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Analiza posljednje predsjedničke debate između Donalda Trumpa i Joea Bidena iz ugla Griceovog principa kooperativnosti

Analysis of the Final Presidential Debate between Donald Trump and Joe Biden Observed through Grice's Cooperative Principle

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Apstrakt:

Ovaj rad provodi pragmatičku analizu posljednje predsjedničke debate, održane u Americi 22. oktobra 2020. godine. Debata je vođena između bivšeg predsjednika Sjedinjenih Država, Donald Trumpa i potpredsjednika Joe Biden-a. Među temama o kojima su govorili su između ostalog migracije, državna sigurnost, zdravstvo, Južna Koreja, Kina, plate; međutim, s obzirom na trenutno stanje sa pandemijom COVID-19, uglavnom su govorili o mjerama koje su dosad preduzeli te o planovima i strategijama za dalju borbu protiv pandemije.

Analiza debate je provedena po uzoru na Griecov princip kooperativnosti, s ciljem da se prikaže kako se kandidati predstavljaju javnosti: koliko su iskreni, u kojoj mjeri se pridržavaju teme, da li daju dovoljno informacija i koliko su njihove izjave jasne.

Analiza je bazirana na transkriptu debate. Glavni cilj ovog istraživanja bio je da se otkrije u kojoj mjeri se kandidati pridržavaju principa kooperativnosti te na koji način zloupotrebljavaju odnosno krše četiri maksime.

Ključne riječi: debata, princip kooperativnosti, govorne maksime, Donald Trump, Joe Biden

Abstract

This master's thesis offers a pragmatic analysis of the final presidential debate in America that took place on October 22, 2020. The debate was conducted between the former President of U.S Donald Trump and Vice President Joe Biden. The topic discussed included migrations, national security, healthcare, South Korea, China, wages; however, given the current situation with the COVID-19 pandemic, the debate was mostly centered around measures they undertook until then, as well as their plans on future strategies against the pandemic.

The analysis of the debate was conducted from the perspective of Grice's cooperative principle, aiming to portray the way candidates present themselves in public: how honest they are, to what extent do they adhere to the topic, whether they offer sufficient information and how brief their statements are.

The analysis is based on the transcript of the debate. The main goal of this study was to reveal to what extent do the candidates adhere to the cooperative principle and in what way do they violate or flout the four maxims.

Table of contents:

1. Introduction:

Presidential elections of the United States of America is an indirect election that occurs quadrennially on leap years and during this process, citizens registered in one of 50 states or Washington D.C elect their President and Vice President. („United States presidential election", n.d) One of the major segments of elections is the presidential debate that allows voters to hear their candidates discussing the most important issues of that time. The most recent elections were held on November 3, 2020, followed by three debates led between two candidates, former President Donald Trump and Vice President Joe Biden.

This master's thesis will deal with the final debate held on October 22, 2020, in Nashville, Tennessee, and moderated by Kristen Welker (Sanford, 2020). The debate was opened by questions regarding the coronavirus outbreak which happened at the beginning of 2020. This important issue appears to have affected the whole world. Candidates were given an opportunity to say what they have done until then to mitigate the consequences of the coronavirus outbreak as well as to share their plans and strategies on leading the country out of the crisis. Each of them was given two minutes uninterrupted to elaborate on their plans. Other than the coronavirus outbreak, candidates were also discussing issues related to migration, climate changes, racism, and relationship with other countries (North Korea, Russia…). (Sanford, 2020)

The main purpose of this master's thesis is to conduct a pragmatical analysis of their responses through the cooperative principle established by Paul Grice. The Cooperative principle theory refers to four conversational maxims which participants need to follow for their conversation to run smoothly and successfully. Sometimes, depending on their intentions and goals, people tend to either violate or flout those maxims. By doing this they create conversational implicatures.

The corpus for this study is based on the final debate between Donald Trump and Joe Biden which is available on YouTube. The transcript of the debate is retrieved from the website (Sanford, 2020). The descriptive analysis consists of 40 randomly chosen scenes from the debate and results are expected to show how often and to which extent do candidates adhere to the cooperative principle.

1.2.   Research questions

The study aims to answer the following questions:

1. Do candidates more frequently violate or flout maxims?
2. Which maxims are mostly violated or flouted by each candidate?
3. Do candidates indicate that they consciously violate maxims?

In the section that follows, the Cooperative Principle theory will be discussed in detail and that theoretical background will serve as a basis needed for further analysis.

1. Theoretical background

2.1.   The Cooperative Principle by Paul Grice

As participants of any conversational event, we come with certain expectations and background knowledge. Thanks to our linguistic competence and pragmatic abilities to recognize and interpret implicatures, we can sometimes draw inferences about what is meant but not actually said. However, in order for our conversations to flow smoothly and avoid any possible misunderstandings, we are expected to adhere to social conventions, namely the cooperative principle, established by Paul Grice. It is centered around the idea that any conversation we are engaged in has a purpose and direction, thus we are expected to make our contributions accordingly. (Yule, 1996, p. 37) The cooperative principle theory refers to four conversational maxims:

1. Maxim of Quantity: do not make your contribution more or less informative than required (for the current purposes of the exchange) (Yule, 1996, p. 37)
   Speakers should make sure to provide a sufficient amount of information in any conversational exchange; they should give enough details for other interactants to clearly and fully understand them, however, their statements should not consist of too much information otherwise they risk boring other interactants.

2. Maxim of Quality: try to make your contribution one that is true. (Yule, 1996, p. 37)
   Speakers are expected to make statements that provide reliable information they have a factual basis for. They are assumed not to say anything they believe to be false, or they lack adequate evidence.

3. Maxim of Relevance: Be relevant. Speakers are assumed to be saying something that is relevant to what has been said before so that other interactants are able to organize their utterances and make a logical connection between them.

4. Maxim of Manner: Be perspicuous, brief, and orderly. Speakers are expected to avoid ambiguous and obscure structures and so allow other interactants to assimilate provided information.

In most situations, participants follow these maxims and thus achieve rational, conventional, and purposeful conversation. Sometimes, however, due to different occasions and motivated by different reasons, participants fail to abide to these rules. Then, depending on their intention, they violate / flout maxims or opt out.

2.2. Flouting maxims

We say that speakers flout maxims when they do not follow rules but expect hearers to understand what is implied. (Cutting, 2002, p. 37) To flout the maxim of quantity means to give too little or too much information. For example:

A: How do I look?

B: Your shoes are nice…

(Cutting, 2002, p. 37)

Here, it is implied that the whole appearance of A is not quite good except for the shoes.

Flouting maxim of quality is usually realized through different figures of speech. Among them are:

1. Hyperbole - speakers use exaggerating expressions to say things they obviously do not mean as in *I'm starving* (hearers are assumed to understand that the speaker is not literally dying of hunger just that he/she is very hungry.) (Cutting, 2002, p. 37)
2. Metaphor - speakers use references to imply certain meanings as in *Queen Victoria was made of iron.* (Hearers are expected to know that *iron* here refers to incidental properties like hardness, resilience and non-flexibility not the definitional properties of iron) (Levinson, 2008, p. 110)
   Euphemisms also fall under this category as they make things sound more conventional and socially acceptable. For example, people usually prefer to say *He kicked the bucket* instead of *He died.* (Cutting, 2002, p. 38)
3. Irony and banter – speakers use irony when they want to say something offensive in a friendly way (mock-politeness). A widely used form of irony is sarcasm which is intended to hurt others. Conversely, banter is used to say something friendly in an offensive way (mock-impoliteness). (Cutting, 2002, p. 38)

When speakers flout the maxim of relation, they expect hearers to identify the connection between their utterance and what is previously said. (Cutting, 2002, p. 39)

A: We expected a better play.

B: I expected better manners.

(Cutting, 2002, p. 39)

As irrelevant as the second sentence seems to be, it actually implies that B also is not satisfied with the way the public reacted to the play.

Finally, flouting the maxim of manner means to give ambiguous and obscure answers, motivated by different reasons. One of such situations is following:

A: Where are you off to?

B: I was thinking of going out to get some of "that white funny stuff" for somebody.

(Cutting, 2002, p. 39)

In this particular situation, that white funny stuff refers to ice cream and parents are intentionally trying to avoid saying it clearly, because they probably don't want their children to understand. (Cutting,2002, p. 39)

2.3.   Violating maxims

In addition, we say that speakers violate maxims when they are aware that the hearer will only understand the surface meaning. (Cutting, 2002, p. 40) They intentionally give misleading signals, and they only appear to be cooperating.

Speakers violate the maxim of quantity when they deliberately provide less information aiming to prevent hearers from knowing what they need to know.

By being insincere and giving wrong information, speakers are said to be violating the maxim of quality. (Cutting, 2002, p. 40)

Speakers violate the maxim of relation when they want to change the topic or distract the hearers. (Cutting, 2002, p. 40)

Finally, the maxim of manner is violated when speakers say everything except what the hearer wants to know. (Cutting, 2002, p. 41)

2.4.   Implicatures

Other than flouting and violating maxims, speakers also do not follow maxims when they infringe them or opt out. The difference is that, when infringing or opting out, they do not imply additional meaning and they do not mislead the conversation. When speakers infringe a maxim, it is a result of some language or cognitive impairments and imperfect linguistic performance. (Cutting, 2002, p. 41)

If a speaker expresses unwillingness to participate in the conversation but somehow, they do not want to appear uncooperative, we say that they opt out. It is usually due to some legal or ethical reasons i.e., specialized institutional talk. (Cutting, 2002, p. 41) However, when such reactions occur in ordinary conversations, i.e., the speaker is not giving sufficient information on the matter, other interactants tend to interpret their unwillingness to speak as if they imply something different from what they say. In the following example, B appears to violate the maxim of quantity as he does not offer sufficient information:

A: I hope you brought the bread and the cheese.

B: Ah, I brought the bread.

(Yule, 1996, p. 40)

However, by excluding the word "cheese" from his answer he indirectly conveys a message that he didn't buy it. This message is called implicature and is categorized as a *conversational implicature.* Speakers communicate the meaning and other interactants deduce it via inference. (Yule, 1996, p. 40)

One subtype of conversational implicature is called *generalized conversational implicature*, which, as the name itself suggests, does not require awareness of special context to be inferred.

Many generalized conversational implicatures are communicated by words that express certain values from a scale of values. They are known as *scalar implicatures*. (Yule, 1996, p. 41)

Speakers choose the word that is most informative and suitable for the given context and produce utterances.

For example, in the sentence, *I'm studying linguistics and I've completed some of the required courses.* the speaker implies that he/she has some courses left. (Yule, 1996, p. 41)

Conversely, another subtype of conversational implicature depends on the knowledge of specific context and is called *particularized conversational implicature.*

A: What on earth has happened to the roast beef?

B: The dog is looking very happy.

(Levinson, 2008, p. 126)

In this example, A will probably interpret B's answer as "the dog ate the roast beef."

Finally, different from previously discussed conversational implicatures, there is another type known as *conventional implicatures.* They don't depend on special context, nor do they occur necessarily in conversation; conventional implicatures are associated with specific words which, when used, result in additional conveyed meaning. One of such examples is the conjunction "but" that creates a contrast between information. *"Mary suggests black, but I chose white"* (Yule, 1996, p. 44)

2.5.   Hedges

Sometimes, however, speakers use certain words and expressions to signalize that they are aware of the cooperative principle but decide not to adhere to it. Such expressions are called hedges.

To indicate that they are aware of the quantity maxim, speakers use phrases like *to cut long story short* or *I won't bore you with details…* (Yule, 1996, p. 38)

When speakers are about to share information, the accuracy of which they are not completely certain, they tend to use expressions such as *I guess, as far as I know,* or *I'm not sure if this is right*, so in case the information is not true, they will be able to justify themselves. (Yule, 1996, p. 38)

To signalize that they are about to change the topic or mention something which is completely unrelated to things being discussed, speakers usually say phrases like *by the way* or *well, anyway, not to change the subject…* (Yule, 1996, p. 38)

Finally, speakers use some hedges to show awareness of expectations of manner such as *I'm not sure if this makes sense* or *this may be a bit confusing…* (Yule, 1996, p. 38)

2.6.   Limitations

When it comes to limitations of the cooperative principle, the major problem represents different cultures and different interpretations of the same situations. What is considered normal to say in one culture might not be accepted in another.

For example, in Britain, it is not acceptable to say, "We'll call you in about two weeks" and then not call. This would be considered a violation of the maxim of quality whereas in some other countries this is quite a normal way of flouting maxim and saying, "We are not interested." (Cutting, 2002, p. 41)

Additionally, sometimes it can be challenging to precisely identify which maxim is being violated or flouted because there is usually an overlap between them. (Cutting, 2002, p. 41)

2. **Corpus analysis**

This master's thesis offers a descriptive analysis of the final presidential debate between President Donald Trump and Vice President Joe Biden through Grice's cooperative principle. Results are expected to show which maxims are most frequently violated/flouted by each candidate, do candidates rather flout or violate maxims, and finally how aware of the cooperative principle candidates are.

The analysis is conducted on 20 randomly chosen answers by both candidates and their answers are observed through four maxims, in four ways i.e., whether they violate / flout maxims, create

some implicatures or opt out. There are 40 scenes in total, all of them will be listed and analyzed. Since maxims tend to overlap, some answers might violate/flout more than one maxim. The four maxims that we will investigate in their answers are:

1. Maxim of Quantity
2. Maxim of Quality
3. Maxim of Relevance
4. Maxim of Manner

Other than maxims, we will also observe situations in which candidates refuse to be cooperative and informative as required i.e., they opt out, and situations in which they indicate awareness of the cooperative principle by using hedges.

The analysis section will divide answers into four categories, according to the most dominant maxim in the given excerpt.

3.1. Maxim of quantity

Scene 1:

Kristen Welker (1:43): President Trump, the first question is for you. The country is heading into a dangerous new phase. More than 40,000 Americans are in the hospital tonight with COVID, including record numbers here in Tennessee. And since the two of you last shared a stage, 16,000 Americans have died from COVID. So please be specific. How would you lead the country during this next stage of the coronavirus crisis? Two minutes, uninterrupted.

Donald Trump (3:07): I can tell you from personal experience, I was in the hospital. I had it and I got better. And I will tell you that I had something that they gave me, a therapeutic, I guess they would call it. Some people could say it was a cure, but I was in for a short period of time. And I got better very fast, or I wouldn't be here tonight. And now they say I'm immune. More and more people are getting better. We have a problem that's a worldwide problem. This is a worldwide problem, but I've been congratulated by the heads of many countries on what we've been able to do. If you take a look at what we've done in terms of goggles and masks and gowns

and everything else, and in particular ventilators we're now making ventilators all over the world, thousands and thousands a month distributing them all over the world. It will go away. And as I say, we're rounding the turn. We're rounding the corner. It's going away.

In his answer, President Trump violates the maxim of quantity as he shares more information than needed and repeats some statements, as in *"We have a problem that's a worldwide problem. This is a worldwide problem…"*

Other than the maxim of quantity, he violates the maxim of quality by saying things he has no clear evidence for as in the last sentence: "*It will go away. And as I say, we're rounding the turn. We're rounding the corner. It's going away.*" He uses the hedge „I guess" to indicate awareness of the maxim of quality.

He flouts the maxim of quality as he is being contradictory by saying: *„More and more people are getting better. We have a problem that's a worldwide problem."*

In the first sentence, he also flouts the maxim of relevance because he does not give an answer related to the question but changes the topic to his personal experience, creating an impression that he does not have a proper answer.

Finally, he violates the maxim of manner as his statements do not follow a logical order.

Scene 2:

Kristen Walker (4:09): Former Vice President Biden to you. How would you lead the country out of this crisis? You have two minutes uninterrupted.

Joe Biden (4:15): **220,00 Americans dead. You hear nothing else I say tonight, hear this. Anyone who is responsible for not taking control. In fact, not saying I take no responsibility initially. Anyone who is responsible for that many deaths should not remain as president of the United States of America. We're in a situation where there are a thousand deaths a day now. A thousand deaths a day. And there are over 70,000 new cases per day. Compared to what is going on in Europe as the New**

England Medical Journey said, they are starting from a very low rate. We are starting from a very high rate.

The expectation is we'll have another 200,000 Americans dead between now and the end of the year. If we just wore these masks, the president's own advisors have told him, we can save 100,000 lives. And we're in a circumstance where the president thus far and still has no plan, no comprehensive plan.

We're in a situation now where the New England Medical Journal, one of the serious, most serious journals in the whole world said for the first time ever that the way this president has responded to this crisis has been absolutely tragic. And so, folks, I will take care of this. I will end this. I will make sure we have a plan.

In his answer, Vice President Biden violates the maxim of quantity as he provides more information than he was asked to. "*Compared to what is going on in Europe, as the New England Medical Journey said, they are starting from a very low rate. We are starting from a very high rate.*"

He also violates the maxim of quantity because his answer involves repetitions: "*A thousand deaths a day*"

Other than the maxim of quantity, Vice President Biden here violates the maxim of relevance by changing the topic to President Trump, in an attempt to distract the hearers as in *"And we are in a circumstance where the president thus far and still has no plan, no comprehensive plan."*

"We're in a situation now where the New England Medical Journal, one of the serious, most serious journals in the whole world said for the first time ever that the way this president has responded to this crisis has been absolutely tragic."

He also violates the maxim of manner as his answer is not brief.

Finally, Joe Biden violates the maxim of quality by exaggerating and stating predictions he has no proof for, as follows: *"The expectation is we'll have another 200,000 Americans dead between now and the end of the year. If we just wore these masks, the president's own advisors have told him, we can save 100,000 lives."*

"And so, folks, I will take care of this. I will end this. I will make sure we have a plan."

By uttering "*Anyone who is responsible for that many deaths should not remain as president of the United States of America.*" he creates an implicature that he holds Donald Trump responsible for people's deaths and flouts the maxim of relevance.

Scene 3:

> **Donald Trump (10:33): And Kirsten, every meeting I had, every meeting I had, and I'd meet a lot of families, including gold star families and military families. Every meeting I had, and I had to meet them, I had to. It would be horrible to have canceled everything. I said, "This is dangerous, and you catch it." And I caught it. I learned a lot. I learned a lot. Great doctors, great hospitals. And now I recovered. 99.9 of young people recover. 99% of people recover. We have to recover- 99% of people recovers. We have to recover. We can't close up our nation. We have to open our school and we can't close up our nation, or you're not going to have a nation.**

Here, President Trump violates the maxim of quantity because his answer is repetitive*: I learned a lot. I learned a lot., 99.9 of young people recover. 99% of people recover, every meeting I had…* He violates the maxim of quantity also by sharing more information than he was asked to.

In addition, he violates the maxim of quality as he claims things that oppose any scientific fact. "*99.9 of young people recover. 99% of people recover.*"

He also violates the maxim of relevance as he digresses from topic several times

"Great doctors. Great hospitals."

Finally, he violates the maxim of manner because his answer is not brief, does not follow an order, many ideas interfere.

Scene 4:

Donald Trump (13:30) He thought I shouldn't have closed the border, that's obvious.

Kristen Welker (13:35) Do you want to respond to that quickly, Vice President?

Joe Biden (13:36) No

Here, Vice President Biden violates the maxim of quantity as his contribution is not seen as informative enough. Also, we can say that he is opting out as he indicates an unwillingness to cooperate.

Scene 5:

Kristen Welker (1:04:14) All right, let's talk about our next section, which is race in America. And I want to talk about the way Black and Brown Americans experience race in this country. Part of that experience is something called the talk. It happens regardless of class and income, parents who feel they have no choice, but to prepare their children for the chance that they could be targeted, including by the police, for no reason other than the color of their skin. Mr. Vice President, in the next two minutes, I want you to speak directly to these families. Do you understand why these parents fear for their children?

Joe Biden (1:04:49) I do. I do. My daughter is a social worker and she's written a lot about this. She has her graduate degree from the University of Pennsylvania in social work. And one of the reasons why I ended up working on the East side of Wilmington, Delaware, which is 90% African American, was to learn more about what was going on. I never had to tell my daughter if she's pulled over, make sure she puts… For a traffic stop. "Put both hands on top of the wheel and don't reach for the glove box because someone may shoot you." But a Black parent, no matter how wealthy or how poor they are, has to teach their child, "When you're walking down the street, don't have a hoodie on when you go across the street.

In his response, Vice President Biden violates the maxim of quantity as he provides more details than he was asked to.

Then, he violates the maxim of relevance as his answer involves some irrelevant points like his very first sentence: *My daughter is a social worker and she's written a lot about this. She has her graduate degree from the University of Pennsylvania in social work.*

Finally, he violates the maxim of manner because his answer is not brief.

Scene 6:

> Kristen Welker (42:40) Okay, let's move on to American families and the economy. One of the issues that's most important to them is healthcare, as you both know. Today, there was a key vote on a new Supreme Court Justice, Amy Coney Barrett, and healthcare is at the center of her confirmation fight. Over 20 million Americans get their health insurance through the Affordable Care Act. It's headed to the Supreme Court and your administration, Mr. President, is advocating for the court to overturn it. If the Supreme Court does overturn that law, there's 20 million Americans could lose their health insurance almost overnight. So, what would you do if those people have their health insurance taken away? You have two minutes uninterrupted.

> **Donald Trump (43:16) First of all, I've already done something that nobody thought was possible. Through the legislature, I terminated the individual mandate. That is the worst part of Obamacare, as we call it. The individual mandate where you have to pay a fortune for the privilege of not having to pay for bad health insurance, I terminated. It's gone. Now, it's in court, because Obamacare is no good. But then I made a decision, run it as well as you can, to my people, great people, run it as well as you can. I could have gone the other route and made everybody very unhappy. They ran it. Premiums are down. Everything's down. Here's the problem. No matter how well you run it, it's no good. What we'd like to do is terminate it. We have the individual mandate done. I don't know that it's going to work. If we don't win, we will have to run it and we'll have Obamacare, but it'll be better run. But it**

no longer is Obamacare, because without the individual mandate, it's much different.

Pre-existing conditions will always stay. What I would like to do is a much better healthcare, much better. We'll always protect people with pre-existing. So, I'd like to terminate Obamacare, come up with a brand new, beautiful healthcare. The Democrats will do it, because there'll be tremendous pressure on them. And we might even have the House by that time. And I think we're going to win the House. You'll see, but I think we're going to win the House. But come up with a better healthcare, always protecting people with pre-existing conditions. And one thing very important, we have 180 million people out there that have great private healthcare. Far more than we're talking about with Obamacare. Joe Biden is going to terminate all of those policies. These are people that love their healthcare. People that have been successful, middle-income people, been successful. They have 180 million plans, 180 million people, families. Under what he wants to do, which will basically be socialized medicine, he won't even have a choice, they want to terminate 180 million plans. We have done an incredible job at healthcare, and we're going to do even better. Just you watch.

In his response, President Trump violates the maxim of quantity because he is giving too much information, most of which are not related to the question he was asked.

This being said, he also violates the maxim of relevance because his answer involves irrelevant facts.

In the second part of his answer, he violates the maxim of quality because he is making some predictions without any basis. „*And we might even have the House by that time. And I think we're going to win the House. You'll see, but I think we're going to win the House.*"

He also flouts the maxim of quality as his response involves sarcasm. „*The individual mandate where you have to pay a fortune for the privilege of not having to pay for bad health insurance, I terminated.*"

Finally, his sentences don't seem to follow any logical order so, in that sense, he violates the maxim of manner.

Using hedges like "but I think" and "and one thing, very important" he indicates an awareness of the maxim of quality and the maxim of relevance, respectively.

3.2.Maxim of quality

Scene 7:

> **Donald Trump (10:07) I didn't say over soon. I say we're learning to live with it. We have no choice. We can't lock ourselves up in a basement like Joe does. He has the ability to lock himself up. I don't know. He's obviously made a lot of money someplace, but he has this thing about living in a basement. People can't do that. By the way I as the president couldn't do that. I'd love to put myself in the basement or in a beautiful room in the White House and go away for a year and a half until it disappears. I can't do that.**

In this response, President Trump is flouting the maxim of quality as he is being sarcastic *"He's obviously made a lot of money someplace, but he has this thing about living in a basement."*

Here, he also flouts the maxim of manner because his answer is ambiguous, and he implies something else.

Then, he violates the maxim of relevance because he is trying to distract hearers by pointing out irrelevant things.

Finally, he violates the maxim of quantity because he is being overly informative and repeating the same sentences.

He uses quality hedge „I don't know" to indicate awareness of the maxim of quality.

Scene 8:

> Kristen Welker (22:22) All right. We're going to move on to our next section, which is national security. And I do want to start with the security of our elections and some breaking news from overnight. Just last night, top intelligence officials confirmed again that both Russia and Iran are working to influence this election. Both countries have obtained US voter registration information, these officials say, and Iran sent intimidating messages to Florida voters. This question goes to you, Mr. Vice President. What would you do to put an end to this threat? You have two minutes, uninterrupted.

> **Joe Biden (22:52) I made it clear, and I asked everyone else to take the pledge. I made it clear that any country, no matter who it is, that interferes in American elections will pay a price. They will pay a price. And it's been overwhelmingly clear this election — I won't even get into the last one — this election, that Russia has been involved, China's been involved to some degree, and now we learn that Iran is involved. They will pay a price if I'm elected. They're interfering with American sovereignty. That's what's going on right now. They're interfering with American sovereignty. And to the best of my knowledge, I don't think the President has said anything to Putin about it. I don't think he's talking to them a lot. I don't think he's said a word. I don't know why he hasn't said a word to Putin about it, and I don't know what he has recently said, if anything, to the Iranians. My guess is he'd probably be more outspoken with regard to the Iranians.**

In his response, Vice President Biden violates the maxim of quality by stating things and making predictions he is not completely sure about and has no clear evidence for. He uses hedges to point out that he might not be telling the truth *"And to the best of my knowledge, I don't think the President has said anything to Putin about it."*

He also violates the maxim of relevance by drawing the topic to President Trump, who is not related to the question he was asked, instead of revealing his strategies and plans.

Finally, he violates the maxim of quantity by repeating same the ideas several times.

"They will pay a price.", "They're interfering with American sovereignty."

Scene 9:

Donald Trump (25:37) They both want you to lose because there has been nobody tougher to Russia between the sanctions, nobody tougher than me on Russia, between the sanctions, between all of what I've done with NATO. I've got the NATO countries to put up an extra $130 billion going to $420 billion a year. That's to guard against Russia. I sold, while he was selling pillows and sheets, I sold tank busters to Ukraine. There has been nobody tougher on Russia than Donald Trump.

Here, President Trump flouts the maxim of quality because is exaggerating certain statements.

"I sold, while he was selling pillows and sheets, I sold tank busters to Ukraine."

He also violates the maxim of quantity as he is being overly informative and repeats the same sentences several times. "*Nobody tougher than me on Russia*"

Finally, he violates the maxim of quality as he makes claims without any adequate evidence.

"I've got the NATO countries to put up an extra $130 billion going to $420 billion a year."

Scene 10:

Joe Biden (32:34) Number two, the guy who got in trouble in Ukraine was this guy trying to bribe the Ukrainian government to say something negative about me, which they would not do and did not do because it never ever, ever happened. My son has not made money in terms of this thing about, what are you talking about, China. I have not had… the only guy who made money from China is this guy. He's the only one. Nobody else has made money from China.

Here, Vice President Biden violates the maxim of quality because he is making accusations without any proof. "*Number two, the guy who got in trouble in Ukraine was this guy trying to bribe the Ukrainian government to say something negative about me, which they would not do and did not do because it never ever, ever happened.*"

He also flouts the maxim of manner as part of his answer is ambiguous. "*My son has not made money in terms of this thing about, what are you talking about, China.*" Saying this, he implies that President Trump's accusations might have some basis.

Finally, he violates the maxim of relevance because his answer involves some irrelevant details.

Scene 11:

> **Joe Biden (50:41) He's a very confused guy. He thinks he's running against somebody else. He's running against Joe Biden. I beat all those other people because I disagreed with them. Joe Biden, he's running against. And the idea that we're in a situation that is going to destroy Medicare… This is the guy that the actuary of Medicare said, "If in fact…" That's Social Security. "If in fact he continues his plan to withhold the tax on Social Security, Social Security will be bankrupt by 2023 with no way to make up for it." This is the guy who's tried to cut Medicare. The idea that Donald Trump is lecturing me on Social Security and Medicare? Come on.**

In his statement, Vice President Biden violates the maxim of quality as he is saying things, he has no evidence for.

His answer involves sarcasm and exaggeration: "*The idea that Donald Trump is lecturing me on Social Security and Medicare? Come on.*"

"*I beat all those other people because I disagreed with them.*" In this way, he flouts the maxim of quality.

He also violates the maxim of quantity because he repeats the same ideas. "*He's running against Joe Biden.*"

Finally, he violates the maxim of manner because his answer is not completely perspicuous.

Scene 12:

> **Joe Biden (1:14:06) Abraham Lincoln here is one of the most racist presidents we've had in modern history, he pours fuel on every single racist fire, every single one.**

Started off his campaign coming down the escalator saying he's getting rid of those Mexican rapists, he's ban Muslims because they're Muslims, he has moved around and made everything worse across the board. He says to… About the Proud Boys, last time we were on stage here he said, "I tell them to stand down and stand ready." Come on, this guy has a dog whistle about as big as a foghorn.

Here, Vice President Biden made a sarcastic comment to what President Trump had said about himself being the least racist person, thus flouting the maxim of quality. *"Abraham Lincoln here is one of the most racist presidents we've had in modern history, he pours fuel on every single racist fire, every single one."*

Also, he flouts the maxim of quality because his answer involves some metaphors. "*Come on, this guy has a dog whistle about as big as a foghorn."*

Finally, he violates the maxim of relevance because his answer involves some irrelevant ideas.

About the Proud Boys, last time we were on stage here he said, "I tell them to stand down and stand ready."

Scene 13:

Donald Trump (1:14:57) I didn't say, "I'm Abraham Lincoln," I said, "Not since Abraham Lincoln has anybody done what I've done for the Black community." Now, you have done nothing other than the Crime Bill, which put tens of thousands of Black men, mostly, in jail.

Following up Vice President Biden's remarks, President Trump violates the maxim of quality because he claims certain things, which he obviously lacks proof for.

In addition, he indicates an awareness of the maxim of relation using hedge "now", that way violating maxim of relevance because he mentions things which are not related to the topic being discussed. "*Now, you have done nothing other than the Crime Bill, which put tens of thousands of Black men, mostly, in jail."*

His final statement also flouts the maxim of quality as it involves sarcasm.

Scene 14:

Donald Trump (1:25:30) Now, we have to ask him about fracking.

Kristen Welker (1:25:32) Let me allow Vice President Biden to respond.

Joe Biden (1:25:34) I never said I oppose fracking.

In his response, Vice President violates the maxim of quality because what he says is not true.

"It's false that Biden never said he opposed fracking. In two Democratic primary debates, Biden made confusing remarks over fracking that his campaign had to clarify. In 2019, Biden said "we would make sure it's eliminated" when asked about the future of coal and fracking; in 2020 he said he opposed "new fracking." Biden's written plan, conversely, never included a full ban on fracking or even on new fracking. Rather, it proposes "banning new oil and gas permitting on public lands and waters" -- not ending all new fracking anywhere or ending all existing fracking on public lands and waters." (Lybrand, 2020).

Scene 15:

Joe Biden (1:21:26) We're going to be in a position where we're going to see to it that we're going to take 4 million existing buildings and 2 million existing homes and retrofit them, so they don't leak as much energy saving hundreds of millions of barrels of oil in the process and creating significant number of jobs. By the way, the whole idea of what this is all going to do, it's going to create millions of jobs and it's going to clean the environment. Our health and our jobs are at stake. That's what's happening and what right now, by the way, Wall Street firms indicated that my plan, my plan will in fact, create 18.6 million jobs, 7 million more than his. This is from Wall Street, and I'll create $1 trillion more in economic growth than his proposal does. Not on climate, just on economy.

Here, Vice President Biden violates the maxim of quality because he is making predictions without any basis.

He also violates the maxim of relevance as he interferes with some irrelevant facts using hedges to indicate the change of topic: "*By the way, Wall Street firms indicated that my plan, my plan will in fact, create 18.6 million jobs, 7 million more than his. This is from Wall Street, and I'll create $1 trillion more in economic growth than his proposal does. Not on climate, just on economy.*"

He is being too informative and repeats similar phrases many times, so he violates the maxim of quantity.

Scene 16:

> **Donald Trump (1:22:18) They came out and said very strongly $6,500 will be taken away from families under his plan, that his plan is an economic disaster. If you look at what he wants to do, if you look at his plan, his environmental plan, do you know developed it? AOC plus three, they know nothing about the climate. I mean, she's got a good line of stuff, but she knows nothing about the climate and they're all hopping through hoops for AOC plus three. Look, their real plan cost a hundred trillion dollars. If we had the best year in the history of our country for a hundred years, we would not even come close to a number like that. When he says buildings, they want to take buildings down because they want to make bigger windows into smaller windows. As far as they're concerned, if you had no window, it would be a lovely thing.**

As a response to what Vice President Biden had previously said, President Trump violates the maxim of quality since he is talking about facts, which he has no evidence for.

He flouts the maxim of quality because his answer involves sarcasm: "*As far as they're concerned, if you had no window, it would be a lovely thing.*"

He is also being offensive because he uses the term "AOC plus three" to refer to Ilhan Omar, of Minnesota, Rashida Tlaib, of Michigan, and Ayanna Pressley, of Massachusetts and Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, which they found disrespectful. *"I wonder if Republicans understand how much they advertise their disrespect of women in debates when they consistently call women members of Congress by nicknames or first names while using titles & last names when referring to men of*

= stature. Women notice. It conveys a lot," (Cinone, 2020) This being so, he flouts the maxim of quality again.

Further on, he flouts the maxim of manner because his response is obscure and ambiguous at times. "*I mean, she's got a good line of stuff, but she knows nothing about the climate and they're all hopping through hoops for AOC plus three.*"

Here, he tries to humiliate them by implying that they are not capable of the work they do just because they are women.

Then, he violates the maxim of relevance as he digresses from the main topic.

Finally, he violates the maxim of quantity as he is being overly informative and repeats the same sentences several times.

Scene 16:

> **Joe Biden (1:23:46) A hundred trillion dollars, give me a break. This plan has been endorsed by every major, every major environmental group and every labor group, labor, because they know the future lies. The future lies in us being able to breathe and they know they're good jobs and getting us there. By the way, the fastest growing industry in America is the electric, excuse me, solar energy and wind. He thinks wind causes cancer, windmills. It's the fastest growing jobs and they pay good prevailing wages, 45, 50 bucks an hour. We can grow and we can be cleaner if we go the route I'm proposing.**

Vice President Biden flouts the maxim of quality as he gives sarcastic comment to President Trump's remark. "*The future lies in us being able to breathe*"

"*He thinks wind causes cancer, windmills.*"

He also violates the maxim of quantity because he repeats the same phrases several times.

As the usage of the hedge „by the way "suggests, Joe Biden digresses from the topic and thus violates the maxim of relevance.

3.3. Maxim of relevance:

Scene 17:

> Kristen Walker (7:16) Vice President Biden, your reaction. And just 40% of Americans say that they would definitely agree to take a coronavirus vaccine if it was approved by the government. What steps would you take to give Americans confidence in a vaccine if it were approved?
>
> **Joe Biden (7:28) Make sure it's totally transparent. Have the scientists of the world see it, know it, look at it, go through all the processes. And by the way, this is the same fellow who told you, "This is going to end by Easter" last time. This is the same fellow who told you that, "Don't worry, we're going to end this by the summer." We're about to go into a dark winter, a dark winter and he has no clear plan. And there's no prospect that there's going to be a vaccine available for the majority of the American people before the middle of next year.**

In his response, Vice President Biden violates the maxim of relevance by using a hedge that signalizes he consciously changes the topic and brings up irrelevant facts. *"And by the way, this is the same fellow who told you, "This is going to end by Easter" last time. This is the same fellow who told you that, "Don't worry, we're going to end this by the summer."*

Also, he violates the maxim of quality as he is making predictions without any basis: "*We're about to go into a dark winter, a dark winter and he has no clear plan."*

Scene 18:

> Kristen Welker (7:56) President Trump, your reaction. He says you have no plan.
>
> **Donald Trump (8:27) And frankly, he ran the H1N1 swine flu, and it was a total disaster. Far less lethal, but it was a total disaster. Had that had this kind of numbers, 700,000 people would be dead right now, but it was a far less lethal disease. Look, his own person who ran that for him, who, as you know, was his chief**

of staff said, "It was catastrophic. It was horrible. We didn't know what we were doing." Now he comes up and he tells us how to do this.

In his response, President Trump violates the maxim of relevance by switching to a topic which is not related to the one they were previously discussing. "*And frankly, he ran the H1N1 swine flu, and it was a total disaster. Far less lethal, but it was a total disaster.*"

Other than that, he violates the maxim of quality by making predictions without any basis. "*Had that had this kind of numbers, 700,000 people would be dead right now*"

Also, he the flouts the maxim of quality as he is making sarcastic comments. "*Now he comes up and he tells us how to do this.*"

Finally, he violates the maxim of quantity as he is being too informative.

Scene 19:

> Kristen Welker (13:37) Okay. Let's talk about your different strategies toward dealing with this. Mr. Vice President you suggested you would support new shutdowns if scientists recommended it. What do you say to Americans who are fearful that the cost of shutdowns, the impact on the economy, the higher rates of hunger, depression, domestic, and substance abuse outweighs the risk of exposure to the virus?

> **Joe Biden (13:55) What I would say is, I'm going to shut down the virus, not the country. It's his ineptitude that caused the country to have to shut down in large part, why businesses have gone under, why schools are closed, why so many people have lost their living, and why they're concerned. Those other concerns are real. That's why he should have been, instead of in a sand trap at his golf course, he should have been negotiating with Nancy Pelosi and the rest of the Democrats and Republicans about what to do about the acts they were passing for billions of dollars to make sure people had the capacity.**

In his response, Vice President Biden violates the maxim of relevance because, instead of talking about his strategies, he brings up facts that are not related to the question he was asked. *"It's his ineptitude that caused the country to have to shut down in large part, why businesses have gone*

under, why schools are closed, why so many people have lost their living, and why they're concerned."

Also, he flouts the maxim of quality because his answer involves sarcasm. "*That's why he should have been, instead of in a sand trap at his golf course, he should have been negotiating with Nancy Pelosi and the rest of the Democrats and Republicans about what to do about the acts…*"

"*I'm going to shut down the virus, not the country.*" Having uttered this sentence, he sarcastically implies that he does not approve of how President Trump managed the crisis.

Finally, he violates the maxim of quantity because he is being overly informative.

Scene 20:

> Kristen Welker (33:40) Okay. President Trump, this is for you. Since you took office, you've never divested from your business. You've personally promoted your properties abroad. A report this week, which was referenced, does indicate that your company has a bank account in China. So how can voters know that you don't have any foreign conflicts of interest?

> **Donald Trump (33:56) I have many bank accounts and they're all listed and they're all over the place. I mean, I was a businessman doing business. The bank account you're referring to, which is, everybody knows about it, it's listed, the bank account was in 2013. That's what it was. It was opened. It was closed in 2015, I believe. And then I decided, because I was going to do… I was thinking about doing a deal in China, like millions of other people, I was thinking about it and I decided I'm not going to do it, didn't like it, I decided not to do it, had an account open and I closed it. Excuse me. And then, unlike him where he's Vice President and he does business, I then decided to run for president after that. That was before. So, I closed it before I even ran for president, let alone became president, big difference. He is the Vice President of the United States and his son, his brother, and his other brother are getting rich. They're like a vacuum cleaner. They're sucking up money**

Here, President Trump violates the maxim of relevance as his answer is not directly related to the question but rather involves some information about Vice President Biden and his family for which he does not provide adequate evidence, thus he also violates the maxim of quality.

He violates the maxim of quantity since he is not offering sufficient information and being overly informative at the same time.

Also, he flouts the maxim of manner when he says „*I was a businessman doing business* "which is ambiguous construction and he violates the maxim of manner because his answer involves different ideas, without an order.

Then, he flouts the maxim of quality because he is using metaphor in his answer. "*They're like a vacuum cleaner. They're sucking up money.*

Scene 21:

> Kristen Welker (34:59) I do want to ask you, Vice President Biden, about China. Let's talk about China more broadly. There have, of course, President Trump has said that they should pay for not being fully transparent in regards to the coronavirus. If you were president, would you make China pay? And please be specific, what would that look like?

> **Joe Biden (35:17) What I'd make China do is play by the international rules, not like he has done. He has caused the deficit of the China to go up, not down, with China, up, not down. We are making sure that in order to do business in China, you have to give all your intellectual property. You have to have a partner in China. It's 51%, we would not do that at all, number one.**

In his answer, Vice President Biden violates the maxim of relevance because, contrary to the fact that the moderator asked him to be specific, he brings up things that are related to President Trump, who is not the subject of her question.

Scene 22:

>Kristen Welker (38:52) We're going to talk about North Korea now. President Trump, you've met with North Korean leader Kim Jong-un three times. You've talked about your beautiful letters with him. You've touted the fact that there hasn't been a war or a long-range missile test, and yet North Korea recently rolled out its biggest ever intercontinental ballistic missile and continues to develop its nuclear arsenal. Do you see that as a betrayal of the relationship you forged?

>**Donald Trump (39:17) So, when I met with Barack Obama, we sat in the White House, right at the beginning, had a great conversation. Was supposed to be 15 minutes and it was well over an hour. He said, "The biggest problem we have is North Korea." He indicated we will be in a war with North Korea. Guess what? It would be a nuclear war. And he does have plenty of nuclear capability. In the meantime, I have a very good relationship with him. Different kind of a guy, but he probably thinks the same thing about me. We have a different kind of a relationship. We have a very good relationship and there's no war. And about two months ago, he broke into a certain area. They said, "Oh, there's going to be trouble." I said, "No, they're not, because he's not going to do that." And I was right. Look, instead of being in a war where millions of people, Seoul is 25 miles away, millions and millions, 32 million people. Millions of people would be dead right now. We don't have a war and I have a good relationship.**

In his response, President Trump violates the maxim of relevance because he digresses from the subject matter and interferes with other irrelevant things.

Other than that, he also violates the maxim of quantity by giving too little and too much information at the same time and by repeating the same idea. "*We don't have a war and I have a good relationship.*"

Then, he violates the maxim of quality because he is making predictions that could be false.

Finally, he violates the maxim of manner because his answer is not brief, and it is obscure at times.

Scene 23:

> Kristen Welker (40:11) Vice President Biden to you. North Korea conducted four nuclear tests under the Obama administration. Why do you think you would be able to reign in this persistent threatening?

> **Joe Biden (40:19) Because I'd make it clear, which we were making clear to China, they had to be part of the deal, because I made it clear as a spokesperson for the illustration when I went to China that I said, "Why are you moving your missile defense up so close? Why are you moving more forces here? Why are you continuing to do military maneuvers with South Korea?" I said, "Because North Korea is a problem, and we're going to continue to do it so we can control them. We're going to make sure we can control them and make sure they cannot hurt us. And so, if you want to do something about it, step up and help. If not, it's going to continue." What has he done? He's legitimized North Korea. He's talked about his good buddy, who's a thug, a thug. And he talks about how we're better off. And they have much more capable missiles, able to reach us territory much more easily than they ever did before.**

Here, Vice President Biden violates the maxim of relevance because his answer revolves around what President Trump did instead of what he was supposed to.

Additionally, he violates the maxim of quantity as he is giving more information than asked to.

He flouts the maxim of quality as he is being offensive, calling President Trump's friend *a thug*.

Finally, he violates the maxim of quality as he predicts things without any basis. "*We're going to make sure we can control them and make sure they cannot hurt us.*"

Scene 24:

> Kristen Welker (58:54) But how will you reunite these kids with their families, Mr. President?
>
> **Donald Trump (58:55) But let me just tell you. Let me just tell you. They built cages. They used to say I built the cages, and then they had a picture in a certain newspaper, and it was the picture of these horrible cages and they said, "Look at these cages. President Trump built them." And then it was determined they were built in 2014. That was him. They built cages.**
>
> Kristen Walker (59:14) Do you have a plan to reunite the kids with their families?
>
> **Donald Trump (59:16) Yes. We're working on it very…We're trying very hard. But a lot of these kids come out without the parents. They come over through cartels and through coyotes and through gangs.**

Contrary to what the moderator has asked him, President Trump switched the topic to Vice President Biden who was not the subject of her question, in an attempt to avoid answering the question. Doing this, he violates the maxim of relevance, as he indicated using the hedge *"but let me just tell you"*

He also provides more information than he was asked to and repeats the same statements, thus violating the maxim of quantity.

Since he did not give a sufficient answer, the moderator insists on asking the same question, about reuniting families to which President Trump does not give enough information thus violating the maxim of quantity again. He also includes some irrelevant information, trying to distract the hearers and flouts the maxim of relevance. In this way, he creates the impression that he does not work on reuniting kids with their families.

Finally, he violates the maxim of quality as his statements are false. *"They come over through cartels and through coyotes and through gangs."*

Scene 25:

> Kristen Welker (1:00:43) Let me ask about your immigration policy, Mr. Vice President. The Obama Administration did fail to deliver immigration reform, which had been a key promise during the administration. It also presided over record deportations, as well as family detentions at the border before changing course. So why should voters trust you with an immigration overhaul now?

> **Joe Biden (1:01:00) Because we made a mistake made. It took too long to get it right. Took too long to get it right. I'll be President of the United States, not Vice President of the United States. And the fact is I've made it very clear. Within 100 days, I'm going to send to the United States Congress a pathway to citizenship for over 11 million undocumented people. And all of those so-called dreamers, those DACA kids, they're going to be immediately certified again to be able to stay in this country and put on a path to citizenship. The idea that they are being sent home by this guy and they want to do that is they've gone to they've never seen before. I can imagine. You're five years old. Your parents are taking across the Rio Grande River and it's illegal. And you say, "Oh, no, Mom. Leave me here. I'm not going to go with you." They been here. Many of them are model citizens. Over 20,000 of them are first responders out there taking care of people during this crisis. We owe them. We owe them.**

In his response, Vice President Biden violates the maxim of relevance as he draws attention to President Trump, trying to distract the hearers. He is also taking advantage of emotional appeal to receive some reactions from voters.

His answer involves so many ideas that are not in a proper sequence, that way he violates the maxim of manner.

He also violates the maxim of quantity by offering more information than needed and by repeating the same sentences. *"We owe them", "Took too long to get it right."*

Scene 26:

> Kristen Welker (24:50) President Trump, same question to you. Let me ask the question. You're going to have two minutes to respond. For two elections in a row now, there has been substantial interference from foreign adversaries. What would you do in your next term to put an end to this? Two minutes, uninterrupted.
>
> **Donald Trump (25:01) Well, let me respond to the first part, as Joe answered. Joe got $3.5 million from Russia, and it came through Putin, because he was very friendly with the former mayor of Moscow, and it was the mayor of Moscow's wife. And you got $3.5 million. Your family got $3.5 million. And someday you're going to have to explain, why did you get three and a half? I never got any money from Russia. I don't get money from Russia.**

Here, President Trump violates the maxim of relevance by not answering the question he was asked. *"Joe got $3.5 million from Russia, and it came through Putin, because he was very friendly with the former mayor of Moscow, and it was the mayor of Moscow's wife."* Here, he uses the hedge to indicate that he purposefully changes the topic "*Well, let me respond to the first part, as Joe answered*"

He violates the maxim of quality by making accusations without any basis. *"And you got $3.5 million. Your family got $3.5 million."*

Also, he flouts the maxim of manner as his statement is ambiguous as if he is trying to imply something. "*Because he was very friendly with the former mayor of Moscow, and it was the mayor of Moscow's wife.*"

Finally, he violates the maxim of quantity as he repeats similar statements. "*And you got $3.5 million. Your family got $3.5 million.*"

Scene 27:

> Kristen Welker (45:20) Okay. Vice President Biden, yes, this is for you. Your healthcare plan calls for building on Obamacare. So, my question is, what is your plan if the law is ruled unconstitutional by the Supreme Court? You have two minutes uninterrupted.

Joe Biden (46:36) Lastly, we're going to make sure we're in a situation that we actually protect pre-existing. There's no way he can protect pre-existing conditions. None, zero. You can't do it in the ether. He's been talking about this for a long time. He's never come up with a plan. I guess we're going to get the pre-existing condition plan the same time we got the infrastructure plan that we waited for since '17, '18, '19, and 20. I still have a few more minutes. I know you're getting anxious. The fact is that he's already cost the American people, because of his terrible handling of the COVID virus and economic spillover. 10 million people have lost their private insurance, and he wants to take away 22 million more people who have it under Obamacare and over 110 million people with pre-existing conditions. And all the people from COVID are going to have pre-existing conditions, what are they going to do?

In his answer, Vice President Biden violates the maxim of relevance because he is talking about what President Trump has or has not done instead of talking about his plans.

Additionally, he violates the maxim of quantity because he is offering too much irrelevant information.

He uses the hedge „I guess" to indicate awareness of the maxim of quality and thus violates the maxim of quality by claiming possibly false statements.

Finally, he violates the maxim of manner as his answers involve much different information.

Scene 28:

Kristen Welker (58:12) We're going to talk about immigration now, gentlemen. And we're going to talk about families within this context. Mr. President, your administration separated children from their parents at the border, at least 4,000 kids. You've since reversed your zero-tolerance policy, but the United States can't locate the parents of more than 500 children. So how will these families ever be reunited?

Donald Trump (58:34) Children are brought here by coyotes and lots of bad people, cartels…and lots of bad people, cartels, and they're brought here, and they used to

use them to get into our country. We now have as strong a border as we've ever had. We're over 400 miles of brand-new wall. You see the numbers. And we let people in, but they have to come in legally and they come in through.

In his response, President Trump flouts the maxim of relevance by not giving the relevant answer to the question he is being asked, that way suggesting that he is not dealing with the matter.

He also violates the maxim of manner as his answer is completely obscure.

He violates the maxim of quantity because he is offering too much information, though not sufficient.

Finally, he violates the maxim of quality by telling things that are not true. "*Children are brought here by coyotes and lots of bad people, cartels*"

"*Federal court filings show that their adoptive or biological parents brought the children in question to the United States. Children who are brought over without their parents, by smugglers, are often classified as "unaccompanied minors" and are not included in the group the moderator asked about.*" (Carcamo, 2020)

Scene 29:

Kristen Welker (1:06:41) President Trump, same question to you, and let me remind you of the question. I would like you to speak directly to these families, do you understand why these parents fear for their children?

Donald Trump (1:06:51) Yes, I do. And again, he's been in government 47 years, he never did a thing, except in 1994, when he did such harm to the black community, and they were called … and he called them super predators. And he said that, he said it, super predators. And they never lived that down. 1994, your crime bill, the super predators. Nobody has done more for the black community than Donald Trump. And if you look, with the exception of Abraham Lincoln, possible exception, but the exception of Abraham Lincoln, nobody has done what I've done. Criminal justice reform, Obama and Joe didn't do it. I don't even think they tried because they had no chance at doing it. They might've wanted to do it. But if you had to see

the arms I had to twist to get that done, it was not a pretty picture. And everybody knows it, including some very liberal people that cried in my office. They cried in the Oval Office.

In his response, President Trump violates the maxim of relevance as he does not adhere to the topic. „*And again, he's been in government 47 years, he never did a thing, except in 1994, when he did such harm to the black community, and they were called … and he called them super predators*"

He uses hedges "*and again*" and "*I don't think*" to indicate awareness of the maxim of relevance and quality.

Other than that, he also violates the maxim of quantity because he gives too much unnecessary information and repeats the same phrases several times.

Statements within his answer do not follow a sequence so he violates the maxim of manner for not being orderly.

Finally, he violates the maxim of quality because he is claiming things that could possibly be false. *"Nobody has done more for the black community than Donald Trump."* He flouts the maxim of quality as he uses figurative language to describe the situation. *"But if you had to see the arms, I had to twist to get that done, it was not a pretty picture."*

Scene 30:

Kristen Welker (1:18:18) Gentlemen, we're running out of time, so we got to get onto climate change, please. You both have very different visions on climate change. President Trump, you say that environmental regulations have hurt jobs in the energy sector, Vice President Biden, you have said you see addressing climate change as an opportunity to create new jobs. For each of you, how would you both combat climate change and support job growth at the same time? Starting with you, President Trump, you have two minutes uninterrupted.

Donald Trump (1:18:43) So, we have the trillion trees program, we have so many different programs, I do love the environment, but what I want is that cleanest

crystal-clear water, the cleanest air. We have the best lowest number in carbon emissions, which is a big standard that I noticed Obama goes with all the time, not Joe, I haven't heard Joe use the term because I'm not sure he knows what it represents or means, but I have heard Obama use it. And we have the best carbon emission numbers that we've had in 35 years under this administration, we are working so well with industry, but here's what we can't do. Look at China, how filthy it is, look at Russia, look at India, it's filthy, the air is filthy. I took us out because we were going to have to spend trillions of dollars and we were treated very unfairly.

President Trump's answer is not related to the question he has been asked so he violates the maxim of relevance as he draws the topic to Vice President Biden and Obama instead of himself. "*I haven't heard Joe use the term because I'm not sure he knows what it represents or means, but I have heard Obama use it.*"

Also, he violates the maxim of quantity because he does not give enough information on the subject matter and repeats the same statements.

By involving different information without any connection between them, he violates the maxim of manner.

Finally, stating facts he apparently lacks proof for, he violates the maxim of quality. "*We have the best lowest number in carbon emissions*"

Scene 31:

Kristen Welker (1:20:20) Vice President Biden, two minutes to you uninterrupted.

Joe Biden (1:20:23) Climate change, global warming is an existential threat to humanity. We have a moral obligation to deal with it. And we're told by all the leading scientists in the world we don't have much time, we're going to pass the point of no return within the next 8 to 10 years. Four more years of this man eliminating all the regulations that were put in by us to clean up the climate, to clean up… To limit the emissions, will put us in a position where we're going to be in real

trouble. Here's where we have a great opportunity. I was able to get both all the environmental organizations as well as the labor, the people worried about jobs, to support my climate plan.

In his answer, Vice President Biden digresses from the topic as he does not talk about his plans but instead about what President Trump did, in this way he is violating the maxim of relevance.

Other than that, he also violates the maxim of quantity because he is being too informative.

He also violates the maxim of manner because he is constantly switching between what President Trump did and some predictions; his ideas are not brief and don't follow an order.

Finally, he violates the maxim of quality as he talks about potential consequences without any basis.

Scene 32:

Joe Biden (1:21:26) We're going to be in a position where we're going to see to it that we're going to take 4 million existing buildings and 2 million existing homes and retrofit them, so they don't leak as much energy saving hundreds of millions of barrels of oil in the process and creating significant number of jobs. By the way, the whole idea of what this is all going to do, it's going to create millions of jobs and it's going to clean the environment. Our health and our jobs are at stake. That's what's happening and what right now, by the way, Wall Street firms indicated that my plan, my plan will in fact, create 18.6 million jobs, 7 million more than his. This is from Wall Street, and I'll create $1 trillion more in economic growth than his proposal does. Not on climate, just on economy.

Here, Vice President Biden violates the maxim of relevance as he interferes with some irrelevant facts using hedges to indicate the change of topic: "*By the way, Wall Street firms indicated that my plan, my plan will, in fact, create 18.6 million jobs, 7 million more than his. This is from Wall Street, and I'll create $1 trillion more in economic growth than his proposal does. Not on climate, just on economy.*"

He is being too informative and repeats similar phrases many times, so he violates the maxim of quantity.

Finally, he violates the maxim of quality because he is making predictions without any basis.

Scene 33:

> Kristen Welker (1:26:35) Let me ask this final question in this section and then I want to move on to our final section. President Trump, people of color are much more likely to live near oil refineries and chemical plants. In Texas, there are families who worry the plants near them are making them sick. Your administration has rolled back regulations on these kinds of facilities. Why should these families give you another four years in office?

> **Donald Trump (1:26:57) The families that we're talking about are employed heavily and they are making a lot of money, more money than they've ever made. If you look at the kind of numbers that we've produced for Hispanic, for Black, for Asian, it's nine times greater the percentage gain than it was under in three years than it was under eight years of the two of them to put it nicely, nine times more. Now somebody lives, I have not heard the numbers or the statistics that you're saying, but they're making a tremendous amount of money. Economically, we saved it and I saved it again a number of months ago, when oil was crashing because of the pandemic. We saved it. Say what you want to bet relationship. We got Saudi Arabia, Mexico and Russia to cut back, way back. We saved our oil industry and now it's very vibrant again and everybody has very inexpensive gasoline. Remember that.**

Contrary to what the moderator has asked him, President Trump states some irrelevant things, trying to avoid the proper answer. By doing this he flouts the maxim of relevance as he is purposefully trying to change the topic. In the last sentence he says "*We saved our oil industry and now it's very vibrant again and everybody has very inexpensive gasoline. Remember that*" ultimately suggesting that the health of his citizens is not prioritized.

Additionally, he violates the maxim of quantity as he repeats the same statements and gives too much information however, not sufficient.

Scene 34:

> Donald Trump (1:00:01) They built the cages. Who built the cages, Joe?
>
> **Joe Biden (1:00:05) Let's talk about what we are talking about. Let's talk about what we're talking about. What happened? Parents were ripped… Their kids were ripped from their arms and separated, and now they cannot find over 500 of the sets of those parents, and those kids are alone. Nowhere to go. Nowhere to go. It's criminal. It's criminal.**

Here, Vice President Biden violates the maxim of relevance as he changes the topic to distract the hearers by using emotional appeal[1]. *"Their kids were ripped from their arms and separated, and now they cannot find over 500 of the sets of those parents, and those kids are alone. Nowhere to go"*

By refusing to answer President Trump's question, he flouts the maxim of quantity as he offers too little information, implying that he might be the one who did it, so he avoids giving the answer.

He violates the maxim of quantity because he is being too informative and repeats same statements several times. "*Let's talk about what we are talking about", "Nowhere to go". "It's criminal"*

Finally, he violates the maxim of quality as the statement he said is half true.

"*Their kids were ripped from their arms and separated, and now they cannot find over 500 of the sets of those parents, and those kids are alone. Nowhere to go"*

"The children are no longer in U.S. detention centers; they are with extended family members in the U.S. or with foster families." (Carcamo, 2020)

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[1] Emotional appeal is a logical fallacy, whereby a debater attempts to win an argument by trying to get an emotional reaction from the opponent and audience.

Scene 35:

> Donald Trump (1:10:45) You know Joe, I ran because of you. I ran because of Barack Obama, because you did a poor job. If I thought you did a good job, I would've never run. I would've never run. I ran because of you. I'm looking at you now, you're a politician, I ran because of you.

> Kristen Welker (1:11:00) All right, Vice President Biden, your response to that. And then I do have some questions for both of you.

> **Joe Biden (1:11:03) Well, I'll tell you what I hope he does look at me because what's happening here is, you know who I am. You know who he is, you know his character, you know my character, you know our reputations for honor and telling the truth. I am anxious to have this race. I'm anxious to see this take place. I am … The character of the country is on the ballot. Our character's on the ballot, look at us closely.**

Given the previously discussed topic, Vice President Biden here violates the maxim of relevance as he does not provide any explanation for his omissions regarding the crime bill[2]. Instead, he draws complete attention to their characters, aiming to distract the hearers.

He also violates the maxim of quantity as he offers too much information and repeats similar ideas.

He then flouts the maxim of manner by being ambiguous, i.e., implying that he is better than President Trump.

Finally, he uses a hedge *"You know"* assuming that the moderator and audience share his opinion, that way, he shows awareness of the maxim of quantity.

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[2] The Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act, now known as the 1994 crime law, was the result of years of work by Biden, who oversaw the Senate Judiciary Committee at the time, and other Democrats. It was an attempt to address a big issue in America at the time: Crime, particularly violent crime, had been rising for decades, starting in the 1960s but continuing, on and off, through the 1990s (in part due to the crack cocaine epidemic).

3.4. Maxim of manner

Scene 36:

> Kristen Welker (19:47) Let me follow up with you before we move on to our next section. President Trump, this week, you called Dr. Anthony Fauci, the nation's best known infectious disease expert "a disaster." You described him and other medical experts as "idiots." If you're not listening to them, who are you listening to?

> **Donald Trump (20:01) I'm listening to all of them, including Anthony. I get along very well with Anthony. I get along very well with Anthony, but he did say, "Don't wear masks." He did say, as you know, "This is not going to be a problem." I think he's a Democrat, but that's okay. He said, "This is not going to be a problem. We are not going to have a problem at all." When Joe says that I said, Anthony Fauci said, and others, and many others. And I'm not knocking him, nobody knew. Look, nobody knew what this thing was. Nobody knew where it was coming from, what it was. We've learned a lot. But Anthony said, "Don't wear masks," now he wants to wear masks. Anthony also said, if you look back, exact words, here's his exact words. "This is no problem. This is going to go away soon." So, he's allowed to make mistakes. He happens to be a good person.**

In his response, President Trump violates the maxim of manner because he is being very obscure and ambiguous. His answer involves so many different ideas that do not follow an order. "*When Joe says that I said, Anthony Fauci said, and others, and many others.*"

Other than that, he violates the maxim of relevance by mixing different topics instead of giving a proper answer to the question he is being asked. *"I think he's a Democrat, but that's okay."*

In addition, he also violates the maxim of quantity by repeatedly saying the same idea and by offering more information than needed. *"I get along very well with Anthony."*

He uses a hedge "as you know" assuming the moderator's familiarity with the matter. That way, he shows awareness of the maxim of quantity.

Finally, he violates the maxim of quality as he is being contradictory, claiming that *he listens to Anthony and gets along very well with him*, when he, in fact, has said "*If I listened totally to the scientists, we would right now have a country that would be in a massive depression.*" (Mangan,2020)

Scene 37:

> **Joe Biden (11:25) Number one, he says that we're learning to live with it. People are learning to die with it. You folks home will have an empty chair at the kitchen table this morning. That man or wife going to bed tonight and reaching over to try to touch, there out of habit, where their wife or husband was, is gone. Learning to live with it. Come on. We're dying with it, because he's never said. See, you said, "It's dangerous." When's the last time? Is it really dangerous still? Are we dangerous. You tell the people it's dangerous now. What should they do about the danger? And you say, "I take no responsibility."**

Here, Vice President Biden violates the maxim of manner because his answer appears to be a little obscure and does not follow an order. „*See, you said, "It's dangerous." When's the last time? Is it really dangerous still? Are we dangerous.*"

He also violates the maxim of quantity because he repeats the word „*dangerous*" several times, and gives too much information.

Saying „*We're dying with it*" he flouts the maxim of quality as he is making sarcastic remarks on President Trump's statement "*We are learning to live with it*" referring to COVID-19.

Finally, he violates the maxim of relevance as he digresses from the topic, aiming to distract hearers again, using emotional appeal.

Scene 38:

> **Donald Trump (48:36) Excuse me. He was there for 47 years. He didn't do it. He was now there as Vice President for eight years. And it's not like it was 25 years ago. It was three and three quarters… It was just a little while ago, right? Less than four years ago. He didn't do anything. He didn't do it. He wants socialized medicine. And it's not that he wants it. His Vice President, she is more liberal than Bernie Sanders and wants it even more. Bernie Sanders wants it. The Democrats want it. You're going to have socialized medicine, just like you want it with fracking. "We're not going to have fracking. We're going to stop fracking. We're going to stop fracking." Then he goes to Pennsylvania after he gets a nomination, where he got very lucky to get it. And he goes to Pennsylvania, and he says, "Oh, we're going to have fracking." And you never ask that question. And by the way, so far, I respect very much the way you're handling this, I have to say.**

Here, President Trump violates the maxim of manner as his answer is obscure and ambiguous at times. *"He didn't do anything. He didn't do it. He wants socialized medicine. And it's not that he wants it. His Vice President, she is more liberal than Bernie Sanders and wants it even more. Bernie Sanders wants it. The Democrats want it."*

Then, he is violating the maxim of quantity since he repeats the same things several times *"We're going to stop fracking."*, *"He didn't do it."* and his answer is too broad, yet it does not provide sufficient information which means that he is violating the maxim of relevance at the same time.

Finally, he violates the maxim of relevance as the hedge suggests *"And by the way, so far, I respect very much the way you're handling this, I have to say."*

Scene 39:

> Kristen Welker (1:12:37) Mr. President you've described the Black Lives Matter movement as a symbol of hate. You've shared a video of a man chanting white power to millions of your supporters. You've said that black professional athletes exercising their

First Amendment rights should be fired. What do you say to Americans who say that kind of language from a president is contributing to a climate of hate and racial strife?

Donald Trump (1:12:58) Well, you have to understand the first time I ever heard of Black Lives Matter, they were chanting, "Pigs in a blanket," talking about police, pigs, pigs, talking about our police. "Pigs in a blanket, fry them like bacon." I said, "That's a horrible thing." And they were marching down the street. And that was my first glimpse of Black Lives Matter, I thought it was a terrible thing. As far as my relationships with all people, I think I have great relationships with all people. I am the least racist person in this room.

In his response, President Trump violates the maxim of manner as the ideas interfered in his answer do not follow any order.

He also violates the maxim of quality as he is saying things he obviously lacks proof for. „*As far as my relationships with all people, I think I have great relationships with all people. I am the least racist person in this room.*"

Further on, he violates the maxim of quantity as he does not offer sufficient information and repeats the same sentences.

Finally, he violates the maxim of relevance because his answer is not related to the question.

Scene 40:

Kristen Welker (1:13:31) What do you say to Americans who are concerned by that rhetoric

Donald Trump (1:13:33) I don't know. I mean, I don't know what to say. I got criminal justice reform done and prison reform and Opportunity Zones, I took care of Black colleges and universities, I don't know what to say, they can say anything, I mean, they can say anything. It's a very… Makes me sad, because I am the least racist person, I can't even see the audience because it's so dark, but I don't care who's in the audience, I'm the least racist person in this room.

Following up on the previous question, the moderator asks for the clarification to which President Trump, instead of answering directly, offers some irrelevant explanations which sound obscure and do not exactly follow an order. In this way, he violates both maxims of relevance and manner.

Saying "I don't know", he violates the maxim of quantity because he does not offer sufficient information and implies unwillingness to cooperate i.e., opts out.

He also violates the maxim of quality as he utters "*I'm the least racist person in this room.*" which is obviously a false statement as his history suggests.

"On the campaign trail, Trump repeatedly made explicitly racist and otherwise bigoted remarks, from calling Mexican immigrants criminals and rapists, to proposing a ban on all Muslims entering the US, to suggesting a judge should recuse himself from a case solely because of the judge's Mexican heritage." (Lopez, 2020)

Finally, he violates the maxim of quantity because his answer involves too much information and repetitions: "*I am the least racist person", "I don't know what to say*"

3. **Results and discussion**

This section provides results obtained by the research conducted on the final presidential debate from the perspective of Grice's cooperative principle. Findings will be presented in tables followed by an explanation for each.

The first part will be centered around the analysis of President Donald Trump's responses while the second part will include Vice President Joe Biden's responses.

Table 1. reveals how frequently did President Trump either violate or flout the maxims, show the awareness of maxims and opt out, within 20 chosen scenes.

Component	Frequency	Percentage
Cooperative principle (Total)	90	100%
Quantity flouting	0	0%
Quantity violation	19	21,11%
Quality flouting	9	10%
Quality violation	17	18,88%
Relevance flouting	4	4,44%
Relevance violation	16	17,77%
Manner flouting	4	4,44%
Manner violation	12	13,33%
Hedges	8	8,88%
Opting out	1	1,11%

Table 1. the cooperative principle in Donald Trump's responses

This table shows total of 90 instances of that. Most frequently he violated the maxim of quantity, total of 19 times. This means that almost every statement he made was either too informative or not sufficiently informative. The second most frequently violated maxim was the maxim of quality, 17 times in total. This suggests that he was either lying or exaggerating in most of his responses. Similarly, maxims of relevance and manner were violated frequently, 16 and 12 times, respectively. This being so, his statements were not related to the main topic and were usually obscure. When it comes to maxim flouting, most frequently he flouted the maxim of quality, 9 times in total. This means that his responses were sarcastic, offensive and that he purposefully said things he knew were false.

However, there are 8 instances that show President Trump's awareness of the cooperative principle i.e., hedges. Finally, only one instance of opting out was found. According to this table, maxims were more frequently violated than flouted.

Table 2. shows the frequency of maxim violation/flouting, hedging, and opting out detected in Vice President Biden's responses.

Component	Frequency	Percentage
Cooperative principle (Total)	67	100%
Quantity flouting	1	1,49%
Quantity violation	15	22,38%
Quality flouting	6	8,95%
Quality violation	11	16,4%
Relevance flouting	1	1,49%
Relevance violation	17	25,3%
Manner flouting	2	2,98%
Manner violation	7	10,44%
Hedges	6	8,95%
Opting out	1	1,49%

Table 2. the cooperative principle in Joe Biden's responses

The table reveals total of 67 instances of non-observance of the cooperative principle. Most frequently, Vice President Biden violated the maxim of relevance, 17 times in total, ultimately suggesting that most of his responses were not to the point. Following is the maxim of quantity being violated 15 times in total, within the Vice President's 20 statements. This means that he either provided long-winded explanations or that he was not informative enough. There are 11 instances of him violating the maxim of quality, meaning that he shared false information and without any basis. As for the maxim flouting, most frequently he flouted the maxim of quality, 6 times in total which means that his answers were sarcastic and offensive at times.

Finally, he showed awareness of the cooperative principle 6 times, by using hedges to indicate maxim violation. There is only one instance of opting out.

In total, this table shows that Vice President more frequently violated maxims than he flouted them.

In the final part of this section, the frequency of non-observance of the cooperative principle will be compared between both candidates. The chart below shows differences and similarities in their responses.
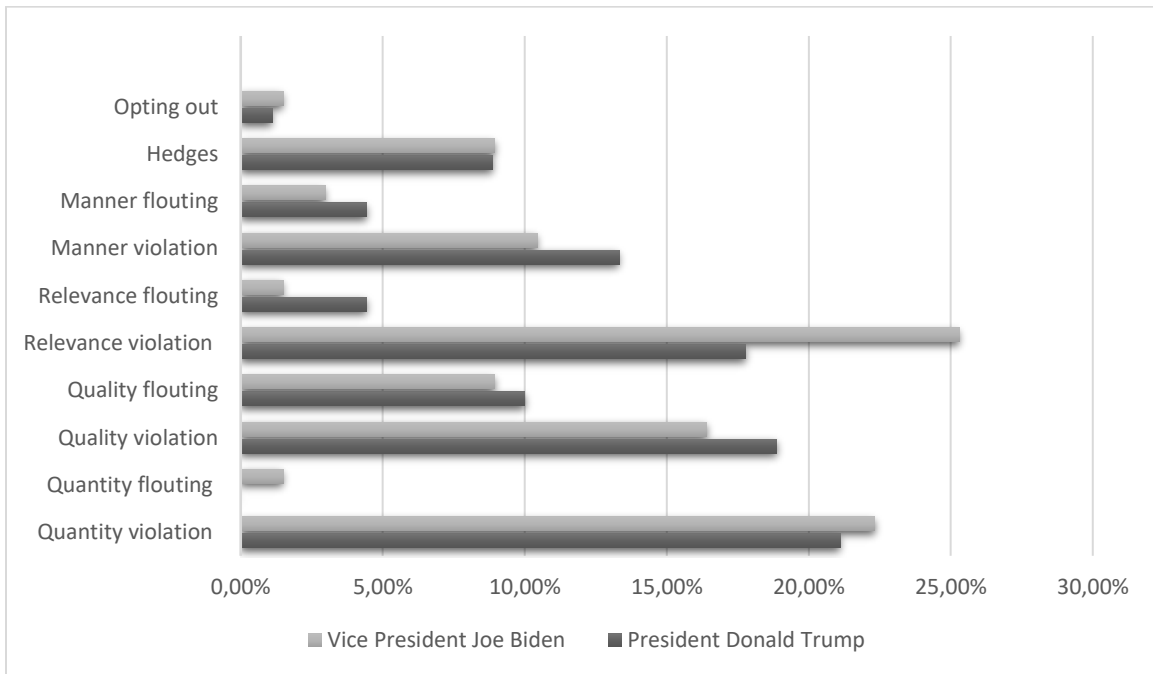
Chart 1. Non-observance of the cooperative principle in responses of President Donald Trump and Vice President Joe Biden, compared

As illustrated by this chart, both candidates more frequently violated maxims than they flouted them. Vice President Biden violated the maxim of relevance the most, 25,30% while President Trump generally violated the maxim of quantity, 22,33%. In contrast, Vice President did not show any instances of quantity flouting while President Trump showed only one instance of quantity flouting. The maxim of manner was flouted and violated at the almost same frequency by each. Both refused to cooperate once i.e., they opted out. As for the hedges, they indicated awareness of the cooperative principle at the almost equal frequency; Vice President Biden 8,95% and President Trump 8,89%.

Overall, according to this chart, we can notice more similarities between their responses than differences. They violated and flouted maxims at approximate regularity, meaning that they used similar strategies and had comparable debating skills. The only significant difference between their statements is the fact that Vice President Biden quite often digressed from the topic while President Trump was overly informative.

4. **Conclusion**

Having analyzed the final presidential debate held between former President Donald Trump and former Vice President Joe Biden, from the perspective of Grice's cooperative principle, we got an insight into their strategies, conversation skills, and finally their ability to present themselves in the best possible light so they gain sympathy from their voters and thus achieve their primary goal.

Our goal was to investigate the frequency of the cooperative principle non-observance by each of the candidates and to induce possible conclusions from that. Results obtained in this study suggest as follows:

Former President Donald Trump violated the maxim of quantity 19 times out of total of 20 responses, which means that almost all of his responses either consist of too many ideas or they lack necessary information. When people provide too much or too little information on the matter, they usually try to avoid giving a proper answer, so they involve too many details aiming to distract the hearers. In his responses, President Trump used this strategy whenever he did not like the question he got. Other than that, he also frequently violated the maxim of quality, 17 times in 20 responses, indicating that most of the information he shared was not true or he did not have proper evidence. Similarly, he violated the maxim of relevance 16 times in 20 responses showing that he often digressed from the main topic, trying to mislead the conversation. Finally, as most of his responses were obscure and without any logical connection between the ideas interfered within a statement, we can understand that he frequently violated the maxim of manner. Not many instances of flouting maxims were found which means that his answers did not convey additional meanings often, he was quite straightforward. He also showed a few instances of purposefully violating maxims; he used hedges 8 times in total.

On the other side, former Vice President Joe Biden violated the maxim of relevance 17 times in 20 responses. He used this strategy whenever he did not want to answer or to draw attention to President Trump, possibly to hide his own omissions. Similar to President Trump, he also frequently violated the maxim of quantity 15 times in 20 responses, as he offered too long explanations when he was asked to be specific. Finally, he violated maxims of quality and manner not as often, however, he still did say possibly false statements and he did offer obscure, not orderly

answers. As for the flouting maxims, the most frequent instances were found in his sarcastic remarks and comments.

Based on the results obtained within the research, we can say that hypotheses posed at the beginning were fully or partially confirmed and rejected.

The first hypothesis; the maxim of relevance will be violated the most by each candidate is partially confirmed as Vice President Biden violated it 17 times, more frequently than others and President Trump violated it 16 times, however, he violated maxims of quantity and quality more.

The second hypothesis; Vice President Biden will flout maxims more frequently than violate them is rejected as he showed only 10 instances of maxim flouting while he showed 50 instances of maxim violation.

The third hypothesis; President Trump will flout the maxim of manner more than others is rejected as he showed only 4 instances of flouting the maxim of manner.

Finally, the fourth hypothesis; both candidates will indicate an awareness of the cooperative principle is fully confirmed as both used hedges, signalizing their intention to violate maxims.

We can conclude that both candidates used similar strategies and created similar images of themselves in this final presidential debate. Each of them violated maxims of relevance and quantity the most, expressing their inability to blatantly discuss matters, without involving irrelevant facts and trying to change the course of the conversation.

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