p-ISSN 2252-7427 e-ISSN 2541-3635
Indonesian EFL Journal
AISEE The Association of Indonesia Scholars of English Education

# A PRAGMATIC ANALYSIS OF IMPLICATURE IN SOCIAL MEDIA COMMENTS ON NEWS POSTS ABOUT DONALD TRUMP

**Asih Prihandini**[1], **Averrous Aufa Hasya Purwandi**[2], **Ayu Pratiwi Ulfah**[3]
[1,2,3]*Universitas Komputer Indonesia, Bandung, Indonesia*

**Corresponding author's email:** asih.prihandini@email.unikom.ac.id

APA Citation: Prihandini, A., Purwandi, A. A. H., & Ulfah, A. P. (2026). A pragmatic analysis of implicature in social media comments on news posts about Donald Trump. *Indonesian EFL Journal, 12*(3), 1091-1100. https://doi.org/10.25134/ieflj.v12i3.181

Received: 23-03-2026 Accepted: 29-06-2026 Published: 30-09-2026

**Abstract:** When Donald Trump's name was added to the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, many Instagram users did not simply say they disapproved. They compared America to North Korea, offered the world's "condolences," and nicknamed the president "Trumpet." This study examines how such indirect expressions work as tools of political criticism. Using a descriptive qualitative design and purposive sampling, it analyzes ten highly engaged comments on an Al Jazeera English Instagram video about the renaming, drawing on Grice's Cooperative Principle and Sperber and Wilson's Relevance Theory. The comments flouted all four conversational maxims, thirteen times in total. Users flouted Quality through metaphors and geopolitical analogies, Quantity through dismissive understatement, Relevance through hypothetical futures and historical comparisons, and Manner through sarcasm and irony. These flouts are not random emotional outbursts. They are calculated strategies of implicational impoliteness, which allow users to deliver severe moral judgments while avoiding direct confrontation. They depend on shared sociopolitical knowledge and collective cultural memory, especially the contrast between Kennedy's legacy and Trump's perceived self-promotion. The study shows that, on social media, indirect communication functions not only as a linguistic phenomenon but as a sociopolitical mechanism of symbolic resistance, ideological contestation, and democratic dissent.
**Keywords:** *implicature; pragmatics; maxim flouting; political discourse; social media comments; Instagram*

## INTRODUCTION

"What in the North Korea is going on in America?" This short Instagram comment says nothing literally true about North Korea, and nothing explicit about Donald Trump. Yet few readers would miss its meaning: renaming a national cultural institution after a sitting president looks like the behavior of a dictatorship. Comments like this one show how much political criticism on social media is carried not by what users say, but by what they imply.

Social media platforms such as Instagram, YouTube, and TikTok have transformed public participation in political discourse. They allow users to respond quickly and openly to current events, turning them from passive consumers of information into active participants who debate, build identities, and take ideological positions in online communities (Van Rythoven, 2025; Zappavigna, 2012; Zappavigna & Logi, 2025). Global news organizations such as Al Jazeera English now publish short video reports on Instagram that prompt immediate audience reactions. The resulting comment sections are rich sources for pragmatic analysis, because users often convey their judgments indirectly rather than explicitly.

To interpret these implied meanings, this study combines Grice's (1975) Cooperative Principle and theory of conversational implicature with Sperber and Wilson's (1995) Relevance Theory. Grice proposed that conversation is guided by four maxims: Quality (be truthful), Quantity (be as informative as required), Relevance (be relevant), and Manner (be clear). When speakers deliberately flout a maxim, listeners infer an additional, implied meaning. Relevance Theory adds that listeners reach this meaning by seeking the interpretation that best fits the context with the least processing effort. Both frameworks matter in computer-mediated communication, where paralinguistic cues such as intonation and facial expression are

absent. Users must rely instead on contextual assumptions, shared background knowledge, and sociopolitical awareness (Dey, 2023; Herring, 2004; Yus, 2011). By flouting the maxims, speakers can communicate sensitive evaluations indirectly and reduce the risk of direct confrontation (Azhari et al., 2025; Levinson, 1983; Peneva, 2025). Brown (2025), for example, showed how violations of the relevance maxim are used in Facebook political comments to manipulate meaning while preserving social acceptability, and implicature has been shown more broadly to serve as a vehicle of resistance (Ariyati, 2025).

Research on political commentary has increasingly documented this indirect criticism. Abdullah and Rashid (2022) showed how Twitter users employ implicational impoliteness strategies against Donald Trump, and Igaab (2023) found sarcasm and irony to be prevalent in political texts. Andersson (2024) and Zappavigna and Logi (2025) emphasize that creative impoliteness, irony, and emoji use allow users to express skepticism and signal ideological alignment without overt hostility. Metaphor, hyperbole, and rhetorical questions likewise serve as strategic tools for challenging public figures (Eragamreddy, 2025; Hartono, 2023; Hasanah et al., 2024). Online discourse is therefore a site of ideological contestation, in which legitimacy, power, and identity are continuously negotiated (Fairclough, 2013; KhosraviNik & Esposito, 2018; Sigalingging et al., 2024; van Dijk, 2006).

Despite this growing literature, less is known about how a single, highly symbolic political act triggers coordinated maxim flouting on a visual-centric platform. Previous studies have rarely examined the intersection of Gricean pragmatics and political resistance in response to actions that touch collective cultural memory, such as renaming a national cultural institution. This study addresses that gap by focusing on one bounded controversy: the renaming of the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts as the "Trump-Kennedy Center." Isolating this event offers a micro-level view of how users draw on cultural memory, especially the legacy of John F. Kennedy, to judge a leader's governance style.

The study addresses two research questions: (1) Which Gricean maxims do Instagram users flout in response to the news of Donald Trump renaming the Kennedy Center? (2) How do these patterns of maxim flouting function as strategies of indirect political criticism and symbolic resistance?

Theoretically, the study shows how Grice's Cooperative Principle and implicature operate in computer-mediated communication, where traditional contextual cues are limited. Practically, it offers insights for discourse analysts, political scientists, and communication scholars into how indirect language interacts with power in digital spaces.

## METHOD

This study used a descriptive qualitative approach to explore the underlying meanings of textual data in digital political discourse. Rather than measuring numerically, it relied on interpretive analysis to reveal the contextual meanings and speaker intentions embedded in the comments (Levinson, 1983; Thomas, 1995).

The data came from the comment section of an Al Jazeera English Instagram video titled "Trump-Kennedy Center: Adding the Trump name property to the exterior," posted on December 20, 2025. The video reported the renaming of the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts to include Donald Trump's name, and it attracted nearly 1,000 comments, both critical and supportive. Through purposive sampling, ten comments posted on the day of release were selected. They were chosen for two reasons. First, they showed high engagement, in terms of likes, replies, and visibility. Second, they represented the main indirect strategies used in the wider discussion, including historical analogy, metaphorical rejection, and sarcastic humor.

The research proceeded in three stages, illustrated in Figure 1. First, the authors watched the full video to understand the sociopolitical context of the news. Second, they observed the whole comment section to identify prevailing response patterns. Third, they annotated the ten selected comments manually and analyzed them using Grice's (1975) theory of conversational implicature.

Annotat ion followed two steps. Expressions were first identified as carrying non-literal or indirect meaning. They were then classified according to the maxim they flouted: Quality: metaphor, hyperbole, or statements that are factually untrue, used for emotional effect. Quantity: understatement or deliberately insufficient information that forces readers to infer meaning. Relevance: shifts to apparently unrelated historical comparisons or hypothetical futures. Manner: obscure, ambiguous, or sarcastic language.

p-ISSN 2252-7427, e-ISSN 2541-3635
https://journal.uniku.ac.id/index.php/IEFLJ/index

To strengthen reliability, the study used investigator triangulation. The three authors coded the comments independently, and discrepancies in identifying implicatures or classifying flouts were resolved through discussion until consensus was reached. Because digital communication lacks vocal tone and facial expression, interpretations were anchored in co-textual cues, such as emojis, punctuation, and capitalization, and in shared sociopolitical knowledge about Trump and Kennedy. Principles of Relevance Theory were used to check that each inferred meaning fitted the collective cultural memory and context of the event (Sperber & Wilson, 1995).

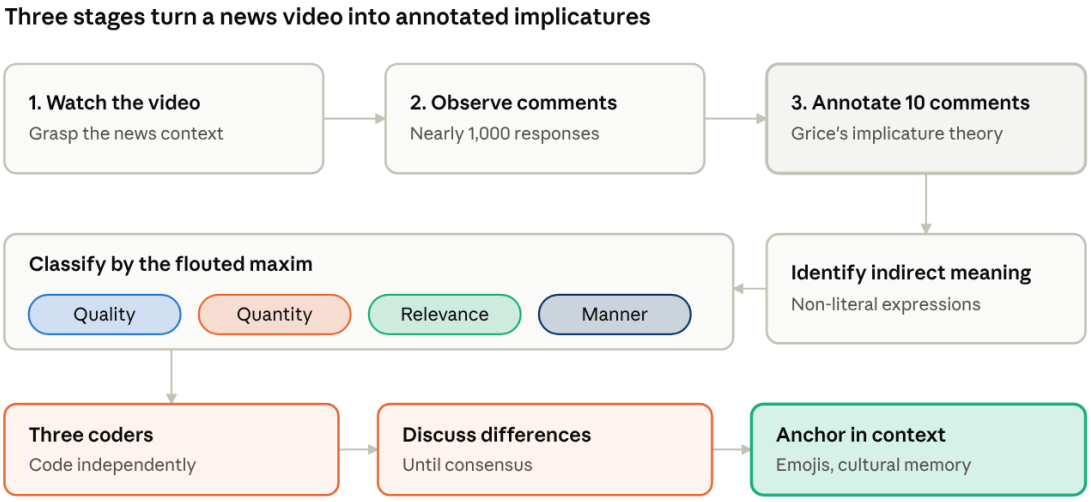



Figure 1. *Research procedure: three stages and triangulated annotation*

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### *Overview of the findings*

All ten comments criticize Trump's decision, and none does so directly. Each flouts at least one Gricean maxim, and three flout two at once, giving thirteen flouts in total. Table 1 summarizes each comment's key expression, the maxim it flouts, the linguistic strategy involved, and its function as political criticism.

Table 1. *Maxim flouting and political criticism strategies in the ten comments*

| No. | Username | Key expression | Maxim flouted | Linguistic strategy | Function as political criticism |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Axelmackdesign | "Trumpet honors only himself" | Relevance, Manner | Historical comparison; sarcastic nickname | Delegitimizes authority by exposing ego-driven motives |
| 2 | Areureadyb | "Please stop this nightmare" | Quality | Metaphor | Frames a political act as collective emotional trauma |
| 3 | Al_green | "What in the North Korea…" | Quality | Geopolitical analogy | Condemns the act as authoritarian |
| 4 | Cendrellaam | "…trying harder than this guy to be someone" | Quantity | Understatement; satire | Diminishes the leader through dismissiveness |
| 5 | Captainesquire | "…if Trump disappeared and was renamed soon" | Relevance | Hypothetical future | Questions the permanence and legitimacy of power |
| 6 | Rocket_fuel_dream_jdh | "…never say these two names at the same time" | Quantity, Manner | Repetition; absolute statement | Enforces moral boundaries; symbolic resistance |
| 7 | Skyetattooart | "The urge to put my name on everything…" | Relevance | Sarcastic psychological prediction | Mocks the fragility of the leader's legacy |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 8 | Hernameissuzie | "…express the authors' condolences" | Quality | Figurative mourning | Turns a domestic decision into a global tragedy |
| 9 | Thereal_ahad_26 | "…like rewriting the history of headlines" | Relevance | Ideological comparison | Protects collective cultural memory |
| 10 | Portralogy | "I'm excited to see how republicans supports this" | Quality, Manner | Irony; sarcastic anticipation | Exposes moral hypocrisy and complicity |

As Figure 2 shows, Quality and Relevance were flouted most often (four times each), followed by Manner (three) and Quantity (two). The four subsections below discuss the comments grouped by the maxim they flout most prominently.

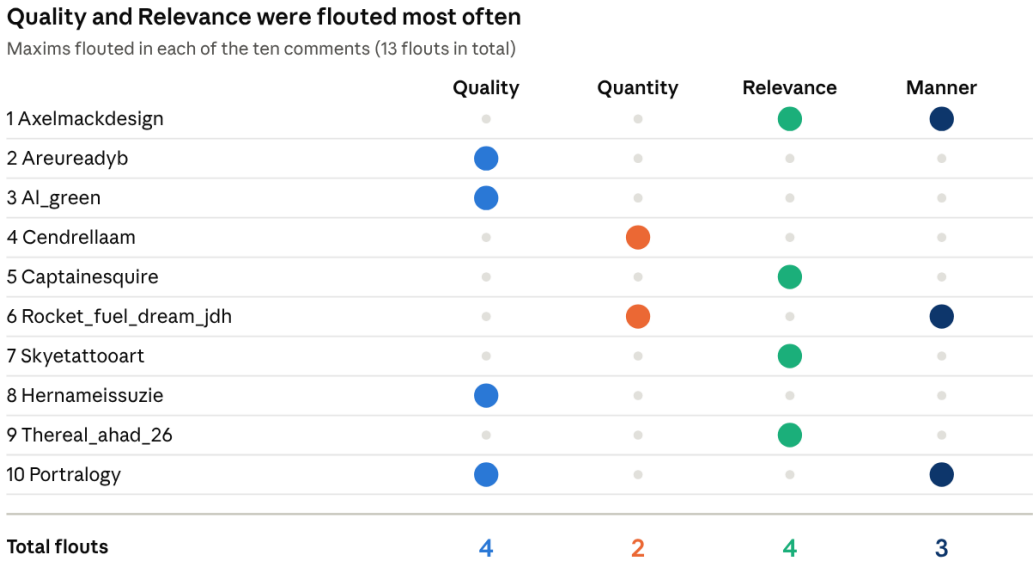



Figure 2. *Maxims flouted in each comment*

Three comments (1, 6, and 10) flout two maxims at once; Manner never appears alone.

Flouting Quality: saying what is not literally true

The Quality maxim asks speakers to say only what they believe to be true. Three comments deliberately say something that is not literally true, and readers recover the criticism by asking why.

> Comment 2 (Areureadyb): Please stop this nightmare. 😭

The renaming is not literally a dream, so calling it a "nightmare" flouts Quality. The metaphor presents the event as frightening and unsettling, as something to be endured rather than debated. In doing so, it turns an administrative decision into a collective emotional trauma. The crying emoji works as a substitute for paralinguistic cues, intensifying the tone and signaling desperation. The user rejects Trump's action while remaining socially acceptable in a public forum, translating abstract disagreement into a shared, felt experience (Al Mayahi & Al Hassnawi, 2023; Eragamreddy, 2025).

> Comment 3 (Al_green): What in the North Korea is going on in America?

The United States is not North Korea, so this analogy also flouts Quality. The idiom-like substitution ("what in the North Korea" for "what in the world") invites readers to supply the comparison themselves: a cult of personality and authoritarian rule. The comment thus implies that naming a national cultural institution after a sitting president is a hallmark of dictatorship. This is severe ideological condemnation, yet it is delivered in eight words and draws entirely on shared cultural knowledge of what North Korea represents (KhosraviNik & Esposito, 2018; Masia, 2024; Mortazavi & Zandi, 2025; Sigalingging et al., 2024).

> Comment 8 (Hernameissuzie): A non-stop display of embarrassing self-pity. The authors,

> the people of the world, express the authors' condolences.

No one has died, so offering "condolences" flouts Quality. The figurative mourning widens the scope of the criticism from the United States to the whole world, positioning global onlookers as mourners at a funeral for American political dignity. The implicature is that Trump's actions are so damaging that they amount to a tragedy, and the ironic condolence expresses both rejection and international embarrassment (Biegon & Hamdaoui, 2024; Harris, 2025).

*Flouting Quantity Maxim: saying too little, on purpose*

The Quantity maxim asks speakers to give as much information as the exchange requires. Two comments deliberately say less than expected and leave the insult for the reader to complete.

> Comment 4 (Cendrellaam): No one else is trying harder than this guy to be someone.

The comment never states what Trump lacks; it only implies that he is not yet "someone." By withholding the explicit insult, it flouts Quantity and forces readers to fill the gap: the renaming is the act of a man desperate for significance. Understatement here is a diminishing tactic. Rather than expressing outrage, which would grant the act importance, the user dismisses it as the effort of someone trying too hard, and so undermines the leader's stature (Eragamreddy, 2025; Wambugu et al., 2025).

> Coment 6 (Rocket_fuel_dream_jdh): You should never say these two names at the same time. always.

This comment offers no reason why the names "Trump" and "Kennedy" should not be spoken together, so it flouts Quantity. Its absolute phrasing ("never," "always") and the abrupt, contradictory closing word also flout Manner. The implied message is that the moral and historical distance between the two figures is unbridgeable, so joining their names is inherently illegitimate. The comment works as symbolic resistance and moral boundary work: it polices which names may stand side by side in American memory (Abdel-Raheem, 2024; Hassan, 2025; Shiff, 2026).

*Flouting Relevance Maxim: changing the subject to make a point*

The Relevance maxim asks speakers to stay on topic. Four comments appear to drift away from the renaming, to history, to the future, or to Trump's psychology, and in each case the apparent detour is the criticism.

> Comment 1 (Axelmackdesign): Uhh... Yeah... JFK didn't name the building after himself... The public did, to honor him... Clearly Trumpet honors only himself.

On the surface, the user offers a history lesson. But the historical fact is not relevant as information; everyone discussing the news already knows who the building honors. It is relevant as a moral contrast: Kennedy was honored by others, whereas Trump honors himself. The hesitant opening ("Uhh... Yeah...") and the mocking nickname "Trumpet," which suggests a self-trumpeting showman, also flout Manner by adding sarcasm and ambiguity. The implicature delegitimizes Trump by setting genuine public reverence against self-aggrandizement (Gharabeh, 2024; Naji, 2024).

> Comment 5 (Captainesquire): It would be interesting if Trump disappeared and was renamed soon.

Instead of commenting on the renaming itself, the user imagines a future in which Trump is gone and his name has been removed. This speculative shift flouts Relevance. Politically, the hypothetical asserts that Trump's influence is temporary and lacks institutional credibility. Its playful irony allows the user to express deep political discord and doubt about the administration's stability without direct confrontation (Andersson, 2024; Çakmak, 2026; Eragamreddy, 2025).

> Comment 7 (Skyetattooart): The urge to put my name on everything makes me feel like I won't exist anymore.

Written in Trump's imagined first-person voice, the comment shifts from the act to its supposed psychological motive and so flouts Relevance. The renaming is recast not as a victory but as a symptom of a fragile ego, driven by a fear of being forgotten. By ventriloquizing the president, the user mocks him without a single direct insult (Adebayo et al., 2025; Andersson, 2024).

> Comment 9 (Thereal_ahad_26): JFK expresses ideals beyond ego. This name change is like rewriting the history of headlines.

Rather than addressing the name change on its own terms, the user moves to a broad ideological comparison between Kennedy's ideals and Trump's perceived publicity seeking, which flouts Relevance. The implied accusation is that the administration is distorting history for self-promotion. This reflects van Dijk's (2006) argument that discourse both reproduces and challenges power relations; here, the comment defends collective cultural memory against appropriation (Dean, 2024; Fairclough, 2013).

*Flouting Manner Maxim: saying it sideways*

The Manner maxim asks speakers to be clear and unambiguous. Manner was flouted three times, always alongside another maxim: in Comment 1 through the nickname "Trumpet," in Comment 6 through contradictory absolutes, and most sharply in Comment 10.

> Comment 10 (Portralogy): Placing one's name on a monument to honor another person. (And much better.) I'm excited to see how republicans supports this.

The first sentence describes the act in deliberately flat terms, and the parenthetical "(And much better)" adds that the person originally honored deserves more respect. The user is not genuinely "excited" to see how Republicans react, so the closing line flouts Quality, and its sarcastic ambiguity flouts Manner. The implicature is a challenge to the President's own party: anyone who supports this act will expose their own hypocrisy. Sarcastic anticipation thus tests the moral limits of political complicity while keeping the criticism understated (Fauzi & Rahman, 2023; Shardaghly, 2024).

Across the three comments, Manner-flouting adds a layer of tone, whether mocking, absolute, or ironic, that sharpens the criticism carried by the other maxim.

*Patterns of implicature and political resistance*

The ten comments show that users flout Grice's maxims deliberately and systematically to criticize political power. Each maxim is flouted through characteristic strategies and yields a characteristic kind of criticism, as Table 2 summarizes.

Table 2. *How each flouted maxim carries political criticism*

| Maxim flouted | Typical strategies | What readers infer | Critical effect |
|---|---|---|---|
| Quality | Metaphor, geopolitical analogy, figurative mourning | The act is a trauma, a dictatorship, a tragedy | Severe moral and ideological condemnation |
| Quantity | Understatement, unexplained absolutes | The leader is insignificant; the names do not belong together | Dismissal that denies the act any importance |
| Relevance | Historical contrast, hypothetical futures, imagined motives | Kennedy earned honor; Trump seeks it and will not last | Delegitimization of authority and its permanence |
| Manner | Sarcastic nicknames, irony, contradiction | The criticism is mocking rather than neutral | A sharper tone layered onto other flouts |

These flouts depend on a shared cognitive environment. A comment such as "What in the North Korea is going on in America?" works only because readers share assumptions about North Korea, about Kennedy's legacy, and about Trump's public persona. Relevance Theory explains why such minimal texts can carry multi-layered messages: readers search for the interpretation that best fits the context, and the shared sociopolitical knowledge makes the critical reading the most relevant one (Sperber & Wilson, 1995, 2026; Zappavigna & Logi, 2025).

The findings align closely with research on implicational impoliteness. Abdullah and Rashid (2022) found that Twitter users attack Trump through implied rather than explicit impoliteness, and the Instagram users here do the same through sarcasm, analogy, and hypothetical scenarios. By masking contempt behind Gricean flouting, users deliver pointed critiques of perceived authoritarianism, hypocrisy, and egoism while maintaining a veneer of social acceptability. The pattern also echoes findings that sarcasm and irony are central to online political critique (Fauzi & Rahman, 2023; Igaab, 2023).

Figure 3 models this process. A comment first flouts a maxim, which signals to readers that a further meaning is intended. Readers then draw on

p-ISSN 2252-7427, e-ISSN 2541-3635
https://journal.uniku.ac.id/index.php/IEFLJ/index

shared sociopolitical knowledge and cultural memory to infer that meaning. The resulting implicature functions as implicational impoliteness, and through it as symbolic resistance. Indirect communication, in other words, is not an arbitrary emotional outlet. It is a calculated sociopolitical mechanism for challenging power and navigating ideological conflict in the digital public sphere.

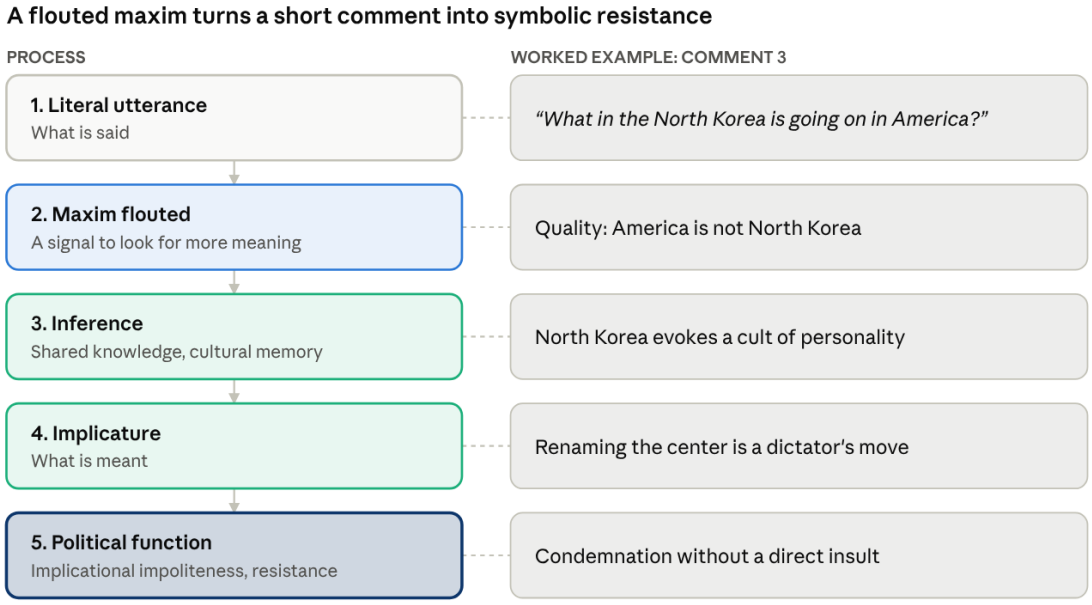



Figure 3. *From flouted maxim to symbolic resistance, traced through Comment 3*

## CONCLUSION

Instagram users responding to the renaming of the Kennedy Center as the "Trump-Kennedy Center" criticized the decision almost entirely through implication. The ten comments flouted all four of Grice's maxims, thirteen times in total, using metaphor, analogy, understatement, hypothetical futures, sarcasm, and irony. These flouts were not arbitrary expressions of emotion. They were strategies that let users condemn, dismiss, and delegitimize a political leader while avoiding direct confrontation.

The findings suggest that online meaning-making is at once a linguistic and a sociopolitical process. Through implicature, users negotiate identity, express ideological commitments, and challenge political legitimacy, relying on shared knowledge and collective cultural memory to make their criticism legible. Social media platforms thus serve as arenas of collective resistance, in which indirect strategies offer socially acceptable means of democratic dissent.

The study has three main limitations. First, it analyzes only ten comments from a single platform, responding to a single, highly polarizing event. Second, demographic information about the commenters was unavailable. Third, the absence of paralinguistic cues limits how definitively user intentions can be verified beyond textual and co-textual markers.

Future research could extend the analysis in three directions. It could compare implicature across platforms such as TikTok and X (formerly Twitter). It could apply corpus methods to larger datasets to test how widespread these patterns are. And it could use multimodal discourse analysis to examine how text, emojis, and video interact in constructing indirect political criticism.

## REFERENCES

Abdel-Raheem, A. (2024). The pragmatics of denial and resistance: Some theoretical and methodological considerations. *Russian Journal of Linguistics, 28*(3), 491–511. https://doi.org/10.22363/2687-0088-39993

Abdullah, A. R., & Rashid, S. Q. (2022). Implicational impoliteness strategies used by tweeters against Trump. *Adab Al-Rafidayn, 52*(90), 143–172.

Adebayo, D. O., Sarah, I. O., Bassey, A. K., Omonfomhan, I. O., Bashir, P. I., Kehinde, O. A., & Chioma, I. (2025). Rhetoric of transition: A pragmatic analysis of inaugural speeches under extraordinary political succession in Nigeria. *Path of Science, 11*(5), 8006–8027. https://doi.org/10.22178/pos.117-4

Al Mayahi, S., & Al Hassnawi, H. (2023). Rejection strategies in American political debates: A pragma-linguistic study. *Kufa Journal of Arts,*

*1*(56), 597–621. https://doi.org/10.36317/kaj/2023/v1.i56.11641

Andersson, M. (2024). E-mpoliteness: Creative impoliteness as an expression of digital social capital. *Journal of Politeness Research, 20*(2), 227–248. https://doi.org/10.1515/pr-2022-0009

Ariyati, D. A. (2025). Implicature analysis on women's resistance in *The Years of the Voiceless* by Okky Madasari. *Sintaksis: Publikasi Para Ahli Bahasa dan Sastra Inggris, 3*(1), 347–360.

Azhari, R. M., Prihandini, A., & Sari, R. P. (2025). Polite racism: A pragmatic analysis of racial implicature in *Get Out*. *Apollo Project: Jurnal Ilmiah Program Studi Sastra Inggris, 14*(2), 219–234.

Biegon, R., & Hamdaoui, S. (2024). Anti-populism and the Trump trauma in US foreign policy. *International Affairs, 100*(5), 1857–1875. https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iiae174

Brown, P. I. (2025). Linguistic manipulation realised on Hoatiti Facebook political statements and comments: A Gricean relevance maxim violation. *Journal of Applied Studies in Language, 9*(1), 23–32. https://doi.org/10.31940/jasl.v9i1.23-32

Çakmak, A. (2026). Laughing matters: Political humor, irony, and sarcasm as indicators of democratic leadership in Turkish politics. *Turkish Studies, 27*(1), 149–172. https://doi.org/10.1080/14683849.2025.2560993

Dean, J. (2024). From solidarity to self-promotion? Neoliberalism and left politics in the age of the social media influencer. *Capital & Class, 48*(4), 519–541. https://doi.org/10.1177/03098168231199907

Dey, M. (2023). The primary characteristics of English pragmatics in applied linguistics: Exploring the key features of English pragmatics in applied linguistics. *Inverge Journal of Social Sciences, 2*(2), 1–13. https://doi.org/10.63544/ijss.v2i2.25

Eragamreddy, D. N. (2025). Implicature in digital communication: A content analysis of online text-based interactions. *International Journal of Social Science Humanity & Management Research, 4*(6), 1066–1076. https://doi.org/10.58806/ijsshmr.2025.v4i6n08

Fairclough, N. (2013). *Critical discourse analysis: The critical study of language* (2nd ed.). Routledge.

Fauzi, A., & Rahman, I. (2023). Sarcasm as a tool of political dissent on Instagram: A pragmatic inquiry. *Indonesian Journal of Applied Linguistics, 13*(2), 241–253.

Gharabeh, T. (2024). Strategies and errors in interpreting conversational implicatures of political discourse. *International Journal of Linguistics and Translation Studies, 5*(3), 147–167. https://doi.org/10.36892/ijlts.v5i3.496

Grice, H. P. (1975). Logic and conversation. In P. Cole & J. L. Morgan (Eds.), *Syntax and semantics: Vol. 3. Speech acts* (pp. 41–58). Academic Press.

Harris, D. (2025). The role of threat, meaning, and religion in political grief. *Religions, 16*(3), Article 321. https://doi.org/10.3390/rel16030321

Hartono, M. A. S. (2023). The conversational implicature found while Trevor Noah criticizes the government in stand-up comedy show. *Foremost Journal, 4*(2), 163–175. https://doi.org/10.33592/foremost.v4i2.3723

Hasanah, R., Murni, S. M., & Lubis, F. K. (2024). Impoliteness strategies used by haters and supporters of presidential candidates in cyber-conflicts. *Proceedings of English Linguistics and Literature, 4*, 16–19. https://doi.org/10.47175/rielsj.v5i3.1047

Hassan, H. H. (2025). Metonymy and hyperbole as exaggeration elements in selected war speeches. *Al-Yarmouk Journal, 23*(1), 306–321.

Herring, S. C. (2004). Computer-mediated discourse analysis: An approach to researching online behavior. In S. A. Barab, R. Kling, & J. H. Gray (Eds.), *Designing for virtual communities in the service of learning* (pp. 338–376). Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511805080.016

Igaab, Z. K. (2023). A multi-pragmatic study of sarcasm in political texts. *World Journal of English Language, 13*(6), 349–361. https://doi.org/10.5430/wjel.v13n6p349

KhosraviNik, M., & Esposito, E. (2018). Online comments, discourse and racism: A critical discourse analysis of comments on YouTube. *Critical Discourse Studies, 15*(1), 45–68.

Levinson, S. C. (1983). *Pragmatics*. Cambridge University Press.

Masia, V. (2024). The evidential dimension of implicitly conveyed disagreement in political debates. *Journal of Language Aggression and Conflict, 12*(1), 66–88. https://doi.org/10.1075/jlac.00097.mas

Mortazavi, S. M., & Zandi, H. (2025). "#HaveYouNoShame": Unraveling the pragmatics of impolite political hashtags. *Journal of Pragmatics, 235*, 238–253. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2024.12.004

Naji, S. A. (2024). A pragma-stylistic analysis of exploiting situations in the attack on Trump in the American media. *Humanities & Natural Sciences Journal, 5*(12), 193–207. https://doi.org/10.53796/hnsj512/13

Peneva, D. (2025). Strategic gratitude: Flouting Grice's maxims and face in British-English and Bulgarian talk show discourse. *Cultural Perspectives: Journal for Literary and British Cultural Studies in Romania*, (30), 149–182. https://doi.org/10.29081/cp.2025.30.08

Shardaghly, T. H. (2024). A pragma-stylistic analysis of aggression in Hillary Clinton's speech on Trump. *Eurasian Journal of Applied Linguistics, 10*(1), 269–278. https://doi.org/10.47832/ist.con6-5

Shiff, T. (2026). Asylum decision-making under Trump: Shared aspirations for moral realignment as a mechanism of moral boundary work in times of crisis. *American Journal of Sociology, 131*(4), 829–867. https://doi.org/10.1086/739208

Sigalingging, A., Girsang, M., & Silalahi, C. D. M. (2024). Types of implicatures found in hate speech of TikTok social media. *Metholangue Journal, 9*(2), 10–17. https://doi.org/10.63924/jsid.v7i1.176

Sperber, D., & Wilson, D. (1995). *Relevance: Communication and cognition* (2nd ed.). Blackwell.

Sperber, D., & Wilson, D. (2026). Rethinking ostensive communication in an evolutionary, comparative, and developmental perspective. *Psychological Review, 133*(2), 315. https://doi.org/10.1037/rev0000565

Thomas, J. (1995). *Meaning in interaction: An introduction to pragmatics*. Longman.

van Dijk, T. A. (2006). Discourse and manipulation. *Discourse & Society, 17*(3), 359–383. https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926506060250

Van Rythoven, E. (2025). After Twitter: Aesthetic insecurity and the future of digital diplomacy. *Journal of International Relations and Development, 28*(3), 297–320. https://doi.org/10.1057/s41268-025-00351-y

Wambugu, R., Mbaka, N., & Atieno, C. (2025). Discrediting opponents as a communicative goal of impoliteness in parliamentary discourse. *Open Access Library Journal, 12*, Article e14214. https://doi.org/10.4236/oalib.1114214

Yus, F. (2011). *Cyberpragmatics: Internet-mediated communication in context*. John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/pbns.213

Zappavigna, M. (2012). *Discourse of Twitter and social media: How we use language to create affiliation on the web*. Continuum.

Zappavigna, M., & Logi, L. (2025). How emoji make meaning and enact ambient affiliation: A social semiotic account of emoji-text relations in TikTok comments. *Social Semiotics, 35*(4), 617–637. https://doi.org/10.1080/10350330.2024.2389520