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Pragmatička analiza govora ekstremno desničarskih stranaka u zemljama engleskog govornog područja (Sjedinjene Američke Države, Velika Britanija i Sjeverna Irska, Kanada, i Australija)

Pragmatic analysis of speeches of far-right parties in the English speaking countries (United States of America, Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Canada, and Australia)

Studentica:

Amina Turudija

Mentorica:

doc.dr. Selma Đuliman

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ABSTRACT

The focus of this diploma paper is the rise of far-right parties at the political scene around the world. Considering the power of utterance, this paper took a pragmatic approach in order to analyse speeches of the following four far-right politicians: Pauline Hanson from Australia, Gerard Batten from the United Kingdom, Donald Trump, President of the United States, and Maxime Bernier from Canada. This pragmatic analysis included the three most important theories in the field of pragmatics, namely Paul Grice's *cooperative principle and implicatures*, John Searle's *speech act theory*, and Penelope Brown and Stephen Levinson's *politeness theory*. In order to obtain the statistics necessary for the quantitative part of this study, UAM CorpusTool3 was used to annotate and segment the corpus. What this study revealed is that there were both differences and similarities in these four speeches. These four politicians all violated the *maxim of quantity* most frequently, the *assertive illocutionary act* was the most used speech act in all four of them, and they frequently committed *face-threatening acts*. Some of the differences were reflected in the usage of *implicatures* as well as in the usage of *hedges* to show their awareness of the cooperative principle which President Trump used more than the other three politicians.

Key words: cooperative principle, implicatures, speech act theory, politeness theory, far-right, political speeches, Donald Trump, Pauline Hanson, Gerard Batten, Maxime Bernier

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1. INTRODUCTION

The last decade has seen a huge rise of the far-right political parties. Throughout the world, the far-right is gaining momentum thriving on issues such as high unemployment rates, recent wars that have produced refugee and migrant crises in Europe, as well as in the rest of the world. Owing to their exquisite speaking skills, far-right leaders are in a position to change the lives of numerous people with just one utterance. Being aware of the power of the utterance, Austin labelled them as speech acts which sometimes can change the world when uttered. Unfortunately, the far-right has been using the power of utterances to seed hatred towards minorities, accusing them of many evils pestering their compatriots. This inevitably creates a hostile environment for everyone who does not fit the narrative of the far right.

This final diploma paper aims is to use a pragmatic approach to analyse the speeches of far-right leaders using three of the most relevant theories in the field of pragmatics: Cooperative Principle by Paul Grice, Speech Act Theory by John Searle, and Politeness Theory by Penelope Brown and Stephen Levinson. The first goal of this study is to investigate if and to what extent the far-right leaders speak in conformity with the cooperative principle, and to what extent they use coded language, i.e. implicatures to convey additional meaning. The second goal is to analyse speech acts used by far-right politicians and if there are any differences in the usage of speech acts between them. The third goal is to explore which politeness strategies dominate the speeches of these politicians: positive politeness, negative politeness, bald on-record, off-record strategy or face-threatening acts, and if there are any differences and similarities between them.

The corpus for this study is based on the speeches of four far-right leaders from the following countries: Australia, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the United States of America, and Canada. The far-right leaders under the scrutiny of this paper are Pauline Hanson from One Nation party in Australia, Gerard Batten from UKIP in the UK, Donald Trump, President of the United States, and Maxime Bernier, the leader of the centre to far-right People's Party of Canada. The speeches analysed in this study were found on YouTube. While the transcripts of Hanson's, Trump's and Bernier's speeches were available online, Batten's speech had to be transcribed manually. This analysis will be conducted using corpus linguistics as a quantitative strategy to generate statistics. For that purpose, UAM CorpusTool3 will be used to segment and annotate the corpus.

1.1. Research questions and hypothesis

This study was guided by the following research questions:

1. What are the maxims far-right politicians violate the most?
2. Do the far-right politicians more frequently violate or flout the cooperative principle?
3. Which far-right politician uses the most implicatures?
4. Are there any differences in terms of the cooperative principle violation/flouting between the four politicians?
5. Do the far-right politicians use any hedges to show awareness of the violation of the cooperative principle and to what extent?
6. What are the most frequently used illocutionary acts?
7. Does Donald Trump as the President of the United States use more declaratives than the other three politicians?
8. What are the most commonly used politeness strategies used by these four far-right politicians?

Hypothesis

Taking into account the above-mentioned research question, the following hypotheses have been defined and will or will not be confirmed:

H1: The far-right politicians will violate the cooperative principle more than they will flout it.

H2: The far-right politicians will violate the maxim of quality more than the other maxims.

H3: As the President of the United States, Donald Trump will use more declarative and commissive illocutionary acts than the other three politicians analysed in this paper.

H4: The most used politeness strategy in these four discourses will be the bald on-record strategy.

1.2. Study overview

This study is organized into five chapters. After the introduction, Chapter 2 of this study will be dedicated to the literature review. This chapter will present all the relevant theories for this study. First to be described will be pragmatic theories – Cooperative principle by Paul Grice, Speech Act Theory by John Searle, and Politeness Theory by Brown and Levinson. Secondly, political theory will also be presented to describe the position and the politics of the far-right. Thirdly, the reasons for the rise in support for the far-right will also be explored. Lastly, a description of the political situation in the countries under the scrutiny of this final diploma paper will be provided. Chapter 3 will describe the research design: the corpus and the instrument. Chapter 4 will present the results and these will be discussed. The final chapter will summarize the most important conclusions.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Cooperative Principle by Paul Grice

The ideas underlining the theory of conversational implicatures were first proposed by Paul Grice in his lecture at Harvard in 1967. At the core of this theory is how people use language in conversations (Levinson, 2008).

In most of the conversations, cooperation between the participants is often assumed. To describe how we cooperate in conversations Grice proposed the Cooperative Principle (hereafter CP). He formulated it in the following way: “make your 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.” (Grice, as quoted in Yule, 1996, p. 37)

The Cooperative Principle consists of four maxims:

Quantity

1. make your contribution as informative as is required for the current purposes of the exchange
2. do not make your contribution more informative than is required

Quality Try to make your contribution one that is true.

1. do not say what you believe to be false
2. do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence

Relation Be relevant.

Manner Be perspicuous.

1. avoid obscurity
2. avoid ambiguity
3. be brief
4. be orderly

(Grice, as quoted in Yule, 1996, p. 37)

These maxims are guidelines for clear, fair, and rational communication. However, Grice was aware that it was impossible for interactants to always abide by these maxims. To show their awareness of the CP when they might not be adhering to it, the interactants use hedges. Some

examples of hedges are the following: *As far as I know, I might be mistaken, to cut the long story short, this might not be important, I am not sure this makes sense*, etc. (Yule, 1996).

2.1.1. Implicatures

There are different reasons people flout the CP. Sometimes it is simply because the interactants do not want to abide with a maxim. Alternatively, one maxim might clash with another, or the interactants deliberately flout a maxim because there are reasons for them to believe that other interactants “will be able to spot the violation and fill in the communicative ‘gap’ for themselves” (Watts, 2003, p. 204). The interactants can fill in the gap by the means of *implicature*. Grice defined two types of implicatures. The first type of implicatures is called *conventional implicatures*. These implicatures are purely semantic and are generated lexically (through words such as *but, yet, therefore, still, stop, start*, etc.), or syntactically through appositive constructions or parenthetical relative clauses. More pertinent to this study are *conversational implicatures* which depend not only on the meaning of the words used but also the way they are used and interpreted. (Kasmirli, 2018)

Conversational implicature is an example of more being communicated than is said. The speaker uses implicatures, while the hearer decodes them via inference (Yule, 1996, p. 40).

Within conversational implicatures, there are different subtypes like *generalized conversational implicatures*, characterized by their independence of the wider context, and *particularized conversational implicatures* that require specific context in order to be interpreted. The following is an example of a particularized conversational implicature:

A: Hey, coming to the wild party tonight?

B: My parents are visiting.

(Yule, 1996, p. 43)

To infer what B said, we need to have some background knowledge. First of all, B is a student at a college, and since his/her parents are visiting, the speaker can infer that the answer to the question is *no* (Yule, 1996).

Examples of generalized conversational implicatures are phrases with indefinite articles. Levinson provided this example: “I walked into a house.”. From this sentence, we can infer that the house speaker entered was not his own. (Levinson, 2008, p. 126)

Other examples of conversational implicatures are different figures of speech. The following sentence exemplifies the flouting of the quality maxim: “Queen Victoria was made of iron”. This sentence is an example of metaphor – it wants to convey Queen Victoria’s personality trait- that she was strong and resilient, although this can be interpreted differently by different people. (Levinson, 2008, p. 110)

In this final diploma paper, a distinction between violating and flouting the maxims will be observed. If a person violates maxims, it means that he or she does it secretly, so that other people do not notice it. On the other hand, if a person flouts the maxims, they do it flagrantly so that it is obvious to other interlocutors that the maxims were broken. When flouting the maxims, the speaker intends to convey some additional meaning that the interlocutors need to infer. What this means is that flouting the maxims, and not violating them, leads to implicatures. (“Ling123- Topic 12 (Session 8)”, n.d.)

This final diploma paper aims to explore conversational implicatures in the selected corpora. Due to the scope of this paper, conventional implicatures will be omitted.

2.2. Speech Act Theory by John Searle

John L. Austin, a British philosopher of language, developed the theory of speech acts in his famous book *How to do things with words*. His work on the theory of speech acts was exploratory. As Austin’s student, John Searle continued the work of his professor, challenging and further developing the theory (Fotion, 2000).

The basic tenet of the Theory of Speech Acts is that we perform actions via our utterances. Austin argued that the production of an utterance consisted of three related acts. The first of these is the locutionary act. According to him, locutionary act “is roughly equivalent to uttering a certain sentence with a certain sense and reference, which again is roughly equivalent to “meaning” in the traditional sense.” (Austin, 1962, p. 108). He further divides the locutionary act into three acts: phonetic act – which is uttering certain sounds; phatic act – the uttering of “certain words or vocables”; and rhetic act - “the performance of an act of using those vocables with a certain more-or-less definite sense and reference.” (Austin, 1962, p. 95)

The second act is the illocutionary act. Illocutionary acts are utterances that have some force, for example, “informing, ordering, or warning”. (Austin, 1962) One utterance, for example: “I will be back”, can have only one literal meaning, so different utterances of the same sentence

can be “one and only one locutionary act”. (Searle, 1968). However, that same utterance can have different forces, i.e. it can belong to different illocutionary acts. So, the sentence above can be understood as a promise, threat, prediction, etc.

Finally, the third act is the perlocutionary act, which is what we achieve by our utterances – i.e. “convincing, persuading, surprising, or enlightening” our hearer (Austin, 1962).

In his essay *Austin on Locutionary and Illocutionary Acts*, Searle modified Austin’s distinction. By analysing Austin’s description of phatic and rhetic acts, Searle contended that rhetic acts were described using illocutionary verbs. Thus Austin “inadvertently characterized them as illocutionary acts.” (Searle, 1968). Searle further argued that “no sentence is completely force-neutral”. (Searle, 1968). He concluded that all locutionary acts were “members of the class of illocutionary acts, because every rhetic act, and hence every locutionary act, is an illocutionary act.” (Searle, 1968, p. 413)

For Searle, a speech act is an equivalent to illocutionary act. He divided illocutionary acts into two constituting acts: Illocutionary force indicating act and propositional act. He further divided the propositional act into referring and predicating act. On the example of the following five utterances, Searle explained his division:

- 1) Will John leave the room?
- 2) John will leave the room.
- 3) John, leave the room!
- 4) Would that John left the room.
- 5) If John will leave the room, I will leave also.

(Searle, 1971, p. 42)

These utterances have a common content – John, to whom the speaker is referring, and the act of leaving the room – which is a predicating act. These two make a propositional act that tells us what we are talking about. But without the illocutionary force, these sentences would not tell us much. According to Fotion, the utterance of just the propositional act would sound like: “John’s leaving the room.” (Fotion, 2000). The speech act can only be complete with the illocutionary force indicating act. The illocutionary force in each of these utterances is different. In the first utterance, we have a question. The second utterance is an assertion, the third a prediction. The fourth utterance is an expression of a wish, while the last is a hypothetical expression of intention. (Searle, 1971, p. 43) Not all speech acts have propositional content. Examples of these are: “Hello!”, “Ouch”, “Sorry”, etc. (Searle, 1971).

In his article *A Taxonomy of Speech Acts*, Searle revised Austin's preliminary taxonomy of speech acts and proposed the following taxonomy:

- 1) **Directives** – the illocutionary point of directives is “that they are attempts by the speaker to get the hearer to do something.” (Searle, 1979: 14) Some of the verbs tied to directives are order, command, ask, request, plead, advise, etc. The direction of fit “is world-to-words and the sincerity condition is want/desire” (Searle, 1979)
- 2) **Commissives** – the illocutionary point of commissives is “to commit the speaker to some future course of action.” Searle argues that “the direction of fit is world-to-word”, while the sincerity condition is intention. (Searle, 1979: 14)
- 3) **Expressives** – according to Searle, “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”. These speech acts do not have a direction of fit because the speaker is not trying to either make the world fit words or vice versa. Some of the verbs tied to expressives are: apologize, thank, deplore, congratulate, etc. (Searle, 1979:15)
- 4) **Declarations** –to be able to perform declarations, Searle claims that “there must exist an extra-linguistic institution like courts, companies, or religious institutions, and the speaker and hearer must occupy special places within this institution. Declarations are different from other illocutionary acts because the direction of fit is both word-to-world and world-to-word, and there is no sincerity condition. (Searle, 1979)
- 5) **Assertives** – have both assertive and declarative direction of fit. They are utterances that represent reality, and they can be statements, descriptions, explanations, etc. (Searle, 1979)

Despite the existence of numerous alternative speech act theories, Searle's division, being the most widely accepted in linguistics, will be exclusively utilized in this diploma paper.

2.2.1. Direct and indirect speech acts

Speech acts can also be classified into direct and indirect speech acts according to their structure. As in many other languages, there are three different structures in English: declarative, interrogative, and imperative structures. These structures perform the following

communicative functions respectively: statement, question, command/request. (Yule, 1996). Direct speech acts are those acts that have a clear-cut relation between a structure and a communicative function. Indirect speech acts, on the other hand, have an indirect relationship between the two. According to Yule, the most common indirect speech acts are those that have a structure of interrogatives, which are not used to pose a question but to perform other communicative functions. (Yule, 1996). An example of this would be:

- a) Could you please open the window?
- b) Would you be so kind as to give me a tissue?

Although these examples sound like questions, in reality, they are requests to do something. These instances are very common in the English language as they are regarded as much more polite than direct speech acts. (Yule, 1996)

2.3. Linguistic Politeness

Different associations come to mind when one mentions politeness. Politeness is a concept that is seen differently in each culture. What is considered polite (or impolite) in some cultures, might not be of any importance in other cultures. In his book titled *Politeness*, Richard J. Watts suggests that we can divide politeness in two different aspects – the first is the lay perception of politeness each member of society has, which he calls the *first-order politeness*. Watts gives examples of common perceptions of politeness such as opening doors for others, saying “please” and “thank you”, “I’m sorry”, etc. (Watts, 2008, p. 31)

The second aspect is *the linguistic politeness*, which is different from the first order politeness. According to Watts, the *second-order politeness* “refers to forms of social behaviour preserving mutually shared consideration for others.” (Watts, 2008, p. 277)

The field of politeness has been in the focus of many linguists for years. The most acclaimed theory of linguistic politeness was proposed by Penelope Brown and Steven Levinson in 1978. All succeeding theories were based on their theory. Other important politeness theories were proposed by Geoffrey Leech, 1983; Robin Lakoff, 1973; Kasper, 1990; Arndt and Janney, 1993, etc. What is common to all of these theories is the attempt to create a harmonious society, to avoid conflicts, to promote a friendly atmosphere, and show regard for other person’s sense of self and their needs (Watts, 2008).

In the next subsection of this paper, the politeness theory as proposed by Brown and Levinson will be explained, for their approach will be used in the analysis. The notion of face, as well as face wants and face-threatening acts and the strategies of addressing the face-threatening acts will be described.

2.3.1. Politeness Theory by Brown and Levinson

The theory that plays a pivotal role in the field of linguistic politeness is the one proposed by Brown and Levinson in 1978. According to Watts, Brown, and Levinson's view of politeness can be most succinctly described as "a complex system for softening face-threatening acts". (Watts, 2008, p. 50). To present their theory, Brown and Levinson proposed a Model Person (MP), who stands for "a wilful speaker of a natural language". (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 58) This MP has two properties: rationality and face. Rationality, according to the authors is the ability of an MP to decide which means he or she will choose to satisfy their end. In other words, the MP will weigh up different means to an end, and choose the most suitable strategy to achieve that end.

The key notion to this theory, however, is the term *face*. According to Brown and Levinson, this term was borrowed from Goffman and the English folk term. The term *face* presents the public image that we present to the world. Brown and Levinson postulated two aspects of the notion. The first one is called the *negative face* and it represents our need to act freely and without imposition. The second aspect of the notion is the *positive face* which represents our "need to be approved of and liked by other members of our community". (Brown and Levinson, 1987, p. 61)

2.3.2. Face wants

Our face can be quite fragile, so to keep it unscathed we have to attend to another person's face, i.e. their public self-image. Each person has their face wants which they assume other members of society will respect. These face wants are again divided into the *negative face wants* and the *positive face wants*. The negative face wants are the needs of a person that their actions are unimpeded by others, while the positive face wants are our wishes that other members of society see our needs as desirable. (Brown and Levinson, 1987, p. 62)

Brown and Levinson argue that the negative face is synonymous with the formal politeness. Positive face, on the other hand, is somewhat different. According to the authors, positive

politeness presents a desire to be understood, liked, admired by other people. It also presents a want for one's ideas, goals, and actions to be approved of not just by any member of society, but certain groups the individual belongs to or would like to become a member.

2.3.3. Face-threatening acts

Some acts, according to Brown and Levison, are far more dangerous to the face of the speaker and hearer than others. The authors call these acts face-threatening acts, hereafter FTAs. They divided FTAs into two groups, according to which face they threatened and whether the speaker's (hereafter S) or the addressee's face (hereafter H) is threatened.

2.3.4. Threats to H's face

Some of the acts that threaten the addressee's negative face, according to the authors, are orders and requests, suggestions, advice, threats, warnings, offers, promises, compliments, and expression of negative feelings towards the addressee. (Brown and Levinson, 1987, pp. 65-66)

The acts that threaten addressee's positive face are criticism, ridicule, reprimands, accusations, insults, contradictions or disagreements, violent emotions, taboo topics inappropriate to the context, giving bad news about the addressee and good about the speaker, talking about divisive topics such as religion or politics, non-cooperation reflected in interruptions and a lack of attention. (Brown and Levinson, 1987, pp. 66-67)

2.3.5. Threats to S's face

On the other hand, the acts that threaten the speaker's negative face are expressions of gratefulness, acceptance of thanks, apologies or offers, giving excuses, responding to addressee's faux pas, and unwilling promises and offers. (Brown and Levinson, 1987, pp. 67-68)

The acts that threaten the speaker's positive face are giving apologies, accepting compliments, stumbling, loss of physical control over body, self-humiliation, self-contradicting, confession, loss of control over tears of laughter, etc. (Brown and Levinson, 1987, p. 68)

2.3.6. Strategies for doing FTAs

Since our face is quite vulnerable, to protect it, we will also want to show some regard to the addressee's face. Brown and Levinson proposed five strategies for minimizing the impact of

FTAs. These strategies range from avoidance of FTAs to complete disregard of addressee's face wants.

2.3.7. Avoidance

By avoiding the FTA, and thus not offending the addressee, the speaker might invest the least effort, but he/she also disregards his/her needs hoping for them to be recognized by the addressee. By using this strategy, the speaker will not achieve his/her desired communicative end, thus most of the speakers opt for other strategies.

2.3.8. Bald on – record

By going bald on-record, the speaker states his/her needs clearly and directly, but without any redressive action which might show disregard to H's face wants. Some situations where the speaker can go baldly on record without threatening H's face are in cases of urgency or efficiency, in acts that are in H's interest, and when the S is in the superior position and has the support of the audience. (Brown and Levinson, 1987, p. 69)

2.3.9. Face saving acts – positive face

The third strategy is to go on record using positive politeness as a redressive action, thus lessening the FTA by emphasizing that S understands and respects the H's wants. The H is treated like a respectable person, as a friend, or an in-group member whose wants are recognized and liked. In George Yule's book, *Pragmatics*, redressive actions are also called *face-saving acts* (Yule, 1996).

2.3.10. Face saving acts – negative face

The fourth strategy is to go on record using the negative politeness as a redressive action. In this case, when making an FTA, the speaker will show deference towards the addressee, showing him/her that the speaker recognizes and respects his/her want for independence and freedom of action, thus showing respect for the H in return of doing an FTA.

2.3.11. Off-record

The fifth strategy according to Brown and Levinson is to go off-record and be seen as considerate and respectful. By going off-record, more than one interpretation can be attributed

to the speaker's statement, and thus the S can avoid FT interpretation by claiming that what H inferred was not what the S meant. (Brown & Levinson, 68-73, 1987)

The corpus analysis in this final diploma paper will be based on these three pragmatic theories. What is worth mentioning is the interconnection between the cooperative principle and politeness. To be specific, the only politeness strategy that conforms with Grice's Maxims is bald on-record strategy. The rest of them are based on maxim violations. Brown and Levinson contend that "politeness is a major source from such rational efficiency and is communicated precisely by that deviation" (Brown and Levinson, 1987, p. 95). Nevertheless, the conversational maxims remain at operation but at a different level because the addressee is still able to decipher implicatures. (Brown and Levinson, 1987, p. 95)

2.4. The Far-right politics

2.4.1. Terminology

The political spectrum serves as a useful tool for giving us an idea about the ideology of a political party. The political spectrum ranges from the far-left to the far-right politics. On these fringes are placed anarchists and communists on the far-left, and reactionaries and neo-Nazis/neo-fascists on the far-right. Moving from the far-left to the centre are socialists and social democrats, while conservatives present more moderate right-wing politics. Positioned in the middle of the political spectrum are moderates who are affiliated neither to the right-wing nor to the left-wing ideology (although this is not always the case). (Woshinsky, 2008)

The focus of this final diploma paper will be only on far-right politics. There are different terms for these political parties and groups: extreme right, right-wing extremism, right-wing radicalism, (radical) right-wing populism, national populism, neo-Nazism/neo-Fascism. (Mudde, 2000)

In this paper, the term far-right will be used exclusively.

2.4.2. Far-right ideology

Mudde argues that there is a lack of a generally accepted definition of the far-right. By analysing twenty-six definitions of the far-right, Mudde was able to narrow down the definition

of the far-right to the following five features: “nationalism, racism, xenophobia, anti-democracy, and the strong state.” (Mudde, 2000, p. 11)

2.4.3. Rise of the far-right

Although Mudde’s definition captures the core of far-right politics, there are other features that mark the modern-day far-right politics. The most prominent feature of the far-right political parties is their ardent anti-immigration and anti-multiculturalism stance. These two issues immensely contributed to the rise of the far-right in recent years. With the war in Syria, we have witnessed an enormous number of refugees and asylum seekers in Europe and the USA. There is also a significant number of illegal immigrants and refugees who have been risking their lives daily in order to reach the countries of Europe. This climate has created a fertile ground for the ascendancy of the far-right. In her paper, *Migration and the rise of the radical right-Social malaise and the failure of mainstream politics*, Gibernau (2010) studied the set of factors that contributed to the rise of the far-right parties. These factors are economic insecurity and instability, cultural anxiety, and political alienation.

She argues that one of the most important factors contributing to the rise of the far-right is *economic insecurity and instability* where many low and medium-skilled workers were left unemployed due to the changes in the global economy. Those people have the perception that immigrants steal jobs from them, and that “they receive greater social benefits than nationals” (Gibernau, 2010, p. 5)

Another factor contributing to the rise of the far-right is what Gibernau calls *cultural anxiety*. Due to growing diversity and multiculturalism, native people started to feel they were losing their own cultures and with that their identity. Mudde argues that identity politics of the far-right “is always based on an ‘us-them’ distinction” – whereby “us” is always superior to “them” considered inferior and alien. (Mudde, 2007, p. 63) With the radical Islamist terrorist attacks starting from 9/11 to attacks all around Europe, an ever-growing *Islamophobia* has been on the rise. Islam and (previously) Judaism were considered a threat to the homogeneity of societies. Many far-right parties fear the Islamization of their countries. They believe the goal of Muslims in their countries is to bring the Sharia law with them, thus subjecting the native population to it. Although it may sound far-fetched, this concern of the far-right resonates with most of their supporters.

The third factor Gibernau identifies is *political alienation*. Many far-right supporters feel disillusioned with the mainstream political parties. They think these parties have done nothing to address issues such as immigration in a manner that would benefit the native population. According to them, the mainstream political parties are seen as corrupt and only concerned with keeping their own positions and privileges. (Gibernau, 2010)

The focus of the analysis of this final diploma paper will be the far-right politics in Australia, Canada, the USA, and the UK.

2.5. An overview of the far-right politics in Australia, Canada, the United States and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

Before moving on to the analysis of the far-right speeches, an overview of the far-right politics in Australia, Canada, the US, and the UK will be provided to give us a wider picture of the place these parties hold in the above-mentioned countries. The next chapter of this study will demonstrate that all of the speeches of the far-right politicians chosen for this final diploma paper fit perfectly with the description of the far-right politics provided above.

2.5.1. Australia

The most important period for the far-right in Australia was during the 1990s when Pauline Hanson with her party *One Nation* entered the political scene. Typical of far-right leaders, Hanson presented herself as the voice of people – the “downtrodden” white Australians. Before creating *One Nation*, Hanson was elected as the Liberal representative of Oxley in the House of Representatives with 54,66 % of the vote. (Fleming and Mondon, 2018, p. 5). She won the seat thanks to a letter in which she criticized the government for treating the indigenous people better than mainstream Australians only because of the past wrongs the government committed.

Thanks to the media coverage, which was mostly critical of her, Hanson’s ideas were disseminated to the wider public. The media attention served as a free advertisement when Hanson established her party *One Nation*. The popularity of *One Nation* was so widespread that in Queensland elections it received 22,7 % of the vote. Nevertheless, this popularity lasted until the early 2000s due to the amateurism and inexperience of its leaders. Pauline Hanson’s *One Nation* “resurrected” in 2016 when “it received 4,3% of the vote in the Senate election”.

(Fleming and Mondon, 2018) What changed in Hanson's approach was the shift of criticism from the Aboriginal and Asian populations to the criticism of Australian Muslims. In this paper, a debate in which Hanson participated will be analysed.

2.5.2. Canada

The far-right politics in Canada is not as strong as it is in the rest of English-speaking countries under the scrutiny of this final diploma paper. Some of the registered far-right parties in Canada are *Cultural Action Party* and *National Citizens Alliance*. According to one of *National Citizens Alliance's* websites, one of its core policies is to "implement a strong no-nonsense immigration policy that puts the well-being and safety of the Canadian people first and a temporary pause and substantial reduction in immigration". ("National Citizens Alliance's agenda," n.d.) The party also advocates for the revocation of the Canadian hate speech laws as they prevent free speech. Some of their views can be characterized as outright Islamophobic as they support "the ban on the practice of Sharia Law, the ban of foreign-funded mosque building, and the ban of Quds Day". The party also shared a YouTube video titled "Canada Needs Islamophobia". ("NCA's mission," n.d.)

Similar to National Citizens Alliance, one of the Cultural Action Party's core policies is the reduction of immigration in general and a ban on "immigration and refugee intake from countries proven to advocate, promote and/or engage in terrorist activities". They are the proponents of "the preservation and promotion of traditional English and French cultural heritage throughout Canadian society", and they advocate for the "national referendum to assess public opinion on repealing the Canadian Multiculturalism Act of 1988". ("Cultural Action Party of Canada," n.d.). The support for these parties, however, is marginal.

In 2018, after leaving the Conservative Party, Maxime Bernier formed the People's Party of Canada. This party is on the right to far-right on the political spectrum. According to Richard Warnica, Bernier has been labelled as "xenophobic, racist, egomaniacal and doomed" ever since founding the party. (Warnica, 2019) His policies were marked by his climate-change scepticism, as well as his anti-immigration stance. (Warnica, 2019). In Trump's fashion, Bernier promised to build a fence on Canada's border with the US to prevent illegal migrants from entering Canada. In his tweets, Bernier also criticized what he calls "extreme multiculturalism", as well as "cultural Balkanism" that was happening in Canada. (Warnica,

2019). Although in 2018 Bernier claimed far-right members were not welcome in his party, according to Russel and Bell (2019) from the network Global News, three of the founding members of the People's Party were also (ex)members of The Soldiers of Odin and Pegida Canada, both far-right groups. In this final diploma paper, Bernier's interview with Steve Paikin will be analysed.

2.5.3. The USA

The political system in the United States of America is a two-party system marked by the Republican and Democratic parties. Outside of these two parties, no president has been elected since 1853 when Millard Fillmore from the Whig party became President.

The US also has a long history of racism. Slavery as an institution was abolished in 1865. Racism, however, did not cease with this. With the Abolition of Slavery and the Reconstruction Act started the first wave of the Ku Klux Klan (hereafter KKK), a far-right white-supremacist group aiming at maintaining a pre-war racial hierarchy. The violent activity of the KKK declined in the 1870s only to resurface in 1915 with the film *The Birth of a Nation* celebrating the KKK. However, with a surging anti-Klan activity pointing at the violence of the KKK, the movement lost its momentum during the 1920s. The KKK resurrected again during the Civil Rights Movement of the 1950-60s. Clothed as patriotism, the KKK activity promoted bigotry, hatred, and harassment of anyone not belonging to white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant community. The targets of the KKK were black people, Catholics, Jews, Mexicans, and Asians. (Rothman, 2016)

Today's far-right activity is imbued with white-supremacist ideas. The two-party system in the US made it difficult for other parties to come to the forefront. In 2018, there are three minor far-right parties in the US, namely the American Nazi Party, the American Freedom Party, and America's Party. Due to the limited outreach of these parties, none of them will be further analysed. Still, the most powerful far-right figure is, without any doubt, the current President Donald Trump, whose speech will be analysed in this paper. The reasons for choosing Donald Trump for the writing of this final diploma paper are his policies towards minorities such as Mexicans, Muslims, and the African American population. One of the most important issues Trump raised in the presidential campaign was the building of the wall on the border with Mexico to prevent illegal immigrants from coming to the US. At the time, Trump claimed that

the US would build the wall, but that the Mexicans would pay it completely. This hostility towards the Mexicans “legitimized” xenophobic attacks against Mexicans living in the US, as well as insults directed towards people speaking Spanish across the US. Without any doubt, the election of Trump as the President of the US has strengthened not just the white supremacists in the US, but far-right parties and activists across the world. Also, Donald Trump has been chosen for analysis because of his Muslim ban which was in effect for the first three months of 2017. Trump intended to ban nationals from seven predominantly Muslim countries from visiting the US and prohibiting the entry of Syrian refugees indefinitely. (Oxfam, 2020). Trump’s treatment of the African American population was another reason for choosing him for the analysis in this paper. In the aftermath of Charlottesville events where white supremacist groups clashed with counter-protesters killing one person, instead of condemning the white-supremacists, Trump proclaimed that “there were fine people on both sides”, that way showing his implicit support to white supremacist group. (Jackson, 2019). Furthermore, his handling of the recent protests that surged after the murder of George Floyd, revealed his opposition towards the Black Lives Matter movement. These are the three principal reasons for choosing Donald Trump as a far-right figure whose first press conference will be analysed in this final diploma paper.

2.5.4. The UK

The far-right movement in the UK has gone through different transformations from the period of the Second World War until now. In the post-war period, the far-right was influenced by fascist and Nazi ideas, and the main target was Jews. This changed over time as anti-Semitism was becoming more sanctioned and the far-right groups were gradually losing supporters (Mulhall, 2019). The most prominent far-right parties in the UK were first The National Front, The British National Party, and UKIP. The period from 2009 until now has seen ever-growing support for far-right groups and political parties in the UK. This initial popularity can be contributed to the English Defence League (EDL), a far-right group gathered around their leader Stephen Yaxley-Lennon, aka Tommy Robinson. According to Mulhall, what contributed to the popularity of the EDL is that it distanced itself from typical far-right topics like antisemitism, racism, and homophobia, focusing on anti-Muslim protests, thus making their agenda more palatable to the general public (Mulhall, 2019). Another important topic uniting the far right is the topic of free speech. Far-right groups and parties claim that due to

political correctness their right to free speech is curtailed most of the time. In this fight for the freedom of speech, the far-right depicts itself as the victim of oppressors whom they label as fascist (Mulhall, 2019). One of the most prominent modern far-right parties, United Kingdom Independence Party (hereafter UKIP), surged to popularity during the pre-Brexit period. Although it can be argued that this party inclined more towards the centre-right under their ex-leader Nigel Farage, the party turned towards the far-right under the leadership of Gerard Batten (who stepped down as their leader in November 2019). During Batten's leadership, he appointed Tommy Robinson as his advisor, and the major alt-right figures such as Milo Yiannopoulos, Paul Joseph Watson, and others joined the ranks of UKIP (Lawrence, 2018). According to Merriam Webster dictionary, the alt-right (or the alternative right) is defined as "a right-wing, primarily online political movement or grouping based in the U.S. whose members reject mainstream conservative politics and espouse extremist beliefs and policies typically centered on ideas of white nationalism". (Definition of ALT-RIGHT, 2009). According to the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), the term was coined by Richard Bertrand Spencer, a white nationalist, in 2008. The core belief of the alt-right, according to SPLC, is that "the "white identity" is threatened by multiculturalism by using political correctness and social justice". (Alt-right, 2014)

In this final diploma paper, Batten's interview with Matt Frei will be analysed.

3. RESEARCH DESIGN

This diploma paper conducts a pragmatic analysis of the political speeches of the far-right parties' leaders. Three fundamental pragmatic theories (Cooperative Principle, Speech Act Theory, Politeness Theory) are used to analyse the speeches at hand.

3.1. The corpus

Corpus linguistics will be used to perform the quantitative part of this final diploma paper. The corpus for this study consists of four speeches of the following far-right politicians: Pauline Hanson from One Nation in Australia, Gerard Batten from UKIP in the United Kingdom, the current President of the United States, Donald Trump, and Maxime Bernier, the leader of People's Party in Canada. All of these speeches were found on YouTube. Since there were many videos, some of which were not appropriate for this study, three factors were considered upon choosing these four speeches:

1. Only speeches delivered from the period between 2016 until 2019 were taken into account.
2. Filter was put on YouTube so that only videos longer than 20 minutes were displayed.
3. The videos where there was some interaction between the far-right leaders and other people were favoured as politeness theory is best observed in conversations.

One of the difficulties faced in writing this paper was the manual transcription of Matt Frei's interview with Gerard Batten, which could not be found online. Transcripts of the other three speeches were available online.

3.2. Instrument

To process the data at hand, a software called *UAM CorpusTool3* was fed with the transcribed data. This software was developed by Mick O'Donnell, a lecturer with a special interest in corpus linguistics at Universidad Autónoma de Madrid (UAM). For the software to function properly, layers i.e. coding schemes had to be created manually. Since there are three theories, three layers had to be formed. The following figure represents the CP layer:

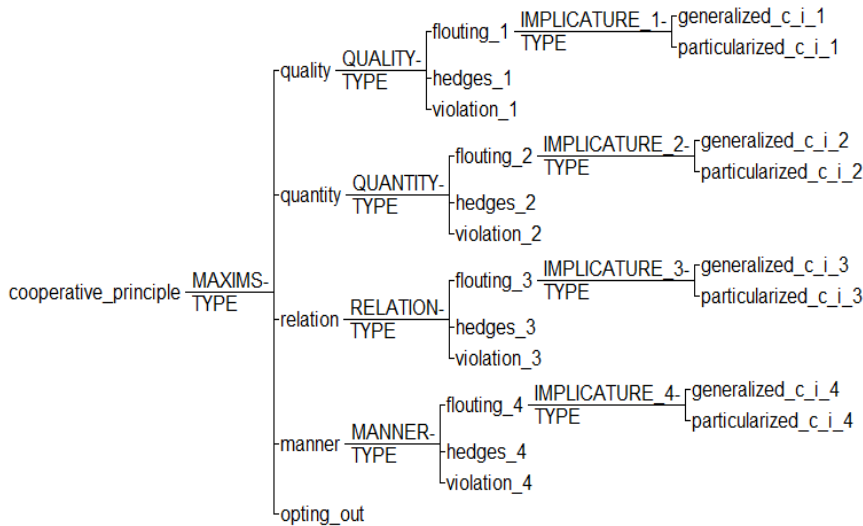


Figure 1: CP Layer

The following is the speech act theory layer used in this software:

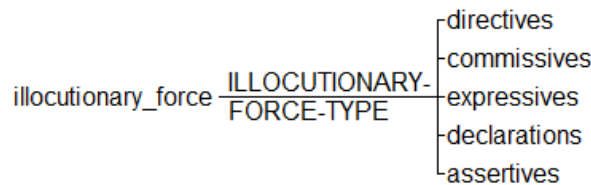


Figure 2: The Speech Act Layer

Lastly, to analyse politeness, the following figure presenting a simplified version of politeness layer was used:

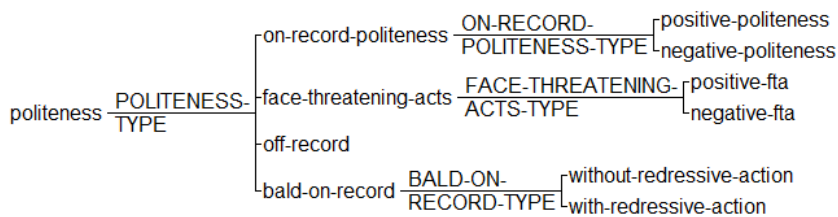


Figure 3: Politeness Layer

This layer consists of many sub-branches, presenting positive politeness, negative politeness, positive FTAs, negative FTAs, and off-record strategies embedded for the ease of analysing the data. However, due to its size, a screenshot of that layer could not be taken. The following figure presents the interface of UAM CorpusTool3 software:

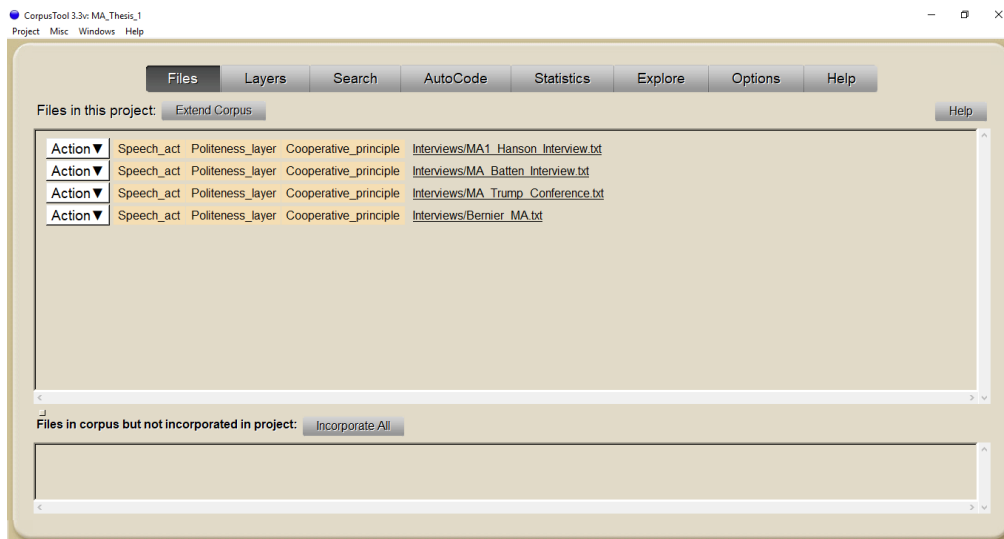


Figure 4: UAM CorpusTool3 Interface

The previous figure displays the speeches and tools after they were segmented and annotated. For the software to function it needs to be fed with layers and corpus in .txt format. When that part is done, the software is ready for annotation. It is worth mentioning that a researcher can decide how the text will be segmented and annotated, automatically or manually. Since the automatic layers were not appropriate for this study, the corpus was segmented and annotated manually. The following figure shows how a part of the corpus was segmented and the annotation assigned to it:

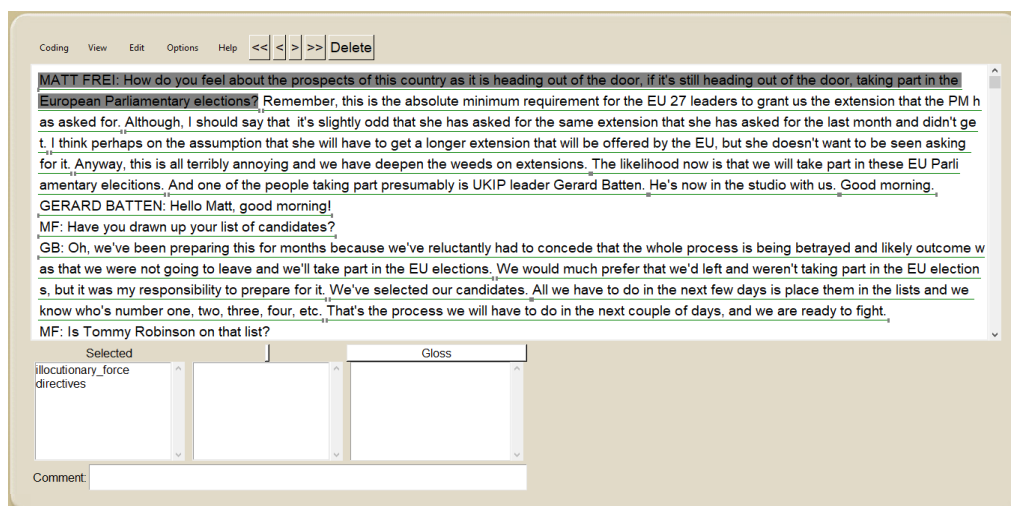


Figure 5: Segmentation and Annotation

After segmenting and annotating all data, the program generates statistics which help us answer research questions and hypothesis. The statistics are displayed in numbers and percentages,

which can be seen in the tables presented in the results and discussion section. Graphs comparing the results across the corpus were also created.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This part will be divided into two sections: results and discussion. In the results section, the tables and graphs with findings will be presented. The first to be presented will be the findings related to the Cooperative Principle and Implicatures. For this purpose, the findings will be presented in tables for each of the speeches. A graph comparing these findings will also be provided. Secondly, we will look into the findings on speech acts, and discuss differences in the usage of speech acts across our corpus. Thirdly, the findings on politeness will be presented, along with a graph comparing politeness strategies used in the four speeches selected for this study.

In the second part of this section, a detailed pragmatic analysis of excerpts from the corpus will be provided.

4.1. Results

As mentioned above, in this subsection results related to violation/ flouting of the cooperative principle will be presented first, after that, we will present the results related to speech acts, and lastly, the findings on politeness strategies will be presented and commented. This will be done in the following order: first to be presented will be the findings from the interview with Pauline Hanson. Next, the findings from Gerard Batten's speech will be shown. Thirdly, the findings from Donald Trump's news conference will be presented. Lastly, the results of the analysis of Bernier's speech will be displayed. After presenting each of these findings in tables, graphs comparing them will be displayed. The terms frequency and relative frequency will be used in the tables with results. Frequency presents the number of times a certain feature occurs in the data set, while relative frequency presents the proportion of times a feature occurs.

4.1.1. Cooperative Principle and Implicatures

Feature	Frequency	Relative Frequency
Cooperative Principle	78	100.00%
Quantity violation	26	33.33%
Relation violation	16	20.51%
Quality flouting	13	16.67%
Quality violation	8	10.26%
Relation flouting	6	7.69%
Manner flouting	4	5.13%
Manner violation	3	3.85%
Hedges	1	1.28%
Opting out	1	1.28%

Table 1. Cooperative Principle observed in the interview with Pauline Hanson

This table shows the number of instances each conversational maxim was either violated, flouted, hedged, or opted out in Pauline Hanson’s interview.

According to this table, there were 78 instances of that. Hanson violated the maxim of quantity most frequently – 26 times. What this suggests is that she either provided less information than was needed, or that she was being too informative. The table shows that the maxim of relation was violated 16 times in this discourse. This means that Hanson was not being to the point or was digressing sixteen times. The maxim that was flouted most frequently is the maxim of quality which was flouted 13 times. What this means is that Hanson deliberately said something she knew was false or something she lacked evidence for, that way giving rise to implicatures.

Meanwhile, there were just two instances of opting out of maxims and showing awareness of the CP by hedging them. Overall, this table shows that there were more instances of violating the cooperative principle than of flouting it.

Feature	Frequency	Relative Frequency
Implicatures	23	100.00%
Particularized	20	86.95%
Generalized	3	13.05%

Table 2. Implicatures in Pauline Hanson’s speech

Table 2. illustrates the occurrence of implicatures used by Hanson. There were 23 implicatures in total, out of which 20 of them are particularized and 3 generalized implicatures.

Feature	Frequency	Relative Frequency
Cooperative principle	105	100.00%
Quantity violation	35	33.34%
Relation violation	20	19.05%
Quality flouting	16	15.24%
Quality violation	10	9.52%
Relation flouting	8	7.62%
Hedges	8	7.62%
Manner violation	6	5.71%
Quantity flouting	1	0.95%
Manner flouting	1	0.95%

Table 3. Cooperative Principle in Gerard Batten's speech

This table shows the frequency of violation, flouting, and hedging of the cooperative principle in the interview of Matt Frei with Gerard Batten.

An inspection of the data in this table shows that Batten violated the maxim of quantity most frequently, 35 times. Similar to Hanson, this indicates that Batten was either too informative or less informative than necessary. The second on the list is the maxim of relation which Batten violated 20 times. As the table shows, the maxim of quality was flouted 16 times, which makes up 15,24% of all occurrences of CP-violating, flouting, or hedging. Batten showed his awareness of the CP through hedges 8 times. The last features in this table are the maxim of quantity and manner which were flouted only once in this discourse.

Overall, there were 105 instances of violation, flouting, and hedging of the CP. This table also shows that Batten violated the CP more frequently than flouting it.

Feature	Frequency	Relative Frequency
Implicatures	26	100.00%
Particularized	21	80.77%
Generalized	5	19.23%

Table 4. Implicatures in Gerard Batten's speech

As table 4. shows, Batten used 26 implicatures out of which 21 were particularized and 5 generalized. What that means is that most of the time, the reader had to be aware of the context to know what the speaker implicated with his utterance, as unlike generalized implicatures, particularized implicatures are context-dependent.

Feature	Frequency	Relative Frequency
Cooperative principle	144	100.00%
Quantity violation	61	42.36%
Manner violation	32	22.22%
Relation violation	20	13.89%
Hedges	18	12.50%
Quality violation	6	4.17%
Relation flouting	2	1.39%
Quality flouting	2	1.39%
Quantity flouting	2	1.39%
Opting out	1	0.69%

Table 5. Cooperative Principle in Donald Trump’s speech

This table shows the frequency of violating, flouting, hedging, or opting out of the CP in President Trump’s first news conference.

What stands out in this table is that the maxim of quantity was violated 61 times, making up 42,36% of all occurrences of the violation, flouting, hedging, and opting out of the CP. It is also notable that President Trump violated the maxim of manner 32 times, making up 22,22% of the total. This indicated that Trump’s discourse at times was not orderly and that some of his utterances could be considered ambiguous. What is also worth noting is that there were 18 instances of hedges, which show Trump’s awareness of violating the CP. This table shows that there was one instance of opting out of the CP. An inspection of the data also shows that there were by far more instances of violation of the CP than of flouting it.

Overall, there were 144 instances of either violation, flouting, hedging, or opting out of the CP.

Feature	Frequency	Relative Frequency
Implicatures	6	100.00%
Particularized	6	100.00%
Generalized	0	0.0%

Table 6. Implicatures in Donald Trump's speech

Table 6. displays the number of implicatures in Trump's speech. It shows that out of 6 implicatures, all of them were particularized.

Feature	Frequency	Relative Frequency
Cooperative Principle	46	100.00%
Quantity violation	27	58.70%
Hedges	5	10.87%
Quality flouting	4	8.70%
Manner violation	4	8.70%
Relation violation	3	6.52%
Quality violation	2	4.35%
Relation flouting	1	2.17%

Table 7. Cooperative Principle in Maxime Bernier's speech

This table shows the number of instances each conversational maxim was either violated, flouted, hedged, or opted out in Maxime Bernier's speech.

Observable from this table is that Bernier violated the maxim of quantity most frequently, 58,70% in the interview with Steve Paikin. The second on the list are hedges making up 10,87% in Bernier's speech. Both flouting of the maxim of quality and violation of the maxim of manner occurred four times, making up 8,70% each.

To sum up, the most frequently violated maxim in Bernier's speech was the maxim of quantity indicating that Bernier either talked too much or not enough. Flouting of the maxim of relation occurred only once in this interview.

Feature	Frequency	Relative Frequency
Implicatures	5	100.00%

Particularized	5	100.00%
Generalized	0	0%

Table 8. Implicatures in Maxime Bernier's speech.

The table above shows the number of implicatures used in Bernier's speech. There were only 5 implicatures, out of which all were particularized.

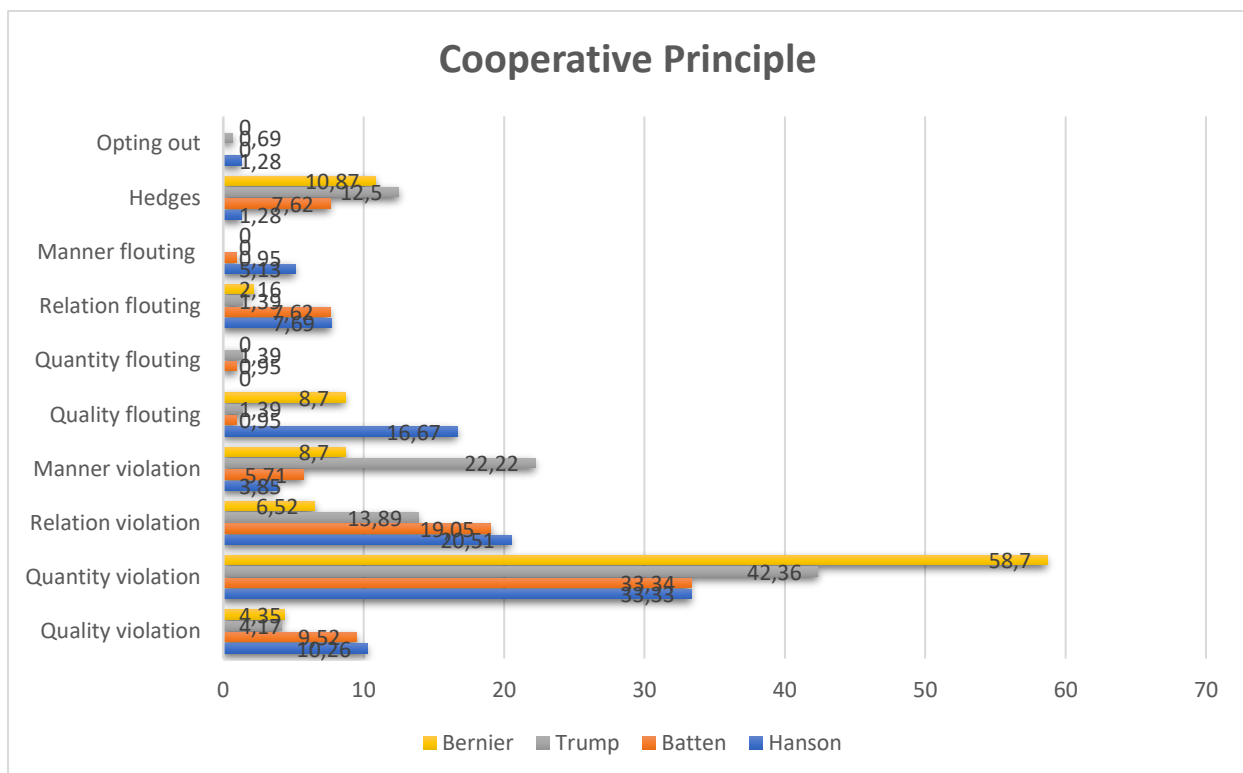


Figure 6: Comparison of (non)observance of the CP in Hanson's, Batten's, Trump's and Bernier's speech

Figure 6. provides a bar chart comparing the (non)observance of the CP in Hanson's, Batten's, Trump's speech, and Bernier's speech.

According to the chart, all four politicians violated the maxim of quantity most frequently- it makes up 58,7% of instances of CP (non)observation in Bernier's speech, 42,36% in Trump's speech, 33,34% in Batten's speech, and 33,33% in Hanson's speech. There is a significant difference in the frequency of flouting the maxim of quality in these four speeches. This chart shows that quality flouting makes up 16,67% of all CP (non)observance in Hanson's speech, 8,7% in Bernier's speech, while it only makes up 1,39% and 0,95% in Trump's and Batten's

speeches, respectively. This chart clearly shows the difference in the usage of hedges in these speeches. With 12,5%, Trump leads in the usage of hedges, compared to Bernier with 10,87% of hedges, Batten with 7,62%, and only 1,28% in Hanson’s speech. Closer inspection of the chart shows a considerable difference in the violation of the maxim of manner. While it makes up 22,22% of all CP non-observance instances in Trump’s speech, compared to 8,7% in Bernier’s speech, and 5,71% and 3,85% in Batten’s and Hanson’s speech, respectively.

Overall, it can be said that there are some similarities between the four speeches reflected in the fact that the four politicians violated the maxim of quantity most frequently. Nonetheless, this bar chart reveals some differences in the four speeches observable in the frequency of usage of hedges, violation of the maxim of manner, as well as flouting of the maxim of quality.

4.1.2. Speech Act

Feature	Frequency	Relative Frequency
Illocutionary force	434	100.00%
assertives	297	68.43%
directives	101	23.27%
expressives	26	5.99%
commissives	9	2.07%
declarations	1	0.23%

Table 9. Speech Act in Pauline Hanson’s speech

This table illustrates the speech acts Pauline Hanson used most frequently in the speech analysed in this paper.

It is apparent from this table that the most frequent speech acts were the ones with the illocutionary force of assertive – 297 of them, which makes 68,43% of total speech acts in this discourse. As the table shows, the second most frequent speech acts were directives which made up 23,27%. The least common speech acts in this discourse are the ones with the illocutionary force of declaration which occurred just once, making 0,23%.

Overall, there were 434 speech acts in this discourse, out of which the most frequent are the ones with the illocutionary force of assertive.

Feature	Frequency	Relative Frequency
Illocutionary force	349	100.00%
assertives	276	79.08%
directives	61	17.48%
expressives	4	1.15%
commissives	4	1.15%
declarations	4	1.15%

Table 10. Speech Act in Gerard Batten's speech

Table 10. shows the speech acts used by Batten in his interview with Matt Frei.

What stands out in this table is speech acts with the illocutionary force of assertive which occurred 276 times, making up 79,08% of all speech acts used by Batten in this discourse. The second on this list are directive illocutionary acts that occurred 61 times, making up 17,48% of the total. Lastly, this table shows that there were 4 instances of speech acts with the illocutionary force of expressives, commissives, and declarations each.

In sum, there were 349 illocutionary acts out of which by far assertive illocutionary acts were most frequently used.

Feature	Frequency	Relative Frequency
Illocutionary force	589	100.00%
assertives	367	62.31%
directives	95	16.13%
expressives	80	13.58%
commissives	42	7.13%
declarations	5	0.85%

Table 11. Speech Act in Donald Trump's speech

This table illustrates the illocutionary acts President Trump used most frequently in his first news conference as President-elect.

As the table shows, Donald Trump most frequently used assertive illocutionary acts. With 367 instances, these illocutionary acts make up 62,31% of the total. Just like in the previous discourses, the second most common speech act is the directive illocutionary act, which occurred 95 times. An inspection of the data in this table also reveals that there were 80 instances of expressive illocutionary acts in this discourse, making up 13,58% of the total.

Overall, there were 589 speech acts in this discourse with assertive illocutionary acts occurring most frequently.

Feature	Frequency	Relative Frequency
Illocutionary force	411	100.00%
assertives	309	75.18%
directives	71	17.27%
expressives	17	4.14%
commissives	14	3.41%

Table 12. Speech Acts in Maxime Bernier's speech

Table 12. shows speech acts as used by Maxime Bernier in his interview with Steve Paikin.

This table shows that assertive illocutionary acts present the majority of speech acts in this speech with 75,18%. The second most used speech acts are directives with 17,27%. The illocutionary acts that occurred the least are commissive illocutionary acts with 3,41%, while declarative illocutionary acts were not used in this speech.

Overall, there were 411 speech acts in this interview.

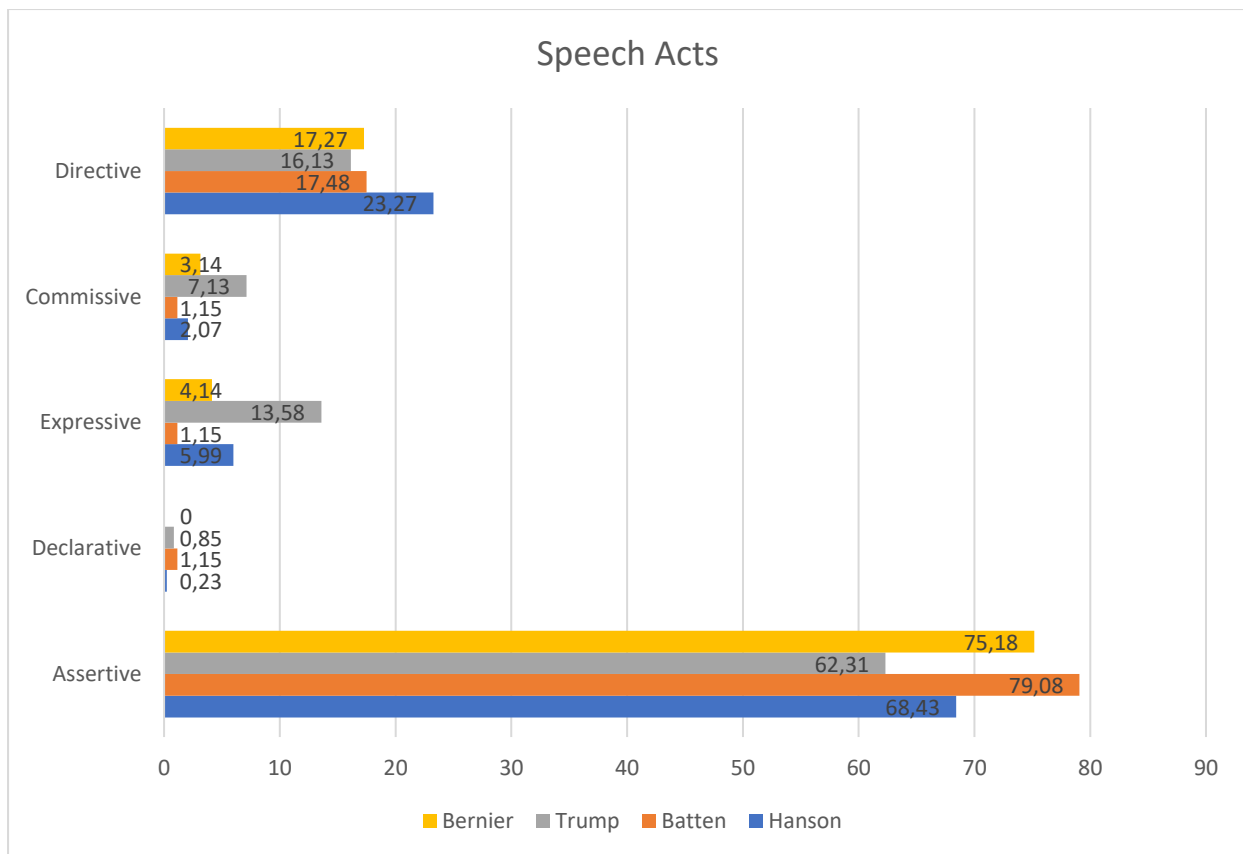


Figure 7: Comparison of speech acts in Hanson's, Batten's, Trump's, and Bernier's speech

This figure illustrates a bar chart comparing the usage of illocutionary acts in the far-right politicians' speeches.

It is apparent from this bar chart that all four politicians used assertive illocutionary act most frequently, as they represent 79,08% of all speech acts in Batten's speech, 75,18% in Bernier's speech, 68,43% in Hanson's, and 62,31 in Trump's speech. There are some differences in the frequency of usage of commissive illocutionary acts. While they make up 7,13% of all speech acts in Trump's speech, there is only 3,14% of commissive illocutionary acts in Bernier's speech, 2,07% in Hanson's speech, and 1,15% in Batten's speech. As this bar chart shows, the least common speech act in all four speeches is the declarative illocutionary act.

Overall, these four discourses are similar in terms of the most frequently and least frequently used speech acts. Some of the differences are reflected in the frequency of commissive illocutionary acts as well as expressive illocutionary acts.

4.1.3. Politeness

Feature	Frequency	Relative Frequency
Politeness	240	100.00%
Face-threatening acts	80	33.34%
Positive politeness	58	24.16%
Bald on-record	41	17.08%
Off-record	39	16.26%
Negative politeness	22	9.16%

Table 13. Politeness strategies in Pauline Hanson's speech

Table 13. shows the politeness strategies Pauline Hanson used most frequently in the speech selected for this final diploma paper.

It is apparent from this table that in her interview Hanson committed FTAs most frequently, 80 times, which makes up 33,34% of politeness strategies used in this speech. What this might implicate is that the atmosphere of this interview was hostile and the speakers did not care about the face needs of their interlocutors. The second strategy which Hanson used frequently is the positive politeness strategy, which was used 58 times. The least used strategy was the negative politeness strategy, which makes up only 9,16% of strategies used in this speech.

Overall, politeness strategies were used 240 times in this speech.

Feature	Frequency	Relative Frequency
Politeness	265	100.00%
Bald on-record	87	32.84%
Face-threatening acts	74	27.92%
Off-record	59	22.26%
Positive politeness	38	14.34%
Negative politeness	7	2.64%

Table 14. Politeness strategies in Gerard Batten's speech

This table illustrates the politeness strategies used in Batten's interview with Matt Frei.

An inspection of the data in this table shows that the two most used strategies were bald on-record strategy and FTA, occurring 87 and 74 times, respectively. What this indicates is that most of the time, the speaker did not pay attention to the addressee's face needs. It is also worth noting that the third strategy in this list is the off-record strategy which makes up 22,26% of all politeness strategies used in this speech. As the table shows, negative politeness was used just 7 times, making up 2,64% of politeness strategies used in the speech at hand.

Overall, there were 265 occurrences of politeness strategies in this speech.

Feature	Frequency	Relative Frequency
Politeness	273	100.00%
Positive politeness	90	32.97%
Face-threatening acts	69	25.27%
Bald on-record	54	19.78%
Off-record	39	14.29%
Negative politeness	21	7.69%

Table 15. Politeness strategies in Donald Trump's speech

This table shows the politeness strategies used in President Trump's first news conference.

What stands out in this table is the frequency of positive politeness used in this speech, as there were 90 instances of positive politeness, making up 32,97% of all politeness strategies used in this speech. This might point to the speaker's wish to establish common ground with his hearers and create in-group identity.

However, as the table shows, the second and the third most used strategies in Trump's speech were FTA and bald on-record strategy, appearing 69 and 54 times, respectively. This, on the other hand, shows the speaker's unwillingness to attend to hearers' face needs. The table reveals that the least used strategy was negative politeness making up 7,69% of all politeness strategies.

On the whole, politeness strategies were used 273 times in this speech.

Feature	Frequency	Relative Frequency
Politeness	151	100.00%
Bald on-record	58	38.41%
Positive politeness	43	28.48%
Face-threatening acts	38	25.17%
Negative politeness	8	5.30%
off-record	4	2.65%

Table 16. Politeness strategies in Maxime Bernier's speech

The table above illustrates the politeness strategies used in Bernier's speech.

Table 16. illustrates that the bald on-record strategy occurred 58 times, making up 38,41%. The second on the list is positive politeness with 43 occurrences, i.e. 28,48%. Face-threatening acts also frequently occurred in this speech, 38 times, making up 25,17%. The least used strategy was the off-record strategy with just four occurrences, making up 2,65% of all politeness strategies used in this speech.

Overall, politeness strategies were used 151 times with bald on-record strategy occurring most frequently in this speech.

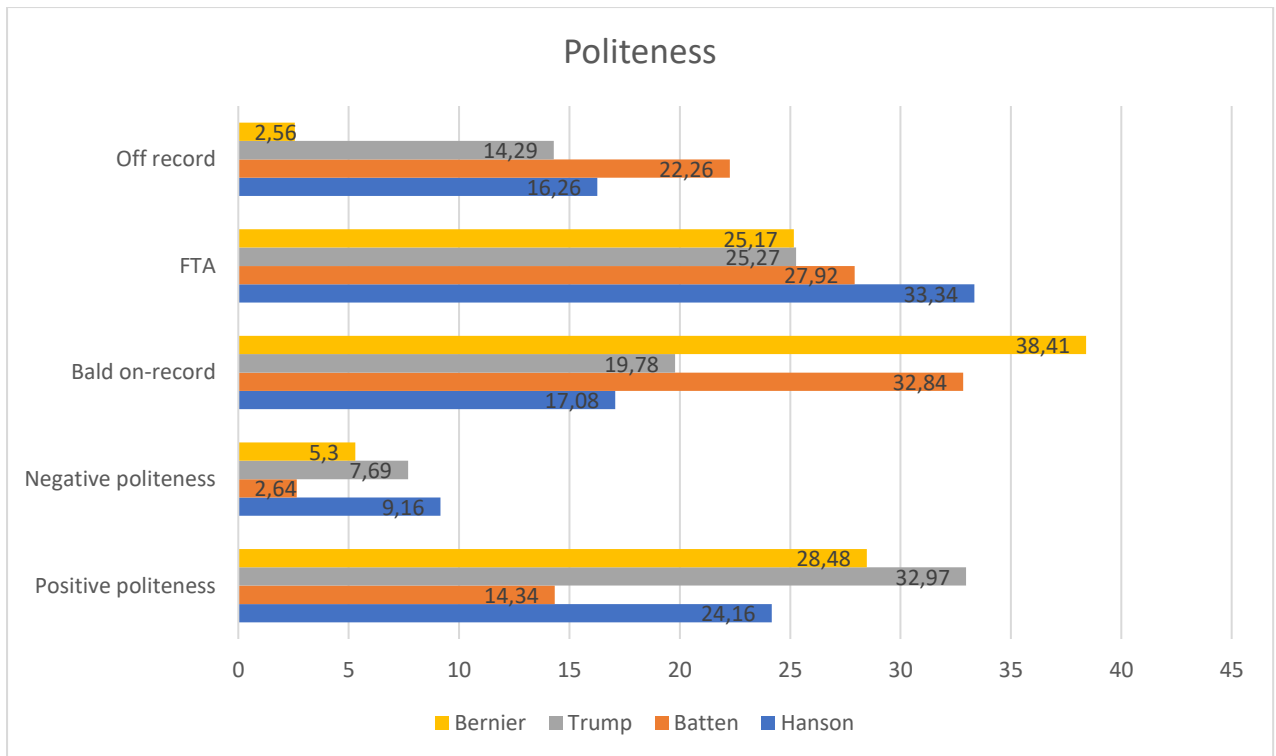


Figure 8: Comparison of politeness strategies used by Hanson, Batten, Trump, and Bernier

The bar chart above shows the frequency of politeness strategies used in Hanson’s, Batten’s, Trump’s, and Bernier’s speech.

To begin with, observable from the chart above is that all four speeches abounded with FTAs, which make up 33,34% of politeness strategies in Hanson’s speech, 27,92% of Batten’s speech, 25,27% of Trump’s speech, and 25,17% in Bernier’s speech. Although the bald on-record strategy was frequently used in all four speeches, this was more prominent in Bernier’s speech where the bald on-record strategy makes up 38,41% of all politeness strategies used in that speech. There is also a significant difference in the usage of the positive politeness strategy, used most frequently in Trump’s and Bernier’s speeches than in the other two speeches. This chart also reveals that the least used strategy in all four speeches was the negative politeness strategy, making up 9,16% in Hanson’s speech, 7,69% in Trump’s speech, 5,3% in Bernier’s speech, and only 2,64% in Batten’s speech.

Overall, this chart illustrates similarities in terms of the usage of FTAs among the four politicians. There are also some differences reflected in the frequency of usage of positive politeness, bald on-record strategy, as well as off-record strategy.

4.2. Discussion

This subsection will be dedicated to a qualitative description of excerpts from Hanson's, Batten's Trump's, and Bernier's speech. After each excerpt analyses of Cooperative Principle, the speech acts and the politeness strategies will be provided.

4.2.1. Pauline Hanson from One Nation

This debate was delivered on 18 July 2016 and there were five panellists: Simon Birmingham, the former Minister for Education; Sam Dastyari, the Labor Senator for New South Wales; Larissa Waters, Queensland Greens Senator; Nick Xenophon, NXT Senator for South Australia; and Pauline Hanson, Queensland Senator-elect. The host was Tony Jones and the debate was one hour and two minutes long. The parts where Hanson either did not participate or was not mentioned were not analysed. The transcript was found on ABC's website.

Data 1

PRABA SEKHAR: From the recent attacks we have seen in France yet again, it is evident that there is a rise in home-grown terrorism, where boys and girls are being radicalised from a young age, with consequences that we've seen here in Australia with the death of Curtis Cheng in Parramatta. My question to the panel tonight is do you put forward any strategies for early intervention to curb these individuals from going down that path and committing these abhorrent acts of terror?

TONY JONES: Pauline Hanson?

PAULINE HANSON: **It is a huge issue in Australia and we haven't had terrorism on our streets before. You know, it's just in these last decade that we have experienced it and we are experiencing it around the world.** You've got to ask yourself, then, what's behind it and why is it happening? I haven't got all the answers but the thing is that you've got to deal with why the radicalisation is happening, why people want to go out and create terror to destroy lives, create murder and fear on our streets. I haven't started this. This has been happening for many years now and we have terrorist attacks that's happening around the world. To bury your head in the sand is not the answer to it. Radicalisation is not just happening by fear-mongering, **you know**, by words, because I'm asking for a debate and find the right answers. This is happening on the Internet, it's happening around the world because people, for whatever reason, are drawn to a religion or an ideology that is not compatible with the Western way of life and is having an impact on our culture and our way of life. I'm concerned for every one of you here in this audience tonight and everyone at home, because I want safety

on our streets, I want to find the right answers and it's important for each and every one of us and for the future generations. To ignore it is not the answer to it. To think that we can find the easy answers, it's not, but pulling together as a community and as a nation to debate the issue, then we can find the right answers.

Cooperative Principle

The question from a woman named Praba Sekhar to the panellists was whether they put forward any strategies to curb individuals from being radicalized and committing terrorist attacks. Pauline Hanson's answer to this question is long-winded, repetitive, and not to the point. In the end, she does not offer any strategy for this issue.

In uttering: *"It is a huge issue in Australia and we haven't had terrorism on our streets before. You know, it's just in these last decade that we have experienced it and we are experiencing it around the world "*, Hanson violates the maxim of quality as her claim is a lie. Later into the discussion, the host Tony Jones corrects Hanson by saying that there was a terrorist attack in Australia even before these attacks committed by Croatian Catholic extremists in the 1970s.

With the rest of her utterances, Hanson violates the maxim of quantity as she talks too much and is not to the point.

It is also worth mentioning that twice in this utterance Hanson used *you know* as a quantity hedge, presupposing hearers' familiarity with some pieces of information she put forward.

Speech Acts

This excerpt consists of 15 speech acts. The first utterance by Praba Sekhar is an **assertive** as she is reporting about the current situation in regards to radicalisation and terrorist attacks in France and Australia. Her second utterance is a **directive** because she asks the panellist if they put forward any strategy to prevent radicalisation and terrorist attacks. This utterance is a direct speech act as it has the form of an interrogative, and serves the communicative function of a question.

Tony Jones's utterance is a directive as he requests an answer of Pauline Hanson. It is an indirect speech act, as it has the form of an interrogative, but performs the communicative function of a request.

In Hanson's answer to the question, there are 11 instances of assertive illocutionary acts and one directive illocutionary act. The only directive is the following one: *"You've got to ask yourself, then, what's behind it and why is it happening?"*. Here, Hanson requires of her hearers to ask themselves about what was behind those terrorist attacks and why they were happening. This is a direct speech act, as it has the form of an interrogative and the communicative function of a question.

Politeness

At the beginning of this excerpt, Hanson commits an FTA by warning the hearers about the current situation and thereby threatening their negative face. The above-mentioned question to the hearers is an example of a positive politeness strategy, as she is trying to intensify the hearers' interest in the issue she is talking about. From the next utterance until *"Radicalisation is not just happening by fear-mongering..."*, Hanson commits an FTA similar to the previous one as she threatens the hearers' negative face by warning them of the dangers of radicalisation and terrorist attacks. The utterance starting with *"This is happening on the Internet..."* is also a negative FTA where Hanson disapproves of a certain religion, which can be inferred to be Islam from the rest of her discourse, for not being compatible with the Western style of life. With her next utterance, Hanson shifts to using positive politeness, as she attends to hearers by showing her worry for them and their families, and wishes safety on the streets for them. Then again, she shifts to a negative FTA, by warning the hearers that ignoring is not the answer. In her last utterance in this excerpt the speaker uses the positive politeness strategy of using in-group marker *"...pulling together as a community and as a nation to debate the issue, then we can find the right answers"*.

Data 2

CINDY RAHAL: **Hi.** My question is for Pauline. Now, you've called for a Royal Commission into Islam to determine whether Islam is a political ideology or a religion. **Can you please explain what constitutes a religion and what constitutes a political ideology and why Judaism, Christianity fall under the banner of a religion even though Islam, Judaism and Christianity all stem from the Abrahamic faith?**

PAULINE HANSON: Islam does not separate itself from political ideology and, whereas the Christianity, under the Westminster system, we are - separate the rule of

law from the - from the State. So, they are separate. Islam doesn't and a lot of the countries that are ruled under Islam is their ideology - the political ideology. Now, I understand Islam does not believe in democracy, freedom of speech, freedom of assembly or freedom of the press. You have Hizb ut-Tahrir that preaches the fact that they will want total control of the people and that's...

TONY JONES: Pauline, can I just interrupt you? I mean, can you make such a blanket statement "Islam doesn't believe in democracy" when north of Australia is the biggest democracy in our region and it's Islamic?

PAULINE HANSON: No, look, I don't - I don't believe that. I don't believe that because you've got a lot of countries around the world, they have a political ideology, that want to control the people. Now, I want to see a separation of the two.

Cooperative Principle

"Islam does not separate itself from political ideology and, whereas Christianity, under the Westminster system, we are - separate the rule of law from the - from the State. So, they are separate."

In these two utterances, Hanson violates the maxim of quantity by repeating twice that Christianity is separated from political ideology.

"You have Hizb ut-Tahrir that preaches the fact that they will want total control of the people and that's..."

By uttering this, Hanson digresses from the main topic, and that way she violates the maxim of relation.

Speech Acts

Out of 14 utterances in this excerpt, there are 10 assertive illocutionary acts, 3 directive illocutionary acts, and one expressive illocutionary act. Those three directive illocutionary acts are questions posed by Cindy Rahal and Tony Jones to Pauline Hanson, and the one expressive is found at the beginning of this excerpt where Cindy Rahal greets the audience. All Hanson's utterances are assertive illocutionary acts as she states what she believes is the truth. Although Rahal's utterance has the form of an interrogative, it has the communicative function of a request, thus it is an indirect speech act. Jones's utterance is also an indirect speech act, because it has the form of an interrogative, but performs the communicative function of a command.

Politeness

The questions Cindy Rahal poses are examples of negative politeness as she used a redressive strategy by using the word *please*. Hanson's first utterance can be both an example of a positive politeness strategy as she uses an in-group marker in "*whereas Christianity, under the Westminster system, we are - separate the rule of law from the - from the State.*". This way she appeals to her audience of Christian faith and at the same time she creates the distinction between *Us* and *Them* where *Them* or *the Other* is an intruder and is not welcomed in the society Hanson considers to be Christian. This utterance is also a positive FTA as from the context we know that Cindy Rahal belongs to the *Other* being a Muslim woman wearing a scarf. The following Hanson's utterances pose positive FTAs because the topic itself is highly emotional and divisive.

The host interrupts Hanson by asking for permission to interrupt her, and this indirect strategy is a part of negative politeness. The following utterance: "*I mean, can you make such a blanket statement "Islam doesn't believe in democracy" when north of Australia is the biggest democracy in our region and it's Islamic?"*", is an example of off-record strategy because this is a rhetorical question.

Hanson's answer to this rhetorical question presents a bald on-record strategy without any redressive action. Her next utterance is again a positive FTA because of the nature of the topic.

Data 3

TONY JONES: Okay, we're just going to let Pauline Hanson just quickly answer that and I'd like to hear from the other panellists as well. So, Pauline, a brief answer if you wouldn't mind?

PAULINE HANSON: With what question? About the protesters outside? The protesters were against me because I choose to speak up against this matter, so I have protesters which are trying to shut down freedom of speech. You know, I want answers to the questions. People in Australia are in fear because they can't walk in the streets. Their fear of terrorism, which is happening around the world. Why? Because of Islam. Because you have the radicalisation. We just all spoke about radicalisation is actually happening in Australia. Who is it under and what religion - so-called religion?

Cooperative Principle

By saying that the protesters outside the ABC studio were against her Hanson violates the maxim of quality because that is a half-truth. According to an article from *The Guardian*, there were around 300 protesters against her appearance at ABC and about 100 more that were supporting her (Wahlquist and Keneally, 2016).

Later on, Hanson violates the maxim of quantity by talking too much. She also states that people in Australia live in fear because of Islamic terrorism which is something she lacks evidence for and thus violates the maxim of quality.

Speech Acts

In this excerpt, there are 13 utterances out of which there are 8 assertive illocutionary acts and 5 directive illocutionary acts. Those five directives are first Jones's question to Hanson, and later Hanson herself poses questions such as: "*With what question? About the protesters outside?*", and later she poses a rhetorical question "*Why? Because of Islam.*", and at the end of the paragraph asks "*Who is it under and what religion - so-called religion?*"

The rest of the utterances in this excerpt are assertive illocutionary acts because Hanson argues that the protesters were against her and claims that people in Australia live in fear because of Islamic terrorism.

Jones's first utterance is an indirect speech which has the form of an interrogative but performs the communicative function of a request. Hanson's utterances are direct speech acts, as they have the form of interrogatives, and perform the communicative function of questions. The rhetorical questions Hanson poses are indirect speech acts, as they have the form of interrogatives, but the communicative function of statements.

Politeness

At the beginning of this excerpt, the host utilizes positive politeness by using the in-group marker in "*...we're just going to let Pauline Hanson*". In his next utterance, he switches to negative politeness as he uses the strategy of being pessimistic observed in his usage of "*if you wouldn't mind*".

Hanson's response presents a positive FTA affecting hearer, as she challenges what was previously stated about the protesters (not included in this excerpt). Later on, she uses another FTA, this time a negative FTA, by warning the audience about what she believes is happening in Australia. From "Why?", until the end, she commits another FTA by criticising Islam and blaming it for making Australians afraid to go out on the streets.

Data 4

KHALED ELOMAR: Senator Hanson, my 11-year-old son, who is watching this program right now, recently asked me, "What is Islamophobia?" Rather than explaining it to him with my own words, he and I sat down side by side and watched a few of your past and recent videos. Then I asked him, "What do you think Islamophobia is?" His response was, "Someone that hates us." I said, "Islamophobia is one or a combination of three things: Hate, fear or ignorance." I promised him that I will ask you this question, so he can hear the answer from yourself. So, with all due respect, Ms Hanson, what is the basis of your Islamophobic feelings: hate, fear or ignorance?

PAULINE HANSON: None of the above of what you've just said, alright? What I'm concerned about - and your son may be watching but also other children may be watching this as well, who want to live in peace and harmony in this country without fear. It's about us getting on together as a nation and working together with that fear amongst us. Why have we got so much fear on our streets? Why did the Lindt cafe happen? Why did Curtis Cheng - why is he murdered? Why are other things happening? Why are there terrorist attack around the world? You know, we need to find the answers to this and why the radicalisation, why have we just recently had another three men wanting to leave this country or five it was, to actually go and fight for ISIL?

Cooperative Principle

In this excerpt, a member of the audience, Khaled Elomar, poses a question about the basis of Pauline Hanson's Islamophobic feelings. Her answer is direct and to the point. However, she digresses and changes the topic abruptly, thus violating the relation maxim. The rest of her answer is long-winded and repetitive, she repeats questions starting with *Why* five times, that way violating the maxim of quantity.

At the end of this paragraph, Hanson uses a quality hedge "*or five was it*", and that displaying her awareness of the maxim of quality.

Speech Acts

There are 16 utterances in this excerpt, out of which 10 are assertive illocutionary acts and 6 directive illocutionary acts. Just as in the excerpt above, directive illocutionary acts are found in questions – there is one question Khaled Elmar poses to Pauline Hanson, and the rest are Hanson’s questions to the audience “*Why have we got so much fear on our streets? Why did the Lindt cafe happen? Why did Curtis Cheng - why is he murdered? Why are other things happening? Why are there terrorist attacks around the world?* “. All of these utterances are indirect speech acts, as they have the form of interrogatives, but perform the communicative function of statements. The answer to this question would be that Islam is the fault for the fear on the streets, as well as for the events that had happened. Elmar’s utterance at the beginning of this excerpt is a direct speech act, as it has the form of an interrogative, and serves the communicative function of a question.

Politeness

As the topic of this paragraph is divisive, Khaled Elmar’s question to Pauline Hanson can be considered as an FTA. It could be said that the two speakers are opponents as Elmar belongs to the minority group under the attack of Hanson’s One Nation party.

With her reply to Elmar’s question, Hanson goes bald on-record as she disagrees with his suggestion. In “*What I’m concerned about - and your son may be watching but also other children may be watching this as well, who want to live in peace and harmony in this country without fear. It’s about us getting on together as a nation and working together with that fear amongst us.*”, Hanson uses positive politeness using in-group markers (**us getting together as a nation**). Then, she goes off-record by overstating the number of questions that need to be answered.

Data 5

TONY JONES: So, Pauline, can I just put this question to you? I mean, you know that Mr Elomar’s son is actually sitting watching this. He just told you that. Can you offer him any hope that you regard him as an equal Australian along with all other citizens?

PAULINE HANSON: There are a lot of Muslims and there are actually Muslims of my party, who have joined my party, who want a peaceful life in Australia. They don’t want

the terrorism. Isn't it funny that your Grand Mufti won't even come out and condemn the terrorist attacks that's happened overseas or imams or people that say they have no intention of assimilating into our society or when you have problems in communities because people are living in fear. Why do you reverse it on me and say you're blaming me for the problems in Australia when we have seen what is happening?

Cooperative Principle

The question Jones poses to Hanson is whether she could offer any hope to Elmar's son as an equal citizen of Australia. She avoids giving a clear answer to this question, and thus violates the maxim of manner. Her reply that there were Muslims in her party might be interpreted as an implicature that Elmar's son will be considered an equal citizen as long as he shares the values of the One Nation party. She also violates the maxim of relation when she switches the topic from Muslims and Muslims from her party who want peace, to accusing Grand Mufti of Australia and imams for allegedly not condemning terrorist attacks overseas. Then, again, she switches the topic to herself and violates the maxim of manner for not being orderly.

Speech Acts

There are 8 utterances in this paragraph, 4 directive illocutionary acts reflected in questions and 4 assertive illocutionary acts. The questions Jones poses at the beginning of this excerpt are indirect speech acts, which have the form of interrogatives, and perform the communicative function of requests. Hanson's utterance starting with "*Isn't it funny that your Grand Mufti won't even come out and condemn the terrorist attacks...*", is also an indirect speech act as it has the form of an interrogative, and performs the communicative function of a statement. Her last utterance is a direct speech act as it has the form of an interrogative, and serves the communicative function of a question.

Politeness

The questions that Jones poses are examples of negative politeness as he is conventionally indirect. In her reply "*There are a lot of Muslims and there are actually Muslims of my party, who have joined my party, who want a peaceful life in Australia.*", Hanson goes off-record as there is more than one interpretation of what she said. Then, she commits an FTA by criticising

the Grand Mufti and other figureheads of the Muslim community in Australia and accusing the public of blaming her for the problems in Australia.

Data 6

TONY JONES: Can you offer him (Elmar's son)- can you offer him any hope that you regard him as an equal citizen?

PAULINE HANSON: He is an equal citizen, as long as he wants to give his loyalty to this country and is not torn by an ideology that has hatred towards the West or infidels.

TONY JONES: Okay.

PAULINE HANSON: You know, you have problems that are happening around the world. Radicalisation is about hate for the infidels. You know, this hatred wasn't created by me. It is under the belief of the Islam. Look at - read the Quran and what the Quran preaches in it. It's hatred. Even Ayaan Hirsi Ali (indistinct) and she's travelling the world and she's saying she was a Muslim. She said "Be, you know, aware of what this is all about." If you want to sit here and you...

Cooperative principle

In her answer to the host's question Hanson flouts the maxim of manner and raises an implicature. What she might imply is that Elmar's son will not be an equal citizen if he does not give his loyalty to Australia and if he chooses what she considers a hateful ideology.

Hanson then violates the quality maxim by saying the following: "*You know, this hatred wasn't created by me. It is under the belief of the Islam. Look at - read the Quran and what the Quran preaches in it. It's hatred.*" Here, she claims that Islam preaches hatred and that the Quran is hatred. By simplifying and taking out of context the messages of the Holy Quran, Hanson violates the maxim of quality. Then she violates the maxim of relation by digressing about Ayaan Hirsi Ali.

Speech Acts

In this excerpt, there are 11 utterances out of which there are 10 assertive illocutionary acts and one directive illocutionary act. These assertive illocutionary acts are reflected in claiming something to be the case such as in "*you have problems around the world*", arguing that "*You*

know, this hatred wasn't created by me.”, and reporting about what Ayaan Hirsi Ali said “*She said "Be, you know, aware of what this is all about."*”. The only directive illocutionary act is the question posed by the host to Senator Hanson. This question is an indirect speech act which has the form of an interrogative and serves the communicative function of a request.

Politeness

By being conventionally indirect, the host uses a negative politeness strategy observing the hearer's negative face needs. In her answer to his question, Hanson goes off-record as she understates what she thinks about the topic at hand. The host then uses a positive politeness strategy of seeking agreement by just replying with “*Okay*”. With her last reply, Hanson commits an FTA as the topic is divisive, and with what she is saying she threatens the positive face needs of hearers who belong to the minority she is addressing.

4.2.2. Gerard Batten from UKIP

The interview at hand was published on April 6th, 2019. The host was Matt Frei from LBC and the interview is about 22 minutes long. Since the transcript could not be found anywhere online, it was done manually.

Data 7

MATT FREI: Have you drawn up your list of candidates?

GERARD BATTEN: Oh, we've been preparing this for months because we've reluctantly had to concede that the whole process is being betrayed and likely outcome was that we were not going to leave and we'll take part in the EU elections. We would much prefer that we'd left and weren't taking part in the EU elections, but it was my responsibility to prepare for it. We've selected our candidates. All we have to do in the next few days is place them in the lists and we know who's number one, two, three, four, etc. That's the process we will have to do in the next couple of days, and we are ready to fight.

Cooperative Principle

Instead of answering the question directly, Batten gives a long introduction about his opinion on the EU elections before answering that they had selected their candidates. Thus, he violates

the quantity maxim for talking too much. In the last paragraph, Batten repeats twice what he had to do in the following few days, that way violating the maxim of quantity again.

Speech Acts

In this excerpt, there are 6 speech acts. In the beginning, the host Matt Frei asks Gerard Batten a question, which is a directive. Batten's answer mainly consists of assertive illocutionary acts, but there is one expressive, namely "*We would much prefer that we'd left and weren't taking part in the EU elections, but it was my responsibility to prepare for it.*". Here, Batten is deploring the fact that the EU elections would take place.

Frei's first utterance is a direct speech act which has the form of an interrogative and also serves the communicative function of a question.

Politeness

In posing his question the host uses a bald on-record strategy as efficiency is more important than satisfying the face needs of the addressee. In his answer to this question, Batten uses off-record strategy by overstating, i.e. choosing phrases such as "*the whole process is being betrayed*". Throughout his answer, he uses a positive politeness strategy by using the in-group marker *we*.

Data 8

MF: We'll talk about that in a minute. But is he still your adviser, Tommy Robinson?

GB: Yes, in a kind of nominal way. He's had so much on his plate with his personal issues over the last few months that he hasn't actually been able to do very much.

MF: Like his jail sentence?

GB: Like his unjust jail sentence which has been appealed and is now being unjustly prosecuted again like having his life threatened and all kinds of things like that which maybe should get him on the show and get him to tell you about it. I'm sure that your audience would go up a bit if you did. But he's the best person to tell you about that.

MF: But you have got a convicted felon as an advisor?

GB: There are convicted felons in the House of Lords. We have a convicted felon who's been voting on this process in the House of Commons. Tommy Robinson is not a career criminal. He's never made a living out of innocent people as victims, and I'm not too bothered about what I think are some minor convictions off when he was fitted up quite frankly. When you have a completely corrupt political system where convicted felons making laws over us, I wouldn't worry too much about that, Matt.

Cooperative Principle

In his answer to the question about whether Tommy Robinson was still his advisor, Batten uses a hedge *in a kind of nominal way*. In responding to Frei's insinuation about Robinson's jail sentence, Batten first violates the maxim of quality by saying that his jail sentence was unjust. In reality, Robinson was found guilty of contempt of court because he was live streaming defendants accused of sexual exploitation of young girls and encouraging physical aggression against them. (Busby, 2019). Furthermore, Batten violates the maxim of quantity by repeating clauses starting with *like* three times. As a response to the host's inquiry about having a convicted felon as an advisor, Batten flouts the maxim of relation by implying that he is no exception as there are other convicted felons in both the House of Lords and the House of Commons. Then, he digresses by absolving Robinson of his crimes by saying that he was not a career criminal implying that he was not as bad as the host tries to present him. Batten also violates the maxim of quality by saying that Robinson was fitted up, which is a lie. He also violates the maxim of quantity by talking too much.

Speech Acts

In this excerpt, there are 16 speech acts out of which 13 are assertive illocutionary acts and 3 directive illocutionary acts. Frei's utterance starting with "*But is he still your adviser...?*", is a direct speech act as it has the form of an interrogative and has the communicative function of a question. His second utterance "*Like his jail sentence?*", is an indirect speech act that has the form of an interrogative and performs the communicative function of a statement. Frei's last utterance is also an indirect speech act, as it also has the form of an interrogative and the communicative function of a statement.

Politeness

At the beginning of this excerpt, the host uses a positive politeness theory by promising that they would later talk about the issue Batten raised. Then he goes bald on-record by asking him about his advisor. Batten goes off-record by understating saying that Robinson was his advisor *in a kind of nominal way*. Then he uses a positive politeness strategy by showing sympathy towards Robinson. Again, the host goes bald on-record implying that one of the issues Robinson was dealing with was his jail sentence. By disagreeing with Frei, Batten commits an FTA to Frei's positive face needs. In addition to that, he commits another FTA by suggesting to Frei to get Robinson on the show. He then goes off-record by presupposing that Frei's audience would go up if he decided to host Tommy Robinson, which may imply that Frei's show is not popular enough. Frei then goes off-record by posing a rhetorical question about having a convicted felon as an advisor. Batten again disagrees and commits an FTA by not cooperating and not being relevant. In his last utterance, Batten switches to a positive politeness strategy by using an in-group marker, which is in this case the host's name.

Data 9

MF: Let's talk about European elections. You stood up in the European Parliament you said to Michel Barnier and Jean- Claude Juncker: "you have done what Philip of Spain, what Napoleon, what Kaiser Wilhelm and Hitler couldn't do: you have brought Britain to its knees, without firing a single shot. But you could not have done any of these things without the connivance of the traitors, quislings and collaborators in the British Parliament and British establishment."

GB: Absolutely true.

MF: That's just nonsense, isn't it? The reason why Britain wants to leave the EU is not because we've been pushed out, but because we voted to leave the EU.

GB: **But we are not leaving, are we Matt?** That's why we're here and talking about this now. **Let me recommend something to you I wrote.** I wrote a little book about five four years ago in which I explained if there was a referendum if leave won this is what the establishment would do: they would delay it; they would impede it with the aim of overturning it. There's an excellent article ...

MF: That's got nothing to do with Europe.

GB: **Let me let me just finish the point, please.** There's an excellent article written last week in Politico magazine by Tom McTeague which goes into detail about how this whole thing was lost. It's called *How the UK lost Brexit?*, and it's an excellent article that analyses this whole thing and explains how from day one the EU worked with the British establishment to make this not happen . The biggest mistake was right

at the part at beginning when they triggered Article 50 when they should have set it aside and not go down the Article 50 road. None of this would have been possible if we were playing by our rules and not the EU's rules.

Cooperative Principle

In this excerpt, the host flouts the maxim of quality by posing a rhetorical question "*That's just nonsense, isn't it?*". Batten also flouts the maxim of quality by replying with another rhetorical question. Then he swiftly changes the topic to the article he had written and with that, he violates the maxim of relevance. He proceeds to violate the maxim of quantity by talking too much. After the host interrupts him, Batten again violates the maxim of quantity by being overly talkative.

Speech Acts

This excerpt contains 17 speech acts, there are 12 assertive illocutionary acts and 5 directive illocutionary acts which are in bold. Among those five directives, there are three instances of requests starting with *Let's/Let me* and two rhetorical questions. Frei's first utterance is an indirect speech act which has the form of a declarative but performs the communicative function of a command. His utterance starting with "*That's just nonsense, isn't it?*", is also an indirect speech act as it has the form of an interrogative, and performs the communicative function of a statement. Battens utterance "*But we are not leaving, are we Matt?*", is an indirect speech act which has the form of an interrogative, and performs the communicative function of a statement. His next utterance "*Let me recommend something to you I wrote.*", is an indirect speech act as it has the form of a declarative, and serves the communicative function of a request. The same is with "*Let me let me just finish the point, please.*", which also has the form of a declarative, and serves the communicative function of a command.

Politeness

Matt Frei uses a positive politeness strategy by including the hearer in the activity in "*Let's talk about European elections.*" In his reply to the host's quotation of what he said at the EU Parliament Batten also uses the positive politeness strategy by agreeing to what the host had said. The host then commits an FTA by showing contempt and disagreement with his guest.

Batten then goes off-record by being ironic in “*But we are not leaving, are we Matt?*”. Afterwards, he goes bald on-record without any redressive action by trying to recommend the article he wrote to the host. By interrupting his guest, Frei commits an FTA by disagreeing with what he had said. In his response, Batten goes bald on-record with redressive action (*please*), requesting the host to let him finish his point. In the rest of his response, Batten goes off-record by overstating (*an excellent article, the biggest mistake*).

Data 10

MF: That may very well be true and I’ve heard that analysis from them quite a few people in the Tory party. But to use the language- traitors, quislings and collaborators- that is precisely the kind of language that the police has warned against because it’s too inflammatory.

GB: So, now the police might pay me a visit because of something I’ve said in the European Parliament? I can if they like. I’m sure there’s a lot of police officers who probably actually agree with me. **Let me explain the origin of the word treason.** It’s from the Latin tradición, which means to hand over. **And what could have been more treasonous than the last 46 years of our national life when the power’s been handed over to a foreign power, which is the European Union?** A membership of the European Union has been unlawful under our Constitution because there can be no higher authority than the Queen and the Parliament. And yet they have purported to hand over authority and law-making ability to a foreign power. The whole thing is treasonous it’s about time we call people out for what they are.

Cooperative Principle

In this excerpt, Batten first flouts the maxim of quality by giving a sarcastic reply to the host’s comment about the language he used. Then he both violates the maxims of relation and quantity by swiftly changing the topic of discussion and talking about it at great length.

Speech Acts

There are 11 speech acts in this excerpt, 8 assertive illocutionary acts, and 3 directive illocutionary acts that are in bold. Batten’s question at the beginning of his response is a direct speech act which has the form of an interrogative and has the communicative function of a question. His utterance starting with “*Let me explain...*”, is an indirect speech act which has the form of a declarative, and serves the communicative function of a request. Batten’s

utterance starting with “*And what could have been more treasonous than the last 46 years of our national life...?*”, as it has the form of an interrogative, and serves the communicative function of a statement.

Politeness

At the beginning of this excerpt, the host uses the positive politeness strategy of avoiding disagreement with what the guest had previously said. But in his next utterance, he commits an FTA by showing his criticism towards Batten.

In his response, Batten goes off-record by replying with an ironic question. He then goes bald on-record by proposing to explain the origin of the word *treason*. Afterwards, he goes off-record by posing a rhetorical question that has an answer in it: “*And what could have been more treasonous than the last 46 years of our national life when the power’s been handed over to a foreign power, which is the European Union?*” After that, he again goes bald on-record without redress by asserting his opinion directly. Finally, he commits an FTA by criticizing the EU and those who purported handing over the power and law-making to the EU, as according to them the highest power in the UK should be the Queen and the Parliament.

Data 11

MF: Okay, I’m talking about judgment here. You said recently we need now to behead the political class, politically, at the ballot.

GB: Exactly

MF: Right. But to behead the political class this is after one MP was shot a knife dead and another one as we just discovered last week received an extreme right-wing death threat. I mean, this is just irresponsible language, isn’t it?

GB: You didn’t know that. Thank you for saying that that I said politically at the ballot box.

MF: You could have also chosen not to use the word behead.

GB: I could have chosen to use a thousand other words, but they’re the ones I did choose because I was making a speech in Whitehall where in 1649 Charles I who put himself in opposition to Parliament actually did lose his head and now...

MF: **We’ve moved on a bit since then, haven’t we?**

GB: ... now Parliament has put itself in opposition to the people and they need to go politically. I was making a comparison, but a purely political one.

Cooperative Principle

In this excerpt, the host reports that Batten recently asserted that they “*needed to behead the political class, politically, at the ballot.*” With this quotation, Batten flouts the maxim of quality, as he used a metaphor that implies that people should show their dissatisfaction by not voting for the leading political parties at the elections. In his response to the host’s quotation, Batten violates the maxim of quantity for talking too little. The host proceeds to flout the maxim of quality by asking a rhetorical question implying that Batten’s language is irresponsible indeed. Batten also flouts the maxim of quality by being sarcastic saying “*You didn’t know that...*”, as Frei quoted exactly what Batten, “*behead, politically, at the ballot*”, so he did not invite people to behead the political literally, but not to vote for them at the elections. Afterwards, Batten violates the maxim of quantity by giving a long explanation. Responding to Batten’s explanation, Frei again flouts the maxim of quality by posing a rhetorical question and being ironic in “*We’ve moved on a bit since then, haven’t we?*”.

Speech Acts

There are 12 speech acts in this excerpt, 11 assertive illocutionary acts, and one directive illocutionary act. Assertive illocutionary acts here are used to report about what was said previously, argue about whether something is responsible or not, state opinions, etc. Frei’s utterance starting with “*I mean, this is just irresponsible language, isn’t it?*”, is an indirect speech act because it has the form of an interrogative, and performs the communicative function of a statement. Likewise, Frei’s next utterance, another tag question, in “*We’ve moved on a bit since then, haven’t we?*”, is an indirect speech act as it has the form of an interrogative, and performs the communicative function of a statement.

Politeness

At the beginning of this excerpt, Frei uses the positive politeness strategy of avoiding disagreement. As a response to Frei’s quotation to what Batten had said, Batten uses the positive politeness strategy by agreeing with Frei. The host, however, proceeds to commit an

FTA by criticising Batten for using irresponsible language. Batten then goes off-record by being ironic. In his response, the host again commits an FTA by showing his disapproval towards Batten's choice of language. Since this is a very divisive topic, Batten's response is also an FTA. At the end of this excerpt, the host then goes off-record by being ironic.

Data 12

MF: When government ministers say as they've said again this morning, that if we delay Brexit for too long, forget another referendum, we are going to tease out the right wing and left-wing extreme elements in British politics. **They're talking about you, aren't they?**

GB: Well I'm not a right-wing extreme. They are not left-wing extremes. You've got the left-wing extremist in Commons. Now you've got a Marxist antisemitic Labour Party...

MF: And you are an anti-Islamic, anti-death cult Islamic right-wing extremist with a right-wing thug as your advisor.

GB: First of all, I'm not right wing. I have policies for example, a purely a personal view isn't a party policy. I'd be quite happy to renationalize all the utilities. I think it was a massive con. I agree with Jeremy...

MF: **You are a national socialist?**

GB: No, I'm not a socialist. I think that there are some things which are so big that are monopolies by their very nature. And with that I agree with Jeremy Corbyn on. One of the very few... actually we agreed on the EU for about 14 years, and he decided to change his policy. But if you're gonna call me right wing Matt, tell me what right wing is, please. Define right wing.

MF: I think you are extreme right-wing.

GB: **Why would you think that? Define what it means.**

MF: Because you are Islamophobic, you stir up hatred against minorities in this country. You liken EU leaders to Adolf Hitler and that it's just an unacceptable nonsense.

Cooperative Principle

What is first noticeable in this excerpt is Batten's violation of the maxim of relevance in his response to the host's question. Although he answers the question right away, Batten switches the subject to left-wing extremists and "*Marxist anti-Semitic Labour Party*". In his second

response to the host's remark about him being "*an anti-Islamic, anti-death cult Islamic right-wing extremist with a right-wing thug as your advisor*", Batten again denies this remark, but then he digresses talking about what he would like to do that way violating the maxim of relation. The host then asks him whether he was a national socialist, that way flouting the maxim of manner as behind the term national socialist is hidden its more commonly known term – Nazism. So, the host wanted to ask him whether he was a Nazi. From Batten's answer, it is obvious that he did not decipher this implicature as he denies he was a socialist. Batten proceeds to violate the maxim of manner by not being orderly in "*And with that I agree with Jeremy Corbyn on. One of the very few... actually we agreed on the EU for about 14 years, and he decided to change his policy*". He then switches the subject to ask the host to define the right-wing, thereby violating the maxim of manner for not being orderly and the maxim of quantity for talking too much. In his answer to Batten's question, the host violates the maxim of quantity for not being informative enough.

Speech Acts

There are 24 speech acts in this excerpt – 18 assertive illocutionary acts and 6 directive illocutionary acts. The first speech act in this excerpt is an assertive as the host reports about what the government minister said that morning. He then poses a question to Batten, which is a directive. Batten objects to Frei's suggestion, claiming he did not belong to the right-wing extremists. All speech acts in his response are assertive illocutionary acts. There are five more directives in this excerpt like the following two: "*But if you're gonna call me right-wing Matt, tell me what right-wing is, please. Define right wing.*" With these two utterances, Batten demands the definition of the right-wing from the host who accuses him of being extreme right-wing.

Frei's utterance starting with "*They're talking about you, aren't they?*", is a direct speech act because it has the form of an interrogative, and performs the communicative function of a question. Frei's next utterance: "*You are a national socialist?*", is also a direct speech act as it both have the form of an interrogative, and performs the communicative function of a question. Batten's utterance starting with "*Why would you think that?*", is also a direct speech act as it has the same form and the communicative function as the utterances above. His next utterance "*Define what it means*", is an indirect speech act because it has the form of a declarative and performs the communicative function of a command.

Politeness

In posing a question to Batten, Frei goes bald on-record by asking him whether he was the extreme right-wing element the government ministers were talking about. Batten's response to this question is an FTA as he disagrees with the host's suggestion. The host again goes bald on-record by asking Batten whether he was a national socialist (Nazi). In his reply, Batten also goes bald on-record by flatly rejecting that he was a socialist. He then goes off-record by being ambiguous talking about big monopolies and Jeremy Corbyn. Afterwards, he goes bald on-record with redress (*please*) by requesting a definition of the right-wing from the host. The host's response is an FTA because at the same time he disagrees with Batten and criticises him for not being just right-wing, but a right-wing extremist. Batten again goes bald on-record without any redressive action by asking the host why he thought he was an extreme right-wing. He then commits an FTA to the host's negative face by requesting a further explanation. The host's response is also an FTA to Batten's positive face needs as he shows his contempt towards his guest.

Data 13

MF: But we're talking about a tiny minority within minority.

GB: **How do you know they're a tiny minority?**

MF: **You have so little faith in British democratic system and the values of this society that you think we're about to turn into Saudi Arabia? Seriously?!** This is a serious question.

GB: You know the primary job of a politician is to prevent preventable evils. That doesn't mean tomorrow. It means 10 years, and 20 years, and 30 years in the future. And if we had more politicians who could think long-term we'd be better off. And that's what I'm concerned about what's the long-term future of this country. Matt, I could retire next week because I'm 65 last week. I could go, I'll forget about it, God, why am I bothering with all this?! I do it because I have children and I have relatives, and I don't want them living in a country that I can see will not be as good as the country that I grew up in. That's what I'm trying to defend. It's a funny old world isn't it now, where you're accused of being a right-wing extremist when you want to defend your own constitution, your own laws, your own tradition, your own democratic Parliamentary government?

MF: But the Constitution, you know, the traditions, the values of this country are not under threat from Islamic extremism. They are just not! At the moment they are not functioning very well because of indecision about Brexit. But they're not under a threat from Islamic extremism. This is dog-whistle politics!

GB: Matt, so you use a term for people like me, so I'll use the term for people like you who live in this kind of "liberal elite".

MF: No, I'm not. You don't know my politics.

GB: **And you know about mine?**

MF: Well, I know. You are a politician. You are a leader of a political party...

GB: You belong to that group of people who just want to live in this cloud cuckoo-land where it's not a problem, it's not going to be a problem in the future. So, people like me must be wrong because they talk about it.

Cooperative Principle

In this excerpt, it is the host who first violates the maxim of relation by not answering the question posed by the guest, but posing another question in "*You have so little faith in British democratic system and the values of this society that you think we're about to turn into Saudi Arabia? Seriously?! This is a serious question!*". In his response to this question, Batten violates the maxims of quantity and manner by being overly informative and not orderly enough. In this part, Batten also flouts the maxim of quality by implying that the UK is in a bad position because there are not enough politicians who think long term and that way prevent preventable evils.

The host also violates the maxim of quantity by repeating three times that the Constitution and British values are not under the threat of Islamic extremism.

In his response to the accusation of using dog-whistle politics, Batten in turn accuses Frei of belonging to the liberal elite. That way Batten violates the maxim of quality as he does not provide any evidence for this claim. At the end of this paragraph, Batten flouts the maxim of manner and quality by using the metaphor "*cloud-cuckoo-land*" which implies that Frei and people like him live in a utopia without a true understanding of reality.

Speech Acts

In this rather long excerpt, there are 29 speech acts out of which 26 are assertive illocutionary acts and 3 directive illocutionary acts.

Batten's utterance "*How do you know they are a tiny minority?*", is a direct speech act because it has the form of an interrogative and the communicative function of a question. Frei's question in "*You have so little faith in the British democratic system and the values of this society that you think we're about to turn into Saudi Arabia? Seriously?!?*", is an indirect speech act which has the form of an interrogative, and serves the communicative function of a statement. Batten's utterance in "*I could go, I'll forget about it, God, why am I bothering with all this?!?*", is also an indirect speech act that has the form of an interrogative, and the communicative function of a statement. His next utterance is also an indirect speech act as it has the form of an interrogative, but performs the communicative function of a statement. Frei's utterances in "*They are just not!*", and "*This is dog-whistle politics!*", are both indirect speech acts which have the form of imperatives, and perform the communicative function of statements. Batten's utterance in "*And you know about mine?*", is a direct speech act because it has the form of an interrogative, and performs the communicative function of a question.

Politeness

In his first speech act in this excerpt, the host goes bald on-record by counterclaiming Batten's assertion about a threat of Islamic fundamentalism in the UK, saying that those fundamentalists belong to a tiny minority within the Muslim minority in the UK. Batten also goes bald on-record by asking the host about how he knew his assertion was true. As an answer to this, Frei commits an FTA by showing his disapproval towards Batten saying he had little faith in the UK. He then goes on record arguing that what he asked was a serious question. In his response, Batten goes off-record by presupposing in "*And if we had more politicians who could think long-term we'd be better off*". This way Batten implies that there are not enough politicians in the UK who think long-term, and because of that many preventable evils might not be prevented. Batten then uses the positive politeness strategy of using the in-group marker by calling the host by his name. He again goes off-record by posing a rhetorical question in "*I could go, I'll forget about it, God, why am I bothering with all this?!?*". He then again uses a positive politeness strategy by attending to hearers and giving his reasons as to why he was still active in politics. At the end of his response, Batten goes off-record by posing another rhetorical question. In his response, Frei commits an FTA by disagreeing with Batten and accusing him

of using dog-whistle politics. As a defence, Batten replies with an FTA by accusing Frei of belonging to “*the liberal elite*”. Frei goes bald on-record by flatly rejecting Batten’s label. Batten goes off-record posing an ironic question to Frei. The host goes bald on-record answering that he knew Batten’s politics because he was a politician. At the end of this excerpt, Batten commits an FTA by showing his disapproval towards the host claiming he belonged to a group of people who live far away from the reality.

4.2.3. Donald Trump’s first press conference

This news conference was Donald Trump’s first press conference as the President-elect. It was delivered on the 11th of January 2017, nine days before his inauguration. It is one hour and nine minutes long, and the transcript was found on *The New York Times* website. Some parts were not included in the analysis, namely the parts when Sean Spicer, Mike Pence, and Sheri Dillon delivered their speeches.

Data 14

So, we’ve been very, very much involved, and other things. We had Jack Ma, we had so many incredible people coming here. There are no — they’re going to do tremendous things — tremendous things in this country. And they’re very excited.

And I will say, if the election didn’t turn out the way it turned out, they would not be here. They would not be in my office. They would not be in anybody else’s office. They’d be building and doing things in other countries. So, there’s a great spirit going on right now. A spirit that many people have told me they’ve never seen before, ever.

We’re going to create jobs. I said that I will be the greatest jobs producer that God ever created. And I mean that, I really — I’m going to work very hard on that. We need certain amounts of other things, including a little bit of luck, but I think we’re going to do a real job. And I’m very proud of what we’ve done. And we haven’t gotten there yet.

Cooperative Principle

At the very beginning of the first paragraph, Donald Trump violates the maxim of quantity by repeating *very* twice. He violates the maxim of quantity again by repeating *tremendous things* twice, but also the maxim of manner for not being orderly in the same utterance. In the same paragraph, President Trump violates the maxim of quantity by talking too much and starting

his utterances with *they would not/they would* three times. By exaggerating in “A spirit that many people have told me they’ve **never seen before, ever.**”, Trump violates the maxim of quality. In the third paragraph, he again violates the maxim of quality by exaggerating and saying something he lacks evidence for in “***I said I will be the greatest producer that God ever created***”. In the rest of that paragraph, President Trump violates the maxim of quantity by being too informative.

Speech Acts

In this excerpt, there are 16 speech acts. Out of this number, there are 12 assertive illocutionary acts, 3 commissive illocutionary acts, and 1 expressive illocutionary act. The assertive illocutionary acts in this excerpt are used for reporting about some events, claiming something to be the case, etc. In this excerpt the commissive illocutionary acts are the following utterances: “*We’re going to create jobs. I said that I will be the greatest job producer that God ever created. And I mean that, I really — I’m going to work very hard on that.*”. By saying this, President Trump commits himself to some future action, that of creating jobs, and he claims he would work very hard on it. These utterances can be considered valid as Donald Trump as the President of the US has the institutional power to make the world fit words, or simply said, he can change the lives of the people in the USA. There is also one expressive in “*And I’m very proud of what we’ve done.*”, where Trump expresses his pride for what he and his team had done.

All of the speech acts in this excerpt are direct speech acts which have the form of declaratives, and perform the communicative function of statements.

Politeness

At the beginning of this excerpt in the first paragraph, Donald Trump uses the positive politeness strategy using the in-group marker *we*. In the utterance starting with “*They are no...*”, Trump again utilizes the positive politeness strategy, this time by exaggerating what his team would do. In the second paragraph he commits an FTA towards hearers’ negative face by reminding them that if he did not win the elections, those people would not be working for the government but in other countries. In the third paragraph, Donald Trump uses the positive politeness strategy by promising he and his team would be creating jobs, that way also

attending to the potential needs of his hearers. In the very next utterance, Trump commits an FTA to hearers' positive face by boasting about how he would be the greatest job producer God created. At the end of this paragraph, he again switches to positive politeness by using *we* as an in-group marker.

Data 15

We're going to have a very, very elegant day. The 20th is going to be something that will be very, very special; very beautiful. And I think we're going to have massive crowds because we have a movement.

It's a movement like the world has never seen before. It's a movement that a lot of people didn't expect. And even the polls — although some of them did get it right, but many of them didn't. And that was a beautiful scene on November 8th as those states started to pour in.

And we focused very hard in those states and they really reciprocated. And those states are gonna have a lot of jobs and they're gonna have a lot of security. They're going to have a lot of good news for their veterans.

And by the way, speaking of veterans, I appointed today the head secretary of the Veterans Administration, David Shulkin. And we'll do a news release in a little while. Tell you about David, he's fantastic — he's fantastic. He will do a truly great job.

Cooperative Principle

In the first paragraph of this excerpt, President Trump violates the maxim of quantity by repeating the adjective *very* five times in two utterances. In the next paragraph, he violates the maxim of quality by exaggerating saying "*It's a movement like the world has never seen before...*". In the same paragraph, he violates the maxim of manner by not being orderly. From "*and even the polls*" to "*and those states*", Trump again violates the maxim of quantity by starting four consecutive utterances with *and*. In the final paragraph, President Trump shows his awareness of the maxim of relation by using hedge *and by the way*, to switch to another subject.

Speech Acts

In this excerpt, there are 14 utterances out of which there are 9 assertive illocutionary acts, 3 commissive illocutionary acts, and 2 expressive illocutionary acts. Most of the assertive

illocutionary acts in this excerpt are used for predicting some future events like in the first paragraph where all speech acts predict how the day of inauguration would be like. The first utterance in the second paragraph is an expressive used for boasting about a movement the world had never seen before. The next utterance in the same paragraph is an assertive illocutionary act as Trump claims a lot of people had not expected something like that to happen. In the third paragraph, we have two commissive illocutionary acts in “*And those states are gonna have a lot of jobs and they’re gonna have a lot of security. They’re going to have a lot of good news for their veterans.*”, as President Trump commits himself to create jobs and security and also gives good news for the voters from the states that voted for him. In the fourth paragraph, he commits himself to do a news release on the appointment of David Shulkin as the head secretary of the Veterans Administration. He then uses an expressive to compliment Shulkin saying he was fantastic.

All of the speech acts in this excerpt are also direct speech acts which have the form of declaratives, and perform the communicative function of statements.

Politeness

At the beginning of this excerpt, Trump uses a positive politeness strategy as he is being optimistic about future events. In the second paragraph, he again commits an FTA by boasting about his victory as the movement the world had never seen before. In the third paragraph, President Trump uses the positive politeness strategy of including both speaker and hearers in action in “*And we focused very hard in those states and they really reciprocated.*”. He continues using the positive politeness strategy by promising jobs and security to his voters and also good news for the veterans. In the fourth paragraph, he also uses positive politeness promising he would release news on the appointment of Shulkin. In the final two utterances, Trump again uses positive politeness by exaggerating about Shulkin and attending to his face needs.

Data 16

QUESTION: Thank you, Mr. President-elect.

On that intelligence report, the second part of their conclusion was that Vladimir Putin ordered it because he aspired to help you in the election.

Do you accept that part of the finding? And will you undo what President Obama did to punish the Russians for this or will you keep it in place?

TRUMP: Well, if — if Putin likes Donald Trump, I consider that an asset, not a liability, because we have a horrible relationship with Russia. Russia can help us fight ISIS, which, by the way, is, number one, tricky. I mean if you look, this administration created ISIS by leaving at the wrong time. The void was created, ISIS was formed.

If Putin likes Donald Trump, guess what, folks? That's called an asset, not a liability.

Now, I don't know that I'm gonna get along with Vladimir Putin. I hope I do. But there's a good chance I won't. And if I don't, do you honestly believe that Hillary would be tougher on Putin than me? Does anybody in this room really believe that? Give me a break.

Cooperative Principle

At the beginning of this excerpt, President Trump flouts the maxim of manner by using metaphors in *“If Putin likes Donald Trump, I consider that an **asset**, not a **liability**, because we have a horrible relationship with Russia.”*. Using the terms from the economy, Trump implies that if Putin liked him that would be an advantage and not a disadvantage to the USA. In the next utterance, Trump uses *by the way* as a hedge of the maxim of relation. He then claims that the previous administration, that of President Obama created ISIS, which is something he lacks evidence. That way he violates the maxim of quality. He then swiftly switches the topic to repeat what he had previously said about Putin's support being an asset and not a liability, violating both the maxim of relation and the maxim of quantity for repeating what had already said. In the last paragraph, he violates the maxim of quantity by talking too much. He also flouts the maxim of quality by posing a rhetorical question to the audience on whether they believed Hillary Clinton would be tougher on Putin than him. The implicature is that she would not be tougher than him. What is also noticeable is that the President-elect did not provide an answer on whether he would undo President Obama's policies towards Russia.

Speech Acts

There are 16 speech acts in this paragraph, 9 assertive illocutionary acts, 6 directive illocutionary acts, and 1 expressive illocutionary act. The first utterance in this excerpt is an expressive, as a journalist gives his thanks to President Trump. The journalist first reports about the conclusions in the intelligence report on Russian activities and intentions in US elections.

This utterance has the assertive illocutionary force. He then poses two questions to the President-elect, which have the directive illocutionary force. The utterances in Trump's answer have illocutionary force of assertive as Trump argues that Putin's support can only be an advantage to the US, and he asserts that Russia could help them fight ISIS. He then claims the previous administration created ISIS. That utterance also has the illocutionary force of assertive. Trump then poses a rhetorical question that has the directive illocutionary force. He then states his doubt on whether he would get along with Putin or not, which has the illocutionary force of assertive. At the end of this excerpt, he poses two rhetorical questions with the directive illocutionary force. In his final utterance, Trump demands a break, which has the directive illocutionary force.

The questions posed by the journalist in "*Do you accept that part of the finding? And will you undo what President Obama did to punish the Russians for this or will you keep it in place?*", are all direct speech acts that have the form of interrogatives and serve the communicative function of questions. Trump's utterance in "*If Putin likes Donald Trump, guess what, folks?*", is also a direct speech act which has the form of an interrogative, and the communicative function of a question. His utterances in "*And if I don't, do you honestly believe that Hillary would be tougher on Putin than me? Does anybody in this room really believe that?*", are indirect speech acts which have the form of interrogatives, but perform the communicative function of statements.

Politeness

In his first utterance, the journalist uses a negative politeness strategy by giving deference to the President-elect. In his questions, the journalist goes bald on-record by being direct.

In his answer, President Trump goes off-record by using metaphor. Trump then commits an FTA by accusing the previous administration of leaving a void that in turn created ISIS. In his next utterance, Trump uses positive politeness first by intensifying the interest of the audience, including them in the narrative, and then by using the in-group term *folks*. He goes off-record again by repeating the same metaphor. In his next utterance, he turns to negative politeness by being pessimistic saying he was not sure if he would get along with Putin. Then, he again turns to positive politeness by trying to be optimistic saying he hoped he would get along with Putin. In the end, he goes bald on-record without redress by demanding a break.

Data 17

QUESTION: Would a reasonable observer say that you are potentially vulnerable to blackmail by Russia or by its intelligence agencies?

TRUMP: Lemme just tell you what I do.

When I leave our country, **I'm a very high-profile person, would you say?**

I am extremely careful. I'm surrounded by bodyguards. I'm surrounded by people.

And I always tell them — anywhere, but I always tell them if I'm leaving this country, "Be very careful, because in your hotel rooms and no matter where you go, you're gonna probably have cameras." I'm not referring just to Russia, but I would certainly put them in that category.

And number one, "I hope you're gonna be good anyway. But in those rooms, you have cameras in the strangest places. Cameras that are so small with modern technology, you can't see them and you won't know. You better be careful, or you'll be watching yourself on nightly television."

I tell this to people all the time.

I was in Russia years ago, with the Miss Universe contest, which did very well — Moscow, the Moscow area did very, very well.

And I told many people, "Be careful, because you don't wanna see yourself on television. Cameras all over the place."

And again, not just Russia, all over.

Does anyone really believe that story?

I'm also very much of a germaphobe, by the way, believe me.

Cooperative Principle

The question posed to President Trump was about whether it could be said he was vulnerable to blackmail by Russian intelligence agencies. With his answer, President Trump flouts the maxim of relation by not answering the question right away. However, through implicature in "*I'm a very high-profile person, would you say? I am extremely careful. I'm surrounded by bodyguards. I'm surrounded by people*", we can deduct that President Trump believes he was vulnerable to blackmail by Russia. President Trump also violates the maxim of quantity by being too talkative. In the paragraph starting with "*I was in Russia...*", he repeats what he had previously said about spying, that way violating the maxim of quantity. It can be concluded that throughout this paragraph President Trump violates the maxim of manner by not being

orderly. In his final utterance, Trump uses a hedge, *by the way*, to indicate his awareness of switching to a topic unrelated to those preceding it.

Speech Acts

There are 19 speech acts in this excerpt, out of which 15 are assertive illocutionary acts and 4 directive illocutionary acts. In the beginning, we have a question posed by the journalist which has the directive illocutionary force. This utterance is a direct speech act as it has the form of an interrogative, and serves the communicative function of question. President Trump's utterances in "*Lemme just tell you what I do. When I leave our country, I'm a very high-profile person, would you say?*" also have the directive illocutionary force. His first utterance is an indirect speech act which has the form of a declarative and performs the communicative function of a request. The second utterance is a direct speech act which has the form of an interrogative and serves the communicative function of a question. The rest of his utterances, until "*Does anyone really believe that story?*" which is a directive illocutionary act, are assertive illocutionary acts, as Trump reports on what he usually says to his bodyguards and other people when they travel outside the US. That is an indirect speech act because it has the form of a question and performs the communicative function of a statement. Trump's utterance "*Be careful*" is also an indirect speech act which has the form of a declarative, and performs the communicative function of a request.

Politeness

The reporter goes bald on-record with his question to President Trump. President Trump first goes bald on-record without redress in his first utterance. He then goes off-record by overstatement, as he does not answer directly but gives us implicatures from which we can deduce the answer. The following are examples of overstatement used by President Trump "*I am a very high-profile person,*", "*I am extremely careful*", "*I always tell them...*". He again goes off-record by being ambiguous in "*I'm also very much of a germaphobe...*".

Data 18

QUESTION: The tweet that you had this morning about are we living in Nazi Germany, what were you driving at there? What are you trying to tell the American public?

TRUMP: I think it was disgraceful — disgraceful that the intelligence agencies allowed any information that turned out to be so false and fake out. I think it's a disgrace, and I say that — and I say that, and that's something that Nazi Germany would have done and did do. I think it's a disgrace that information that was false and fake and never happened got released to the public.

As far as BuzzFeed, which is a failing pile of garbage, writing it, I think they're going to suffer the consequences. They already are. And as far as CNN going out of their way to build it up — and by the way, we just found out I was coming down. Michael Cohen — I was being — Michael Cohen is a very talented lawyer. He's a good lawyer in my firm. It was just reported that it wasn't this Michael Cohen they we're talking about. So, all night long it's Michael Cohen.

I said, "I want to see your passport." He brings his passport to my office. I say, hey, wait a minute. He didn't leave the country. He wasn't out of the country. They had Michael Cohen of the Trump Organization was in Prague. It turned out to be a different Michael Cohen. It's a disgrace what took place. It's a disgrace and I think they ought to apologize to start with Michael Cohen.

Cooperative Principle

In his answer to a reporter's question, President Trump violates both the maxim of quantity and manner by repeating four times the word *disgraceful/disgrace* in the first paragraph. Furthermore, each of his utterances in this paragraph starts with *I think...*, as a result, President Trump sounds repetitive. He then violates the maxim of quality by saying BuzzFeed was going to suffer consequences, for which he lacks evidence. Later on, he violates the maxim of quantity by repeating that Michael Cohen was *a good/talented lawyer*. He then violates the maxim of quality by lying about Michael Cohen's involvement in Russian interference in the elections. Michael Cohen was sentenced to 3 years in prison in 2018 for tax fraud and lying charges. (Nahmias & Samuelsohn, 2018)

Speech Acts

This excerpt contains 21 speech acts, out of which 12 are assertive illocutionary acts, 6 expressive illocutionary acts, and 3 directive illocutionary acts. The reporter's two utterances are questions which have the illocutionary force of directives. The utterances in the first paragraph of President Trump's answer have the illocutionary force of expressive as he protests over what he believed was fake news released by intelligence agencies. There is another utterance with the illocutionary force of expressive in "*Michael Cohen — I was being — Michael Cohen is a very talented lawyer. He's a good lawyer in my firm.*", in which President

Trump compliments Michael Cohen's ability as a lawyer. He again repeats that this release of information was a disgrace in the penultima utterance which has the illocutionary force of expressive. The last utterance has the illocutionary force of directive as Trump suggests BuzzFeed and CNN should apologize to Cohen for releasing what he back then claimed was fake news, which in the end proved to be true.

The utterances at the beginning of this excerpt "*The tweet that you had this morning about are we living in Nazi Germany, what were you driving at there? What are you trying to tell the American public?*", are examples of direct speech acts as they have the form of interrogatives, and perform the communicative function of questions. Trump's utterance in "*I want to see your passport.*", is an indirect speech act as it has the form of a declarative and performs the communicative function of a command.

Politeness

The questions posed by the reporter are posed bald on-record without redressive action. In the first paragraph of Trump's answer, he commits an FTA by showing criticizing the intelligence agencies. In the second paragraph, he again commits an FTA by warning BuzzFeed of the consequences they would suffer for publishing the story. When talking about Michael Cohen, Trump uses positive politeness by giving him compliments. At the end of the last paragraph, Trump again commits an FTA by criticizing the news agencies for publishing alleged fake news.

Data 19

QUESTION: Mr. President-elect, since you are attacking our news organization...

TRUMP: Not you.

QUESTION: Can you give us a chance?

TRUMP: Your organization is terrible.

QUESTION: You are attacking our news organization, can you give us a chance to ask a question, sir? Sir, can you...

TRUMP: Quiet.

QUESTION: Mr. President-elect, can you say...

TRUMP: He's asking a question, don't be rude. Don't be rude.

QUESTION: Can you give us a question since you're attacking us? Can you give us a question?

TRUMP: Don't be rude. No, I'm not going to give you a question. I'm not going to give you a question.

QUESTION: Can you state...

TRUMP: You are fake news. Go ahead.

QUESTION: Sir, can you state categorically that nobody — no, Mr. President-elect, that's not appropriate.

Cooperative Principle

In this excerpt, there are a few instances where President Trump violates the maxim of quantity such as in: "*Not you*", where he violates it for not being too informative; later in repeating twice "*don't be rude*"; as well as by repeating "*I'm not going to give you a question*" he also violates the maxim of quantity.

Speech Acts

There are 20 speech acts in this excerpt, out of which 12 are directives, 7 assertive illocutionary acts, and 1 expressive illocutionary act. Most of the speech acts with the illocutionary force of directive are questions, but there are also orders and permissions such as in "*Quiet*"; "*Don't be rude*"; "*Go ahead*". The only utterance with the illocutionary force of expressive is the following one: "*Your organization is terrible*".

Trump's utterance in "*Not you.*" is an indirect speech act which has the form of a declarative, but performs the communicative function of a command. The journalist's utterance in "*Can you give us a chance?*" is also an indirect speech act which has the form of an interrogative and performs the communicative function of a request. The journalist's next utterance "*You are attacking our news organization, can you give us a chance to ask a question, sir?*", is also an indirect speech act, just like in the utterance above. Trump's utterance in "*Quiet.*" is an indirect speech act which has the form of a declarative, but performs the communicative function of a command. The journalist's utterances in "*Can you give us a question since you're attacking us? Can you give us a question?*", are all indirect speech acts which have the form of interrogatives, but perform the communicative function of requests. Trump's utterances

“*Don’t be rude.*” and “*Go ahead*” are indirect speech acts because they have the form of declaratives, but perform the communicative function of commands.

Politeness

At the beginning of this paragraph, the reporter goes bald on-record by asking for permission to pose a question. President Trump also goes bald on-record without redress in “*Go ahead*”. As a reply to the reporter’s second attempt to get permission to pose a question, President Trump commits an FTA to hearer’s positive face needs by not being cooperative. The reporter again goes bald on-record without redress by asking for permission to pose a question. President Trump’s reply to that is an FTA with which he criticizes the reporter’s news organization. The reporter then uses negative politeness by giving deference to President Trump. In turn, President Trump commits an FTA by ordering the reporter to be quiet. Upon another attempt to pose a question, President Trump replies with another FTA by ordering the news reporter not to be rude. The reporter again goes bald on-record by asking for permission to pose a question to which President Trump answers with an FTA by not being co-operative. He then commits another FTA by criticizing the news organization for being “*fake news*”. In their last reply, the reporter uses negative politeness giving deference to President Trump using the terms *Sir, Mr. President-Elect*.

Data 20

QUESTION: (inaudible) published fake news and all the problems that we’ve seen throughout the media over the course of the election, what reforms do you recommend for this industry here?

TRUMP: Well, I don’t recommend reforms. I recommend people that are — that have some moral compass.

You know, I’ve been hearing more and more about a thing called fake news and they’re talking about people that go and say all sorts of things. But I will tell you, some of the media outlets that I deal with are fake news more so than anybody. I could name them, but I won’t bother, but you have a few sittings right in front of us. They’re very, very dishonest people, but I think it’s just something we’re going to have to live with.

I guess the advantage I have is that I can speak back. When it happens to somebody that doesn’t have this — doesn’t have that kind of a megaphone, they can’t speak back. It’s a very sad thing. I’ve seen people destroyed. I’ve seen people absolutely destroyed. And I think it’s very unfair. So, all I can ask for is honest reporters.

Cooperative Principle

As an answer to the question on which reforms he would recommend for the news industry, President Trump provides a succinct answer saying that he did not recommend any reforms but people with a moral compass. However, after saying that, he goes into unnecessary details that way violating the maxim of quantity. He also continues his strategy of repeating for emphasis such as in “*They are very, very dishonest people*”, “*I’ve seen people destroyed. I’ve seen people absolutely destroyed.*”. That way he also violates the maxim of manner for not being brief.

Speech Acts

This excerpt contains 15 speech acts, 13 with the illocutionary force of assertive, 1 directive, and 1 expressive illocutionary act. The first speech act in this excerpt is a question with a directive illocutionary force. There is also one expressive in “*They are very, very dishonest people*”, which conveys President Trump’s criticism towards some news agencies.

The utterance at the beginning of this excerpt “*...what reforms do you recommend for this industry here?*” is a direct speech act which has the form of an interrogative and performs the communicative function of a question. The rest of Trump’s utterances are all direct speech acts which have the form of declaratives and perform the communicative function of statements.

Politeness

At the beginning of this excerpt, a reporter poses a question bald on-record without redress. In the second paragraph of his reply, President Trump commits an FTA by criticizing some news agencies, although he does not name them, for being dishonest and publishing fake news. In the third paragraph, President Trump switches to positive politeness by attending to hearers who have no voice to defend themselves publicly.

4.2.4. Maxime Bernier from the People’s Party of Canada

This interview with Maxime Bernier, former MP and cabinet member, was conducted by Steve Paikin on September 25, 2018. The video lasts 26 minutes and the show’s name is The Agenda with Steve Paikin.

Data 21

Steve: You know, the supply management, those farmers, are one group. Who's in your coalition? Who's in your tent?

Maxime: The people.

Steve: Okay, but who? Which people?

Maxime: You know, Canadian consumers, Canadians consumers.

I don't need... what I need, I want them... what I want, I want them, the producers on the supply management, to be able to export their products... and they're doing good products, good milk, good cheese and with good quality. So, they're not able to export right now because of that system, and I want them to be able to export and to be able to be more productive. But if we abolish that system, it will be over four or five years, like in other countries when they did it, so they will have time to adjust. But the worst situation right now is what the Trudeau government they are doing. They are going with NAFTA and the negotiation and we know that the President Trump wants us to get rid of that system and we must say yes for Canadian consumers and for being sure to have a deal with the US. 20 percent of our economy is depending on free trade with the US, so that's important. But what the Trudeau government they want to do, maybe they will give a part of the market for dairy milk, maybe five, ten, fifteen percent. That's the worst solution because the producers won't be able to export, the consumers are still paying twice the price for these products, and the taxpayers will have to compensate a huge cost to keep that system.

Cooperative Principle

In this excerpt, Bernier violates the maxim of quantity when the interviewer asked him about who was in the coalition with his party. Bernier's answer was "*The people*", which is not informative enough. The reporter poses the same question, and Bernier again violates the maxim of quantity by repeating "*You know, Canadian consumers, Canadian consumers*". He then violates the maxim of manner by not being orderly in "*I don't need... what I need, I want them... what I want, I want them*". With this answer, Bernier also violates the maxim of quantity, this time for talking too much.

Speech Acts

There are 18 speech acts in total. Out of that number 15 are assertive illocutionary acts and 3 directive illocutionary acts.

Paikin's utterances in "*Who's in your coalition? Who's in your tent?*" and in "*Okay, but who? Which people?*" are all direct speech acts which have the form of interrogatives and communicative function of questions. Bernier's utterances are also direct speech acts which have the form of declaratives and perform the communicative function of statements.

Politeness

At the beginning of this excerpt Paikin, the interviewer, goes bald on-record by posing questions in "*Who's in your coalition? Who's in your tent?*" and in "*Okay, but who? Which people?*". In his response, Bernier uses positive politeness by attending to the needs of his supporters in "*I want them, the producers on the supply management, to be able to export their products... and they're doing good products, good milk, good cheese and with good quality...*" He then commits a face-threatening act by criticizing his opponents and warning them of the problems that might surge in "*But the worst situation right now is what the Trudeau government they are doing...*".

Data 22

Steve: Let's talk about just a handful of words that you used to describe your former party that really caught a lot of attention. You said your former party, the Conservatives are too intellectually and morally corrupt to be reformed. I want to go through that and find out exactly what you mean. Intellectually corrupt how?

Maxime: Yeah, how? We don't know what they believe in anymore. We don't know what they believe, you know? They have to do polling to know what they believe in, you know? For me, I don't need to do any polling, you know? It's all values, and people who like it, perfect, they will come and I will ask them to vote for us. People who don't like what I'm saying and doesn't like what I'm saying, it's okay, just stay at home and vote for another party. But the Conservative Party of Canada and the Liberals and the NDP, they are so focused to try to please everybody... and they don't please a lot of people. But I'm not like that. To win an election, you need to be strong and being a principled politician, and that's what I will try to do and that's what I did in the past.

Steve: How about morally corrupt? How are they morally corrupt?

Maxime: But morally corrupt, it's the Conservative philosophy. They... what... tell me one thing of Scheer, Andrew Scheer's platform... we know that he's against Justin

Trudeau on taxes, but how, how he going to lower taxes? Andrew Scheer said, during the leadership of the Conservative Party of Canada that he will balance the budget in two years. And now, that's not the case anymore. So, they're afraid to tell the truth to the population. What I'm saying, you know, I will abolish corporate welfare. I will use the money that we save to lower taxes to every single entrepreneur in this country. So, morally, they don't... they don't believe in anything anymore. So, that's why I'm saying that.

Cooperative Principle

At the beginning of this excerpt, Bernier violates the maxim of quantity by repeating "*We don't know what they believe in anymore. We don't know what they believe, you know?*". He also uses a hedge *you know*. With this reply, he also violates the maxim of quantity by talking too much. The interviewer also violates the maxim of quantity by repeating the same question twice in "*How about morally corrupt? How are they morally corrupt?*". Bernier violates the maxim of manner by answering "*But morally corrupt, it's the Conservative philosophy.*". This answer is ambiguous and not informative enough. He then violates the maxim of relation by digressing in "*What I'm saying, you know, I will abolish corporate welfare...*".

Speech Acts

There are 28 speech acts in this excerpt: 17 assertive illocutionary acts, 8 directives, and 3 commissive illocutionary acts. The following utterances have the illocutionary force of commissive: "*What I'm saying, you know, I will abolish corporate welfare. I will use the money that we save to lower taxes to every single entrepreneur in this country.*" and in "*To win an election, you need to be strong and being a principled politician, and that's what I will try to do and that's what I did in the past.*". Here, Bernier commits himself to some future action. Most of the directives in this excerpt are used to pose questions such as in "*we know that he's against Justin Trudeau on taxes, but how, how is he going to lower taxes?*". Assertive illocutionary acts are used to claim something to be true, state, report, etc.

Paikin performs an indirect speech act in "*Let's talk about just a handful of words that you used to describe your former party that really caught a lot of attention.*", which has the form of a declarative, but performs the communicative function of a request. His next utterance "*I want to go through that and find out exactly what you mean.*" is also an indirect speech act because it has the form of a declarative and functions as a request. "*Intellectually corrupt*

how?” is a direct speech act as it has the form of an interrogative and functions as a question. Bernier’s utterances in *“Yeah, how? We don’t know what they believe, you know? They have to do polling to know what they believe in, you know? For me, I don’t need to do any polling, you know?”* are all indirect speech acts which have the form of interrogatives, but perform the communicative function of statements. Paikin’s utterances in *“How about morally corrupt? How are they morally corrupt?”* are all direct speech acts as they have the form of interrogatives and perform the communicative function of questions. Bernier’s utterance in *“we know that he’s against Justin Trudeau on taxes, but how, how is he going to lower taxes?”* is also a direct speech act which has the form of an interrogative and functions as a question.

Politeness

The interviewer goes bald on-record at the beginning of this excerpt in *“Let’s talk about just a handful of words...”* as well as in *“Intellectually corrupt how?”*. Bernier first uses politeness strategy by intensifying interest in *“Yeah, how?”*. Then he commits an FTA by criticizing the Conservative Party, and also by boasting about himself in *“For me, I don’t need to do any polling, you know? It’s all values, and people who like it, perfect, they will come and I will ask them to vote for us.”*. He then goes bald on-record by saying that those who did not want to vote for him could stay at home and vote for other parties. After that, he commits another FTA by criticizing his opponents for trying to please everyone. The interviewer goes bald on-record by posing the same question about the moral corruptness of the Conservative Party. Bernier again commits FTAs by criticizing the Conservative Party and its members. By the end of this paragraph, he uses a positive politeness strategy by attending to his voters in *“What I’m saying, you know, I will abolish corporate welfare. I will use the money that we save to lower taxes to every single entrepreneur in this country.”*. In the end, he commits another FTA by restating his criticism towards the Conservative Party.

Data 23

Maxime: Everything can happen in politics. But what I want to do, I want to be the alternative. We will build a strong party all across the country. We are at maybe 11 percent in the poll right now.

Steve: Who’s we?

Maxime: Our party.

Steve: People's Party's at 11?

Maxime: Yeah, 11.

Steve: How do you know?

Maxime: I look at the last poll. 11 percent, so a new party, 11 percent of the poll, and we have a year before the election. So, we can... we just have to grow there. When I started the leadership campaign as a candidate, I was at 5 percent and I finished that campaign at 49 percent. Now, we are starting this movement. It is not just a political party; it is a movement with people all across the country. We are starting that at 10 percent in the poll. So, we will grow and we will be the alternative.

Cooperative Principle

Bernier violates the maxim of quantity by answering "*Our party.*" and "*Yeah, 11.*". This way his contribution can be seen as not informative enough. At the end of this paragraph, he also violates the maxim of quality in "*So, we will grow and we will be the alternative.*". This is something he lacks evidence for.

Speech Acts

There are 18 speech acts in this excerpt. Out of it, there are 14 assertive illocutionary acts, 4 directives, and 1 commissive illocutionary act.

Paikin performs direct speech acts in "*Who's we?*", "*People's Party's at 11?*", and "*How do you know?*", as they have the form of interrogatives and perform the communicative function of questions.

Politeness

In this excerpt, there are a lot of examples of bald on-record strategy starting from "*Who's we?*" until "*How do you know?*". In the last paragraph, Bernier uses the positive politeness strategy by using the in-group marker *we*.

Data 24

Steve: And I want to know how concerned you are that some people who are alt-right, white nationalists, anti-immigration, that kind of thing, see you, for whatever reason, as somehow their champion.

Maxime: I told them, I told them that they're not welcome in our party. They're not sharing the same values of us, and so, they're not welcome. And, you know, the people who will represent our party, the candidates all across the country, will have to share our values and we'll be sure to have the right people. So, I'm not afraid of that because if... I told them, you know, "Don't come in our party if you try to change our principles." You won't be... I will impose... yes, I will impose our principle, and people will be able to discuss, but around our principles... so if you don't believe in immigration, you're not welcome.

Cooperative Principle

In this excerpt, Maxime Bernier violated the maxim of quality by uttering a lie. He said that alt-right and white nationalists were not welcome to his party because they did not share the values of his party. This interview was carried out in September 2018. In 2019, Andrew Russell and Stewart Bell revealed that among the People's Party of Canada signatories were the former leader of the neo-Nazi group The Soldiers of Odin, as well as a member from the Pegida Canada group, a populist right group with origins in Europe. According to the authors of this article, it was necessary to have at least 250 party members to obtain party status, and among those members were the far-right members mentioned above. (Russell & Bell, 2019).

Speech Acts

There are 10 speech acts in this excerpt out of which 7 are assertive illocutionary acts, 2 commissive illocutionary acts, and 1 directive illocutionary act.

Paikin's utterance at the beginning of this excerpt is an indirect speech act because it has the form of a declarative, but has the communicative function of a request. Bernier's utterance in

"Don't come in our party if you try to change our principles." is an indirect speech act which has the form of a declarative, but performs the communicative function of a command.

Politeness

The interviewer goes bald on-record in posing the question to Bernier. Maxime Bernier, on the other hand, commits an FTA by showing his contempt towards far-right supporters of his party.

Data 25

Steve: You are pretty tough on the Liberals, I have to say. You say that current Liberal government has created a cult of diversity that will destroy the country. I want to know more about what that means.

Maxime: You know, I'll give you an example. Justin Trudeau is always saying, you know, "diversity is our strength," and that's not the case. It's what unites us, it's our strength. You know, that's the case. You build a country with people who share the same values. So, diversity of values, I don't like that. And some journalist said, "Oh, Maxime is against racial diversity." That's not true. I never said that. People who don't believe in our values, I think that, you know, they must not come in our country. It's Western civilization values. And we were able to have a lot of people coming from different countries for the last 60 years, so they will come, but they must share our values. So, I like diversity. I want people to come here to... to tolerate diversity, to... as you know, they know that men and women are equal before the law, and all these Western civilization values.

Cooperative Principle

In the last paragraph of this excerpt, Bernier first violates the maxim of quantity by giving a long answer and thus being too informative. He then violates the maxim of quality in *"So, I like diversity."*, this is contradictory to what he had said previously in the same paragraph in *"So, diversity of values, I don't like that"*.

Speech Acts

There are 19 speech acts in this excerpt- 16 assertive illocutionary acts, 1 expressive, 1 directive, and 1 commissive illocutionary speech act.

Paikin's utterance in "*I want to know more about what that means.*" is an indirect speech act because it has the form of a declarative, and performs the communicative function of a request. All Bernier's utterances in this excerpt are direct speech acts because they have the form of declaratives, and perform the communicative function of statements.

Politeness

The interviewer goes bald on-record in posing questions to Bernier. Bernier commits FTAs by disagreeing with Justine Trudeau about diversity as Canada's strength. He then goes bald on-record by saying he did not like the diversity of values. Bernier commits an FTA by saying "*People who don't believe in our values, I think that, you know, they must not come in our country.* ". At the end of that paragraph, he goes off-record by being contradictory, first saying he did not like diversity and then claiming he liked it.

5. CONCLUSION

The goal of this study was first to explore if and to what extent the far-right politicians analysed in this paper talk in conformity with the cooperative principle and if they use implicatures to convey some additional meaning. The second goal was to investigate which speech acts these politicians used most and if there were any differences between them. The third goal was to analyse which politeness strategies dominated the speeches of the far-right politicians and if there were any differences or similarities between them.

Based on the findings of this study, the following can be concluded:

All four politicians, Hanson, Batten, Trump, and Bernier violated the maxim of quantity most of the time. What that indicates is that they talked more than was necessary or that at times they were less informative than needed. This might reveal either their inability to provide an answer to some questions, or avoidance of giving a concise answer. The second maxim violated that was violated most frequently in Hanson's and Batten's speech was the maxim of relation. This indicates that Hanson and Batten digressed from the main topic. Trump, on the other hand, violated the maxim of manner more frequently than the maxim of relation. This indicates that Trump was disorderly in talking and that he used some ambiguous terms. All four politicians violated the maxims more frequently than they flouted them. Still, Batten, Hanson, and Bernier flouted maxims more than Trump did. They flouted the maxim of quality most frequently, which means that they deliberately said something untrue, which in turn lead to implicatures. When it comes to implicatures, there were 23 instances of implicatures in Hanson's speech, 26 in Batten's speech, and only 6 and 5 in Trump's and Bernier's speeches, respectively. This tells us that Trump and Bernier spoke more straightforwardly than the other two politicians. On the other hand, the results indicate that Trump was more aware of the cooperative principle, as he used 18 hedges to show his awareness of the CP, while Hanson, Batten, and Bernier used them once and 8 times, and 5 times, respectively.

The analysis of the speech act revealed that all four politicians used the assertive illocutionary act most frequently. This indicates that all of them claimed, stated, denied, etc. that something represented reality. The second most used speech act was the same in all four of them, as they used the directive illocutionary act frequently. They used it in asking questions, requesting something from their addressees, commanding, etc. The only difference was in the usage of commissive and expressive illocutionary acts which Trump used more often than Hanson,

Batten, and Bernier. The least used illocutionary act was a declarative illocutionary act in all four of these speeches.

The analysis of politeness in these four speeches revealed some differences in the usage of the politeness strategies. The analysis showed that Pauline Hanson's speech was dominated by face-threatening acts. This means that she damaged her interlocutors' faces by criticizing, disagreeing, warning them, etc. most of the time. However, she also frequently used positive politeness strategy by using in-group markers, seeking agreement, etc. The most used politeness strategy by Batten was the bald on-record strategy. It points out to his desire for efficient communication without attending to the face needs of his addressee. He also committed FTAs frequently as they make up 27,92 of all politeness strategies he used. In combination with his usage of bald on-record strategy, it can be concluded that Batten not only did not attend to the face needs of the interlocutor but that he damaged his face frequently. It indicates that the interlocutors had opposing views and stances which most of the time could not be reconciled. Trump, on the other hand, used the positive politeness strategy most frequently. This was done through using in-group markers, attending to his hearers, and showing concern for their needs. However, he also used FTAs frequently, most of them directed towards the news agencies he accused of disseminating fake news. Bernier's speech was dominated by a bald on-record strategy which makes up 38,41% of his speech. He also frequently committed FTAs, 25,17% of the time, mostly to criticize his political opponents. However, he also frequently used positive politeness strategies, 28,48% of the time, using in-group markers, as well as attending to the needs of his voters. Batten is the politician who most frequently went off-record, although the other three politicians also used off-record utterances. However, off-record strategies make up just 2,56% of all strategies in Bernier's speech. What is common to Hanson, Batten, and Trump is that they used the negative politeness strategy with the least frequency- they make up 9,16% in Hanson's speech, 7,69% in Trump's speech, and only 2,64% in Batten's speech. Bernier also did not use the negative politeness strategy that frequently, as it makes up 5,3% of all strategies he used. This shows that most of the time these four politicians intruded the personal space of their addressee and infringed on their need for independence.

Based on these findings the hypotheses put forward at the beginning of this diploma paper were either fully confirmed, partially confirmed, or rejected.

HYPOTHESIS 1: The findings obtained by the analysis have fully confirmed the first hypothesis (*The far-right politicians will violate the cooperative principle more than they will flout it.*) set at the beginning of this study.

HYPOTHESIS 2: The second hypothesis (*The far-right politicians will violate the maxim of quality more than the other maxims.*) has been rejected as the findings showed that the far-right politicians violated the maxim of quantity most frequently.

HYPOTHESIS 3: The third hypothesis (*As the President of the United States, Donald Trump will use more declarative and commissive illocutionary acts than the other three politicians analysed in this paper.*) has been partially confirmed as President Trump did use more commissive illocutionary acts than the other three politicians, but did not use more declarative illocutionary acts than Hanson, Batten and Bernier.

HYPOTHESIS 4: The fourth hypothesis (*The most used politeness strategy in these four discourses will be the bald on-record strategy.*), has been rejected since it was the most used strategy in Batten's, and Bernier's speeches, and not in the other two speeches.

Summarizing, we can say that there were some similarities in the speeches of these four far-right politicians. Namely, all four of them violated the maxim of quantity most frequently, the assertive illocutionary act was the most used speech act in all four of them, and they frequently committed face-threatening acts. Some of the differences were reflected in the usage of implicatures which were least used by Trump and Bernier. However, Trump showed the awareness of the CP by using hedges more frequently than Hanson, Batten, and Bernier. He also used more commissive and expressive illocutionary acts than the three of them. When it comes to politeness, Batten used negative politeness less frequently than Trump, Hanson, and Bernier.

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