash emphasizes that the role of political rhetoric might selectively break the principles of pragmatics to project authority, avoid scrutiny, and build public trust.

4.10.2 Theme 2-Discordance between Maxims of Sympathy and Manner with Felicity Conditions of Statement Speech Act

Text (56): Trump: Kinzinger...is out, he quit. Almost all of the impeachers are gone, you know the 10 impeachers? We won a big one the other day.... [His]name is Rice from South Carolina, he was out, he's gone (Trump, 2022, 13:17).

Context: In his speech in Illinois in support of his candidates, Trump speaks to the crowd about the ten House Republicans who have approved a single article of impeachment,

accusing Trump of "incitement of insurrection" over the Jan. 6, 2021, riots at the US Capitol following the election in 2021 in which Trump lost the presidential race to Biden. The article reads that Trump, addressing his followers on the day of the violence, "willfully made statements that, in context, encouraged — and foreseeably resulted in — lawless action at the Capitol, such as: 'if you don't fight like hell you're not going to have a county anymore'" (Naylor, 2021). Trump talks about two of the ten impeachers, Kinzinger and Rice, who lost the House election.

Trump's discourse possibly deviates from two pragmatic principles (Grice's cooperative principle and Leech's (im)politeness principle). First, Trump may flout Grice's manner maxim because Trump uses ambiguous expressions such as "he is out, he's gone," which refer to voting losses. Second, Trump could violate Leech's maxim of sympathy by making disparaging remarks about Kinzinger and Rice. These comments may be interpreted as aligning more with *schadenfreude* than with politeness-oriented sympathy.

Despite these possible violations, Trump's statement about the ten impeachers agrees with Searle's felicity conditions, rendering it performative and non-defective. The propositional content condition shows that Trump provides accurate information (impeachers retiring as reported by (Kilgore, 2022)), the preparatory condition reveals that Trump presents evidence that the impeachers retired (their public announcements), the sincerity condition uncovers that Trump gives the statement that genuinely reflects his beliefs, and the essential condition indicates that Trump's utterance represents an actual state of affairs, locating itself as a precise depiction of truth. Regarding the direction of fit, utilizing a representative act makes the words fit the world; Trump's discourse mirrors

the world.

The deviation from Grice's and Leech's models and compliance with Searle's speech act theory shows a purposeful strategy; Trump's non-adherence to Leech's sympathy and Grice's manner maxims could operate to intensify perceived victory over opponents, contribute to a polarized public image, and emphasize his image as a confrontational leader. Likewise, Trump's observance of Searle's felicity conditions may confirm his real assertions to keep structural authenticity and increase awareness of credibility among followers. This discordance between the three models may emphasize the tactical exploitation of discourse to stabilize provocation with perceived legitimacy, potentially leveraging both real observance and provocation to establish confidence within definite elector constituencies.

Text (57): Cooper: "So it doesn't concern you that initially, Corey Lewandowski said I never touched her, and that turns out not to be true?" (Cooper, 2016, 07:22)

Trump: ".... She didn't go to the ground! **She didn't even have an expression on her face.**" (Trump, 2016, 07:30)

Context: Interviewer Cooper asks Trump about the incident involving Corey Lewandowski, Trump's campaign manager for the presidential election in 2016. Trump responds by speaking about the details of the incident in which reporter Fields claimed that Lewandowski touched her and threw her to the ground. But Trump rejects this and claims that Lewandowski did not touch her and that "she did not go to the ground."

Trump's rhetoric appears not to follow Grice's cooperative principle and Leech's

(im)politeness. First, Trump may not observe Grice's maxim of manner, which requires precision and clearness. Trump could vaguely use the phrase "an expression on her face" without providing contextual specifics, keeping the audience from autonomously evaluating Field's accusations. Second, Trump possibly violates Leech's maxim of sympathy by dismissively referring to the psychological state of Fields. Diminishing approval of Fields' possible pain, Trump's discourse may function as ignoring sympathetic engagement.

Despite these violations, Trump respects Searle's felicity conditions of the stating speech act, making it pragmatically performative. The propositional content condition reveals that Trump gives a factual statement; the tape shows that Fields did not fall on the ground. The preparatory condition shows that Trump's utterance is based on evidence (the video's content). The sincerity condition indicates that Trump gives a statement that mirrors his belief. The essential condition uncovers that Trump's utterance is true, setting it as fact-appropriate.

The coexistence of violating Grice's cooperative principle and Leech's (im)politeness principle and fulfillment of Searle's speech act theory highlights a twofold goal. Departing from the maxims of Grice's manner and Leech's sympathy suggests that Trump minimizes the event's significance, possibly diminishing political consequences. Similarly, adhering to Searle's felicity conditions probably empowers him to back his campaign manager's story as accurately built, strengthening confidence among followers. This clash between these principles could show the tactical weighing of contemptuous discourse and real posturing to handle public awareness.

4.10.3 Theme 3-Discordance between the Maxim of Quality and Felicity Conditions of Declaration Speech Act with the Maxim of Generosity

Text (58): Pugh: "...What plans are being considered on a federal level for the possibility of a long-term disruption from the novel coronavirus?" (Pugh, 2020, 02:02)

Trump: "... **I closed down the borders to China** and to other areas that are very badly affected and really having a lot of troubles" (Trump, 2020, 2:17).

Context: Trump's interview with Fox News Channel reporters Martha MacCallum and Bret Baier in the Fox News Town Hall in front of the people allowed to ask Trump some questions directly. One of the attendees, Katherine Pugh, asked Trump about the measures that Trump's administration has taken concerning the COVID-19 virus. In response to Pugh, Trump said that he closed the borders to China to stop the spread of the disease. However, according to Hawkins (2020), Trump did not entirely ban travel from and to China.

Trump's rhetoric appears not to follow Grice's cooperative principle and Searle's speech act theory. Trump's utterance about establishing a complete travel restriction with China seems to violate Grice's quality maxim, as the declaration is highly imprecise—border constraints were merely partly applied. Second, Trump possibly deviates from Searle's felicity conditions of the declaring speech act, making it look defective. The propositional content condition uncovers that Trump may falsely declare a whole border closure with China, the preparatory conditions show that Trump might lack institutional authority to declare (closing down the borders), and the sincerity condition reveals that Trump could

provide untrue information. The essential condition indicates that Trump's declaration conceivably does not intend to endorse a compulsory institutional change. Searle's (1979) direction of fit suggests that the act of declaring has a double direction of fit, both word-to-world and world-to-word, in the same speech act. Perhaps Trump's words do not reflect the world, nor does the world associate with his words.

On the contrary, Trump observes Leech's maxim of generosity by giving a high value to others' wants. Trump partially benefits the public by taking such measures and emphasizing mutual interests over exactness.

The coexistence of violations of Grice's cooperative principle and Searle's speech act theory reveals a designed tactic. Trump's non-observance of Grice's quality maxim and Searle's felicity conditions diverts focus away from the policy's weaknesses, which decreases public burden over its efficiency. Similarly, Trump's respect for Leech's generosity maxim allows him to make the action publicly valuable and promote generosity despite actual irregularities. This clash may illustrate the tactical hierarchization of convincing appeal over pragmatic rigour in difficult interactive situations.

Text (59): Trump: “.... You give such a loud applause, bigger than tax cuts, and bigger than things that normally would be great signals of happiness.... **And I had it very well stopped...**” (Trump, 2022, 46:12)

Context: In an Illinois rally, Trump talks to the crowd about taxes, declaring that cutting taxes has been stopped. This order includes changes to individual income tax rates and

corporate tax rates. Marnin (2021) reports that Trump signed an order to cut taxes in late December 2017. However, according to McCullough (2025), the taxes did not stop because a Congressional action would be necessary to approve the order.

Trump's discourse probably deviates from Grice's cooperative principle and Searle's speech act theory. First, perhaps by providing inaccurate information, Trump seems to flout Grice's quality maxim when declaring that tax cuts are maintained. Second, failing to achieve Searle's felicity conditions might render the utterance defective. The propositional content condition reveals that tax cuts are not terminated, the preparatory condition shows that Trump could not achieve this act as it needs a Congressional endorsement, the sincerity condition indicates that Trump's utterance may not mirror a policy commitment but rather an exaggeration, the essential condition uncovers that taxes were not terminated under Trump's administration and continued subject to institutional legislation.

In spite of these likely violations, Trump's discourse adheres to Leech's maxim of generosity since Trump tries to benefit the public by signing such orders. By making his tax policies completely valuable to the public, Trump could create an image of highlighting shared benefits, even when real precision is weakened.

The coexistence of violations of Grice's cooperative principle and Searle's speech act theory and obedience to Leech's (im)politeness principle may highlight a designed tactic. Trump's violation of Grice's quality maxim and Searle's declarative felicity condition possibly allows him to exaggerate accomplishments and avoid critical evaluation of the policy's insufficiencies. Likewise, Trump's request for generosity probably encourages

awareness of kindness. This clash between these theories could uncover how politicians could selectively influence linguistic norms to alleviate real accountability with persuasive appeal, and underscore voting achievements over thorough observance of interactive principles.

4.10.4 Theme 4-Discordance between Maxims of Relevance and Approbation with Felicity Conditions of Statement Speech Act

Text (60): Cooper: "So you're saying you don't want more nuclear weapons in the world, but you're OK with Japan and South Korea having nuclear weapons?" (Cooper, 2016, 32:42)

Trump: "I don't want more nuclear weapons. I think that — you know when **I hear Obama get up and say the biggest threat to the world today is global warming, I say, is this guy kidding?**" (Trump, 2016, 32:54).

Context: Cooper asks Trump about the proliferation of nuclear weapons in some countries, and in his interview with the New York Times, Trump expressed his worries about this issue. Trump answers that he is against the idea of proliferation and begins talking about US President Obama's speech about global warming and overlooking the subject of nuclear weapon proliferation.

Trump's discourse might not adhere to Grice's cooperative principle and Leech's (im)politeness principle. First, Trump appears to flout Grice's relevance maxim, possibly by shifting from talking about nuclear production to critiquing President Obama. Second, Trump seems not to follow Leech's approbation maxim, potentially preferring criticisms

over compliments. Trump's rhetoric might show disparaging comments about Obama, who does not care about this "biggest threat", but about global warming, as Trump claims.

In spite of these probable violations, Trump adheres to Searle's felicity conditions of the stating speech act, rendering these conditions pragmatically performative. The propositional content condition uncovers that providing true information (Obama's emphasis on global warming), the preparatory condition shows that contextual proof is given (Obama's policy), and the sincerity condition indicates that Trump's utterance reflects a sincere belief. The essential condition shows that Trump's discourse represents an actual state of affairs and is factual. Regarding the direction of fit, utilizing a representative act makes the words fit the world; Trump's words reflect objective reality.

Deviating from Grice's cooperative principle and Leech's (im)politeness principle while complying with Searle's speech act theory could emphasize a twofold interactive goal. By violating Leech's approbation and Grice's relevance maxims, Trump might turn the discussion to Obama's identified limitations, possibly making himself a desirable option on global concerns. Parallely, obeying Searle's felicity conditions may empower Trump to build criticisms of apparently real claims, probably supporting perceptions of trust. This interplay potentially explains how politicians could selectively manipulate pragmatic frameworks, leveraging observance to confirm criticisms while non-adherence conceivably polarizes discourse. The subsequent clash appears to underscore the tactical utilization of linguistic principles to concurrently disempower rivals and develop confidence among the public.

Text (61): Trump: "Everything they're showing is ripped utterly out of context, such as

when Liz Cheney, **a real loser she is, cut out the part of my quote in a speech....** She left out the words, ‘Peacefully and patriotically.’” (Trump, 2022, 08:01)

Context: At a rally in Illinois, Trump addresses the crowd about Liz Cheney, a Republican congressperson. Trump has frequently criticized Cheney for seemingly truncating part of his discourse "peacefully and patriotically" when he calls for a protest against the results of the 2020 election. Cheney and the committee focused on Trump’s broader language, which included his failure to directly condemn the violence and his repeated claims of election rigging (Sherman, 2024). Trump claims that Cheney lost the election. According to Enten (2022), Cheney’s loss of the House incumbent position is the worst in 60 years.

Trump’s discourse seems to violate Grice’s cooperative principle and Leech’s (im)politeness principle. First, shifting from discussing the committee’s and Cheney’s critiques to focusing on Cheney’s voting defeat could deviate from Grice’s relevance maxim, which requires discourse to remain contextually relevant. Second, his remarks against Cheney as a “real loser” may flout Leech’s approbation maxim, which possibly discourages obvious criticism.

On the contrary, Trump adheres to Searle's four felicity conditions of the stating speech act. The propositional content condition shows that Trump's utterance is true (Cheney lost the election), the preparatory condition reveals that Trump's utterance is based on true evidence (the results of the election), the sincerity condition uncovers that Trump believes Cheney lost the election as a factual description, and the essential condition indicates that Trump's utterance signifies an actual state of affair and is truthful.

The coexistence between violations of Grice's cooperative principle and Leech's (im)politeness principle and observance of Searle's speech act theory emphasizes a dual interactive objective. Departing from the maxims of Grice's relevance and Leech's approbation, Trump may redirect focus from criticisms of his behaviour, possibly reshaping rhetoric around Cheney's political loss. Simultaneously, following Searle's felicity conditions might allow him to assert supremacy within the Republican Party, probably employing real claims to question civil opposition and strengthen loyalty among followers. This clash may be seen as underscoring the tactical stabilization of oppositional discourse and realistic demeanour to improve political and institutional dominance.

4.10.5 Theme 5-Discordance between Maxims of Sympathy with Quality and Felicity Conditions of Gloating Speech Act

Text (62): Trump: “**They**[Boeing Company Airplanes]**say they losing... So I was sort of proud of that**” (Trump, 2022, 54:50).

Context: In an Illinois rally in support of his candidates, Trump is talking to the crowd about the deal with Boeing, a US aerospace company. Trump shows discontent with those who made a deal with this company due to the large amount of money given to it. Trump refuses its offers to make a new deal, demanding to reduce the amount of money. Trump feels “proud of” the company's announcement that it is “losing” because it did not sign the deal with Trump.

Trump’s discourse about Boeing’s economic problems (“they are losing”; “I am sort of proud of that”) probably violates Leech’s sympathy maxim. Trump seems to assign a low

cost to Boeing's feelings and a high cost to his own, possibly prioritizing self-satisfaction over sympathy.

Despite this likely breach, Trump's rhetoric follows Grice's cooperative principle and Searle's speech act. First, Trump follows Grice's maxim of quality by honestly articulating his feelings towards Boeing. Similarly, Trump respects Searle's felicity conditions of the expressive speech act, making it pragmatically non-defective. The propositional content condition shows that Trump's discourse may carry a plain expression of *schadenfreude*, the preparatory condition uncovers that Trump's position permits him to openly talk about Boeing company, the sincerity condition indicates that Trump's utterance might sincerely express the sentiment towards the company, and the essential condition reveals that Trump's utterance could serve as an expression of triumphing towards the company. Regarding the direction of fit, there is generally no direction of fit in expressives. The truth of the proposition expressed in an expressive act is presupposed (Searle, 1976) rather than changing the reality. So, what is presupposed here is that the expressive act is potentially fulfilled properly.

The discordance between the principles of pragmatics (Leech's (im)politeness principle, Grice's cooperative principle, and Searle's speech act) might highlight Trump's deliberate discourse. While possible violations of Leech's maxim of sympathy to show dissatisfaction with Boeing, observance of Grice's maxim of quality and Searle's felicity conditions of expressives could allow Trump to project frankness and establish power. This duality may enable Trump to use sincerity as a confrontation, conceivably forcing the company to renegotiate by openly making their struggles as deserved.

Text (63): Cooper: “It wasn’t even a pro-Cruz super PAC; it was an anti-Trump super PAC.” (Cooper, 2016, 16:39)

Trump: "Excuse me, they were Romney people. **Romney is, you know, very embarrassed that he did so badly four years ago. The guy choked like a dog and lost an election...**" (Trump, 2016, 16:45)

Context: Interviewer Cooper talks to Trump about Sen. Heidi Cruz’s wife. Cooper keeps asking Trump about the retweeting of Cruz’s wife’s photo together with Trump’s wife’s. Cooper argues with Trump that the picture is not by the PAC (organizations that support Cruz in the presidential campaign). Nonetheless, Trump insists that this act was done by Cruz’s supporters, who already supported Mitt Romney in the 2012 presidential election. Trump begins talking about Romney's loss in the election to Obama.

Trump’s rhetoric may violate Leech’s (im)politeness principle. Trump’s open comments about Romney’s voting defeat could deviate from Leech’s sympathy maxim because of assigning unfavourable value to another’s emotional experience. Trump may exaggerate the absence of sympathy, possibly highlighting triumph. This violation might mirror a departure from politeness norms, conceivably aimed at publicly lessening a political rival and strengthening a confrontational political identity.

On the contrary, Trump follows Grice's cooperative principle and Searle's speech act theory. First, Trump adheres to Grice's maxim of quality because Trump's utterance is truthful (acknowledging Romney's defeat). Second, Trump's rhetoric follows Searle's felicity conditions of the expressive speech act, making the utterance non-defective. The

propositional content uncovers that Trump provides an actual situation (Romney's electoral loss), the preparatory condition indicates that Trump openly talks about his rival, reflecting his feelings, the sincerity condition shows that perhaps Trump's utterance genuinely echoes the feeling of satisfaction toward Romney's defeat. The essential condition shows that Trump's utterance might express Trump's oppositional attitude.

The discordance between the principles of pragmatics (Leech's (im)politeness principle, Grice's cooperative principle, and Searle's speech act) highlights Trump's intentional rhetoric. Likely non-observance of Leech's maxim of sympathy, Trump may increase opposition toward Romney, potentially framing Romney's defeat as justified. Concurrently, observing Grice's maxim of quality and Searle's felicity conditions of the expressives possibly enables Trump to employ honest precision to make *schadenfreude* legitimate. This duality may empower Trump to project straightforwardness while utilizing impoliteness as a political instrument, conceivably aimed at opposing rivals. This discordance may emphasize how pragmatic observance could back oppositional strategies within political language.

4.11 Discussions of the Findings of Research Question Five

The objective of research question five is to examine the discordance between Leech's maxims of politeness, Grice's maxims, and Searle's felicity conditions in Trump's political language. The findings showed that these three models are discordant in one situation regarding deviation. This goes with Leech's (2014) claim that Grice's and Leech's maxims can discord with each other; a talker might try to violate a conversational maxim and observe a politeness maxim or the opposite.

The findings of the first theme showed that Trump possibly breaks Leech's and Grice's models, while Trump respects Searle's theory. Trump probably does not observe Leech's modesty maxim when he talks about undertaking the problems in Pakistan and protecting the US Constitution. Also, Trump seems not to follow Grice's quantity maxim by providing less information about dealing with the issue in Pakistan and redundant details on defending the Constitution. This deviation could improve Trump's image as a preponderant leader while avoiding accountability for specific policy techniques. However, Trump adheres to Searle's felicity conditions in the promising speech act since his promise was achieved successfully and non-defectively. This adherence keeps the observed legitimacy of his commitments. This dualism may allow Trump to create confidence through apparently actionable promises (e.g., protecting the Constitution) while avoiding responsibility through rhetorical obscurity and self-praise. This discordance may illustrate how politicians employ pragmatic strategies to stabilize convincing authority with tactical opacity and sustain public trust despite pragmatic conflicts. The findings of this theme agree with those of Made and Devi (2022), Ojukwu and Osuuchukwu (2019), and Sidabutar and Johan (2022), who claimed that individuals adhere to Searle's felicity conditions. However, the findings are not in line with the studies by Farahin (2020), Karim (2016), and Wenting (2017), who argued that Grice's quantity and Leech's modesty maxims are followed.

Grice's quantity and Leech's modesty maxims being violated while Searle's felicity conditions of commissives being observed carry essential implications for political discourse, second language education, and academic inquiry. Politicians who ignore norms of humility and performativity could damage social confidence through self-praise

or evasive and repetitive discourse. For instance, unnecessary bragging about accomplishments or refusing vital policy information increases recognition of egotism or deception and worsens public disappointment and social division. These violations could expand scepticism toward official bodies, as the public perceives discourse as Machiavellian rather than informative. Thus, politicians are advised to follow modest, evidence-based interaction and underscore precision and relevance over elusive assertions.

In the second language classroom, understanding pragmatic competence, such as shunning arrogant discourse and utilizing contextually suitable, honest language is crucial for active cross-cultural engagement. Teachers should create syllabi that contain examples that show the difference between self-boasting communication and cooperative, humble interaction, and highlight the social outcomes of pragmatic alternatives. Researchers are recommended to dissect the reasons for such violations, such as social norms, voting motivations, or psychological aspects, and their continuing effects on public engagement and democratic rhetoric.

Politicians who adhere to Searle's felicity conditions of commissives reinforce institutional authority and public trust. Linking promises to practical consequences, politicians illustrate responsibility, decrease public distrust, and increase cooperative supremacy. For instance, commitment and execution of considerable resolutions to public concerns (e.g., social and political improvements) strengthen trust. In second language classrooms, students should obtain pragmatic competence and recognize how to form and honour commitments in cross-cultural contexts. Teachers must incorporate genuine

instances of pledge-making, such as agreement signings vs. broken political promises, to highlight the role of honesty in encouraging ethical impartiality and societal cohesion. Investigators have to analyze situations where these conditions are thoroughly maintained, such as cultures with robust responsibility mechanisms, to label tactics for progressing honest interaction. Multidisciplinary research might explore how media, legal discourse, or social reinforcement encourage the observance of these conditions in the language of politics.

Moreover, the findings of the second theme revealed that Trump could break Leech's and Grice's pragmatic principles while following Searle's model. Perhaps Trump does not adhere to Leech's maxim of sympathy by being unsympathetic toward the ten impeachers and rivals to possibly reflect *schadenfreude*. Besides, Trump seems not to observe Grice's manner maxim by not giving contextual details (describing the impeachers as "gone" and reporter Fields as "an expression on her face"). This likely breach of Leech's sympathy and Grice's manner maxims could serve to show triumph over rivals, understate the importance of events, polarize the public, and exaggerate his image as a confrontational leader. However, Trump respects Searle's felicity conditions of the stating speech act as Trump's statements about the impeachers and Fields prove true. This observance of Searle's felicity conditions may reinforce Trump's genuine assertions to keep structural authenticity and enhance awareness of trust among supporters. This clash between these three principles of pragmatics might highlight the strategic exploitation of discourse to balance opposition with legitimacy to leverage both real observance and provocation to establish confidence within definite electoral bases. These findings agree with those of Ojukwu and Osuochukwu (2019), who claimed that Mandela observes Searle's felicity

conditions of representatives. Also, Made and Devi (2022) and Sidabutar and Johan (2022) claimed that the performers in the movies adhere to these conditions. However, these findings disagree with the studies by Farahin (2020) and Karim (2016), and Wenting (2017), who argued that Leech's sympathy and Grice's manner maxims are observed in the discourse.

Non-observance of Grice's manner and Leech's sympathy maxims while following Searle's felicity conditions of representatives presents important implications for political communication, second language pedagogy, and academic inquiry.

Politicians who disregard oppositional language and transparency may erode public confidence and exacerbate social polarization. Unsympathetic discourse maximizes perceptions of apathy, while vague or inadequate descriptions develop misunderstanding and scepticism. These breaches expand divisions as the public decodes such language as cunning or misleading rather than cooperative. To soften these impacts, politicians are to follow sympathetic, clear interaction and change provocative or unclear discourse with a detailed, audience-centred conversation. For example, explaining policy objectives with actual details or admitting contradictory perspectives considerably can lessen miscomprehension and overcome ideological divisions. In the second language (L2) classroom, students can develop their pragmatic competence by receiving training in clear, considerate language to successfully guide cross-cultural interactions. Teachers must differentiate between provocative or elusive political discourse with propitiatory, perspicuous options to illustrate how linguistic alternatives form social confidence. For scholars, these findings underscore the need to explore the cultural and social motivations

of such violations, such as voting inducements. Multidisciplinary studies could dissect how violations relate to growing divisions or eroding institutional credibility, while educational studies could enhance tools to teach empathetic transparency in second-language situations.

Politicians who respect Searle's felicity conditions of representatives (e.g., honest assertions) increase political authority and public confidence. When politicians associate assertions with authentic proof (e.g., references to proven information in policy discussions), they strengthen institutional trust and democratic responsibility. In the second language environment, pupils' awareness of these conditions is vital for ethical cross-cultural involvement. Teachers are advised to use genuine instances of felicity conditions observance (e.g., official agreements, policy discussions) and contrast them with infelicitous speech acts (e.g., unfulfilled political pledges, misleading propaganda) to emphasize the relational and democratic outcomes of honesty. Investigators must dissect systemic enablers of felicity conditions fulfillment (strong media fact-scrutiny, legal responsibility for fabrication, or cultural standards that zero in on sincerity).

In addition, the findings of the third theme showed that Trump seems to violate Grice's maxim of quality and Searle's felicity conditions of the declaring speech act. At the same time, Trump satisfies Leech's maxim of generosity. First, Grice's maxim is possibly violated by providing something inaccurate (partial restriction of China's travel and tax cuts). Also, Searle's conditions are assumed to be violated because of declaring something imprecise. By likely deviation from Grice's and Searle's models, Trump's discourse could exaggerate successes and redirect attention from the policy's limitations, potentially

lessening public responsibility over its efficiency. However, Trump respects Leech's maxim by partially benefiting the US people to make the action publicly beneficial, encouraging generosity despite actual irregularities. This clash between the models might uncover politicians' strategic employment of pragmatic norms to avoid responsibility through persuasion and prefer voting gains over principled communication. These findings are in line with those of Ayunon (2018), Faridah et al. (2018), Ngenget (2017), and Muslah (2015), who argued that individuals do not observe the maxim of quality by not saying the truth. Moreover, this theme was found in the study by Hadiati (2019), who found that the felicity conditions of declaratives are respected when the speaker changes the world via their utterance. However, these findings agree with those by Farahin (2020) and Karim (2016), and Wenting (2017), who found that Leech's generosity maxim is adhered to in the discourse.

Politicians, breaking Grice's quality maxim and Searle's felicity conditions of declaration, weaken public confidence and official authority. For example, publicizing unconfirmed claims grows scepticism, as the public perceives such discourse as cunning rather than applicable. These violations undermine democratic engagement, as civilians become disappointed with leaders recognized as untruthful or unpredictable. To face this, politicians are advised to highlight proof-based interaction and link discourse to verifiable truth and practical actions. For second-language students, understanding honest language (e.g., sidestepping exaggeration or misrepresentation) is essential for principled cross-cultural communications. Teachers must use actual instances of sincere discourse, such as factual discussions vs. misleading publicity, in the syllabus to show the social outcomes of honesty. Investigators had better explore the motivations behind. Multidisciplinary

research may investigate how such non-observance associates with rejecting public involvement or institutional mistrust.

Politicians who adhere to Leech's generosity maxim reinforce civic harmony and social cohesion. For instance, accepting rivals' opinions considerately or highlighting public benefit in policy rhetoric strengthens perceptions of cooperative leadership and develops public confidence. Such observance bridges ideological polarization and lessens division and grows inclusive authority. For second language students, pragmatic competence in generous communications, such as diplomatic acknowledgments and empathetic style, is important for creating shared regard in cross-cultural situations. Teachers have to provide real examples of hostile discourse (e.g., provocative dialogues) and contrast them with collaborative interaction (e.g., agreement-creating conversations) to show politeness's relational values. Scholars are recommended to analyze drivers of generosity compliance, such as cultural preferences of accord, functional penalties against discourtesy, and media networks incentivizing cooperative participation.

Moreover, the finding of the fourth theme revealed that Trump appears to deviate from Grice's maxim of relevance and Leech's maxim of approbation while Trump follows Searle's felicity conditions of representatives. Trump may not observe Grice's maxim by shifting to another topic (Obama's focus on global warming and criticism against the opponent). Trump might violate Leech's maxim by providing disparaging comments about President Obama and his rivals. By this likely violation, Trump could redirect the talk to Obama's recognized limitations, possibly positioning himself as a preferable alternative on international issues. However, Trump follows Searle's conditions by giving

truthful information. Observing these conditions probably enables Trump to assert dominance within the Republican Party, using factual claims to question the public adversary and reinforce loyalty among supporters. This clash potentially highlights the strategic balance of oppositional rhetoric and credible conduct to advance political and institutional dominance and foster trust among the public. These findings align with studies done by Made and Devi (2022), Ojukwu and Osuuchukwu (2019), and Sidabutar and Johan (2022), who argue that Searle's felicity conditions are observed. However, these findings are found in the studies by Farahin (2020), Karim (2016), and Wenting (2017), who claimed that Leech's approbation and Grice's relevance maxims are respected in the discourse.

Violating Grice's relevance and Leech's approbation maxims while acknowledging Searle's felicity conditions of representatives shows vital implications for politicians, students, educators, and scholars.

Politicians who break Grice's relevance and Leech's approbation maxims endanger social confidence and intensify societal polarization. Hostile discourse (such as criticizing rivals or avoiding considerable rhetoric) supports perceptions of discourtesy and increases ideological divisions. To soften these impacts, politicians should highlight courteous, contextually relevant interactions (e.g., evading provocative language and sustaining emphasis on policy concerns. For second language students, improving proficiency in respectful, subject-coherent discourse is crucial for promoting beneficial cross-cultural communications. Teachers must use authentic instances of polite conversations (e.g., diplomatic discussions) and contrast them with confrontational language (e.g., individual

critiques) to elaborate on the social outcomes of pragmatic options. Investigators must examine contextual motivations behind such non-adherence, using cultural norms favouring opposition, voting reasons for exaggeration, or psychological prejudices valorizing hostility.

Politicians who adhere to Searle's felicity conditions of representatives reinforce social trust and credibility. Associating assertions with provable evidence (e.g., clear policy descriptions) strengthens institutional authority and public confidence. For example, addressing citizens' worries with fact-based replies shows responsibility, diminishing scepticism. For second-language students, understanding honest interactions (e.g., evading deceptions or overstatements) is significant for ethical involvement. Teachers must utilize real instances of truthful communication (e.g., accurate coverage vs. misleading propaganda) to highlight the influence of sincerity on relational trust and public responsibility. Scholars should dissect enablers of adherence to the felicity conditions, such as answerability procedures (e.g., evidence-scrutiny bodies) or cultural values underscoring clarity and sustaining public trust in separate supremacy settings.

Additionally, the findings of the fifth theme indicated that Trump may depart from the pragmatic principle (Leech's sympathy maxim) while adhering to Grice's quality maxim and Searle's felicity conditions of expressives. Trump probably does not follow Leech's maxim of sympathy by being unsympathetic toward others (being "proud" of his rivals' misfortune). This likely deviation could occur because Trump's rhetoric may try to reveal discontent and opposition toward rivals. However, Trump respects Grice's maxim of quality as Trump's utterance is honest (his feelings toward Romney's loss of the election

and Boeing's loss). Trump satisfies Searle's felicity conditions by sincerely expressing his feelings toward opponents and companies. Adhering to Grice's maxim and Searle's conditions could enable Trump to project candour and establish power. This clash may emphasize how politicians could use honesty to rationalize impoliteness, potentially balancing expressive precision with tactical hostility to improve personal or institutional goals. Made and Devi (2022) and Sidabutar and Johan (2022) claimed that the actors in the movies *Tangled* and *Willoughbys* follow the conditions of expressives while Ojukwu and Osuuchukwu (2019) argued that Mandela respect these conditions and quality maxim. However, the finding of this maxim is ascertained by those of Ewurum and Chukwu (2018), Lustyantje and Dewi (2019), and Ogayi and Osondu (2021), who argued that Leech's sympathy maxim is not observed by showing high antipathy and low sympathy for others' feelings.

Politicians who diverge from Leech's maxim of sympathy could risk separating voters and worsening social divides. Confrontational discourse strengthens perceptions of inconsiderateness, diminishing public confidence and increasing separation. To soften this, politicians should follow sympathetic interaction, shunning criticizing comments and underscoring considerate participation. For second language students, progressing skills in empathetic language (e.g., accepting others' views) is important for improving beneficial cross-cultural relationships. Teachers must combine real instances of compassionate dialogues (e.g., dispute solution situations) and contrast them with argumentative discourse to show the social effect of pragmatic alternatives. Investigators are advised to explore contextual triggers of such violations, incorporating cultural norms incentivizing hostility, voting motivations for disagreement, or psychological prejudices

preferring adversarial interactions.

Politicians who adhere to Grice's maxim of quality and Searle's felicity conditions of expressives (gloating) increase trust when established in truthful precision. Factual assertions (e.g., proof-built criticisms) support social credibility while softening tone (e.g., sidestepping unnecessary gloating) maintains relational accord. For second-language students, learning true yet polite discourse (e.g., genuine reporting without provocative rhetoric) is fundamental for principled involvement. Teachers must employ case studies (e.g., diplomatic criticisms vs. antagonistic sarcasm) to illustrate how honesty and contextual sympathy stabilize truth with respect. Scholars should examine the motivations behind following these maxims and conditions, such as responsibility frameworks (e.g., evidence-checking bodies) or cultural principles highlighting truthfulness.

4.12 Summary

This chapter reports the findings and discussions of Trump's political discourse, which probably does not adhere to Leech's (im)politeness principle, Grice's cooperative principle, and Searle's speech act theory. In addition, the findings and discussions of the alignment and discordance between these pragmatic principles in Trump's rhetoric are described.

First, Trump appears to violate Leech's generosity and tact, possibly issuing criticisms (e.g., criticizing political opponents) and imposing requests (e.g., ordering President Biden) to emphasize supremacy. Perhaps Trump violates modesty and approbation maxims, exaggerating his successes while belittling rivals (e.g., mocking Cruz's and

Pritzker's losses) to potentially set himself as an unquestioned leader. Besides, Trump seems to refuse commitments to others, conceivably deflecting apologies and instead requesting them (e.g., from Judge Ginsburg), portraying himself as a subject of criticism. Trump appears not to follow agreement and opinion reticence maxims, probably contrasting opinions (e.g., transgender issue) and proclaiming inflexible cases (e.g., election rigging assertions) to polarize the public. Alongside, Trump possibly flouts the sympathy maxim, expressing satisfaction over setbacks (e.g., impeachers' election losses) while increasing his objections (e.g., depicting the US as feeble during Biden's rule) to arouse social sympathy. These tactics, indicated by oppositional discourse, self-promotion, and emotionally charged appeals, could link to campaign aims to disempower rivals, deny accountability, and rally support. By likely violations of the norms of modesty and generosity, Trump may strengthen his personality of firm authority, potentially exacerbating divisions to present his agenda as a corrective to perceived institutional breakdown.

The analysis determines possible violations of Grice's maxims in Trump's discourse. Trump appears to violate Grice's quality maxim by making claims that lack verifications (e.g., accusing the Russian government of interfering in the election) and show sarcasms (e.g., calling a journalist "a professional announcer" ironically). Second, Trump possibly does not observe the quantity maxim, potentially including unnecessary specifics (e.g., avoiding an investigation of his campaign manager by focusing on a reporter's allegation) and unjustified brevity (e.g., avoiding details about Pakistan to project resolute leadership). Third, Trump might flout the maxim of relevance by shifting discussions (e.g., changing the topic from Saudi Arabia's/South Korea's nuclear proliferation policies

to North Korea/Iran), which could function to moderate allied controversy, while this could be criticizing geopolitical adversaries. Lastly, Trump probably does not adhere to the maxim of manner, conceivably using ambiguous expressions (e.g., “protect” to probably sustain vagueness concerning allied nuclear strategies) and fragmented language to maintain diplomatic vagueness toward allies. At the same time, this may be employed in confrontational discourse toward opponents. Collectively, these deviations could reflect tactical communication that could mirror efforts to shift accountability, restructure political narrative, and appeals to electoral preferences (e.g., strong leadership and anti-authority sentiment) while linking to broader external policy strategies that emphasize coalition solidity and oppositional posturing.

The analysis establishes possible deviations from Searle’s felicity conditions of speech acts in Trump’s discourse. First, Trump seems to violate the conditions of representatives by making claims that require sufficient supporting evidence (e.g., “free speech is no longer allowed”), which may emphasize persuasion over honest accountability and maximize division. Second, Trump appears not to adhere to the conditions of commissives by making partial promises (e.g., promising to replace the Obamacare health system) to appeal to public concerns despite lacking thorough implementation. Third, Trump could not follow the conditions of directives by issuing inoperative commands (e.g., ordering Biden to confine immigration) to assert substitute leadership through robust directives. Fourth, Trump might flout the conditions of expressives through unconventional apologies (e.g., ridiculous references to his wife or mother) to deny responsibility while framing criticisms as politically driven. Lastly, Trump potentially does not observe the conditions of declaratives through unproductive announcements (e.g., declaring the end

of Pelosi's political career), utilizing amplified declarations conceivably meant to discredit adversaries and appeal to supporters. Together, these non-adherences may illustrate tactical nonconformity with the norms of pragmatics, possibly utilizing speech acts to strengthen partisan alignment, disprove institutional restrictions, and reinforce a narrative of victimization or power. These conditions might highlight how pragmatic manipulation serves political aims, emphasizing influence over principled interaction or actionable authority.

The analysis identifies probable non-observance of Grice's, Leech's, and Searle's models in Trump's rhetoric. Trump may not adhere to Grice's maxims of quality (unconfirmed assertions), quantity (unnecessary/inadequate details), and relevance (subject shift), together with Leech's maxims of modesty (exaggerating achievements), approbation (disparaging), and generosity (disregarding others' advantage). Moreover, Trump appears to violate Searle's felicity conditions of speech acts: representatives (claims that lack verifications), commissives (unfulfilled promises), directives (commands to Obama/Biden), expressives (unconventional regrets), and declarations (the announcements of tax policies). These violations might mutually function as strategic goals: challenging rival policies (e.g., criticizing Biden's administrative procedures), positioning Trump as a corrective leader, and avoiding responsibility (suppressing apologies). By amalgamizing sarcasm, overstatement, and confrontational discourse, Trump might use rhetoric that potentially challenges institutional authority and reshapes his candidature as crucial to voter benefits. The patterns could mirror a probable tactic to rally support via hostility, utilizing pragmatic deviation to build support, redirect criticism, and strengthen leadership image, highlighting voting success over collaborative or

principled interaction.

The analysis demonstrates Trump's strategic use of pragmatic models across five themes. First, Trump appears to violate Leech's modesty and Grice's quantity by exaggerating about addressing problems (e.g., Pakistan) while withholding policy details, but Trump adheres to Searle's felicity conditions by promising to maintain confidence. Second, Trump seems to flout Leech's sympathy and Grice's manner maxims through emotionally detached, ambiguous discourse (such as ridiculing opponents' loss as "gone"), yet Trump complies with Searle's conditions of assertions to cultivate genuineness. Third, Trump possibly does not follow Grice's quality and Searle's conditions of declaratives with unverified claims (e.g., limited China travel restrictions) while satisfying Leech's generosity to frame his actions as publicly beneficial. Fourth, Trump may deviate from Grice's relevance and Leech's approbation by shifting topics to criticize Biden, but Trump adheres to Searle's conditions of representatives to present criticisms as truthful. Finally, Trump could not satisfy Leech's sympathy by revealing satisfaction over adversaries' setbacks (candidates' losses, Boeing's misfortunes), while Trump follows Grice's quality and Searle's conditions of expressives to convey sincere *schadenfreude*, possibly portraying his candidacy as a corrective alternative. Collectively, Trump's violations could enhance his image as a pivotal, anti-establishment leader, potentially using confrontational discourse to rally support. Meanwhile, selective compliance with Searle's conditions might maintain an appearance of legitimacy, probably emphasizing trustworthy assertions with confrontational tone.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

The current chapter is intended to summarize the thesis as a whole. It begins with a summary of the key findings, followed by the implications of the study. In addition, it presents the study's theoretical and methodological contributions. The limitations and recommendations of the research are also discussed.

5.2 Summary of Key Findings

The present thesis was conducted on Trump's deviant political discourse. As stated earlier, this study aimed to analyze pragmatic deviation in Trump's political discourse. In addition, it discovered the types of Leech's (2014) politeness maxims that are deviated from in Trump's political discourse. Moreover, it analyzed the types of Grice's (1975) conversational maxims that are deviated from in Trump's political discourse. Besides, it dissects the types of Searle's (1969) felicity conditions of speech acts that are deviated from in Trump's political discourse. Furthermore, it examined the alignment between Leech's politeness maxims, Grice's conversational maxims, and Searle's felicity conditions of speech acts in Trump's political discourse. Finally, it investigated the discordance between Leech's politeness maxims, Grice's conversational maxims, and Searle's felicity conditions of speech acts in Trump's political discourse. As a result, the researcher addressed five research questions in the current study, which, as acknowledged earlier, adopted a qualitative approach and a discourse analysis method to answer the

research questions.

Research question one focused on investigating the types of Leech's (2014) maxims of (im)politeness principle that are deviated from in Trump's political discourse. The findings revealed that Leech's (2014) ten (im)politeness maxims are deviated from in Trump's political discourse.

Research question two concentrated on discovering the types of Grice's (2014) conversational maxims that are deviated from in Trump's political discourse. The findings showed that Grice's (1975) four conversational maxims are deviated from in Trump's political discourse.

Research question three paid attention to examining the types of Searle's (1969) felicity conditions of illocutionary speech acts that are deviated from in Trump's political discourse. The findings showed that Searle's (1969) felicity conditions of illocutionary speech acts are deviated from in Trump's political discourse.

Research question four was conducted to explore the alignment between Leech's (2014) politeness maxims, Grice's (1975) conversational maxims, and Searle's (1969) felicity conditions of speech acts in Trump's political discourse. The findings showed that the three models, Leech's politeness maxims, Grice's conversational maxims, and Searle's felicity conditions of speech acts, are aligned in one situation regarding deviation.

Research question five focused on analyzing the discordance between Leech's politeness maxims, Grice's conversational maxims, and Searle's felicity conditions of speech acts in Trump's political discourse. The findings showed that the three models, Leech's

politeness maxims, Grice's conversational maxims, and Searle's felicity conditions of speech acts, are discorded in one situation regarding the deviation.

5.3 The Implications of the Study

The present research findings have significant implications for politicians, teachers, students, and researchers.

Deviating from Leech's (2014) politeness maxims, Grice's (1975) conversational maxims, and Searle's (1969) felicity conditions of illocutionary speech acts implies that politicians should not wish misfortunes on each other, use threats, false information, insulting expressions, or long-winded speeches. In addition, politicians had better not shift and evade the topic, behave bombastically, tactlessly, and unsympathetically, and demand that others do something for them. Therefore, they have to change their policies and avoid uttering such utterances against their political rivals in order not to broaden the gap between politicians themselves and create a conflict between politicians' supporters.

Politicians, avoiding crucial subjects, control language with lengthy or vague statements (breaching Grice's quantity and manner) or make unreal appeals (flouting Searle's conditions) to further separate voters. Exaggerated self-praise (disregarding Leech's modesty) and undiplomatic dismissals of adversaries' worries (infringing generosity) reshape power as antagonistic rather than cooperative. Such conducts extend ideological gaps, regularizes discourtesy, and decreases mechanisms for agreement-making. To illustrate, changing debates to use criticisms (disobeying relevance) or ridiculing opponents' calamities (defying tact) emphasizes temporary triumphs over principled

participation and eventually damages democratic responsibility.

To soften these concerns, policymakers should manipulate interaction tactics with pragmatic principles. This involves approving honesty (providing proof, according to Grice's quality), transparency (evading verbosity or vagueness, according to quantity and manner), and esteem (admitting rivals' dignity, according to Leech's approbation). Observance of Searle's felicity conditions, confirming speech acts such as pledges or orders are genuine, practicable, and contextually effective, would reestablish trust in political obligations. For example, substituting overstated declarations (e.g., null policy promises) with applicable, proof-built suggestions strengthens institutional confidence. Correspondingly, sympathetic involvement with voters' fears (Leech's sympathy) and responsibility for deceptive assertions (Searle's condition) might hinder disappointment. Moreover, politicians should keep away from forcible or cunning strategies, such as manipulating misrepresentation to blame opponents or avoid scrutiny. As an alternative, prompting topic-focused discourse (preserving relevance) and cooperative issue-resolving (honouring generosity) would bridge polarization. Governmental improvements, such as truth-examining directives or courtesy protocols in legislative discussions, may galvanize agreement with pragmatic principles. By underscoring principled interaction, politicians could diminish divisions, reconstruct social trust, and frame discourse that stabilizes a convincing appeal with democratic honesty. Finally, pragmatic compliance is not only rhetorical; it is a public imperative to keep operative and unbiased authority. This is supported by Kleinfeld (2023) and Maher (2025), who claim that evading distortion about opposite parties could diminish sentimental division.

In the second language environment, students should improve pragmatic competence to evade interactive blunders such as spreading untruthful evidence (breaking Grice's quality), by utilizing aggressive or threatening discourse (breaching Leech's approbation and sympathy), or producing dishonest obligations (disregarding Searle's conditions). For illustration, students must distinguish that arrogant language (disobeying Leech's modesty) or vague wording (flouting Grice's manner) engenders misunderstanding and societal disagreement in cross-cultural communications. As an alternative, syllabi should highlight principled, impressionable interactions, accentuating honest statements, modest self-introductions, and tactful participation. This is backed by Alduais et al. (2022) and Rafiq and Yavuz (2024), who argue that pragmatic failures, such as ambiguous, dishonest, and impolite behaviours could lead to misinterpretations and discordance. However, instructions designed with sincerity, precision, humility, and tact increase interactive concord.

To accomplish this, teachers are advised to use clear instructions on politeness strategies (e.g., diplomatic appeals, sympathetic acknowledgments) and the non-defectiveness of speech acts (e.g., genuine apologies, achievable promises). To illustrate, conflicting argumentative directives (e.g., coarse requests) with collaborative choices (e.g., well-mannered proposals) help students figure out how pragmatic options impact relational mechanisms. Trustworthy resources (e.g., records of diplomatic discussions or sympathetic public discourse) can demonstrate observance of the principles of pragmatics while role-playing drills emulate actual situations where students exercise harmonizing sincerity (Grice's quality) with sensitivity (Leech's generosity). These implications are supported by Brown and Levinson (1987), Leech (2014), and Ritchey (2023), who

recommend that teachers should use trustworthy sources inside the classroom to improve pragmatic competence for harmonious communication.

Furthermore, students should learn relevance preservation (circumventing unexpected subject shifts) and precision (giving adequate details without verbosity) because violations (e.g., shifty responses, unclear clarifications) risk inefficient interaction. For example, training students to form arguments logically (following Grice's relevance and quantity) safeguards lucidity in academic or skillful situations. Correspondingly, training in circumstantial honesty, such as distinguishing declarations (e.g., hollow political promises) from achievable obligations (e.g., approved agreements), agrees with Searle's conditions, strengthening responsibility in discourse.

Teachers need training to model and evaluate pragmatic competence. This encompasses knowledge of intercultural pragmatics (e.g., the way the norms of politeness differ between cultures) and tools to teach subtle differences, such as sarcasm vs. honest criticism. Curricula must integrate evaluations assessing students' capability to shun unempathetic language (e.g., ridiculing others' losses) and utilize comprehensive, deferential discourse. By emphasizing pragmatic precision and linguistic proficiency, second language pedagogy can alleviate miscomprehensions, diminish cross-cultural discrepancies, and encourage socially accountable interaction.

The recognized violations and tensions between these three models highlight the necessity for multidisciplinary studies in various interactive settings. Political discourse investigation might examine how leaders internationally employ pragmatic non-adherence (e.g., Trump's self-praise or vague declarations) to influence public awareness,

differentiating tactics in democratic vs. dictatorial governments. Media research could investigate how exaggeration or distortion violates or flouts principles (e.g., eye-catching headings breaking quality) while observance of politeness maxims (e.g., tactful press announcements) keeps trustworthiness. Literary studies may analyze characters' pragmatic breaches (e.g., mockery, disregarding quality, uncaring discussion, and disobeying sympathy) as descriptive tools to show supremacy or moral vagueness. This is backed by Hadiati (2019), Made and Devi (2022), and Ojukwu and Osuchukwu (2019), who recommend that researchers should conduct more future studies to investigate such issues.

Educational studies could evaluate how second-language students adopt or misemploy pragmatic norms (e.g., transferring first-language irony to second-language situations, misapplying directives) and update curricula that discuss shortcomings in politeness or honesty. Intercultural research may distinguish deviant discourse in apologies (Leech's obligation of S to O and O to S) or pledges (Searle's conditions) across languages, uncovering how cultural standards frame pragmatic prospects. Corpus-based analyses of public speeches, interviews, or social media might calculate violations (e.g., frequency of ambiguous assertions in political language) and associate them with audience participation or division.

In addition, studies could explore how different speaking styles, like exaggeration or understatement, impact people's trust in leaders and the media. These implications are emphasized by Simonsen and Widmann (2025), who suggest that overstatement and understatement directly change audiences' confidence in speakers. Educational techniques

might focus on raising awareness of these language differences, using case studies about diplomatic versus confrontational conversations. Historical research could examine how political speech evolves, such as leaders becoming less modest, which can mirror societal changes. This research could deepen our understanding of how speaking styles influence interactions by bringing together insights from language, psychology, and sociology. It could also provide practical guidance for encouraging honest communication in politics, education, and across cultures.

5.4 The Contribution of the Study

This section presents major strengths, theoretical and methodological, as discussed below.

5.4.1 Theoretical Contributions

The findings of the current research contributed to the body of knowledge in some ways. Firstly, a pragmatic deviation of Trump's political discourse was investigated in the current study. A great deal of previous research (Alirezazadeh & Talebinezhad, 2014; Alkhazaali, 2018; Dyakiv et al., 2021; Hameed & Al-Sa'doon, 2015; Hamza, 2020; Hussain et al., 2020; Mansoor & Salman, 2020; Li & Shi, 2015; Rahman & Weda, 2019; Ren & Yu, 2013) into deviation focused on the different types of deviations: grammatical, syntactic, phonological, morphological, graphological, dialectal, register, lexical, semantic, historical, orthographical, and sociolinguistic in literary texts and other fields. However, they did not refer to pragmatic deviations that can be found in the fields of literature, novels, drama, poetry, and other fields as well. Only a relatively small body of

literature that is concerned with pragmatic deviation was found in literary works (Castiglione, 2013; Zidane, 2017). Therefore, the findings of the current study will encourage researchers to conduct more studies on the pragmatic deviation of the norms in numerous situations.

Secondly, the deviation from Leech's (2014) politeness principle in Trump's political discourse was examined in the present study. Several studies have been done on Leech's (1983) politeness principle (Atmowardoyo et al., 2018; Hasan et al., 2021; Hikmahwati et al., 2021; Jameel & Sameer, 2021; Leyang & Xiaoting, 2021; Mariani et al., 2017). Moreover, some recent studies (Akmal & Candrasari, 2019; Ewurum & Chukwu, 2018; Lustyantje & Dewi, 2019; Ogayi & Osondu, 2021). These studies, whether violation or non-violation of politeness maxims, did not refer to Leech's (2014) new model of impoliteness principle, which is the focus of the present thesis. However, the researcher found one study on Leech's (2014) model done by Santoso et al. (2020), who examined the maxims of the politeness principle utilized by two EFL teachers. Yet, they did not discuss the deviation of politeness maxims. Besides, some recent studies have been done on impoliteness (Abdelkawy, 2019; Alemi & Latifi, 2019; Colaco et al., 2021; El-Falaky, 2019; Ibrahim, 2020; Koike et al., 2022). However, they concentrated on applying impoliteness in dialogues and conversations, adopting either Culpeper's (1996, 2005, 2011) model of impoliteness or Bousfield's (2008) impoliteness. So, there is a dearth of research tackling violations of Leech's (2014) politeness principle. Consequently, the findings of this theme are helpful to researchers who want to do more studies on this new model in different contexts. Additionally, these findings support Leech's (2014) model of impoliteness, which suggests that the politeness maxims can be deviated from in some

situations.

Thirdly, the deviation of Grice's (1975) cooperative principle in Trump's political discourse was investigated in the present thesis. Although several studies on the cooperative principle and conversational maxims (Al-Qaderi & Alduais, 2019; Awwad et al., 2019; Ayunon, 2018; Cristina, 2021; Faridah et al., 2018; Iswahyuni, 2019; Made & Devi, 2022; Muslah, 2015; Ngenget, 2017; Nur, 2018; Ojukwu & Osuchukwu, 2019; Sidabutar & Johan, 2022; Suryadi & Muslim, 2019) have been done, a few attempts in the political area need more and more research, for it is rich with different types of pragmatic deviations from Grice's cooperative principle and maxims. As a result, this theme's findings will potentially affect researchers who want to do more studies about the cooperative principle and the conversational maxims in numerous contexts. Additionally, these findings agree with Grice's perspective that the conversational maxims can be disobeyed in some situations.

Fourthly, the deviation of Searle's (1975) felicity conditions of speech acts in Trump's political discourse was examined in the present study. Some researchers (Akinkurolere, 2020; Azizah & Alpiyah, 2018; Dylgjerii, 2017; Gusthini et al., 2018; Khalid & Amin, 2019; Hashim, 2015; Mufiah & Rahman, 2018; Purwadi, 2021) have conducted studies to examine Austin's and Searle's speech act theory focusing on illocutionary speech acts while others (Dianita & Sofyan, 2023; Hadiati, 2019; Ojukwu & Osuchukwu, 2019) focused on the adherence of the felicity conditions of speech acts. This shows a dearth in this less-explored area, as claimed by Hadiati (2019). Thus, the findings of this theme are advantageous to researchers conducting future studies on the felicity conditions of speech

acts in numerous areas and see how they are obeyed or disobeyed. Furthermore, these findings support Searle's theory of speech acts and felicity conditions that must be met to be successful and non-defective.

Fifthly, the alignment and discordance between Leech's (2014) impoliteness maxims, Grice's (1975) conversational maxims, and Searle's (1969) felicity conditions of speech acts were investigated in the current work. Remarkably few studies (Farahin, 2020; Karim, 2016; Mariani et al., 2017; Lulu, 2019; Ojukwu & Osuchukwu, 2019; Wenting, 2017) explored the discordance and alignment of the pragmatic principles. These studies concentrated on discussing Leech's (1983) (im)politeness principle, Grice's (1975) cooperative principle, and Austin's (1962) and Searle's (1969) felicity conditions of the speech acts separately by showing how the speakers observe or do not observe these three models. Some of these studies attempt to combine some of the maxims to show the discordance but do not show how all of them discord and align with each other in specific situations simultaneously. This shows a scarcity in this area. Thus, the current study filled this theoretical gap. Consequently, the findings of these themes could be theoretically valuable to researchers to conduct future studies on combining these pragmatic models and see how they discord or align with each other in certain situations.

5.4.2 Methodological Contributions

The researcher developed a codebook by taking the concepts from Grice's (1975) cooperative principle, which consists of four conversational maxims (quantity, quality, manner, and relevance), Leech's (2014) impoliteness principle, which is composed of ten maxims (tact, generosity, approbation, modesty, agreement, sympathy, obligation of

others to the speaker, obligation of the speaker to others, feeling-reticence, and opinion-reticence maxims), and Searle's (1969) speech act theory which includes five classes (representatives, expressives, declaratives, directives, and commissives) that were discussed according to the felicity conditions. When beginning the process of coding the data, the researcher assigned Trump's discourse with labels, which are the concepts that were taken from this codebook, and therefore, the data were condensed. This condensation of the information helped the researcher saturate the data, understand the phenomenon in depth, and analyze the assigned situations. In analyzing Trump's political discourse, the researcher took quotations from the codebook that classifies his speeches according to the adopted concepts. Besides, this codebook is beneficial to the researcher, the reader, and the second coder, saving time and effort in coding, analyzing, understanding, and re-coding, respectively. According to the researcher's best knowledge, no study has combined these three models, and all that is available are separate studies of one or two models, as mentioned in Chapter Two. Consequently, future researchers could utilize this codebook and apply it to their future studies in various situations.

Saldana (2013) suggests that researchers can use an existing scheme or develop new or hybrid coding procedures that are modified to fit the special requirements and disciplined anxieties of their research. Consequently, the researcher established hybrid coding procedures that are adapted to coding qualitative data, as mentioned in Chapter Three (see 3.6.2). As a result, researchers could use these hybrid coding procedures when coding their qualitative data.

5.5 Limitations of the Study

Each work has limitations, and the current study is no exception. Firstly, the sample of the present work is restricted to three oral documents: two interviews and a speech. Thus, the findings of the present paper are neither to be generalized to all of Trump's political interviews and speeches nor other US politicians' speeches. However, the purpose of the current qualitative study is not to generalize the findings; instead, it aims to comprehend a specific phenomenon deeply, specifically how Trump pragmatically deviates from pragmatic principles in some of his speeches.

Secondly, the current research uses a qualitative method, so the findings are susceptible to the researchers' biases. For example, the data collection method is confined to documents that can be used as a stand-alone method, as claimed by Flick (2009). Merriam and Tisdell (2016) argue that documents are naturally a regular segment of the study context and do not change the context as it happens when the researcher is supposed to be present in interviewing persons or observing them. They are already existing data that can be straightforwardly accessed. Also, this is the best way to analyze Trump's political discourse, as it is extremely difficult (or even impossible) for me to directly interview Trump to see how he deviates from language. Still, the researcher is aware of the biases and subjectivity that are part of qualitative inquiry and follows systematic procedures from the beginning to the end to assure the trustworthiness of the research.

Finally, the current study only focuses on the pragmatic deviation of Trump's political discourse without referring to the non-deviation of these principles in detail. Besides, three models are adopted in the study: Grice's cooperative principle and conversational

maxims (1975), Leech's (2014) (im)politeness principle and maxims, and Searle's (1969) felicity conditions of the five types of speech acts. So, researchers can adopt other pragmatic models and see how they are not observed.

5.6 Recommendations for Future Studies

The researcher, built on the limitations and findings of the current research, recommends more studies on Grice's cooperative principle and conversational maxims (1975), Leech's (2014) (im)politeness principle and maxims, and Searle's (1969) felicity conditions of the five types of speech acts in numerous situations and applies them to several discourses; literary texts, political speeches, media, EFL/ESL classroom, and everyday conversations. It is interesting to see how deviations occur in these situations and the motivations behind such violations.

Moreover, the researcher recommends highlighting Leech's (2014) revisited (im)politeness principle over the 1983 theory, which lacks comprehensiveness, failing to discuss some issues (e.g., obligations of speakers to others and vice versa, keeping opinions and feelings). The focus of the original approach on politeness is narrow, abandoning the methodical theorization of impoliteness. On the contrary, the 2014 model presents a comprehensive framework with ten maxims, including politeness and impoliteness, allowing accurate investigation of confrontational language (e.g., irony, intimidation). Upcoming research could use this extended framework to examine how impoliteness tactics function in political discourse, media disagreement, or cross-cultural discussions, filling gaps left by the old-fashioned theory.

Additionally, a dearth of thorough studies of Searle's felicity conditions and how they are followed or deviated from as the major focus of the current literature is on the illocutionary speech acts. Therefore, further research needs to be done on these issues in different contexts in general and political discourse in particular to see how Searle's conditions are deviated from, what happens if they are defective, and why. Besides, a scarcity of systematic discussions of Grice's (1975, 1989) cooperative principle and how politicians employ them and for which reasons. Therefore, further research should be conducted on these issues in political contexts to see how Grice's conversational maxims are deviated from and what functions they achieve.

Furthermore, further studies should be done on the non-deviation of pragmatic principles; researchers could conduct studies on how Leech's (2014) politeness maxims, Grice's (1975) conversational maxims, and Searle's (1969) felicity conditions are followed whether studying them separately or collectively in various situations, such as political discourse, media, literary texts, the EFL/ESL classroom, and everyday speech.

Finally, further studies need to be conducted using other methods, such as structured interviews and observations in various fields, to see how pragmatic principles in these direct methods are violated or followed. Thus, researchers could use both qualitative and quantitative approaches to fully understand and generalize the phenomenon under study.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Transcript¹

Transcript of Trump's Speech in an Rally at Illinois, America 25 June 2022

Video length: 1:04

Date: 6/25/2022

No. of words: 8957

Mr. Donald Trump: (02:31)

Thank you. Thank you very much. And hello, Illinois. This is great to be with you, Mary. I'm thrilled to be back in the American Heartland with thousands of proud, hardworking American Patriots. You are unbelievable, you built this country. You built this country, remember that. Five months from now, the people of your great state are going to vote to fire the radical left Democrats.

You are going to send, ultra Maga, she's ultra Maga, they gave us a great name, Congresswoman Mary Miller to fight for you in Washington. She's great. You're going to elect an incredible slate of rock solid, courageous conservatives up and down the ballot. And together we are going to end Nancy Pelosi. She's crazy. We're going to end her political career once and for all. Looks like it's coming to an end, it better come to an end. She's been so bad for our country.

Mr. Donald Trump: (03:40)

So, before we begin, we've got some very big news, don't we? We have very big news, maybe the biggest. Right from the United States Supreme Court yesterday, the court handed down a victory for the constitution. A victory for the rule of law and above all a victory for life. This breakthrough is the answer to the prayers of millions and millions of people, and these prayers have gone on for decades. For decades and decades they've been praying, and now those prayers have been answered to the generations of Americans in the pro-life movement, as well as countless constitutional conservatives. Your boundless love, sacrifice and devotion has finally been rewarded in full. Congratulations, and it's a great time.

Mr. Donald Trump: (04:02)

As a candidate in 2016, do you remember that? We did better the second time, but let's not say that. Did a lot better the second time, we did a lot better in 2020. I promised to nominate judges and justices who would stand up for the original meaning of the constitution and who would honestly, and faithfully interpret the law as written. We got almost 300 federal judges and three great Supreme Court Justices confirmed to do exactly that.

Mr. Donald Trump: (04:38)

And thanks to the courage found within the United States Supreme Court, this long divisive issue will be decided by the states and by the American people. That's the way it should have been many, many years ago and that's the way it is now. So,

congratulations. As for the Republican party, we are today the party of life, and we are the party of everyone. We're the party of everyone.

Crowd: (05:21)

Thank you Trump. Thank you Trump. Thank you Trump. Thank you Trump. Thank you Trump. Thank you Trump. Thank you Trump.

Mr. Donald Trump: (05:26)

Thank you very much. We believe that every precious child is born and unborn is the sacred gift from God. But you also had a great victory in the United States Supreme Court two days ago for supporters of a thing called the Second Amendment. Has anyone ever heard of the Second Amendment? I told you when I started my campaign, that I will protect the Second Amendment and nobody has protected it like me.

Mr. Donald Trump: (05:57)

And I especially want to commend the Justices for standing strong in the face of outrageous threats and even violence. You've been seeing what's been going on, there's never been a time like this. The Left Wing campaign of terror directed at the Supreme Court in recent months is unlike anything in the history of our country. The attempted assassination of Justice Kavanaugh, the illegal intimidation of Justice's homes and the radical Left's violent terrorist attacks on pro-life centers were a frontal assault on our Republic. That's what they should be investigating. This was an organized and concentrated effort to threaten the Court and interfere with its decisions, but the Justices stood their ground against these extremists and these terrorists, and they did not back down. Congratulations and thank you.

Mr. Donald Trump: (06:54)

To this day, the leaders of the Democrat party have failed to forcefully condemn the violence and threats and hold the perpetrators accountable. There could be no greater illustration of the two tiered system of justice. We've never had anything like what's going on right now, that we have in our country than the fact that at the very moment, the radical Democrats were staging a ridiculous fake trial over January 6th, their party leaders are saying nothing about the violent intimidation of the United States Supreme Court, they refused to talk about it, they refused to do anything.

Mr. Donald Trump: (07:33)

As you have seen the vial group of unhinged partisans and craved lunatic on the Unselect Committee are pushing a fake and fabricated narrative based on doctored video lies and testimony that is totally uncontested by cross-examination. The lies are unbelievable, it's a disgrace to our country. A bunch of rhinos get up, they're going to make their name big for a day.

Mr. Donald Trump: (08:01)

Everything they're showing is ripped utterly out of context, such as when Liz Cheney, a real loser she is, cut out the part of my quote in a speech that I made, a certain speech that said that, "Their voices should be heard peacefully and patriotically." She left those words out, would you say that's nice? She left them out. It's a sham. Think of that, she left out the words, "Peacefully and patriotically."

Mr. Donald Trump: (08:32)

Why aren't they investigating massive election fraud and irregularities instead of

investigating the people who want to get to the bottom of a rigged and stolen election? And why didn't Nancy Pelosi and the Mayor of Washington DC, accept my offer on January 3rd, three days before, of 10,000 soldiers or National Guard or more, to protect the capital? They are in charge of security and they said, "She's off bounds. We don't ask her any questions."

Mr. Donald Trump: (09:09)

If they had sent those soldiers, even if they had sent 1000, not 10,000 or 20,000, January 6th would not be January 6th as we know it. But they won't talk about it, they refuse to mention that, and they refuse to mention the election fraud and all of the irregularities. There has never been anything like what took place in 2020, they used COVID to rig and steal an election.

Mr. Donald Trump: (09:41)

It's all just a continuation of the fake Russia, Russia, Russia scam, impeachment hoax number one, impeachment hoax number two, and the fake Mueller investigation. Remember after two and a half years, no collusion, "We found no collusion." 18 angry Democrats, all prosecutors, they found no collusion, two and a half years. The Russia hoax was the greatest in history, there's never been anything like it in the history of our country, where they totally fabricated and made up stories that didn't exist. They spied on my campaign, they got caught. Even Adam Schiff made up lies about Congressman Jim Jordan, who's a great person and a great, great political leader and others. And totally fabricated a partnership with the fake news media on my absolutely perfect... it was a perfect phone call with the Secretary of State of Georgia, he fabricated what I said. When the critics like to say my Administration, despite all of our incredible accomplishments, and we've added, some big ones last week, was somewhat chaotic, they love to say that.

Mr. Donald Trump: (10:55)

They don't tell you that we were under fake investigations for long before I got into the Oval Office, they started even before I won. These investigations were fake and they said, "Just in case, we're going to start them." They used it for the election and when we won the election, they said, "Let's carry it forward." Russia, Russia, Russia, a total hoax.

Mr. Donald Trump: (11:17)

So, we had to beat the investigations and at the same time, rebuild our country. And just think of it, with all that was going on, including the hatred and venom and falsified statements and facts, we had one of the most successful presidencies in history, including an economy that was the envy of the world. Thank you. Got to have a little chaos when you're getting served subpoenas all the time. Thank you. Thank you very much, I appreciate it.

Mr. Donald Trump: (12:12)

The Unselect Committee, do you like that name? The Unselect. I came up with that one of course, every time I say that they say, "No, actually, 100 years ago somebody else came up with that term." No, I think I came up with it. And fake news is another one, right? That was a good one. That's not strong enough though, it's more than fake news, it's corrupt news.

Mr. Donald Trump: (12:35)

The Unselect Committee of political thugs is vivid proof that as we work to defeat

the radical Left, we also have to defeat the backstabbers and the dreadful rhinos like Janie and Adam Kinzinger, another beauty. And these rhinos are in many ways worse than the Democrats because you don't really know where they're coming from. You don't know where they're coming from. Kinzinger, by the way is out, he quit. Almost all of the impeachers are gone, you know the 10 impeachers? We won a big one the other day, he got slaughtered. Name is Rice from South Carolina, he was out, he's gone. He said, "I had no idea that when I voted for impeachment, I was committing political suicide."

Mr. Donald Trump: (13:26)

Never forget everything this corrupt establishment is doing to me is all about preserving their power and control over the American people. If I renounced my beliefs, which I won't do, if I agreed to stay silent, if I stayed at home, if I said that a corrupt, election was wonderful, the persecution would stop immediately. They'd say, "Good luck, let's go onto the next victim." But I can't do that because I love our country far, far too much. And remember they're coming after me because I'm standing up for you. And they're coming after you, believe me, they're coming after you. They're coming after you. There's only one true America first Republican in the race for the 15th district, and that's an incredible woman, somebody I've gotten to know very well. She's been with me from day one, no bad back statements, saying bad things about me two years ago, three years ago, one year ago.

Mr. Donald Trump: (14:32)

Her name is Mary Miller, high quality person. Mary is a warrior for our movement and our values. She comes from a farming family, a beautiful family in downstate Illinois. She's a mom of seven, I can't even believe that, and a loving grandmother to 19 beautiful grandkids. Mary is pro-life and extremely happy about two days ago. She's pro-gun, so that makes her even happier. She's pro-police, she will not be defunding, I promise, the police. They want to defund the police, they're trying to get off that, but still, they want to defund the police.

Mr. Donald Trump: (15:20)

Pro-American energy and she's pro Maga all the way. Has an incredible record for Illinois and Congress, Mary has fought tirelessly against Joe Biden's woke Department of Education, what they're doing to education, and demanded that they stop indoctrinating America's youth.

Mr. Donald Trump: (15:43)

With Mary, you get to elect a fearless America first Patriot. That's what she is, she's about America first. She got it from the first moment she heard those beautiful words, America first. I wonder who thought of those words? No, you don't hear about it because nobody thinks that way, nobody thinks about America first.

Mr. Donald Trump: (16:03)

You don't hear about it, because nobody thinks that way. Nobody thinks about America first. Well, America last. You look at Biden, we're America last. Okay. If you want to send a message to Liz Cheney, Adam Kinzinger, crazy Nancy Pelosi and the fake news media, then this Tuesday, you need to cast your vote for a truly wonderful person, Mary Miller. Respected by everybody, Mary, come on up. Come on up.

Congresswoman Mary Miller: (16:25)

Thank you. Oh my gosh. Thank you so much, President Trump. It's such an honor to be able to welcome you to God's country. I'm in front of this mass of crowd that loves you. I'm so honored to have your endorsement president Trump on behalf of all the MAGA patriots in America, I want to thank you for the historic victory for life in the Supreme Court yesterday. Our victories for life and the 2nd Amendment would never have been possible if the Never Trump RINOs had gotten their way. I'm running against a RINO named Rodney Davis who betrayed conservatives. He betrayed us by voting against President Trump in 2016. Rodney Davis betrayed us by supporting red flag gun confiscation and voting for the disgraceful, January 6th witch hunt commission.

Congresswoman Mary Miller: (17:55)

My friends, this race is between MAGA and a RINO establishment member. Don't you miss President Trump? We miss energy independence. As a farmer those \$6 a gallon diesel bills are painful. We miss border security. Friends, to save America we need to elect America first conservatives to Congress, and then we need to get that weak and incompetent man out of the oval office and get President Trump back.

Congresswoman Mary Miller: (18:55)

I'm Congresswoman Mary Miller, I'm a proud Trump Republican, and I'm asking for your vote on this Tuesday, June 28th. Thank you President Trump. God bless you.

Mr. Donald Trump: (19:13)

Great job. Thanks Mary. Thank you, Mary. Yeah, go out and vote for Mary, you'll never be disappointed with Mary. She doesn't disappoint people and she loves you very much.

Mr. Donald Trump: (19:27)

Also, with us this evening is the next governor of the great state of Illinois. Darren Bailey.

Mr. Donald Trump: (19:59)

Darren is just a man to take on and defeat one of the worst governors in America. J. B. Pritzker. He's one of the worst. I had to deal with this guy for a long time on COVID, he was as bad as anybody there is. He did a horrible job. He locked everybody in and locked them up. He was a disaster. His numbers are terrible. Everybody's fleeing your state. This is a disaster, and Darren is the opposite. I mean, but Darren did one thing that was very bad today. Should I tell him? So we're taking pictures, right? Do you know what I'm going to say Darren? We're taking pictures backstage and I wanted to say hello, because I'm hearing Darren's really doing a job and we are standing up and I'm shaking his hand. He said, "Sir, you have a hair coming down right in the middle." It was coming down. He said, "Here, let me get it, sir." And he grabbed it and ripped it out. I said, "Oh, that's terrible." That was terrible. I'm still looking for that hair. He just ripped it out. Which tells you a lot about Darren, there's no games, right? There's no games. Somebody else would've patted it gently back. He ripped it out. That's going to go down. That's going to be one I remember, we're still searching for that hair in the back.

Mr. Donald Trump: (21:20)

Darren is a farmer and he is a fighter and he has been an outstanding warrior in the

Illinois State Senate where he's totally, totally respected by all of them. He wants to cut your taxes. He wants to lower your regulations down to among the lowest in the country and make Illinois competitive again, because it is not competitive at all. It's essentially the crime capital of the world when you look at what's happening, can you believe it? Can you believe the numbers?

Mr. Donald Trump: (21:53)

When I was doing Afghanistan, we were all set to get out with dignity and with pride and with strength. And I spoke to the leader of the Taliban and I said, Abdul don't ever do it. Don't do it Abdul. Don't shoot our soldiers anymore Abdul don't do it. 18 months we didn't have one soldier shot or killed, not even shot at. And then you look at Chicago where you have 38 a week. Where you have one weekend, a big weekend, they said, "Yeah, but that was a long weekend," where 78 people were shot and numerous people died. In Afghanistan you don't have that. This was a war and we didn't lose one American, think of it, during my term. Not one American in 18 months.

Mr. Donald Trump: (22:43)

Darren is a fearless supporter of the second amendment and a tireless champion of religious liberty. He will crack down on the violent crime that is devouring our Democrat run cities and restore the State of Illinois to greatness. Darren has my complete and total endorsement.

Mr. Donald Trump: (23:05)

Darren, come on up.

Mr. Donald Trump: (23:13)

[inaudible 00:23:13]

Darren Bailey: (23:30)

Who's ready to save America? Who's ready to save Illinois? Who's ready to support a president that's going to take this all back for us? I'm glad President Trump told the story about his loose hair because here's the deal, I will not lie to anyone and I will not let anything go unnoticed. When I see it, I will name it. And when we name it, we will fix it. And we have our work cut out for us here in Illinois, friends.

Darren Bailey: (24:07)

I've made a promise to President Trump that in 2024, Illinois will roll the red carpet out for him because Illinois will be ready for President Trump. God bless Adams County. God bless you. God bless the State of Illinois. God bless President Trump. And God bless America. Thank you.

Mr. Donald Trump: (24:45)

Wow. That's great. I think he's going to do it. I dealt with this guy, Pritzker and I'm telling you it's so bad, so pathetic. So pathetic. He's got money and that's about it. Got other things too, they're not good. So good luck Darren, go do it and it'll be a big one. That's going to be watched. That's going to be watched. It's going to be a race, and you see what's happening. So I think you're going to win the primary very big. And I think you're going to go on and win the election. So we're going to be with you. And Mary, you're going to go win that election. You're going to win the primary, you're going to win the election.

Mr. Donald Trump: (25:21)

We're also grateful to be joined by a very special person. Congresswoman Lauren Boebert. Thank you Lauren. And a man who's a true Patriot, his name is Mike Lindell. Mike, thank you. Thank you, Mike. True Patriot. With the help of many of the Patriots with us this evening, over four incredible years we achieved more than perhaps any administration in history. We did it despite all of the things that were done to us. Compare how great America was just two years ago with the way it is today. Today it's not doing too good. There was no inflation, the war with Russia going into Ukraine would never have happened ever, never would've happened. And it didn't happen, and did it? We had \$1.87 per gallon gasoline. We had energy independence and very soon we were going to be dominant with energy. We were going to be bigger than Russia and Saudi Arabia combined by a lot. We were leaving Afghanistan with dignity and strength, not surrender and death. We had a completely rebuilt military with the addition of something that hasn't been done in 78 years, that's the addition of Space Force. Not since Air Force has this happened. So we had Air Force 78 years ago, and now we have Space Force and it's going to be very important. We had the biggest tax cuts and the biggest issue cuts ever in the history of our country. We had job numbers of 164 million people working, that's far more than we do today. You read about these phony numbers about unemployment, that's because people aren't looking for jobs. So they bring them way down. We had 164 million people working, you don't have anywhere close to that today.

Mr. Donald Trump: (27:21)

Joe Biden is the worst president in the history of our country. He's turning out to be a combination of Jimmy Carter and Herbert Hoover. That's what's happening. The election was rigged and stolen and now our country is being systematically destroyed, elections as you know, have consequences. I ran twice, I won twice and I did much better the second time than I did the first, getting millions and millions more votes than in 2016. And likewise getting far more votes than any sitting president in the history of our country. You believe it? And they say, "Oh, but you didn't quite make it. Guy beat you from the basement." Right? One of the most urgent tasks for the Republican Party after this November will be to end the catastrophe Joe Biden has created on the southern border. Do you see what's happening? The fake news media won't cover it, they never cover it. They don't show these massive caravans, thousands and thousands and thousands of people pouring into our country, hundreds of thousands of people a month. Numbers that are far greater than you hear, they don't even cover it. People are being released from prisons from all over the world. Last month, 129 countries were represented by the people coming in.

Mr. Donald Trump: (28:47)

We gave Biden the most secure border in our country's history, by far the most secure border that we ever had. I want to thank Tom Homan, he's been incredible, he helped us a lot. He helped us a lot. He's been great. We had some great people. All they had to do was go to the beach and not do anything. I built the wall and then I completed a large additional section that we added to the wall, it could have been completed, finally completed in three weeks, we had to go through two and a half

years of lawsuits brought about by the Democrats in Congress, but we won them all. But now we have a total disaster on the border, like we've never seen before. And that includes drugs coming in, human trafficking, mostly in women. For each of the past three months, more illegal aliens have trespassed across our border than any month in the history of our country prior to the Biden administration. This is becoming so sad an event for the border patrol.

Mr. Donald Trump: (29:45)

I watch border patrol people and ICE on television and they're virtually crying in many cases. They're proud and they want to do their job. Last year border patrol encountered millions of illegal aliens breaking across our borders, and this year the numbers are at least twice as high. It's caravan after caravan after caravan, and those people are put there by the countries because they figure we're stupid. They weren't doing that with us. They tried at the beginning, but it didn't last long. We had three countries, Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, we had three countries where we were giving them hundreds of millions of dollars a year and they were sending a lot of bad people to us and they wouldn't take back the people. They closed their airports when we flew them in. They closed their lanes when the buses came in. You couldn't get them back. They said, "Sir, they won't take them back." I said, "How much money do we pay them?" "About \$710 million a year, sir." I said, "Good. Announce publicly and I'm going to sign it immediately we're not paying them anymore."

Mr. Donald Trump: (30:48)

So, we stopped payment, as the expression goes, and about 24 hours later I got three calls from those three countries, the heads of those countries, "Sir, you've stopped payment of the money coming in." "Well you're not taking back the people that left your country that you actually sent out because they don't want the people to leave." They want the bad ones to leave. So we're getting the bad ones. They said, "Well, what do you want us to do?" I said, "You have to take everybody. When those planes come in, I want those airports to be nice and wide open. We're going to drop MS-13 back into your backyard. We're going to do everything." And you know what the answer was in all three cases, "Sir, we would love to have those people back. Would be our great honor to have MS-13 come back into our country."

Mr. Donald Trump: (31:36)

So it's just sad. It's so sad. What's happening to our country, the way it's being run. Yet instead of quickly deporting these illegal aliens as we did under the Trump administration, under Biden they're being flown around and unlawfully resettled all over the nation, all over the nation. By the way, today it's hotter here than it is on the border. In fact-

Mr. Donald Trump: (32:00)

Do you mind? Because I'm going to go home. And the First Lady's going to say you were extremely warm today. I say, "Well, it's 100 degrees out. It is very warm out there." A little dab here and a little dab there. And you're back to being head civic. It is hot. Is everybody okay? Everybody have water? Anybody needs some water or anything? Somebody said, "Sir, we could put this off till next week or the week after." I said, "Are you crazy? The people of Illinois, we happen to have a couple of other states well represented here, this is a big crowd." Look where that

crowd goes. You know, the fake news media never shows crowds. They never show crowds. I wish they would've shown the crowd that was there on January 6th, they never show it. They never show crowds.

Mr. Donald Trump: (33:04)

Hello, everybody. As far as the eye can see, thank you very much. They never want to show the crowds, no matter who they are. They just don't want to show them. I don't get that. But they're meant to demean, and hurt and they're very untruthful people. I've been going through this for years. You know, at first I thought their cameras were set up, they're very rigid. And then we had a bad incident. There was a fight in a certain quarter, four years ago, big fight. So that was a bad thing. And those cameras turned around to get that fight like a pretzel. They are the most flexible pieces of steel I've ever seen in my life. I thought they couldn't do it, but for some reason, they don't want to cover the enthusiasm and the size of the crowd. But you know what? You hear the enthusiasm. It's like being at a great football game, Illinois against Ohio State, Illinois against Ohio State.

Mr. Donald Trump: (34:04)

You know? That's one thing when you hear the crowds or when you hear that noise, you don't really have to see them, but they don't want to show them. They never show them. The duty of the next Republican president will be to reverse this egregious violation of our laws, find those illegal aliens that Joe Biden has allowed so horribly to infiltrate our country. It's an invasion. And send them straight back home or wherever to carry out the crucial mission of securing our border. We will also be hiring thousands and thousands more ICE agents and border patrol officers

Mr. Donald Trump: (34:44)

Under Republican leadership. We're going to give these heroes, the funding, resources and tools. They need to stop the invasion of our country. It is truly an invasion. As we restore the rule of law to the immigration system, we must also restore law and order to our streets. Every day, the radical Democrats to fund the police agenda. And you know, they have not stopped. It's just not stopping. They're trying to stop because now some of them, the smarter ones are realizing that's not good politics. But it's not true because what they're doing is they want to defund the police. They want to get rid of police forces in major cities. It would be devastation and it's getting innocent and great Americans killed right here in Illinois. Chicago has turned into total Bedlam.

Mr. Donald Trump: (35:40)

In March, a 12 year old girl was riding in a car with her family to celebrate her birthday. They loved her so much when she was shot, immediately shot and killed. Shot right in the head and killed by gunfire nearby. Nobody knew who did it, but a bullet hit her right in the head and she was gone. A few weeks before that a 15 year old boy was riding his bicycle when he was shot in the head twice by vicious murderers and killed. And last month, two people were killed and seven others wounded when a cold blooded criminal started firing into a crowd at a McDonald's downtown. But crime has gone through the roof in Chicago. And in certain parts of your state, your governor's done a horrible, horrible job on crime. Already this year, there have been over, listen to this, this is not even believable. Already this year, there have been over 24,000 violent crimes in Chicago alone, 24,000. Would that

be possible? That's just a statistic that I got out of a book. And it's true all over the country. There's crime all over the country in Democrat run cities. Here's an idea, instead of targeting Republicans, conservatives, Christians, and patriotic parents, the Biden administration should try going in and dismantling the Crips, the Bloods MS-13. How about BLM? How about Antifa? And the other Savage street gangs who are turning our communities into war zones? It's as if we lived in a third world nation. This is not our country, what's happening. All Democrat run cities. I mean literally you have hundreds of people a month being shot. And instead of taking guns away from law abiding Americans, we should try taking them away from the gangs, the cartels and the violent criminals for a change.

Mr. Donald Trump: (37:47)

But we're very honored to be joined this evening by the family of fallen police officer Chris Oberheim. You know Chris, everybody now knows Chris. Chris was a devoted police officer in Champagne, Illinois, who was horribly murdered in the line of duty just over one year ago. The entire Oberheim family, I met them backstage in their beautiful, and great, loving. Love you. But they're here tonight, including Amber, Hannah, Avery, Addison, Aubrey, Noah, and Mark all here. I met all of them. We have lots of pictures. They're much better looking than me, that's the only problem. Although there is nothing we can do to fill the void that's in your hearts, please know that you have the love and support of countless, millions, and millions of Americans across our land, and we will always back the Blue.

Mr. Donald Trump: (38:48)

Please, where are you? Where are you? Where is that great family? Thank you very much. He's looking down and he's very proud right now. You know that right? He's very, very proud. Thank you very much. Okay? Thank you. Thank you for being here too. Beautiful family. It's time to stop going often gentle on the hardened criminal element in this country. We have gone so pathetically soft. When we find these vicious repeat offenders, we need to put them behind bars immediately and keep them behind bars for extended periods of time. And when they are murderers or cop killers, they need to receive the death penalty. They have to. Okay?

Mr. Donald Trump: (39:33)

With the Republican Congress, we will defend your safety, and we will also defend your values. That begins with standing up for parents' rights. It's time to finally and completely smash the radical left's corrupt education cartel. It's a cartel. They want to teach all the wrong things. We're beyond the point of incremental reform. Our children our captives to unhinged Marxist educators. I don't know where the hell they come from, but they're all over the place and they're pushing inappropriate sexual, racial, and political material on our children from the youngest possible age. The public school system has become an arm of the radical left, and we are not going to take it any longer. We're not going to.

Mr. Donald Trump: (40:34)

And I ended it all through executive order, and quickly in our military, our military what's happening. We have the greatest military. Thank you very much. We wiped out the ISIS caliphate 100%. Our military did such an incredible job. We had a general name Kane, right? You know, General Kane, General Kane was great. He wiped them out so fast. We have great military, we have great generals, not the

television generals, the real generals that we have. At long last and you know, General Kane's first name does anybody know? Raisin Kane. I said, "Let me ask you, what's your name?" "Raisin Kane." I said, "You got to be kidding. I love you. I think I love you, General." At long last, every parent in America must be empowered to opt out of this indoctrination and send their child to the public private charter, religious or homeschool of their choice.

Mr. Donald Trump: (41:33)

In addition, we will get critical race theory out of our schools, out of our military and out of every part of our federal state and local governments. And we will, this is very, they say it's politically incorrect, so let's say it anyway. Okay? It's politically incorrect. See, I disagree with them. We will also keep men out of women's sports. Is that okay? Very unfair. You know the story of the swimmer. Has anybody heard this, sir? Yes. She was out. He goes, "Yes, but tell it again." But she was a championship swimmer, and she was looking to break the record by one eighth of a second if she could do that, it would be unbelievable. And she worked, and worked, and worked and she was great. And she stood up there, and she looked to the left and she saw a lot of the young women that she's been competing with for 15 years. Then she looked to the right and she saw them too, but there was a person standing next to her and he was a giant in a man's body.

Mr. Donald Trump: (42:46)

Right? They call it now that's what the term is a man's body. They say, "A man's body is unfair." Think of it. But he had a wings span like 2000 feet and she goes, "Whoa, whoa." And she did great, she didn't quite make the record, but she was badly injured. Because she got wind burn from him going by her. He went by her so fast, the wind was blowing and she got wind burn. Now he broke the record by 38 seconds. And the story, maybe even better as the weight lifter, I don't know what the number was like 218 pounds or something. And this young woman, very strong woman, stronger than most of the men in this audience said. Now these people, we would have no problem putting up against right? They'd accept them gladly. But she broke the record, she wanted to break it. She was going to go for the world record, and she stood over that barbell, and they put an eighth of a pound right on one side and an eighth of a pound on the other side. And they started lifting, and she got up there, and she got it up there, here, and it was going and they were screaming. They were screaming. They're so proud of her. Couldn't quite make it, but you'll make it the next time.

Mr. Donald Trump: (44:09)

And then a guy comes along, named Jill. No, a guy comes along and he goes, looks down. Then he, I think for little enjoyment, he went. And they said, "Have you lifted before?" No, I just started, actually. This is so crazy. What's happening. It's demeaning to women. There's nothing politically incorrect about it. You know that the women that swim against people that go in and that were men, are men, you can describe whatever you want to describe, but men's bodies. They don't want to complain, they're afraid to complain. That's the silence. That's what they've done to you. That's what the fake news media has done to you. That's why nobody ever talks about that. But I talk about it. And many, many records are being shattered all over the country and all over the world, actually they're being shattered. They're

being shattered at levels that no woman will ever catch. It's a very sad thing and very demeaning to women. Very, very bad for women.

Mr. Donald Trump: (45:21)

No teacher should ever be allowed to teach transgender to our children without parental consent. Got to have parental consent. When Republicans retake Congress, they also need to crack down hard on big pharma for giving puberty blockers. Can you believe this? And other dangerous drugs to mutilate minor youth? Can you believe we're even talking about these? Puberty? Who the hell? You know, when I started running in, I really started in '15. You know, I was doing it for about four months and then I became president. I said, "Well, let's see, let's figure this out." But we figured it out. We figured it out. We learned quickly, but can you imagine that you're talking about puberty blockers and all these things that you know, who would believe this is a major topic?

Mr. Donald Trump: (46:12)

I mean, even you, when you hear this and you give such a loud applause, bigger than tax cuts, and bigger than things that normally would be great signals of happiness. But it's a very sad thing is happening to our country. And I had it very well stopped, and then we had that election result, which was disgraceful and they now just instituted everything. And by the way, everything in spades. We will save our kids and every federal bureaucrat who is complicit in this travesty needs to be fired immediately. Get out. We had them out. We got them out of the military fast.

Mr. Donald Trump: (46:51)

Another one of the highest priorities under a Republican Congress will be to crack down on left wing censorship and to restore free speech. We don't have free speech in America. Go out and sign up now for truthsocial who's on true social. Doing good. It's great. It's hot. It's much better than Twitter, by the way, much better. With the bots, and the fake accounts, Twitter. Twitter's not doing so well. The radical left Democrat party is not a 50% party within our country. I don't believe it can be. They're against God, guns, oil, law enforcement, voter ID, they're against tax cuts and regulation cuts. They're against the Constitution and they're against our founding fathers. Other than that, they're wonderful people. The way they win is to cheat in elections. That's why we must pass critical election integrity reform, including universal voter ID, citizenship confirmation. Can you believe we even have to say that? Sir, I'd like you to-

Mr. Donald Trump: (48:03)

Do we even have to say that? Sir, I'd like you to confirm that you're a citizen. They don't want you to do that. Okay? Think of it. Citizenship confirmation. Are you a citizen? You're not allowed to ask that question. Can you believe what's happened to our country? No more fake drop boxes. I hope everybody saw 2000 Mules. I hope everybody saw. And that's determinative, and there's no doubt about it. They'd like to say... You know what they say? "Oh, that's been debunked." They don't know. They just say it. It's a line. 2000 Mules. "Oh, that's been debunked." I saw somebody being interviewed the other day, said, "2000 Mules, that's where they stuff ballot boxes by the hundreds of thousands."

Mr. Donald Trump: (48:48)

And this crazy, crackpot announcer who happens to be, I believe on Fox, said, "Oh,

that's been debunked." And the guy goes, "Oh, it has? Oh, I didn't know that." How can it be debunked if you have them on tape? And it's a government tape, it's a government tape that's focused on the box. They walk in like this and they're looking up at the ceiling, not like your average voting, your average worker. They walk in. This guy's walking in, looking up at the ceiling. You know what he's looking for? A thing called cameras. Any cameras around? No private money pouring into local election offices, and ultimately what we want is same day voting with only paper ballots.

Mr. Donald Trump: (49:29)

We are just five months away from the most important midterm election in American history. Mary Miller, remember that name. And we need a landslide so big that the radical left cannot rig it or cannot steal it. This is the year we're going to take back the House, we're going to take back the Senate, and we're going to take back America. And in 2024, most importantly, we are going to take back our magnificent White House.

Crowd: (50:07)

USA. USA. USA. USA.

Mr. Donald Trump: (50:30)

Thank you. Thank you very much. But first we have to secure a massive victory for Mary. And really, I'll tell you, somebody that's going to be so important, and Mary says this also, is your next governor, Darren. We got to win. We got to win. So on Tuesday, get your friends, get your family and get the hell out and vote for Mary and vote for Darren. Vote for Mary and Darren. Together, we will fight for more jobs for American families, fair trade for American workers, and more American factories, forging more products stamped with that beautiful phrase. I love that phrase. Made in the USA. I love that phrase. One of the many things we did, we terminated the worst trade deal ever made and we did a new trade deal with Mexico and Canada, who were ripping us off big. And the USMCA it's called. And you know that everyone said it would be impossible to do. I got it done. And now they want to renegotiate it. Just like they want to renegotiate the airplane, the Air Force One, you know about that.

Mr. Donald Trump: (51:33)

Boeing, I made a deal with Boeing. They wanted \$5.7 billion for two planes. I said, "That sounds like a lot of money." I said, "I'm not going to sign it." They said, "Why, why, why are you doing this?" I said, "Who approved it?" "Obama. Obama approved it." I say, "Well, if Obama approved it, I'm not signing it because we pay too much." And I said, "No, I'm not signing it. I'm not signing it." I spoke to Dennis who was the head of Boeing. This is before the tragedy of the two planes, where Boeing went from the greatest company in the world to a company that was troubled. But this was before. And Dennis called me. He said, "Sir, you have to sign." I said, "I'm not signing. It's got to have a three on the front of it. Not a five."

Mr. Donald Trump: (52:15)

I didn't know anything. I just said, "Has to have a three." It was sort of instinctual. You know what I mean? Right? I said, "Got to have a three on the front of it." He said, "Sir, I won't do that. We'll take off 400 million." I said, "We just made 400 million for a two minutes." I said, "Nope, got to have a three." He called up a

month later. He said, “Sir, we have to make a deal. We’ve started work. We have to make a deal.” I said, “Got to have a three on the front of it.” He said, “We’ll bring it down to four and a half billion dollars.” I said, “Nope, no good. Got to have a three.” And then I thought the deal was dead. And a couple of months later, he called and he said, “The Head of Boeing is calling, sir.”

Mr. Donald Trump: (52:51)

I said, “I wonder what the hell he wants.” You’re into so many other things like the Russia, Russia, Russia hoax, the no collusion, Mueller reported. Then I say. In all fairness to Mueller, he came out with no collusion. Took them two and a half years, but he came out with no collusion. The radical left went crazy. Remember that? Wasn’t that exciting? There’s no collusion. You know why? Because they were truthful. But he called up. I said, “When you’re in business, you make a deal. You want to make a deal. And if that deal doesn’t... You sort of just shut it off.” I said, “What the hell does he want?” I’ll take a squeeze out of a Boeing. Right? “Sir, we have to make a deal.” I said, “It’s got to have a three on the front.” He goes, “We’re willing to do it, sir.

Mr. Donald Trump: (53:32)

3 billion, 999,999,999 and 99 cents. Right? One penny left. And we made a deal. Isn’t that great? So now the big story is, you’ve been seeing it over the last two weeks, that Boeing is saying they’re losing their shirt on the deal, that they’re going to lose 600 or \$700 million on the Air Force One project, and they would like to see if they could renegotiate a better deal with this administration. I don’t think they should. They made the deal. They knew what they were doing. Right? They’ve been screwing us for a long time. Maybe it’s time we had a shot at them, just one shot. Right?

Mr. Donald Trump: (54:10)

So we’ll see what happens, but it’s gotten a lot of publicity. They say they losing... So I was sort of proud of that, but we’ve made a lot of good deals. We saved billions of dollars on the F-35 fighter jet where it was a mess. Before I took office, I saw it and it was a mess and we saved billions of dollars when I got involved. We will shut down Biden’s border disaster, reinstate our strong Remain in Mexico policy. How about that? They don’t want Remain in Mexico. Oh, let them remain here. It wasn’t easy to get. Mexico agreed to it. They would’ve never agreed. But I said, “If you don’t agree, we’re going to put tariffs on your country. 25% for everything you sell, including cars.” They took 32% of our car business over the last 25 years. That’s a lot. I said, “You’re going to have to pay a 25% tariff.” And they said, “We would love to have everyone stay in Mexico.” It’s amazing. For 25 years, they wouldn’t even think about it.

Mr. Donald Trump: (55:05)

We will reimpose Title 42. You know what that is? Strengthen the Patriots of ICE and Border Patrol. We will give them back their respect and dignity. We will, again, end catch and release. We will end chain migration, which is a disaster. We will end the visa lottery. These are all terms that some of you aren’t familiar with. They’re bad. And we will clamp down on illegal immigration, just like we did less than two years ago when we were setting records at the border. We set every record. We will stop the crime wave in Democrat run cities. We will give our police the power they

need and the respect they deserve and let them do their job the only way they know how to do and we will not take legal protection away from that.

Mr. Donald Trump: (55:53)

The new thing is first defund the police, but now if a policeman gets into a jam where they're saying bad things about a policeman, could be guilty, could be not, but they want him to go out and hire his own lawyer, and we don't want to protect him at all. Can you believe this? I don't think he'd get too many people wanting to become policemen. We will restore law and order in America, we will hold China accountable for unleashing the virus upon the world. We will protect innocent life. We will defend our Constitution. We will defend the Second Amendment, and we are doing their good job of that. And we will proudly uphold the Judeo-Christian values and principles of our nation's founding. We will restore patriotic education to our schools and we will teach our children to love their country, honor our history, and to always respect our great American flag.

Mr. Donald Trump: (56:56)

Thank you. Thank you very much. In conclusion, our MAGA movement, it's the greatest movement in the history of our country, and they never even talk about it. If it wasn't, they would be on me all day. They've never said it. It's the greatest in the history of our country. There's never been anything like it. These are patriots that love our country. Together we're standing up against some of the most menacing forces, entrenched interests, and vicious opponents our people have ever seen. Despite great outside dangers, and we do have great outside dangers, our biggest threat remains the sick, sinister, and evil people from within our own country. But no matter how big or powerful these corrupt radicals may be, you must never forget this nation does not belong to them. This nation belongs to you. This is your home. This is your heritage. And our American Liberty is your God given right. And thank you to the Supreme Court.

Mr. Donald Trump: (58:07)

From Chicago to Springfield, from Elmhurst to Evanston, and from Aurora to Rockford, to right here in Mendon. Hey Mendon, you set a record today with by far the biggest crowd they've ever had. This great state has always been the majestic monument to American spirit and strength. Illinois was forged by farmers and frontiersmen, workers, inventors, and engineers and a roll call of American legends like Ray Crock. I don't know about Ray. I'm probably 20 pounds heavier because McDonald's. Ronald Reagan, Charlton Heston, and of course the late, great... A man that not too many people know because they want to silence him. They don't want him to be known. They want to take down his statues in Washington. He's a man named Abraham Lincoln. Can you believe this?

Mr. Donald Trump: (59:14)

And remember I said, three years ago, I said, "Lincoln and Washington will be next." And they all said, "Oh, that's never going to happen." It's never going to happen with me. I can tell you that. We in fact signed an executive order that anybody that touches statues, monuments of any kind, gets automatically 10 years in jail. It's incredible how quickly that stopped. Remember that was a new fad. Let's rip down all the statues and monuments. We stopped it immediately. These Illinois heroes poured our... Incredible. They just went out and they poured their

heart and soul to make into the greatest nation in the history of the world. They worked to make America the greatest nation in the history of the world. But it is no longer a great nation. It is a nation in decline. I hate to say this to you.

Mr. Donald Trump: (01:00:18)

A nation that has the highest inflation in over 40 years, and likewise has the highest energy costs in its history. We have never had anything like what's happened with energy and energy costs. It is no longer energy independent or energy dominant like it was just two years ago. It's a nation that is begging Venezuela and Saudi Arabia for oil. It's a nation that surrendered in Afghanistan, leaving dead soldiers, American citizens, and \$85 billion worth of the finest military equipment in the world behind. It's a nation that allowed Russia to devastate a country, Ukraine, killing hundreds of thousands of people. And it will only get worse. It would never have happened with me and it didn't happen with me. It's a nation that has weaponized its law enforcement against the opposing political party like never before. It's a nation that no longer has a free press or a fair press. Fake news is all you get, and they are the enemy of the people.

Mr. Donald Trump: (01:01:22)

It's a nation where free speech is no longer allowed, where crime is rampant, where the economy is collapsing, where more people died of COVID in 2021 than in 2020. It's a nation that is allowing Iran to build a massive nuclear weapon. Would never have happened. And China to use the trillions of dollars it has taken from us to build a military rival. It will be just a disaster for the world. And perhaps most importantly, a nation that over the past two years is no longer respected or listened to around the world. It is a nation that in many ways has become a joke. And it's a nation that is hostile to our Liberty, our freedom, and our faith. It is a nation whose economy is floundering, whose stores are not stocked, whose deliveries are not coming, and whose educational system is ranked in the lowest quadrant of 45 countries, and yet spends more money per student than any other country by three times.

Mr. Donald Trump: (01:02:28)

But we are not going to let this continue. Two years ago, we had the greatest nation in the world, like never before. We've never had greatness like that. It was hardworking patriots like you that did all of this. You built our country. And I'll tell you, so that you can continue to build our country, I'm going to get you out of this lightning. Okay? I'm going to get you out of this lightning. I just want to say, I love you, have a good time, go home, get out of that lightning. We will make America great again. Remember that. We will make America great again. Thank you. We love you. God bless you. Congratulations. Thank you very much, everyone. Thank you, Illinois. Thank you.

Mr. Donald Trump: (01:03:36)

Appendix B

Transcript²

Transcript of Trump's Interview with Fox News Channel reporters, Martha MacCallum and Bret Baier, America, 6 March 2020

Video length: 49:21

Date: 3/6/2020

No. of words: 10010

Part 1

Bret Baier: (00:00)

Good evening. I'm Bret Baier.

Martha MacCallum: (00:01)

And I'm Martha MacCallum. Great to be here tonight. Pennsylvania, of course, was critical in securing President Trump's victory in 2016. And it is a state that he may need again this November.

Bret Baier: (00:11)

This comes as the Democratic field hoping to challenge him is narrowing. Only two major candidates remain, former Vice President Joe Biden and Vermont Senator Bernie Sanders.

Martha MacCallum: (00:22)

President Trump has already held rallies across the country, touting record jobs, new trade deals, and an overall strong economy.

Bret Baier: (00:30)

So, will that message resonate here, as he looks to become the first Republican since Ronald Reagan to win Pennsylvania twice?

Martha MacCallum: (00:39)

Ladies and gentlemen, President Donald Trump.

Mr. Donald Trump: (00:41)

Thank you. Thank you. Hi, Bret.

Bret Baier: (00:41)

Mr. President, thanks for joining us.

Mr. Donald Trump: (00:41)

Thank you very much.

Martha MacCallum: (00:54)

Good to see you. Thank you for being here. Great to have you.

Mr. Donald Trump: (01:18)

Thank you. So great.

Martha MacCallum: (01:35)

You've got a great crowd here.

Mr. Donald Trump: (01:36)

Nice audience.

Bret Baier: (01:37)

Nice crowd.

Martha MacCallum: (01:37)

Terrific crowd here tonight. Thank you so much, everybody.

Bret Baier: (01:41)

We'd love to get to a lot of questions tonight, and there are a lot of good questions from residents here in Scranton who want to talk about big issues.

Martha MacCallum: (01:48)

So we're going to jump right in with the first questioner from our audience. Thank you again, Mr. President, for being here tonight.

Mr. Donald Trump: (01:53)

Thank you. Thank you very much.

Martha MacCallum: (01:54)

Catherine Pugh is joining us. She is an undecided voter and she has a question for President Trump. Catherine?

Katherine Pugh: (02:02)

Mr. President, at the outset of the coronavirus, your administration's response seemed to some as being confusing or minimizing. What plans are being considered on a federal level for the possibility of a long-term disruption from the novel coronavirus?

Mr. Donald Trump: (02:17)

Well, actually, we were giving ... I think really given tremendous marks. You look at Gallup Poll, you look at other polls for the way we've handled it. And one of the things I did is I closed down the borders to China and to other areas that are very badly affected and really having a lot of troubles. I mean, countries and areas of countries that have had a lot of problem. And I closed them down very early, against the advice of almost everybody, and we've been given rave reviews. And that's why we have only, right now, it's a lot of people, but it's still 11 people versus tremendous numbers of thousands of people that have died all over the world.

Mr. Donald Trump: (02:55)

We have 11. We have 149 cases, as of this moment. This morning, it was 129. And I just see right now it's about 149 cases. There are 100,000 cases all over the world. So we were really given tremendous marks for having made the decision. That was a decision I made to close down the border so that people from China, where we take in thousands and thousands of people a day, they stopped coming in very early, weeks ahead of where they normally would have been stopped.

Bret Baier: (03:24)

Mr. President, you said you want to take politics out of dealing with this crisis. But in the White House yesterday, you said that about the testing kits and the delay, you blamed President Obama.

Mr. Donald Trump: (03:37)

Well, I don't blame anybody. I want to get everybody to understand they made some decisions which were not good decisions. We inherited decisions that they made, and that's fine.

Bret Baier: (03:47)

As far as regulations?

Mr. Donald Trump: (03:47)

Yes. We undid some of the regulations that were made that made it very difficult, but I'm not blaming anybody. It just seems that the Democrats, some of them, I must say and you know it better than anybody, Bret, it's become much better. But some of the Democrats have said, no matter what, if we found a cure and everybody is better tomorrow morning at nine o'clock, they would say, "He's done a terrible job." It's just automatic. "How is the President doing?" "Terrible, terrible." They don't mean it. And we've done a great job. Again, we've gotten the highest poll numbers of anybody for this kind of a thing. And the other thing, I'm working with phenomenal people, with CDC and all of the people involved. Mike Pence is doing a fantastic job. I mean, Mike Pence is working 20 hours a day or more on this and really doing a fantastic job.

Bret Baier: (04:32)

I guess the critics say that, why wait until the testing issue became a crisis before dealing with it? If you want to change the regulations, want to change them either when you took office or when you first learned of the virus in January. For example, South Korea really got their act together right away. That's what they said.

Mr. Donald Trump: (04:49)

Well, when you say "take office", we just learned about this a very short while ago.

Bret Baier: (04:53)

Sure, or when you learned about the virus.

Mr. Donald Trump: (04:56)

I know, but we're not going to be ... I'm thinking about a lot of other things too like trade and millions of other things. I mean, we are doing some job with the economy. So I'm not thinking about this. But as soon as I heard that China had a problem, I said, "What's going on with China? How many people are coming in?" Nobody but me asked that question. And you know better than again, you know, you both know that I closed the borders very early.

Bret Baier: (05:16)

And you were getting applause for that.

Mr. Donald Trump: (05:16)

We've been given A-pluses for that. Saved a lot of lives.

Bret Baier: (05:19)

But I'm just talking about testing the testing kits.

Mr. Donald Trump: (05:20)

Well, the testing, we did it as soon as we found out that it was a problem, we did it. It's not the kind of thing you say, "Gee, I just got elected. Let's do some testing on this." They had some bad decisions. Some bad decisions were made. We corrected those decisions.

Martha MacCallum: (05:34)

So, obviously, you care a lot about the economy, and we are seeing some impacts. It's kind of surprising how many conferences are being shut down and meetings are being canceled and flights. A lot of flights have been canceled. Even the James Bond movie, they're delaying because of coronavirus. I'm wondering what you think is the long-term? Over the course of the year, Wall Street says that they don't

expect U.S. companies to have any growth in 2020, which is pretty surprising. What's the impact on the economy and also, potentially, on your reelection?

Mr. Donald Trump: (06:03)

Well, I think people are viewing us as having done a very good job. What we have to do is do a very professional job. Nobody is blaming us for the virus. Nobody. I mean, I haven't heard that, even from some of the so-called enemies or whatever you want to call them. They're not blaming us. This started in China. How it started, there's question but thousands and thousands of cases in China. And it infiltrated to almost 100 countries right now.

Martha MacCallum: (06:26)

But I'm not talking about the handling of it.

Mr. Donald Trump: (06:27)

Nobody is blaming me.

Martha MacCallum: (06:28)

Excuse me. I don't mean to interrupt, but I'm just asking about you know, in terms of things you can't control, right? The impact on the economy and potentially that could ... If people feel like the economy is turning around, that could be an election issue as you go into it.

Mr. Donald Trump: (06:41)

Well, look, we were set to hit 30,000 on the Dow. This is a number that nobody ever even came close to, and already, we have the number. And even though it's down 10 or 11%, it's still the highest it's ever been by far. It certainly might have an impact. At the same time, I have to say, people are now staying in the United States, spending their money in the U.S., and I like that. You know, I've been after that for a long time. You know that. I've been saying, "Let's stay in the U.S. Spend your money here." And they're doing that. They've sort of been forced doing that. We met with the airline companies yesterday. They're doing a fantastic job. And they're just not flying to areas that have a big problem. So, it's going to all work out. Everybody has to be calm. It's all going to work out.

Bret Baier: (07:21)

But to Catherine's original question, there is a long-term plan, if it lasts longer than you think.

Mr. Donald Trump: (07:25)

Sure. We could have a very long-term plan. We hope that doesn't happen, but we have plans for every single possibility, and I think that's what we have to do. We hope it doesn't last too long.

Bret Baier: (07:37)

We want to get to audience questions. Robert is a Trump supporter. He does have a question about rhetoric here in the campaign. Robert?

Robert Bresnahan: (07:44)

Mr. President, thank you so much for returning back to Northeastern Pennsylvania.

President Donald Trump: (07:48)

Thank you.

Robert Bresnahan: (07:49)

I've been a big supporter of you for the duration. And thank you for everything that you've done for this country and continue to do for this country.

Mr. Donald Trump: (07:55)

Thank you very much.

Robert Bresnahan: (07:56)

Unfortunately, insult politics have become a staple of this political environment.

Mr. Donald Trump: (08:01)

Yeah.

Robert Bresnahan: (08:02)

Joe Biden has suggested to take you out back behind the gym and fight you. Maxine Waters has a has a low IQ. Could there be a way that we can deliver your message without the controversial rhetoric and efforts to reunite this country during these divisive times?

Mr. Donald Trump: (08:22)

Well, I have to tell you, I think ... I appreciate the question. I think the country is far more united than people think. And, ultimately, what's uniting the country is success. And we're having more success than we've ever had. We got hit with the virus, really, three weeks ago, if you think about it, I guess. That's when we first started, really, to see some possible effects. But even despite that, the country we are having the greatest year. We had last year was the greatest year we've ever had, economically. And I think the way we unite is really through success. But when they hit us, we have to hit back. I feel that. I mean, there's two ways of doing it, turning your cheek but I wouldn't be sitting up here if I turned my cheek. If I said, "Okay, let them just keep hitting at me, and I won't do it."

Mr. Donald Trump: (09:03)

They're not interviewing me right now, they're interviewing somebody else. Maybe they won't even be doing that, because if they don't get ratings, they don't interview anybody. That I've learned from. But you know what? You can't turn your cheek. I mean, we get hit. We get hit so hard, and we have a media that is you know, I say, to a large extent, it's a part of the Democrat Party. It really is. It's terrible. It's unfair. I call it fake news. I've used that, and people are using that, I guess, all over the world right now. And that's the way it is. We have to fight back. If we don't fight back, you won't be a fan of mine very long. But I appreciate the question. Thank you.

Martha MacCallum: (09:50)

All right. Speaking of rhetoric, I want you to ask you to listen to this.

Chuck Schumer: (09:57)

I want to tell you, Gorsuch. I want to tell you, Kavanaugh. You have released the whirlwind, and you will pay the price. Now, I should not have used the words I used yesterday. They didn't come out the way I intended to.

Martha MacCallum: (10:17)

So, going over some of that response to all of that, President Trump, some of your critics are saying, well, President Trump has also gone after liberal judges and that Chuck Schumer-

President Donald Trump: (10:26)

You mean they're blaming me for Schumer?

Martha MacCallum: (10:27)

No. Well, they're saying that he came out-

Mr. Donald Trump: (10:29)

Why not?

Martha MacCallum: (10:37)

So, he made sort of an apology there. Do you think that you should make any apology for what you've said about liberal judges or not?

Mr. Donald Trump: (10:40)

Well, look, I mean, we had a justice come out and criticize me badly. And I just responded to what she said. I had it twice. And when you look at I had a very harsh criticism, as you know. Justice Ginsburg just before a debate, during the election, as I was getting elected, she came out, she had to apologize. It was a terrible thing she said. She should have never been allowed to say it. But if they say something to me, I'm not allowed to say back. You had another justice say something that was somewhat derogatory, and all I did was respond. But I didn't respond like Schumer.

Mr. Donald Trump: (11:17)

Schumer that was a physical thing, in my opinion. You know, he tried to say, well, that has to do with the election. That had nothing to do with the election, the way he said we're going to hit back like you've never seen before. That was a real intimidation. And the best you can say is they're trying to intimidate so the justices vote their way. That's no good either. But that was a physical/ That was really ... If a Republican did what Schumer did, they'd be in jail right now. It's true.

Bret Baier: (11:46)

Mr. President, just to follow up on that really quickly. Chief Justice Roberts obviously put out a statement and really rebuked Senator Schumer for those words. The last time he put out one of these rare statements, it was about you and the federal judge that you called an Obama judge. So to Martha's question, is there something about apologies on both sides when dealing with justices or judges?

Mr. Donald Trump: (12:09)

Well, look, I have to state the facts. I'm not threatening anybody physically. But if we have an Obama judge, we don't do very well. Now, we've appointed 220 federal judges the most, I think, in history. It's a record. It's a record. Because, number one, Mitch McConnell did a great job and the Republicans did a great job. But the bottom line is, President Obama gave me 142 openings when I first got there. Normally, you would have ... There's never been anything like that. Normally, you'd have no opening. Now, do you say he's a great President? The most important thing you have to do, I say, is the military, but a lot of people say it's judges and justices of the Supreme Court. President Obama gave us 142. It's unheard of.

Mr. Donald Trump: (12:53)

If you have one, it's like you got lucky. Had 142. We're up to 220 federal judges and court of appeals judges, two Supreme Court justices. I mean, it's incredible. But we were going ... If you go to the Ninth Circuit, if you go certain places, it's almost impossible to win. So I was surprised at Justice Roberts. And I have a lot of respect for him. I like him personally. I have a lot of respect. But I think that could have been left unsaid, because a lot of people, a lot of very top legal minds disagreed with him when he said it. Now, I'm just talking about the facts. I'm talking about, sort of, the facts of life. That's the way it is.

Bret Baier: (13:28)

Well, let's get back to our questions. Our next question is from David Hines. He's a Democrat who decided to vote for you in 2016.

Mr. Donald Trump: (13:35)

Good.

David Hines: (13:36)

Mr. President, welcome back to Scranton.

President Donald Trump: (13:38)

Thank you, David.

David Hines: (13:39)

Everyone supports protecting the environment, but the EPA seems too focused on complex regulations, fines, fees, and lawsuits. What can you do to lead the EPA to focus more on proactive compliance, instead of punitive enforcement to protect the environment?

Mr. Donald Trump: (13:56)

David, I love the question, because our EPA is much different. We're very tough, but we get things done and we're taking regulations off like nobody has ever seen. And I say very simply, I want to have the cleanest air on the planet. I want to have the most crystal clear, beautiful water on the planet. And our conditions now are much better than they were three years ago. But you know very well, David, because you're into the world of regulation, I think it was maybe one of the biggest things we've done. I've cut regulations more than any President, whether they have eight years, four years, or in one case, quite a bit more than eight years. I cut more than any other President in the history of our country, and I did it in less than three years. So it's a great question.

Mr. Donald Trump: (14:38)

The EPA was ... This is why I was able to get the country going because so many jobs were stopped by not only EPA, so many other agencies, where you'd have to go get 11 different permits for essentially the same thing. I opened up LNG plants in Louisiana where they were for years for 10, 12, 14 years and longer trying to get permits. They couldn't get permits. I got them built. A 10-billion-dollar plant in Louisiana, the Keystone XL pipeline. I gave it in my first week. I got approval. The Dakota Access Pipeline, I got the approval. 48,000 jobs. And, frankly, it's more environmentally, it's better than having a train going up and down tracks, and you don't know what happens with the train.

Mr. Donald Trump: (15:21)

Plenty of bad things happen with those trains. Here, you're underground, environmentally better. So I think it's a great question. One of the reasons the economy is so strong is because of what we did with regulations. If the other side, we'll call it the other side, affectionately got in, they would have made regulations much, much tougher. Thank you. [crosstalk 00:15:42]

Martha MacCallum: (15:46)

I want to ask David, actually-

Bret Baier: (15:47)

They're talking about the rain tax here in Pennsylvania.

Martha MacCallum: (15:48)

A follow-up question because you are really the typical voter. I think you were a life-long Democrat who crossed over and voted for President Trump in 2016 in areas like we are in right now, in Luzerne and Lackawanna County. So, obviously, now Joe Biden or Bernie Sanders, whoever it is, is going to try to get your vote back. So I'm curious, is there anything or any issue that they could answer for you that would change your mind, do you think?

David Hines: (16:16)

I'm focused on the economy and on regulation and deregulation. And I like what's happened in the country in the last four years.

Mr. Donald Trump: (16:24)

Thank you.

David Hines: (16:26)

Thankful for your efforts, sir. And I hope we can continue on that.

Bret Baier: (16:37)

So the answer is no.

Martha MacCallum: (16:37)

So the answer would be no? Nothing would change your mind? No, he's shaking his head. No, nothing.

Mr. Donald Trump: (16:38)

I think they thought you were going to give them a different answer, and that's why they asked you that question.

Martha MacCallum: (16:40)

No, I wanted to hear, because I do think it's very-

President Donald Trump: (16:40)

That sounded like a set-up question. But, David, you're my man. David is my man. I like that.

Martha MacCallum: (16:48)

I said I'm very interested in this voter because we want to know how voters like you are going to vote next time around because we love to follow the story of the movement of the electoral. And I think it's fascinating that you answered as you did.

President Donald Trump: (17:02)

Well, Martha, this area of Pennsylvania and Pennsylvania itself has the best numbers it's ever had. It's got the best economy it's ever had. It has the best unemployment numbers it's ever had. And Scranton has the lowest and best unemployment numbers and employment numbers too that they've ever had by far. So we're very happy about the job. The people in Pennsylvania, they're very happy with the job. You know, it was 30 years since a Republican won Pennsylvania, and based on results, I think we'll win it again very easily.

Martha MacCallum: (17:31)

Yeah. President Trump, I mentioned Joe Biden and Bernie Sanders because Elizabeth Warren dropped out today, and I want to know what your reaction to that was.

Mr. Donald Trump: (17:43)

Well, look, if she's a true progressive, which probably she is, she should have dropped out three days ago. It would have been a whole different race. Texas was

close. She got votes. She didn't do well, but she got a lot of votes, far more than the difference. Think about Maine. Maine was almost a tie. They had to wait a day and a half before they could even call it, it was so close. She, I guess, came in third, and it was very distant third, but she got a lot of votes. Maine would have gone to ... I think he would have gotten everything, right? Bernie Sanders would have won five, six, seven states. Would've won Minnesota. Would've won, at least, another two or three states. So when you look at it, she did him no favors. That was not a good friendship. We started to see that during the debates, by the way. That one became unhinged.

Martha MacCallum: (18:34)

Yeah.

Mr. Donald Trump: (18:36)

But if she would have gone out, she didn't even have to endorse him. If she just dropped out of the race, without an endorsement, he would have won a tremendous number of states that he lost. You know, he lost states by not very much, and she got enough votes that it would have made a big difference. I think he would be leading by a lot right now had she not been in the race.

Bret Baier: (18:55)

Tonight, you're in the boyhood home, obviously, of Joe Biden, who is sort of like a phoenix from the ashes in this Democratic race. And tonight, it looks likely that he could get the Democratic nomination. Now, Democrats insist that you were impeached because you were trying to damage Joe Biden. Were you?

Mr. Donald Trump: (19:16)

So it was a fake impeachment. We had a hundred ... Think of it. And the Republicans in the House, we had 196 votes in favor, zero from the Republicans. Zero against. We picked up three Democrat votes on top of that. And we had one Democrat who was so angry by it, that he left the party and became a Republican which I think is a first time, because he left a majority and went into a minority. Van Drew. And it was a whole fake deal. And everybody knows that. I made a phone call. It was a perfect phone call. There was nothing wrong with it. And they said, "Let's impeach." Now, the real backstory is when the phony whistleblower, who's a total phony, he heard the call, supposedly through somebody, through the informant.

Mr. Donald Trump: (20:07)

Do you notice the way everybody disappeared? Thank goodness I had a transcriber. We had more than one. Thank goodness we had that call transcribed, because the transcripts of the call revealed that it was a perfect call. By that time, they were already talking about impeachment. And they were going by a phony whistleblower rendition of a call that didn't exist. Just like Adam Schiff, he goes before Congress and he starts talking about eight quid pro quos and "Don't call me, I'll call you." Well, that's a mob expression. "Don't call me ..." And everybody saying, "That's a terrible call." He made it up. It was totally made up. And I said, "Good. We'll sue him. We'll take him down." And then I find out he's got immunity because he made it in Congress. It should almost be the opposite. You should almost have to be more honest if you're in Congress.

Bret Baier: (20:52)

Do you think Biden is damaged? Do you think he's damaged?

Mr. Donald Trump: (20:57)

I think that Biden has been damaged, yeah. A lot of people. I saw a couple of statements very strong statements by very respected people in your world, saying they aimed at Trump but they took Biden down. And, really, that's what happened, when you think. Because you look at the son, here's a guy, didn't have a job, who was unfortunately sadly, the military was a very sad experience for him. He goes out, he gets \$3 million plus \$183,000 a month to be a board member of a company that a lot of people said was corrupt.

Mr. Donald Trump: (21:29)

Worse just as bad China, I just made a great China deal. China is paying us billions and billions of dollars because of what I did to them with tariffs. Billions of dollars. I mean, to a point where my farmers are in love with me because I took some of that money and gave it to them. But his son walks out of China with a billion and a half dollars for a fund. Now, a billion and a half dollars for fund meaning he's going to make hundreds of thousands of dollars a year, and much more than that.

Bret Baier: (21:55)

Do you want to face Joe Biden or Bernie Sanders? That's my question.

Mr. Donald Trump: (21:58)

I'll tell you, I was all set for Bernie, because I thought it was going to happen. You know, we get ready for things, right? So, mentally, I'm all set for Bernie. Communist, I had everything down. He's a communist. I was all set. And then we have this crazy thing that happened, right? On Tuesday, which he thought was Thursday. But he also said 150 million people were killed with guns and he was running for the United States Senate. "Support me, I'm running for the United States." There's something going on there. But I was all set. I was all set. And when I focus and we all focus, sometimes you do well and some people choke. I watched Mini Mike choke. When Mini Mike was hit by a very mean woman, he said, "Get me off this stage. Just get me off." And that wasn't a pretty sight to be ... But I was all set to take on Bernie. I was ready.

Mr. Donald Trump: (22:56)

And then all of a sudden, I say, "Guess what?" I went to the First Lady, who people love. I go in to the First Lady, and I said, "He just won Texas. He just won ..." Et cetera, et cetera. By the way, so close. It was a whole different thing because of her. So now I'm ready for Bernie and now all of a sudden I have a whole different, you know, it's a whole different deal. Two very different people. I think, in a certain way, Bernie would be tougher because he's got a base. It's a much smaller base than my base. I think a lot of my people are here because, and I did nothing to do that, but we have a lot of support in Pennsylvania and I think we have a lot of support everywhere. Look at the rallies. Look at the rallies. But I was all set for Bernie. I was ready to go. And then I say, "You know, I don't think I'm running against Bernie." I think it's going to be very hard for him to come back.

Part 2

Martha MacCallum: (00:00)

Let's go right to Audrey who has a question for President Trump. Audrey.

Audrey Strein: (00:04)

Right here.

Martha MacCallum: (00:05)

There we go. Hi Audrey.

Audrey Strein: (00:06)

Mr. President. Thank you. Pennsylvania thanks you. Bucks County thanks you for everything you're doing for our country.

Donald Trump: (00:12)

Thank you very much.

Audrey Strein: (00:12)

We look at your energy and makes me get up and say if he can do it, I can definitely get up and do everything I got to do.

Mr. Donald Trump: (00:18)

Thank you very much.

Audrey Strein: (00:19)

I want to say Republicans have failed to come up with an alternative plan to Obamacare. How do you plan to rally the Republicans around a plan and what would be included in that?

Mr. Donald Trump: (00:29)

Thank you very much. It's a great question and very important, healthcare and I think it's probably the thing that I'm most disappointed that I haven't been able to say what a good job we've done. I haven't been able to sell what a great job we've done.

Mr. Donald Trump: (00:41)

First of all, I get rid of the individual mandate, which was the worst part of Obamacare. That's where you paid a fortune not to pay for horrible healthcare and insurance, and it had a tremendous impact. Preexisting conditions, 100% we take care of. But we have many healthcare plans now where it's 60%, even 65% less expensive than Obamacare. It's better than Obamacare, and what we really have left is the carcass of Obamacare or you could call it new healthcare, because without preexisting... without the whole thing with the individual mandate, it's a whole different ball game. It's a much different plan.

Mr. Donald Trump: (01:19)

And what we'd like to do is totally kill it, but come up, before we do that, with something that's great. What we've done is we've really managed Obamacare, the remaining portion, we get rid of the bad part, but the remaining portion really well. And before I got involved, you know what was happening with the rates on Obamacare. They were going up at levels that nobody's ever seen before. We are managing it.

Mr. Donald Trump: (01:41)

And I had a decision to make. This was very important. I said to my people, and we have great people, [Sema 00:01:47], Azar, I mean great people that are so good at it. I said, "You know, I have a little problem. Do we manage it great until we get something much better? Or do we manage it poorly and say Obamacare's horrible." And I said, "We've got to do the right thing. We've got to manage it really, really good." So it's not great healthcare, but we're managing it fantastically and you don't see all those stories about the rates going through the roof anymore because we know what we're doing.

Mr. Donald Trump: (02:13)

At the same time, we want to get you really fantastic healthcare. If we can win back the house, we'll be able to do that. We have to win back the House, keep the Senate, keep the White House. [inaudible 00:02:24]. Thank you. Thank you for the question.

Martha MacCallum: (02:22)

Mr. President, I just want to follow up quickly on that because the issue of preexisting conditions, you say you're going to protect them, but your administration is also fighting Obamacare and the courts. So how do you promise people that you're going to protect them based on that?

Mr. Donald Trump: (02:40)

That's what I said. Yeah, that's what I said, we want to terminate Obamacare because it's bad. Look, we're running it really well, but we know it's defective. It's very defective. We got rid of the worst part and that was a very important thing. Getting rid of the individual mandate was a very important thing. But we want to get something... if we can get the House, you'll have the best healthcare, health insurance anywhere on the planet, but we have to get the House back. Now that means we have to hold the Senate, we have to get the House, we have to obviously keep the White House. But what we're doing is managing it really well.

Mr. Donald Trump: (03:13)

Now it's a case, it's called Texas versus... you understand, it's Texas is suing. They want to terminate it, but everybody there is also saying... and everybody, we have our great Senator from Pennsylvania, thank you very much, Pat, for being here. And Pat Toomey, but very important... and by the way, our great Congressman, I have to say they were warriors, right? Real warriors in terms of the fake impeachment. I will tell you that.

Mr. Donald Trump: (03:41)

Texas is, and it's Texas and many states, they're tried to terminate, but they want to put something that's much better. They're terminating it to put much better. And they've all pledged that preexisting conditions 100% taken care of.

Bret Baier: (03:54)

Immigration. That next question is from Jennifer and she has a question about this issue. Hi.

Jennifer Nolan: (04:01)

Hi, thank you Mr. President. This is truly an honor and one of the best days of my life, just don't tell my husband.

Mr. Donald Trump: (04:06)

Wow.

Jennifer Nolan: (04:08)

And I want to know how are you going to control the illegal immigration without support from the democratic party?

Mr. Donald Trump: (04:14)

Well, you know it's been hard, but we've done it incredibly. It could have been... we have things called loopholes and the loopholes are terrible, like lottery where you give lotteries, they pick lotteries and they have people coming into our country. We have ended catch and release. We have right now 27,000 Mexican soldiers on

our border saying that if they don't do that, we're going to have to be very tough on Mexico and they're doing it, because our soldiers aren't allowed to be there for a lot of reasons and we're very politically correct as a nation. Mexico, perhaps a slightly less politically correct. And we have the best numbers that we've had in many, many months. We've had, I guess, it's now 9 or 10 months where the numbers are way down and we've been keeping them down.

Mr. Donald Trump: (04:55)

But we need the wall. And most importantly, the wall is way under construction. We're up to 129 miles already. Where we have a wall, by the way, nobody's coming through. Practically nobody. We will have by early next year almost 500 miles of wall. And once we have that wall, it's going to stop drugs, it's going to stop big percentages of everything coming in. Okay.

Mr. Donald Trump: (05:21)

And we're really, really doing the job and by the way, it's very important, because I could've done a much less expensive version. I could have done a much easier version, but a version that people would get over very easily. You've seen the people that get caught on top. It's very high and very powerful. We are building exactly what the Border Patrol wanted. They wanted a very specific wall. You had to be able to see through it to the other side. You want to see where the people... I thought before I got involved I said, "I can build just a nice concrete plank wall, throw it up." That would be no good. It wouldn't work. We built the wall that everybody has been dreaming about, in terms of law enforcement for many years. So we're up to 129 miles. We'll be at 500 miles in a very short distance. It's really moving up quickly. Thank you.

Bret Baier: (06:06)

A lot of questions, by the way, about the wall. Also a lot of questions, Mr. President, about the national debt. Since being president, you've signed into law \$4.7 trillion of debt, including 2.1 trillion of discretionary spending. Understand that you're spending on the military as well. When you ran for president, at one point you said that you would pay off the debt within eight years. So now we're about four years in and the debt is up \$3.5 trillion. That's about 18%. Republicans and Democrats obviously are not talking about the national debt a lot on Capitol Hill or on the campaign trail. So do you-

Mr. Donald Trump: (06:42)

But I talk about it.

Bret Baier: (06:43)

... do you care about the national debt?

Donald Trump: (06:43)

I do. I very much, and I'll always talk about it, because to me it's very important. Now, the good thing about the debt is we're paying very little interest, almost nothing. This is a great interest climate. In fact, I want to refinance the debt, but I had to fix the military. The military was depleted. I had to fix the military. It's one thing to say, "Gee, we did a good job on the debt, or gee, we did a good job on the budget." And you have people from other countries running up the White House lawn. Maybe they took over our country, but I did one hell of a job on the budget right?

Mr. Donald Trump: (07:18)

Now I had to fix the military, \$2.5 trillion dollars. We had to do other things. The country when I took it over was in very bad shape. Remember this, President Obama had... he more than doubled. He put more debt on than all of the other presidents of the United States combined. Combined all the debt of every other president. And I took it over. We had \$20 trillion worth of debt on the country and actually more than that. And we had a lot of commitments for other things and on top of it, it's one thing, you take over something and you have debt, you have a building, you have debt, but the building's fixed up. The country was a mess. We were in all these wars all over the place-

Bret Baier: (07:57)

But this would be a focus of a second term?

Mr. Donald Trump: (07:58)

Oh absolutely. But when the trade deals kick in, now again, we were disturbed by what's going on with the virus, but that's going to be fine and everybody, it's going to be fine. But that was a disturbance. But I will say this, when these trade deals kick in and when all... the economy is the best economy we've ever had. It's nothing compared to what it's going to be when the trade deals kick in.

Martha MacCallum: (08:23)

But if you don't cut something in entitlements, you'll never really deal with that.

Donald Trump: (08:28)

Well, we'll be cutting, but we're also going to have growth like you've never had before. We've never had growth like we're experiencing. We will be experiencing when they kick in... China as an example, they didn't do anything with us. They're now spending \$250 billion a year and that's only for phase one. Phase two is going to be even more so. It's \$250 billion. I just made a deal with Japan with they're paying 40 billion. They never gave us anything. All they do is sell us cars for no tax coming into the country. South Korea, I've made a deal, and then I made the USMCA deal with Canada and Mexico replacing the worst deal, which was made by, by the way, which was made by Joe. Okay. I didn't want to say Sleepy Joe because I want to be respected. I want to respect him.

Bret Baier: (09:11)

But you got it in there anyway.

Mr. Donald Trump: (09:11)

He looks like he's going to be a candidate and I just say, "How did that happen?"

So, but no, Joe Biden, in all fairness, Joe Biden made a deal. NAFTA, he approved it. He was pushing it. It's the worst trade deal ever made. We're terminating NAFTA. We have the USMCA. If you look at what happened between China and Mexico and Canada, what they were doing to this country, how they were taking advantage of us, they were... Canada was judging us 300% tariffs. Now we haven't really in good shape.

Martha MacCallum: (09:44)

All right.

Bret Baier: (09:44)

Mr. President, turning to foreign policy. John Sullivan has a question. John, there you are.

John Sullivan: (09:51)

Hi, Mr. President. Thanks for coming to Pennsylvania tonight. My question's ever since you've taken office in January, 2017 North Korea has been in the news and it's on the minds of many Americans and just like myself. So if you're elected again this year, what's your plan moving forward with what you've already done with North Korea?

Mr. Donald Trump: (10:12)

I don't think it's on the minds of too many Americans to be honest with you, but it certainly, it should be okay. And it's good that it's on your mind, because it's big stuff and they do have a lot of power, a lot of nuclear power.

Mr. Donald Trump: (10:25)

I don't get credit for this, and maybe I should, maybe I shouldn't. But when I became president, I was told by President Obama sitting in the Oval Office in our, probably our only meeting, essentially. That was enough for me. But I was told-

Bret Baier: (10:37)

And you haven't talked to him since.

Mr. Donald Trump: (10:40)

I was at the funeral of President Bush, sat next to him and I said, "Hello." And then I said, "Goodbye." That's about it. No, I didn't like the job he did. I didn't like the job that he and Biden did. I didn't like the position they put us in. I didn't like what he did to our military, our military. We didn't even have a military. Our military was so depleted. And I tell this story yet, I hate to tell it because it's embarrassing, but right now we have more ammunition that we've ever had. It's all over the place.

Mr. Donald Trump: (11:14)

We were having difficulty with a certain country. Remember Donald Trump is going to start a war right away. Well, here it is. We're almost four years out. There's been no war and we're respected again. But I was told by a general, "Sir, please don't do that." Why? We have no ammunition. This is the condition we were left in. When you look at so many different problems that we will left, I mean and with countries... but he said, "The biggest problem we have is North Korea." That's what you're alluding to and I have a good relationship with him. I said, "Did you ever call him?" The answer is yes, he did. But I will tell you, I don't think they admit that maybe they do, but called many times and Kim Jong Un did not want to talk to him and me he wanted to talk to. And we met in Singapore, we met in Vietnam and I also went to the border, the first person ever to walk over from et cetera, et cetera. And we had very good relationship, understanding. Let's see what happens.

Mr. Donald Trump: (12:08)

But the pundits say, "Isn't it terrible what he's done?" He's given..." I gave nothing. I gave nothing. The sanctions are wrong. They want to see if they can do something. But I haven't given anything. If the other side got in, you would right now be in a big war with North Korea. Maybe it would be over by now, but you would right... almost immediately you would have started. And if you remember the rhetoric at the beginning, that was very tough rhetoric, but that rhetoric got us to a place.

Donald Trump: (12:34)

And the Olympics became successful because of me in South Korea because all of a sudden they called. They said, "We'd like to be... participate." They didn't sell any tickets cause nobody wanted to go to the Olympics. All of a sudden, North Korea calls up and says, "We want to be a participant in the Olympics" everybody fell off their seat. That was because of me. And by the way, the president of South Korea gives total credit for that. So it became successful. The bottom line is I have a very good relationship with them. I cannot guarantee anything. But for three years we've spent nothing. We're getting sanctions and we're not in war with North Korea, which is not bad.

Bret Baier: (13:10)

All right, Mr. President.

Mr. Donald Trump: (13:11)

Thank you.

Bret Baier: (13:11)

Thank you.

Part 3

Bret Baier: (00:00)

You talked this week to the leader of the Taliban.

Mr. Donald Trump: (00:02)

I did.

Bret Baier: (00:02)

And you said it was a good conversation, in which you said you both didn't want violence. However, on that same day, the Taliban launched some 50 attacks in Afghanistan, 40 of them in one province. There are many Americans really wondering... And the US struck back against the Taliban. There are many Americans wondering-

Mr. Donald Trump: (00:23)

Very powerful, yeah.

Bret Baier: (00:23)

Where the peace part of the Peace Plan is, and can you trust the Taliban?

Donald Trump: (00:28)

So these are warriors. We've been there for 20 years. We're really serving more as a law enforcement group than a military group. We could win that war very easily but I don't feel like killing millions of people in order to do it. We don't want to do that, you don't want to do that, nobody wants to do that. People are tired, even the biggest hawks are tired of being there. I had a very good conversation with him. There was a group that formed. And again, they have many tribes and they have many different... It's hard for one... There's not like perfectly one control. I spoke to a certain man who is the leader, but the leader has not... It's not the easiest leadership position.

Bret Baier: (01:02)

Structure.

Mr. Donald Trump: (01:03)

And the structure is... Tribes all over the place. A tribe formed and a group formed that was going to attack certain soldiers, Afghan soldiers, and the military heard

about it and the military went and they took them out. That was it. I believe they really want to make a deal. I think after 19, actually going very close to 20 years, they're also tired of fighting, believe it or not, but they are warriors and they are fighters and that's what they've done for a thousand years. Just ask the Soviet Union, which became Russia because of Afghanistan. It's a tough place.

Martha MacCallum: (01:35)

So given that, you have said that you want to end this. It's gone on for a long time, but what about the conditions on the ground, because General Mattis had a disagreement with you about pulling troops out of Syria and Afghanistan. If your generals tell you-

Mr. Donald Trump: (01:48)

Well, I was right. I was so right.

Martha MacCallum: (01:49)

If the generals say to you, "Mr. President, we need more people not fewer people right now." What will you do?

Donald Trump: (01:55)

Well, Mattis said that, and I gave him more people for a short period of time and it didn't work out, and what we were doing is policing-

Bret Baier: (01:59)

But now with Afghanistan...

Mr. Donald Trump: (02:01)

In Afghanistan. As far as Syria, I did pull them out. I pulled them out. We were securing the border between Turkey and Syria. I said why are we doing that? Turkey is big, Syria is fine, let them fight their own battles. What are we doing with our soldiers? Getting people killed. Now, the one thing when I came in ISIS was all over Syria, all over Iraq and we don't want them coming to us, and it was a mess. You understand that very well. And I knocked out 100% of the territorial caliphate, 100%. We knocked the whole thing out [crosstalk 00:02:37].

Bret Baier: (02:37)

Within 14 months.

Martha MacCallum: (02:38)

But what about Afghanistan?

Mr. Donald Trump: (02:38)

No, but just so you understand. So we knocked out the ISIS caliphate in vast amounts of the Middle East, and I did that fairly quickly when I came. Again, President Obama, it was all over the place. When I say we're not doing the borders, we did leave soldiers. We left soldiers because I kept the oil. And I was always against Iraq, going into Iraq. I think it was one of the worst, maybe the worst decision ever made, but I used to say, once they were in there, keep the oil. They never kept the oil. We have an oil area near Syria and in Syria, we kept it. So the only soldiers I have over there, they're guarding the oil. We kept the oil. So we kept the treasure. That's okay [crosstalk 00:03:15].

Martha MacCallum: (03:16)

But if it takes more troops to keep the Taliban from taking over Afghanistan, is that something you would be willing to do or no?

Donald Trump: (03:21)

Well, there's a big question about the government of Afghanistan. There's a big question about that whole situation in Afghanistan. We're getting along very well with everybody. We have to get our people back home. It's not fair. We're a police force over there. We're maintaining things. Eventually we have to leave. We don't want to stay there for another 20 years. We don't want to stay there for 100 years. We want our people to come back home.

Bret Baier: (03:43)

All right, Lynette has our next question from the audience about division really in politics. Lynette.

Lynette: (03:51)

Oh, I'm sorry [crosstalk 00:03:52].

Bret Baier: (03:51)

Oh, there you go.

Mr. Donald Trump: (03:53)

Hi, Lynette.

Lynette: (03:53)

Hi, President Trump. I'm so happy to have you here.

Mr. Donald Trump: (03:56)

Thank you.

Lynette: (03:56)

From the day you came down the escalator in Trump Towers I was on the Trump train.

Mr. Donald Trump: (04:00)

Oh, I like that. I like you too. Thank you.

Lynette: (04:04)

And I proudly wear my Trump pin every day of my life.

Mr. Donald Trump: (04:07)

Thank you. Great honor.

Lynette: (04:08)

My question is, we are so divided as a country. I have family members who do not speak to me and recently was told, "If you support Trump you are no longer part of my life." How are you going to bring us together?

Donald Trump: (04:21)

So I gave an answer before, success, but it's really a little bit more than that, because we've had great success and there is a division, there's no question about it. Politicians have to be able to be civil. If they're not, you have to fight back. You have to. Otherwise we're not going to be. There's a movement on, and I call them the radical left Democrats, and it really is the radical left, because we have plenty of Democrats that are terrific and they want to see let's get together, let's get things done.

Mr. Donald Trump: (04:47)

There's so many things we could do. We've done a lot. We've done more than any administration in three years in the history of our country for the first three years. And I say it all the time and the press doesn't even dispute me and they would do that. But we could do even so much more. We talked about a great question on the border and the border question's true, but we should get rid of the loopholes. You

can't do that without Democrat votes. I really believe we're going to win this next election, and when we do, the other side's going to say, "Okay, that's it. Let's get along. I really believe that. But we have to win the election. Good question.

Bret Baier: (05:22)

All right, Mr. President, we're going to do a quick lightning round here. Short questions, short answers ideally. This one goes back to Coronavirus in the beginning. You are a self proclaimed germaphobe. In the campaign, before the campaign, you didn't like to shake hands. You changed that. What do doctors-

Donald Trump: (05:42)

Well, I'm not thrilled.

Bret Baier: (05:43)

Yeah, yeah, you're not thrilled. What do doctors tell you? Have you changed anything in the way that you operate?

Mr. Donald Trump: (05:49)

So yeah, it's a great question because I've always felt, I don't know from the time I was a young guy, I always felt the concept wasn't good and then you'd read a lot of medical reports, it's not good. Now especially they're saying, by the way, if there was ever a time that you could convince people not to shake hands, this could be it, okay? This could be it.

Bret Baier: (06:05)

So do an elbow or fist bump?

Mr. Donald Trump: (06:06)

But you know what I did? I really love the people of this country. You can't be a politician and not shake hands. People come in and when I leave I'll be shaking hands with people. They want to shake your hand. They want to say hello. They want to hug you, they want to kiss you. I don't care. It doesn't mean... You have to do that. If I went around, no, I don't shake hands, can you imagine? I'm going to speak with a group of people and they like Trump and they come up, "Sir, thank you very..." I don't shake hands. It's over. I don't care how nicely you say it. The bottom line is I shake anybody's hand now. I'm proud of it. They're people that I love. They're people that I want to take care of. Now, the concept of shaking hands since this, you're hearing a lot of stuff about trying not to shake hands. It hasn't stopped me at all but it is a little bit of a problem. But I got over it.

Bret Baier: (06:51)

You said you [inaudible 00:06:52] two weeks?

Mr. Donald Trump: (06:52)

Well, I was kidding. I heard the other day you're not supposed to touch your face. So I went on camera and I said, "Listen, I haven't touched my face in weeks." Now, obviously I'm kidding. I said, "And I miss my face." And one of the networks said, "He said he didn't touch his face," and they showed pictures of it there. So I don't know. These people.

Martha MacCallum: (07:09)

You have said, about being president, I didn't have to do this, you wanted to do it. What about your old life? Is there any little thing that you miss about your old life?

Mr. Donald Trump: (07:20)

I loved my old life. The day before I announced I was running for president, that was the best period ever of my life. My company was the strongest it ever was, especially being in development and do real estate all over the world. I built a great company, but it was the strongest, because you have times when the markets go bad and then you have to fight and then the markets are good and you're doing great. It was the strongest period of my life. It was sort of the best period of my entire life. And then I announced I was going to run for president.

Mr. Donald Trump: (07:49)

And the greatest day of your life, they say, is the day before you announce you're running for president. I don't know if anybody's ever heard that but they do say that about people. But in my case I won. I won. I saw as an example that they were using numbers and they were saying how much various people spent to become president. And Bloomberg spent like \$550 million. It was in of all places, The New York Times, and this guy, Steyer, we call him impeachment Tom. How did that work out? Not too good. Tom Steyer spent \$250 million. Another one I know, Steve Forbes, spent a lot. A lot of people spent a lot of money and I was in the middle.

Donald Trump: (08:23)

In fact, this is your own money. I spent \$70 million. And they said lost, lost, lost, lost, lost. Donald Trump became president of the United States, lost, lost, and I said, "Isn't that cool? Isn't that cool?" So, I love it. You know why I love it? Because we are doing more than anybody can imagine. Even Right to Try. For years they wanted to have Right to Try where we can use our medicines if somebody is terminally ill. So many things we're doing-

Martha MacCallum: (08:51)

But is there any little thing that you miss? I remember Michelle Obama said she missed going shopping or walking down the aisles. Is there anything that you can't do now that you-

Mr. Donald Trump: (09:01)

Well, yeah, I can't walk down the street now, before I could. I was well known and we had a very successful business and even my show turned out to be a success. I had many top best sellers of things-

Martha MacCallum: (09:11)

You were used to that, yeah.

Mr. Donald Trump: (09:12)

But I could walk down the street and I could actually walk into a store. And it was fine. It was not like nobody knew me, but now, today if I ever suggested that to Secret Service, "I think I'm going to walk down Pennsylvania Avenue and let's go shopping." So it's a lot different. So I do miss that. I miss that free life. This is not a free life. But I love what we're doing because we're accomplishing more than anybody's ever. I'm viewing it as we're saving this country. This country was going wrong.

Bret Baier: (09:47)

Mr. President, very last question. Who is your closest friend in Washington?

Donald Trump: (09:55)

Well, I don't want to say because I have a lot of close friends, I really do.

Bret Baier: (09:58)

But of course [crosstalk 00:09:58].

Mr. Donald Trump: (09:58)

I'm putting everybody in this fight. I get along great with our vice president. I keep hearing I'm replacing him. He's doing a phenomenal job. He's a great guy and a loyal guy and he works so hard. Every day I read, he's going to put this one, he's going to put that one, he's going to put... If I did that would be a great act of disloyalty because he's been great. I speak to him a lot, but I speak to all of the senators a lot, I speak to all of the congressmen a lot. We have great people in Washington. And you have great Democrats too. I speak to Democrats also, believe it or not, but we have great, great people in Washington, very smart people in Washington and it's going to come together. It's going to come together, and it's going to be sooner than you think.

Bret Baier: (10:35)

President Trump, we thank you very much.

Mr. Donald Trump: (10:37)

Thank you very much.

Bret Baier: (10:38)

And thank you to our audience.

Martha MacCallum: (10:39)

Yeah, thank you very much, President Trump.



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Appendix C

Transcript³

**Trump's interview with CNN Channel reporter, Anderson Cooper, America, 29
March 2016**

Video length: 54:32

Date: 3/29/2016

No. of words: 12052

COOPER: And welcome back. We're coming to you tonight from the Riverside Theater in downtown Milwaukee with the "360" townhall. The three remaining Republican candidates campaigning hard with the primary here just a week away. We heard so far from Senator Ted Cruz. Right now the GOP front-runner, New York businessman Donald Trump.

(APPLAUSE)

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Thank you.

COOPER: Hey, how are you doing? Nice to see you.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Thank you very much.

COOPER: Have a seat.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Thank you.

COOPER: So we got a lot of questions from the audience for you on a lot of policy issues.

I got to start off with some news of the day topics. Your campaign manager, Corey Lewandowski charged with simple battery for grabbing a reporter by the arm. Will he continue as your campaign manager?

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Yes, he will. I looked at the tape. I looked — it was my tape. It was at one of my places. I have great security and great security cameras. I gave the tape, and frankly, if you look at that, people have looked at it — in fact, I just left another area of Wisconsin, we had a whole big meeting with a whole group of people, big audience, tremendous audience, and they're all shaking their heads, give me a break, give me a break.

COOPER: Let me ask you, though...

MR. DONALD TRUMP: The answer is yes. And by the way, speaking of something else, I watched Ted Cruz. His home state is not Florida. His home state is Texas. It may be Canada.

(LAUGHTER)

MR. DONALD TRUMP: But to the best of my knowledge, it's Texas. So he made that — I was surprised you didn't correct him actually.

COOPER: Let me ask you about Lewandowski. Initially your campaign said this never happened, there was no video of it. You came out and said you thought this person was, perhaps, making it up, this reporter. Lewandowski, himself, tweeted saying, I never met this reporter, I never touched this person; now the videotape shows he clearly did touch this person. Whether or not you think it was battery or not...

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Touch — I don't know what touch means. I looked...

COOPER: Well, he says I never touched this person.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: And then she says, oh, look, at my arm.

(CROSSTALK)

COOPER: Did he mislead you at all?

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Not at all. No, not at all. Look, I didn't know we had all these security cameras all over. But the time I found out, I said, well, this is really wonderful, this exonerates him totally. Now...

(CROSSTALK)

MR. DONALD TRUMP: He would have happened (inaudible) went to the ground or something to the effect that she almost went to the ground. She was in pain. She went to the ground. When she found out that there was a security camera, and that they had her on tape, all of a sudden that story changed. She didn't talk about it.

COOPER: No, that's not true. She says her story has remained exactly the same. She was knocked a little bit off...

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Oh really? Can I read this to you this then?

COOPER: Yes, that she was knocked off balance but she remained standing.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Do you mind if I read this to you? Do you mind if I read you her statement?

(APPLAUSE)

MR. DONALD TRUMP: I mean, give me a break. You know, the problem is everybody dumps people when there's, like, a sign of political incorrectness. I'm just going to read, if I can find it...

COOPER: She said she was almost knocked off balance, but she remained standing.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: She said she was almost knocked off balance, right. Here's what she said. You want to read it? Or you want me to do it?

You're a professional announcer. Why don't you read it. The bottom part.

(LAUGHTER)

MR. DONALD TRUMP: The bottom. Now that's an exact quote from her prior to seeing the cameras, and now she says, oh, I better change my story, I guess.

COOPER: This quote says, "I was jolted backwards. Someone had grabbed me tightly by the arm and yanked me down. I almost knell fell to the ground but was able..".

MR. DONALD TRUMP: (interruption) Yanked you down. Did you see it? Did she almost fall to the ground, Anderson?

COOPER: "... was able to maintain my balance nonetheless. I was shaken. Campaign managers aren't supposed to try to forcefully throw reporters to the ground."

No, she did not go down on the ground.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Oh no, let me just say — look, before she knows — folks, look, I'm a loyal person. I'm going to be loyal to the country. I'm going to be loyal to Wisconsin. We have to tell it like it is. It would be so easy for me to terminate this man, ruin his life, ruin his family. He's got four beautiful children in New Hampshire, ruin his whole everything, and say you're fired. Okay? I fired many people, especially on "The Apprentice."

(LAUGHTER)

MR. DONALD TRUMP: But look at what she says. Michelle Fields, who, by the way, is not a baby. OK? In her own words, exactly. "I was jolted backwards." Well, she's standing there. "Someone had grabbed me tightly by the arm." Tightly. "And yanked me down." She wasn't yanked down. She was — like, she didn't even have any expression. If somebody in this audience gets whacked, or gets hurt, including me, you get hit a little bit. You go, wow. There's no emotion.

OK, wait a minute. "I almost fell to the ground." I almost fell to the ground; she didn't almost fall to the ground. She got in her way. And by the way, she was grabbing me! Am I supposed to press charges against her? Oh, my arm is hurting.

Anderson, my arm is just killing me. It's never been the same.

COOPER: You've suggested you might —

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Excuse me, excuse me! I didn't suggest.

COOPER: Oh, yeah, you did.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: I tweeted. No, no, I tweeted.

COOPER: A tweet is a suggestion.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Should I press charges?

COOPER: Are you going to?

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Sure! I don't know. Maybe I should, right? Because you know what?

(LAUGHTER AND APPLAUSE)

MR. DONALD TRUMP: She was grabbing me. And just so you understand, she was off base because she went through the Secret Service. She had a pen in her hand which Secret Service is not liking because they don't know what it is, whether it's a little bomb or —

COOPER: So it doesn't concern you that initially Corey Lewandowski said I never touched her, and that turns out not to be true?

MR. DONALD TRUMP: I don't think he knew her. I mean, based on what I heard, I don't think he really even knew who she was. To the best of my knowledge, they really didn't know each other. Or he said he doesn't know her.

But listen to this: "I almost fell to the ground," which is untrue, "but was able to maintain my balance." She had no trouble with her balance because it's right on tape. "Nonetheless, I was shaken. Campaign managers aren't supposed to try to forcefully throw reporters to the ground." She didn't go to the ground! She didn't even have an expression on her face.

COOPER: Do you think this is politically motivated?

MR. DONALD TRUMP: It could be. I don't know. Look, I'll tell you what: a friend of mine who's in law enforcement said to me, there's probably not a detective in the world that would have done what they did to him. I mean, people in Syria —

COOPER: The state attorney's a Democrat.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Excuse me, excuse me. Oh, really? Oh, I'm shocked to hear that. You know,

(LAUGHTER)

MR. DONALD TRUMP: You know, people, are chopping off heads in the Middle East. They're drowning people in cages by 50s. They're drowning — here's a guy — she shouldn't have been touching me. Okay? And you saw that she did that. She was grabbing me. Twice.

I looked at her. In fact, one of the great pictures is me going like this like, get away from me, who is this person? Okay? But my arm, it's never been the same, folks.

(LAUGHTER)

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Never been the same.

So let me just tell you, she went through Secret Service, boom. She grabbed me, and he really stepped in front of her. I didn't see the grab; he stepped in front of her. She wasn't supposed to be asking questions because the press conference lasted for 45 minutes, and all questions were done. And I was walking rapidly outside.

COOPER: But this is the second time Lewandowski has touched somebody. He did this to a protester, he grabbed a guy by the collar. Something which you actually backed him up on And you said —

MR. DONALD TRUMP: I back people up. And I back up country. Did you see what he did? Did you see what he did?

COOPER: I did. In fact, there's the video right there.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Did you see the sign the protester was holding?

COOPER: No I didn't.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Did you see what was on that sign?

COOPER: No, I didn't.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Do me a favor. Take a look at what was on the sign.

(CROSSTALK)

COOPER: But should your campaign manager be laying hands on anybody?

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Excuse me. Did you see the protester grabbing the woman in front of him? With his hands on her neck?

COOPER: No.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: OK. Take a look. You know what he did? He had his shirt with two fingers like this, and then he let go because security was behind him, and they took off.

COOPER: Your opponents are suggesting, on the Republican side, are suggesting that this says something about your leadership, that you're condoning this kind of thing –

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Oh, I think my leadership is very good. I've watched Ted Cruz, I watched him. He didn't even know what state he comes from, OK? I watched him talking about he comes from the state of Florida. Fort Hood is in Texas, by the way. But if you see what he said. I don't know.

I'm so surprised with him, Anderson, that you let him get away with that. But I'll tell you what. You just take a look – you just take a look at what's going on. I stick up for people when they're right. I would have loved to have fired – it would have been much easier than talking to you about this all night long. I'd rather talk about the issues, to be honest.

But I stick up –

(APPLAUSE)

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Right? I stick up for people when people are unjustly accused. And in my opinion, unjustly accused. She's grabbing me. He walks in to stop it. She walked through Secret Service. She had a pen in her hand, which could have been a knife, it could have been just a pen, which is very dangerous. She should not have been doing that.

And she didn't fall to the ground. She wasn't dragged to the ground and all of the things that she said, Anderson. I stick up for people, and I don't want to ruin somebody's life. It would have been very easy for me to do so. You know, when I owned Miss Universe, I had the case of the young woman who was very unjustly accused by somebody that you know very well. And I gave her a second chance.

And I'm very proud of her. She had a tremendous substance abuse problem and I'm very – Tara, I'm very, very proud of her. I'm very proud of the job she did.

COOPER: I want to ask you about another tweet you sent. You sent a tweet over the weekend about the death toll in this horrible terror attack in Pakistan over the weekend.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Right.

COOPER: You talked about the death toll. And then you said, I alone can solve. What do you mean by that?

MR. DONALD TRUMP: I think I alone because I know my competition. Look, I know my competition.

COOPER: You, alone, among the Republican candidates.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: I see Hillary with Benghazi, you know the famous ad, 3:00 in the morning, guess what, the phone rang, she wasn't there. Unless Sidney called, if Sidney called she was there.

COOPER: But you're the only one who can solve terror problems in Pakistan? I mean, Pakistan...

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Yes, of the ones that are running, I'm the only one. I know what I'm running. I know the competition. And believe me, I know, I watched Ted Cruz.

COOPER: How though? I mean, what...

MR. DONALD TRUMP: So phony. I mean, you know, I know you have couple people out there because he put them in the audience. But it's so false. You know, the whole thing with the five-second intermissions between sentences. No.

Yes, I think I am the one to be able to solve the problem.

COOPER: But, I mean, there's problems in a lot of different countries, problems in the United States. How can you solve the problems all the way over in Pakistan when the Pakistanis, themselves, are struggling with it?

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Look, look, Pakistan is a very, very vital problem and really vital country for us because they have a thing called nuclear weapons. They have to get a hold of their situation.

When I see that and when I see it put in a park because it was mostly Christians, although many others were killed other than Christians, I think it's just absolutely a horrible story.

But I'm talking about radical Islamic terrorism. I will solve it far better than anybody else running.

COOPER: Let's talk about nuclear issues because you talked about this in a really interesting article in The New York Times.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: One of the very, very big issues. I think maybe the biggest issue of our time.

COOPER: That's what you said to The New York Times. You said you worried about the proliferation of nuclear weapons...

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Right.

COOPER: ... the most. You also said, though, that you might support Japan and South Korea developing nuclear weapons of their own. Isn't that completely contradictory?

MR. DONALD TRUMP: No, not at all. Look, you have North Korea has nuclear weapons. And he doesn't have a carrier yet but he has got nuclear weapons. He soon will have. We don't want to pull the trigger. We're just — you know, we have a president, frankly, that doesn't — nobody is afraid of our president. Nobody respects our president.

You take a look at what's going on throughout the world. It's not the country that it was.

COOPER: But if you're concerned about proliferation, letting other countries get nuclear weapons, isn't that proliferation?

MR. DONALD TRUMP: No, no. We owe \$19 \$trillion, we have another \$2 trillion because of the very, very bad omnibus budget that was just signed. It's a disgrace, which gives everything that Obama wanted. We get nothing. They get everything.

So that's going to be \$21 trillion. We are supporting nations now, militarily, we are supporting nations like Saudi Arabia which was making during the good oil days which was a year ago, now they're making less but still a lot, \$1 billion a day.

We are supporting them, militarily, and pay us a fraction, a fraction of what they should be paying us and of the cost. We are supporting Japan. Most people didn't even know that. Most people didn't know that we are taking care of Japan's military needs. We're supporting...

(CROSSTALK)

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Excuse me, excuse me, we're supporting Germany. We're supporting South Korea. I order thousands of television sets because I am in the real estate business, you know, in my other life, OK.

COOPER: It has been a U.S. policy for decades to prevent Japan from getting a nuclear weapon.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: That might be policy, but maybe...

COOPER: South Korea as well.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Can I be honest are you? Maybe it's going to have to be time to change, because so many people, you have Pakistan has it, you have China has it. You have so many other countries are now having it...

COOPER: So some proliferation is OK?

MR. DONALD TRUMP: No, no, not proliferation. I hate nuclear more than any. My uncle was a professor was at MIT, used to (AUDIO GAP) nuclear, he used to tell me about the problem.

COOPER: But that's contradictory about Japan and South Korea.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: (AUDIO GAP) Iran is going to have it very — within...

COOPER: But that's proliferation.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Excuse me, one of the dumbest I've ever seen signed ever, ever, ever by anybody, Iran is going to have it within 10 years. Iran is going to have it. I thought it was a very good interview in The New York Times.

COOPER: So you have no problem with Japan and South Korea having...

MR. DONALD TRUMP: I thought...

(CROSSTALK)

COOPER: ... nuclear weapons.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: At some point we have to say, you know what, we're better off if Japan protects itself against this maniac in North Korea, we're better off, frankly, if South Korea is going to start to protect itself, we have...

COOPER: Saudi Arabia, nuclear weapons?

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Saudi Arabia, absolutely.

COOPER: You would be fine with them having nuclear weapons?

MR. DONALD TRUMP: No, not nuclear weapons, but they have to protect themselves or they have to pay us.

Here's the thing, with Japan, they have to pay us or we have to let them protect themselves.

COOPER: So if you said, Japan, yes, it's fine, you get nuclear weapons, South Korea, you as well, and Saudi Arabia says we want them, too?

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Can I be honest with you? It's going to happen, anyway. It's going to happen anyway. It's only a question of time. They're going to start having them or we have to get rid of them entirely.

But you have so many countries already, China, Pakistan, you have so many countries, Russia, you have so many countries right now that have them.

Now, wouldn't you rather in a certain sense have Japan have nuclear weapons when North Korea has nuclear weapons? And they do have them. They absolutely have them. They can't — they have no carrier system yet but they will very soon.

Wouldn't you rather have Japan, perhaps, they're over there, they're very close, they're very fearful of North Korea, and we're supposed to protect.

COOPER: So you're saying you don't want more nuclear weapons in the world but you're OK with Japan and South Korea having nuclear weapons?

MR. DONALD TRUMP: I don't want more nuclear weapons. I think that — you know, when I hear Obama get up and say the biggest threat to the world today is global warming, I say, is this guy kidding?

The only global warming — the only global warming I'm worried about is nuclear global warming because that's the single biggest threat. So it's not that I'm a fan — we can't afford it anymore. We're sitting on a tremendous bubble. We're going to be — again, \$21 trillion. We don't have money.

COOPER: So you have no security concerns...

MR. DONALD TRUMP: We're using all of the money...

COOPER: ... about Japan or South Korea getting nuclear weapons?

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Anderson, when you see all of the money that our country is spending on military, we're not spending it for ourselves; we're protecting all of these nations all over the world. We can't afford to do it anymore.

COOPER: But isn't there benefit for the United States in having a secure Europe. Isn't there benefit for the United States in having a secure Asia.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: There's a benefit, but not big enough to bankrupt and destroy the United States, because that's what's happening. We can't afford it. It's very simple.

Now, I would rather see Japan having some form of defense, and maybe even offense, against North Korea. Because we're not pulling the trigger. The bottom line on North Korea is China, if they wanted to, they're a tremendous supplier of North Korea. They have tremendous power over North Korea. If they wanted to, if they weren't toying with us, Anderson, China would be the one that would get in and could make a deal in one day, okay...

COOPER: I want to bring into the audience just a moment. Just a last question before we do. I've got to ask you about this back and forth between you and Senator Cruz about wives.

After saying that you were going to spill the beans about Heidi Cruz, you retweeted an unflattering picture of her next to a picture of your wife.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: I thought it was a nice picture of Heidi. I thought it was fine.

COOPER: Come on.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: I thought it was fine. She's a pretty woman.

COOPER: You're running for president of the United States.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Excuse me, I didn't start it. I didn't start it.

COOPER: But, sir, with all due respect, that's the argument of 5-year-old.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: No, it's not.

COOPER: The argument of a 5-year-old is he started it.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: You would say that. That's the problem with our country.

COOPER: Every parent knows a kid who says he started it.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: That's not a 5-year-old.

Excuse. No, no, no. That's the problem. Exactly that thinking is the problem this country has. I did not start this. He sent out a picture and he knew very well it was a picture...

(CROSSTALK)

COOPER: He didn't send out a picture. It was an anti-Trump super PAC sent out.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Anderson, it was a cover story of a picture taken by Antoine Verglas, one of the great photographers of the world, by the way. My wife was a very, very successful model, like one of the most.

COOPER: A very successful model of course.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: It was a picture for the cover of "GQ," which is a decent — which is a very good magazine.

(CROSSTALK)

COOPER: It wasn't even a pro-Cruz super PAC; it was an anti-Trump super PAC.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Excuse me, they were Romney people. Romney is, you know, very embarrassed that he did so badly four years ago. The guy choked like a dog and lost an election...

COOPER: Do you have proof that he sent it out?

MR. DONALD TRUMP: No, everybody knows he sent it out. He knew the people in the super PAC. He knew — I would be willing to bet he wrote the phrase. You know, this is — would you like to have this as your first lady? And a lot of people said, yes, actually, if you want to know the truth.

(LAUGHTER)

MR. DONALD TRUMP: But she was a magnificent model. She took a picture with one of the great photographers of the world. They put it on "GQ." All of a sudden we see this picture going all over Utah just before the election.

And by the way, when he said, "We had a big day, we won Utah." Excuse me, I won Arizona with far more delegates, and as you probably saw, 25 minutes ago, so maybe you didn't see it, the vote was just counted in Missouri and I won Missouri, too.

COOPER: Congratulations.

(APPLAUSE)

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Picked up another 12 or 13 delegates.

COOPER: Your wife is lovely, she's very intelligent. Heidi Cruz, I haven't interviewed her — she seems like a very intelligent, very accomplished person as well. Can you just leave wives out of this?

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Absolutely. I'd like to do it.

COOPER: But why retweet — why retweet somebody?

MR. DONALD TRUMP: I would love to do it. I really would rather talk about nuclear proliferation. It's a slightly more important subject.

COOPER: You act as if retweeting is not an endorsement.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Let me just tell you something, I would love to do it. I didn't send the photo to everybody in the state of Utah. He did. He knew about it. It was his people, who were his friends. It was a PAC that's...

COOPER: Couldn't you just let it go, though? Do you have to retweet some random person sending you...

MR. DONALD TRUMP: No, I don't let things go so easy. And let me tell you something. I don't let the — if I were running the country, I wouldn't have people taking advantage of the United States in trade and in every other way, either. Believe me, I wouldn't have China walking away with trade deficits of \$505 billion a year. I wouldn't have Mexico laughing at us how stupid we are with trade deals, and at the border. I wouldn't let Japan get away what they're doing with, you know, devaluation of the yen. China big league devaluation. No, I — when somebody...

COOPER: Can you say tonight, though, no more such about wives?

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Oh, absolutely. I don't want to talk about that. It's ridiculous to be talking about that.

COOPER: All right, let's go to the audience. I want you to meet retired Lieutenant Brian Murphy. He as first the officer to report to the Sikh temple massacre in Oak Creek, and was shot 15 times. His fellow officer, who is standing next to him, Sam Lenda...

(APPLAUSE)

COOPER: Sam Lenda took out...

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Great.

COOPER: His fellow officer standing next to him, Sam Lenda, took out the shooter that day, is also with us. We wanted to just first of all take a moment to thank both of them for their service and their actions.

(APPLAUSE)

COOPER: Brian has a question for you tonight. He says he's — he likes Governor Kasich but he's still undecided — so Brian.

QUESTION: Good evening, Mr. Trump. I have a question. In light of the Brussels and Paris attacks one of the quickest knee-jerk reactions is a backlash against specific minority

religious groups. This, in turn, brings about things that cause damage all over. In Milwaukee, you heard about the Sikh temple shooting. Six people were killed. 99 percent of the men in the United States who wear turbans are actually Sikh and not Muslim. How would you suggest we help educate the public and not alienate these groups and, at the same time, how do we protect the constitutional rights of minority groups like the Muslim, Sikh, Hindu, and Jews, while still addressing radical Islamization?

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Well, Brian, thank you for the question. We have a tremendous problem with radical Islam whether we like it or we don't. We have a president who won't talk about it.

I mean, Ted was saying the same thing. We have a president who won't talk about it.

Why he won't talk about, perhaps only he knows, but it's a disgrace what's going on. We have a serious, serious problem, and when I called for a temporary ban I thought that was a very bad thing for me to do politically, but I felt I should do it. And, I didn't know that I would go up in the polls opposed to down. I did that because I really felt there had to be something done.

That was after the horrible San Bernardino, California situation. After, obviously, Paris which was terrible. You know, we talk about Paris with the gun-free zones, we talk about Paris with their strong gun laws, by the way. Nobody had guns except for the bad guys. If we would have had guns on the other side going, in terms of Second Amendment having to do, if bullets were — same thing with San Bernardino.

If bullets were going in the opposite direction, you wouldn't have had the problems in those two places, that I can tell you. So, I think we have to be extremely careful with our Second Amendment, and we have to cherish our Second Amendment. Very important.

But, I would say this, when I called for the temporary banning, we have to look at it. We have a serious problem, I think you'll admit that, Brian. We have a very, very serious problem with radical Islam, and if we don't want to discuss it, and if we don't want to look at it, we're never going to solve the problem.

We have to be extremely strong with ISIS. We have to wipe ISIS off the face of the Earth so fast and so violently we have no choice. We have no choice.

And, I was against the war in Iraq. OK? I am not a fast trigger. I'm exactly the opposite of that. We should have never gone in, it destabilized the Middle East. But, I will tell you this, we got out. Obama got us out very badly.

Instead of leaving some troops, instead of giving a date, instead of, you know, with the exact time, I would say this though — we have no choice but to look at that. We have to be very, very vigilant. Very smart, and frankly, Brian, we have to be very tough because it's only going to get worse.

Thousands of people are being allowed into this country over short periods of time coming supposedly from Syria. We have no idea who they are, we have no idea where is their paperwork. They have no paperwork; they have no identification. They're coming into this country and it's going to be a big, big problem.

COOPER: The other, though, part of Lieutenant Murphy's question was about protecting the rights of minority groups, of Muslims, or Sikhs, of Jews, and others inside the United States...

MR. DONALD TRUMP: ... I want to do that also, and I do want to do that, but I at the same time we have to recognize we have a serious problem.

COOPER: Let me follow up on that. You said you agreed, I think you said you agreed, with Senator Ted Cruz's proposal in the wake of the Brussels attack that law enforcement should, quote, "patrol and secure Muslim neighborhoods before they become radicalized." I talked to him about this in the last hour.

Bill Bratton, Commissioner, the Chief of Police...

MR. DONALD TRUMP: ... Who I like very much...

COOPER: ... In your home city. Chief of Police under Giuliani, as well as now de Blasio, again — out in L.A. He said about Ted Cruz's proposal, "we do not patrol and secure neighborhoods based on selective enforcement because of race or religion." Is he wrong?

MR. DONALD TRUMP: I think we have to be extremely vigilant in those areas, we have to look very seriously at the Mosques. Lots of things happening in the Mosques, that's been proven. You look at what's going on in Paris where Mosques are being closed, OK? And, we have to look very, very seriously.

COOPER: There's a lot of Muslims in America who hear that, saying we got to look seriously at the Mosques...

MR. DONALD TRUMP: ... Let me just tell you something, in San Bernadino people know what was going on. These two people — probably became radicalized through her. Who knows? Frankly, right now, it doesn't matter.

But, these two people want to kill their co-workers, et cetera, et cetera, in their apartment, or their house. In their place where they lived, they had bombs all over the apartment...

COOPER: ... Do you trust...

MR. DONALD TRUMP: ... Excuse me — they had bombs on the floor. Many people saw this. Many, many people. Muslims living with them in the same area. They saw that house, they saw that.

One didn't want to turn them in. He said I don't know turn them in because I don't want to be accused of racial profiling. He saw bombs all over the apartment, OK?

It's just an excuse...

COOPER: ... Do you trust Muslims in America?

MR. DONALD TRUMP: ... Do I what?

COOPER: Trust Muslims in America?

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Many of them I do. Many of them I do, and some, I guess, we don't. Some, I guess, we don't. We have a problem, and we can try and be very politically

correct and pretend we don't have a problem, but, Anderson, we have a major, major problem. This is, in a sense, this is a war...

COOPER: ... So, special patrols in Muslim neighborhoods...

MR. DONALD TRUMP: ... You know, nobody wants to call it a war — excuse me. Nobody wants to call it a war. It's a war. There's a war.

The difference is it's not like you're fighting Germany or Japan where they have a uniform, we have a uniform, everybody has a different uniform. We don't know where these people are.

COOPER: I want you to meet Jeff Johns. He's a financial consultant. He said he is on the Trump train as of this point.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: I like him. I like him very much.

COOPER: I knew you would.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: I like him.

QUESTION: Thank you for coming to the great city of Milwaukee.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Thank you, Jeff.

QUESTION: Mr. Trump, you have a high net worth in the billions of dollars but many people don't think that you're a successful businessman. They refer to your inherited wealth and how it's just a track that pays the average market index.

Mr. Trump, what do you say to those people that do not think that you're a successful businessman?

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Yes, I love the question because it's such lies. I started off in Brooklyn. My father was a builder in Brooklyn. Brooklyn had not a lot of value. Brooklyn was not a great place to be. I wanted to always go into Manhattan.

My father, my first deal and my first loan was \$1 million from my father which was a loan, I had to pay him back. I did numerous deals in Manhattan. My father said, don't go into Manhattan, it's not our territory, we can't do that, it's not for us.

I started off with a very, very small amount of money. And by the way, when my father passed away, remember, I have four — I have a total of five in my family. So we have brothers, sisters, split.

And when my father died, by that time I had already built a great fortune and my father didn't leave a great fortune. It was Brooklyn and Queens real estate and it wasn't a great fortune.

But now what they do is they build it up like, oh, he left Donald money. I started off — and you understand, you know the true answer because you're somebody that understands me and you understand where it started.

I started off with \$1 million and now I'm worth over \$10 billion. And I filed my papers with the election committees, with the federal election, and people in your world, in your

profession, are down there, or have been down there all the time and they can't believe how great those papers are.

Very little debt. Some of the greatest assets in the world. Some of the greatest assets in the world. And, very importantly, tremendous cash flow. And I don't say that in a bragging way. I say that because that's the kind of thinking that our country needs.

And I want to say this, before my father died, he said, everything Donald touches turns to gold. It's absolutely — he was so proud of me. But I borrowed very little money from my father.

What I did borrow and the thing that really helped me with my father was his knowledge. He was an excellent negotiator. He was an excellent builder. But he built in Brooklyn and Queens, there wasn't that much money in Brooklyn and Queens.

COOPER: A lot of other candidates have released tax returns. You say you won't release them because you're being audited. There are some people who doubt you're even being audited or have been audited as much as...

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Oh, I can give you a letter for that. Would you like a letter? I'll give you...

COOPER: Can you?

MR. DONALD TRUMP: I'll give it to you, sure, absolutely.

COOPER: Because some people have raised that as a doubt.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: And only a fool would give a tax return...

(CROSSTALK) (Trump does not give him a letter)

COOPER: So you can offer evidence that you are being audited or have been audited like you say?

MR. DONALD TRUMP: A hundred percent. I'll give you a letter from the biggest firm in Washington that does my work for me.

COOPER: All right.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: OK?

COOPER: I want you to meet Robert Kiteinger. He's retired from the U.S. Army after serving in Iraq and Afghanistan. He's now a student at Marquette University...

(APPLAUSE)

COOPER: Robert?

QUESTION: Good evening, Mr. Trump. In your opinion, what are the top three functions of the United States government?

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Say it again?

QUESTION: In your opinion, what are the top three functions of the United States government?

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Well, the greatest function of all by far is security for our nation. I would also say health care, I would also say education. I mean, there are many, many things, but I would say the top three are security, security, security.

We have to have security for our country so that we can continue to exist as a country. We are in danger. Thousands and thousands of people are infiltrating our country. We don't know who they are.

There's a very vicious world. We're living in a very vicious world and we're doing something that is against a lot of very smart people's wishes. I can tell you, it's totally against my wishes.

COOPER: So top three, you're saying, security.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Security. I say all top three are security, but health care, education, would be probably three that would be top. And then you can go on from there.

But the military and the secure country, so that we have a country. Believe me, we've never been in a position, in my opinion, where our country is so vulnerable. Our military is being eaten away (exhausted).

When General Odierno left recently, a year ago, I was watching him on maybe your show, one of the shows, and he said that the United States Army, the United States military forces have never been so — and I think he used the word depleted. But basically he said they're exhausted.

COOPER: So just to follow-up, though...

MR. DONALD TRUMP: And that's a pretty — that's a pretty sad commentary. And honestly, even though he was retiring at the time — and I had a lot of respect for him, good man, but even though he was leaving at the time, people shouldn't say that because you're giving the enemy ideas.

But if I get in, our military will be bigger, better, stronger than ever before. It's the cheapest thing we can do.

COOPER: So in terms of federal government role, you're saying security, but you also say health care and education should be provided by the federal government?

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Well, those are two of the things. Yes, sure. I mean, there are obviously many things, housing, providing great neighborhoods...

(CROSSTALK)

COOPER: Aren't you against the federal government's involvement in education? don't you want it to devolve to states?

MR. DONALD TRUMP: I want it to go to state, yes. Absolutely. I want — right now...

COOPER: So that's not part of what the federal government's...

(CROSSTALK)

MR. DONALD TRUMP: The federal government, but the concept of the country is the concept that we have to have education within the country, and we have to get rid of common core and it should be brought to the state level.

COOPER: And federal health care run by the federal government?

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Health care — we need health care for our people. We need a good — Obamacare is a disaster. It's proven to be...

COOPER: But is that something the federal government should be doing?

MR. DONALD TRUMP: The government can lead it, but it should be privately done. It should be privately done. So that health care — in my opinion, we should probably have — we have to have private health care. We don't have competition in health care.

The problem that we have in our country is we don't have competition. It's made because the politicians — by the way, I'm self-funding. I am self-funding. So the health care companies aren't taking care of me. But they're taking care of everyone else.

Wait one second. We don't have — we don't have bidding. We don't have competition in health care. And it's a disaster. Obamacare, if you take a look at your premiums, they're going up 35 percent, 45 percent, 55 percent, and the deductibles are so high, you'll never get to use it.

COOPER: You always say you're self-funding. How much do you think your campaign has cost — in the past you said \$25 million.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: I can tell you, I'd say I'm in right now for — now, I'm in for about \$35 million right now.

COOPER: Okay.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: We take the small loans, the people that send \$17.50, or \$250, even \$1,000...

COOPER: And you solicit those on your website.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: No, I sell hats and shirts and...

COOPER: No, but you do solicit donations on your website?

MR. DONALD TRUMP: No, I don't really think so.

COOPER: Yes, you do. You have two spots (ph), where you do.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Okay, whatever. Whatever. It's peanuts.

(LAUGHTER)

COOPER: It's not peanuts; it's \$7 million — it's a lot of money.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: I'll tell you what, what I've done is I'm in for about \$35 million.

COOPER: It's about a third of your campaign is funded by other people.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: No it's not. No, it's not, not a third. Whatever the hats are, they also cost something.

(CROSSTALK)

COOPER: Well, according to the FTC you've raised more than, I think, \$7 million last time I checked from individual donations.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Let me put it differently. I am not soliciting money from insurance companies and from lumber companies and from banks and from — if I did, I would have made Jeb Bush look like a baby. I have turned down more \$10 million offers.

Just the other night, I'm in Florida, and a very, very rich friend of mine comes up, Donald, I'd like to give you \$10 million, I'll give you anything...

COOPER: You've actually been loaning your campaign a lot of money. Are you going to have your campaign pay you back?

MR. DONALD TRUMP: I doubt it. But it just seems to be the way it's done.

COOPER: But that's a possibility?

MR. DONALD TRUMP: I don't know — can I be honest? I never even thought about it. I never even thought about it.

COOPER: Okay.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Just seems to me the way the lawyers set it up. But I am in right now, I put in my money, about \$35 million. I think in terms of small donations, I think we've received \$6 million up until this point.

COOPER: I think I saw \$7 million.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Excuse me. A lot of that is the selling of merchandise and things like that.

COOPER: I want to...

MR. DONALD TRUMP: There's no influence over me. It's not like the banks are giving me money and I'm going to do favors for the banks.

You look at Ted Cruz, the banks are giving him a lot of money. The oil and gas are giving him a lot of money. A lot of people are giving him a lot of money. And by the way super PACs are a disaster, and they're a disaster waiting to happen, folks, and if they're not gotten rid of, it's only going to get worse.

(LAUGHTER)

COOPER: I want to introduce you to Amelia Roll (ph). She's a journalism student the University of Wisconsin. She says her first choice is Senator Cruz, but you're her second pick.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Oh, that's nice.

(LAUGHTER)

COOPER: Here's your chance to win her over — Amelia.

QUESTION: Mr. Trump, thank you so much for being here tonight.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Thank you.

QUESTION: Mr. Trump, in a recent interview with the Washington Post, you said that the U.S. should become a diminishing presence in NATO.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Absolutely.

COOPER: Why do you think that the U.S. should start to withdraw their world presence from NATO, and what would you change about the organization so that we could remain involved?

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Okay, I did two basic and very large interviews recently. I did the New York Times, which treated me unbelievably fairly. And there was a front-page story on Sunday or — I think, and it was a great story. And part of it was NATO — and the other was the Washington Post.

COOPER: I think you talked to them longer than any other candidate, by the way, on the Republican side.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: I spoke to the Times?

COOPER: Yes.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Well, I spoke to them a long time. David, he's a very talented writer actually. And they treated me very fairly.

I also did the Washington Post, where I said very similar things, and very similar things about NATO. Let me tell you, NATO is obsolete. It was 67 years, or it's over 60 years old. It is — many countries, doesn't cover terrorism, okay? it covers the Soviet Union which is no longer in existence. And NATO has to either be rejiggered, changed for the better. I'm not saying — the other thing that's bad about NATO, we're paying too much. We're spending a tremendous — billions and billions of dollars on NATO.

COOPER: You're saying it's obsolete, though. You have now Vladimir Putin invade invading Crimea, annexing part of Ukraine — annexing Crimea.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Let me tell you about Ukraine. First of all...

(CROSSTALK)

COOPER: There a lot of people who believe NATO is more important...

(CROSSTALK)

MR. DONALD TRUMP: You have countries that surround Ukraine. They don't talk. They don't seem to have a problem. I'm not saying go in. I'd say be very strong, you can

be strong without necessarily even being (INAUDIBLE) or the money we spend. The money we spend is astronomical on NATO. Okay? The Ukraine —

COOPER: You really think NATO is obsolete?

MR. DONALD TRUMP: I think it's largely obsolete, yes. It's got to be changed. It's got to be — you don't talk about terror. Our single biggest threat right now is terror, okay? Now that's an amorphous term, but it's terror. Our single biggest threat —

COOPER: So you would like to see an organization revamped, either NATO —

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Either revamped – NATO, now if you do that, you're going to have to obviously have to add different nations in because you have nations that aren't in NATO that are very much into the world of terror. Both in terms of causing it and receiving it.

So you'd probably have to either start something or you have to do something. When you look at Brussels, hey, look. You remember a couple of months ago, I made a statement about Brussels. I said it's a hell hole. That's because it's a financial, very big financial capital. Many of my friends are there. They know exactly what's going on. I haven't been there in many years. I was there. It was a beautiful city. Now it's not good.

And I said it was a hell hole. “The New York Times” attacked me rather viciously for calling a place a hell hole. Two months later, we had the attack, and it turned out I was right. It's a hell hole. And on Twitter and all over the place, they're saying Trump was right, Trump was right.

I understand this stuff. I mean, I really do understand this stuff. NATO is obsolete. Now, that doesn't mean it can't be rejiggered and it can't be fixed and made good or —

COOPER: And for you that's —

MR. DONALD TRUMP: It's possible —

COOPER: — a financial component that when you talk about —

MR. DONALD TRUMP: We're paying too much! You have countries in NATO, I think it's 28 countries – you have countries in NATO that are getting a free ride and it's unfair, it's very unfair.

The United States cannot afford to be the policemen of the world anymore, folks. We have to rebuild our own country. We have to stop with this stuff. You have as an example, Ukraine. You don't have Germany talking about Ukraine. You don't have many of the countries in NATO talking about — it's always us. We're always the first one out.

We have very big problems in our country. Very, very big problems. NATO has to be either changed, or we have to do something. And we shouldn't be paying most of the course of NATO because it's unfair – it's unfair to our taxpayers and to our people.

COOPER: We've got to – we've got to take a quick break. We'll have more with Donald Trump right after the short break when our 360 Republican Town Hall continues from the Riverside Theater in downtown Milwaukee.

(APPLAUSE)

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

COOPER: And, welcome back. We're talking to Donald Trump. A week before the Wisconsin primary, voters asking the Republican candidates the questions that matter to them, looking for answers to help them decide. Before we go back to the audience, I want to ask you a question I asked to Senator Cruz as well. more than six months ago you pledged to support the Republican nominee, whoever that may be.

A lot has changed since then. It sounded, when I was pressing Senator Cruz on it, sounded like he was saying he was saying he'd have a hard time supporting somebody who went after his wife.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Honestly, he doesn't have to support me. I'm not asking for his support. I want the people's support.

(APPLAUSE)

COOPER: Do you continue to pledge whoever the Republican nominee is?

MR. DONALD TRUMP: No. I don't anymore.

COOPER: You don't?

MR. DONALD TRUMP: No, we'll see who it is.

COOPER: You won't promise to support the Republican nominee?

MR. DONALD TRUMP: He was essentially saying the same thing. Let me just tell you, he doesn't have to support me. I have tremendous support right now from the people. I'm way over two million votes more than him. I have many, many, more delegates than him. Like, many, many more delegates. As I said before, he was talking about his great victory the night Utah — well, I won Arizona. Many more delegates. Many, many more delegates.

I don't really want him to do something he's not comfortable with. Just like I can't imagine Jeb Bush — look, I beat these people badly. I beat Jeb Bush. I beat the governor of this state, the governor of this state came in, he was favored to win. He was at 22 points. Then he said something bad about me and I hit him very hard, and he went boom, and he left the race. He was very early...

COOPER: ...Just so I'm clear...

MR. DONALD TRUMP: I don't want to make people uncomfortable. I don't need their support. Now, maybe it will be a negative, maybe it won't.

COOPER: So, the pledge you took is null and void. The idea of supporting whoever...

MR. DONALD TRUMP: ... I have defeated...

COOPER: ... the Republican nominee is, you say you will no longer guarantee you will support the Republican nominee...

MR. DONALD TRUMP: ... I have been treated very unfairly.

I won the state of Missouri, right? No, I have.

Aww, Cruz people.

I've been treated very unfairly.

COOPER: Unfairly by?

MR. DONALD TRUMP: I'll give you an example.

COOPER: Who?

MR. DONALD TRUMP: I think by, basically, the RNC, the Republican party, the establishment. You have a guy like Mitt Romney who lost miserably, who did a terrible job. He was a horrible, horrible campaign. The last month of that — I helped him. I raised him a million dollars...

COOPER: ... Do you think the RNC is plotting to take this away from you at the convention?

MR. DONALD TRUMP: I don't know, I don't know. I mean, we'll see what happens, but I think you'd have a lot of very upset people if that happened.

Just so you understand, when Romney came out against me he ran one of the worst races in the history of presidential politics. He ought to sit back and root for us instead of being a negative force. And, we have, others also.

I'm bringing millions — the biggest story in all of politics worldwide right now — and I think you might agree to this, is what's happened. Millions of people are coming in and voting, in all fairness, for me.

COOPER: And, watching, and being involved in the process.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: And, watching all of this. Your ratings tonight will be excellent, right? The debate you had where 23 million people, I don't want to say this tragedy, I'm just telling you, if I wasn't in it you would have had, what? Four million people...

COOPER: ... In the off chance that you're not the Republican nominee, what would go into your decision of whether or not you would support...

MR. DONALD TRUMP: ... Well, I'll look at it. I'll see who it is. I mean, I'm not looking to hurt anybody. I love the Republican party as...

COOPER: ... If it's Senator Ted Cruz, would you support him...

MR. DONALD TRUMP: ... Look, here's my thing on Cruz. A lot of nasty things have been said. I'm a very honorably guy, and I'm a very honest guy. I don't do — I would have never done what he did to Ben Carson who, by the way, endorsed me.

I would have never gone to Iowa and said, "Ben Carson has left the race". He is gone, 100 percent, vote for me. And they usher people into the caucus, and they try and get them to vote for Ted Cruz.

A lot of people left Ben Carson. Ben Carson is an honorable guy. That was a terrible thing to do. There were other terrible things to do. And I — honestly, I watched him tonight with you, and I watched how tormented he was when you asked him that question.

I don't want to have him torment. I don't want to have him be tormented. Let me just tell you, I don't want his support. I don't need his support. I want him to be comfortable.

Now, if he wants to support me, that would be wonderful because I think I'm going to win.

But let me just tell you. I watched him, you know, skirt around like any politician would. Skirt around the issue. I don't want to make people like Jeb Bush, like Ted Cruz, like Governor Walker — I mean, Governor Walker, I hit him very hard after he hit me. But I hit him very hard and drove him out of the race.

I drove Jeb Bush out of the race. I drove Rand Paul out of the race. I understand why they don't like me. And I don't want people that — I don't want people to do something against their will, Anderson.

I could see that he was having a hard time with a very simple question that you asked him. Would you support, well, I think I'm going to win. OK. He doesn't have to do it. He doesn't have to support me. I really don't believe I need his support.

I'd love to have everybody's support. You know what, I'm a unifier. Believe it or not, I'm a unifier. And you will see that. Someday you will see that.

COOPER: If there was a contested convention, and you didn't get the nomination, and someone else was brought in, a Paul Ryan, for instance, would you support him?

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Well, let me explain. See, he was very nice. He called me the other day, last week, and he was very nice. But then I read reports that he's having meetings with people about, you know, some clandestine things. Let's see what happens.

But he was very nice when he called. And I assume he was being straight with me. I hope he was being straight with me because what he said was very appropriate. I'm the front-runner by a lot. I'm beating Ted Cruz by millions of votes. Millions of votes.

The Republican Party is doing — it's a phenomena. And this was not going to that with the Republican Party. People that never voted before, Democrats and independents, are pouring in and voting for me.

COOPER: In Louisiana, you won...

MR. DONALD TRUMP: I won.

COOPER: But Ted Cruz got...

MR. DONALD TRUMP: To show you how corrupt the system is...

COOPER: ... got more delegates. You threatened to sue.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: I won — well, I'm going to see. I mean, I never heard of that before. You know, I'm a very — I'm an American. If you win an election, you're supposed to...

COOPER: But isn't that just sour grapes? Didn't he just have...

MR. DONALD TRUMP: No.

COOPER: He just outworked you on the ground in getting delegates?

MR. DONALD TRUMP: No. Now let me tell you what's next. No, no. Look, in Missouri, I just — it was just announced I won. I figured, in fact, they actually found that after a tabulation that I got 300 and some odd more votes than I had the first time, which is, you know, after two weeks or three weeks of tabulation, which gives me another 12 or 13 delegates. It was just announced a little while ago just before I went on the air.

I will say this, Louisiana, I went to Louisiana. I have a great relationship with the people of Louisiana. They're great people. I won the election. I was down there the night before.

We had an airplane hangar, you wouldn't believe it, packed with people screaming. I won the election. And then it's all about the delegates. So I won. And then I found out that I got 10 votes less — 10 delegates less than the guy who lost. I beat him rather easily.

COOPER: But those are the rules. I mean, his campaign had a better ground game in Louisiana.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: No, I don't know what rules — OK, I don't know, I don't think — I don't call it a ground game. I call it bad politics.

COOPER: They were able to get more delegates.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: I call it bad politics. When somebody goes in and wins the election and gets less delegates than the guy that lost, I don't think that's right.

(APPLAUSE)

COOPER: All right. I want you to meet Jim Zaiser, he's the CEO of a valve manufacturing company that has been in the family for three generations. He says he's undecided. He's leaning in your favor.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Thank you. That's what I like to hear.

QUESTION: Hello, Mr. Trump. As a world leader, any leader, you need compassion and a willingness to make compromises. Can you give me an example of a time you have learned from your behavior and changed the way you have done something going forward?

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Yes. I am somebody — Jim, thank you. I am somebody that believes in flexibility. And if you notice, Ted Cruz and mostly him, he says he will change, he will negotiate, he will this.

Look, you don't have to stand on the floor of the United States Senate for a day-and-a-half and rant and rave while all the other senators are laughing at you, and by the way, not endorsing him.

Senator Jeff Sessions, one of the most respected men in the Senate, endorsed me, and frankly — I mean, and he's a great man.

(APPLAUSE)

MR. DONALD TRUMP: And by the way, Jeff Sessions is a great man with great, great knowledge. And Ted Cruz thought he was going to get that endorsement. He would speak about Jeff Sessions all the time, then Jeff Sessions came out and endorsed me.

You need flexibility, and I talk about it all the time. You need to be able to negotiate great deals. You know, it's not all about signing executive orders because this is something that came in — that wasn't the way our founders thought that this country was going to win.

You have to get — now, I'll make great deals. I'll make conservative deals. I'm going to make wonderful deals but you have to do it the old-fashioned way like Ronald Reagan did with Tip O'Neill.

COOPER: Do you have a specific, though, for him on — a specific example that you changed your behavior, changed the way you've done something going forward, or learned from something you've done that you didn't like the way it turned out?

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Well, I think — yeah, I mean, I have many, many things that I've done. I have many things that I've changed course on. I mean, I've changed course on many, many things.

I was not...

(LAUGHTER)

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Actually, I have.

COOPER: Any specifics?

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Well, I mean, you could say, I am — as you know, I'm pro-life, and I was originally pro-choice. I will say this, that as a developer and as a businessman I'm not sure I was ever even asked the question, are you pro-life, pro-choice?

And it was not something that as one of magazines recently said, Donald Trump is a world-class businessman. He was never asked those questions before. But you know, if I was asked those questions years ago it's something I never really gave much thought to. But I've made certain changes. I have evolved. I talk about evolving all the time.

COOPER: I want to...

MR. DONALD TRUMP: And by the way, you know who else evolved, is Ronald Reagan evolved. Because Ronald Reagan signed one of the toughest abortion laws in favor of abortion in California that had been signed in many, many years. And yet has a great

president and a — pretty conservative — he wasn't very conservative, but he was a pretty conservative president.

COOPER: You said on the radio right here in Wisconsin the other day that you do apologize and you believe in apologizing. When was the last time you actually apologized for something?

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Oh, wow.

(LAUGHTER)

MR. DONALD TRUMP: No, I do — I don't know — I'll think. Can I think? But look, I do believe in apologizing, if you're wrong. But if you're not wrong, I don't believe in apologizing.

For instance, I could have apologized, you brought up — we started this with Corey, my campaign manager. Will you apologize. I said, apologize for what? I see the tape. Apologize for what? I've love to apologize. It would be so much easier. Apologize, Corey, you're fired...

COOPER: But you don't know any specific examples that you've apologized, ever.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Yes, I mean — apologized — I apologized to my mother years ago for using foul language.

(LAUGHTER)

MR. DONALD TRUMP: I apologize to my wife for not being presidential on occasion. She's always saying "Darling, be more presidential."

COOPER: She told me she's talked to you about that.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: No, she does, because she thinks I'm very presidential.

The last debate — and by the way, Cruz talked about I don't want to — I debated this guy like 112 (ph) times.

(CROSSTALK)

COOPER: She didn't like you reusing the word, a dirty word, or a bad word I guess — I sound like a 12-year-old...

(CROSSTALK)

COOPER: ... that somebody in your audience shouted out and you repeated. She didn't like that.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Oh, she didn't like that. And really, it was just a repeat, but that didn't work out too well. No, she didn't...

(LAUGHTER)

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Repeats don't work either. And it wasn't horrible.

COOPER: What is it with you, like, repeats and retweets don't count.

(LAUGHTER)

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Do you ever notice my biggest problems are repeats and retweets. I don't in problem with what I say; it's when I repeat such...

(CROSSTALK)

COOPER: Well, maybe that's one of those things you should learn from your behavior and not retweet things.

(APPLAUSE)

MR. DONALD TRUMP: You're right. You're right. That I agree with.

COOPER: Some free advice.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: That I agree with.

I will say this, though, my wife and Ivanka said, like, on the last debates, because the debates had been pretty rough and really I felt I had to be rough, because it's coming at me from all different angles. Don't forget I've been at the middle of the podium, the middle of the stage for every single debate. I've enjoyed debate — I never debated...

(CROSSTALK)

COOPER: Cruz has challenged you to debate him.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Give me a break. The guy has challenged me — he's lost every debate.

(CROSSTALK)

COOPER: You wouldn't debate him one on one?

MR. DONALD TRUMP: I think we've had enough questions from the same people, including you — and all due respect.

COOPER: I haven't done a GOP debate yet, but that's all right.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: How many times can the same people — how many times, Anderson, can the same people ask the same question? It's just — you get tired of it.

COOPER: But as president you're going to be asked the same question for four or eight years.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: I've had 11 or 12 debates — wait a minute — I've had 11 or 12 debates with Cruz. Every — Drudge, they do an online poll right after the debate, Time magazine, Slate, many groups do — I think I've won every single poll by a lot on debating. I have nothing to prove anymore.

COOPER: So no more debates?

MR. DONALD TRUMP: I don't see where it's necessary.

I mean, look, you're asking me all of these questions tonight.

Frankly, I think this is much better than a debate. The debates, they give you 15 seconds, what would you do in terms of war and peace, okay?

(LAUGHTER)

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Honestly, I think this is a much better format.

COOPER: I'm happy to keep having these conversations.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: I don't think it's easier. I think debating is probably easier because you're talking so little.

COOPER: I want to bring in. Sorry...

(CROSSTALK)

MR. DONALD TRUMP: So I hope you change your mind. I hope you're can agree (ph) with me.

COOPER: Sorry, hold on.

Sorry, John.

I want you to meet John Peghill (ph). Thanks very much.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Yes, hi, John.

COOPER: He's a dairy farmer. He's got 5,000 cows. We have another dairy farmer asking a question for Senator Cruz earlier. John said he's leaning in your favor. Still listening to the other candidates.

John, welcome.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Hi, John.

QUESTION: Mr. Trump — hi. Welcome to the Cheese State.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Thank you. A great state.

COOPER: The question that I have — Wisconsin is an amazing state. But our No. 1 economic driver, which is the dairy industry and the cheese industry is right behind it, is being challenged right now by having a labor force dependent on an immigration policy. And we've got over 10,000 farms in this state. And with there being such a strong economic driver, if we don't have a strong immigration policy that will give us the opportunity to keep the ones that we have and provide a vehicle to bring new ones in from Mexico legally...

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Legally. You said the word.

COOPER: Yes, but can you develop a policy that will give us that, give us the people that we have here to stay here and do the jobs — and create a policy that can bring people in to fill the jobs? We're down to 3.5 percent unemployment rate North of Milwaukee, so that we can't steal any more people from someone else's industry, because that's what

everybody's doing at this point. How do we fill the jobs, the good paying jobs? How do we fill those jobs?

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Here's where you are, you're in the same position as the California grape growers because they need people to come in.

It's seasonal, in that case. Very seasonal, less seasonal in your case, but still seasonal. And, people will be able — if they can't get people, will be able to come in legally. See, you said the word.

Right now we have illegal immigration, we have illegals all over the country. We have at least 11 million. Some people think it could be 31 million, it's somewhere in between. It's probably 12, 13, 14 — we have no idea what we're doing.

If you have an industry like California grapes, like perhaps what you're talking about in Wisconsin, we're going to let people come in, but they're going to come in legally.

They're going to come in through a visa program and they're going to come in legally. It's going to work out beautifully, you will not be affected. We don't want to affect businesses. We want to grow businesses.

The other part of your question now, I think that we really have to talk about, is trade because a lot of people are sending goods over to other countries, and especially goods that can spoil like what you do. They send over to other countries, and the other country refuse to accept them, and yet we accept their good without tax, without anything. We are going to straighten out our trade policy so that you're going to get a lot more business.

COOPER: We have time for one more question from the audience. This is Andy Bowen, she's from Shorewood, and homeschools her two daughters. She says she's leaning in your favor for the primary next week. Andy, welcome.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Thank you. Hi, Andy.

QUESTION: Thank you, hi, Mr. Trump. My 93-year-old father is so impressed with all of your kids.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: That's good.

QUESTION: Especially with your two sons. And, when they're on television being interviewed, he will often say, "Why can't Donald Trump be more like his sons, who are so..."

(LAUGHTER)

MR. DONALD TRUMP: ... I hear that. I know.

QUESTION: ... who are so well spoken, and calm. And, so my question to you, Mr. Trump, is could you possibly look to your sons as examples how not to be quite so reactionary? And, also, congratulations on raising such fine young people...

MR. DONALD TRUMP: ...Thank you very much. I think I love that question, can I be honest?

(LAUGHTER)

MR. DONALD TRUMP: I have so many compliments on my children, and Ivanka is doing phenomenally well.

My boys are great Baron is a young version, I think, of Eric, frankly, because they're very tall, and they look alike, etcetera, etcetera.

But, Don, and Eric, and Baron are just spectacular people, and you know? I get so many compliments. Ivanka, is Ivanka, you know? You know Ivanka very well, you've had her on your show, and she's a star. She's absolutely a star, and so supportive of me, and so supportive what I'm doing. And, they do have great attitude.

I do, I get so many people come up to my office, and they want to have their children come up and meet me because they want their children to be like mine.

COOPER: Do you sometimes wish you had a little bit more of what she called, "calmness"?

MR. DONALD TRUMP: My children have a lot of drive. You don't want to see them sometimes, I will say this. They're very strong. They are very — they have great heart. They have great heart. All of my children have a wonderful, wonderful feeling for people, they love people. That's why they want me to do what I'm doing, because they know I'd do it well.

They know I'll bring the country — you know, we have the expression, "Make America Great Again". They know I will make America Great again. The world isn't going to take advantages of us anymore.

You look at what the world is doing to us at every level, whether it's militarily, or in trade, or in so many other levels, the world is taking advantage of the United States and it's driving us into literally being a third world nation.

Anderson, I travel all over the world, and I land at airports the likes of which you've never seen, whether it's in Qatar, or Dubai, or places in China. The likes of which you have never seen, and then we come home and we land at LaGuardia with potholes all over the place, or LAX, or Kennedy, or Newark, and you look at what we have and where we've gone.

It's time to rebuild our country.

COOPER: You just welcomed a new grandson...

MR. DONALD TRUMP: ... And I really appreciate your statement. Thank you.

COOPER: You just welcomed a new grandson...

MR. DONALD TRUMP: I did.

COOPER: His name is Theodore. Any chance you're going to call him Crying Ted?

MR. DONALD TRUMP: No, I don't think so.

(LAUGHTER)

MR. DONALD TRUMP: I said — well, actually, isn't Ted's real name Raphael? I think so, right? Because that was one of the questions did have to ask.

COOPER: I — it is.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: It doesn't matter.

Theodore Roosevelt is somebody Jared and Ivanka have long studied and respected, and it's Theodore James. Tough, strong, and it's Theodore James, and that's what they really had in mind.

COOPER: Congratulations on that, and God bless.

MR. DONALD TRUMP: Thank you, really appreciate that.

(APPLAUSE)

COOPER: Donald Trump, back with John Kasich after this short break...

