

A PRAGMATIC ANALYSIS OF GRICE'S COOPERATIVE PRINCIPLES IN ZOHRAN MAMDANI'S VICTORY SPEECH: A CONVERSATIONAL IMPLICATURE APPROACH

Sahibzada Wasim Iqbal

PhD Scholar, Department of English. FATA University, KP.

Email: wasim_sahib@yahoo.com

Dr. Muhammad Imran

Lecturer, Department of English. FATA University.

Email: imran@fu.edu.pk

Ishfaq Ullah

Lecturer, National Excellence Institute, Islamabad.

Email: ishfaqullah125@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

This paper analyzes Zohran Mamdani through a pragmatic analysis of his victory speech, employing Grice's Cooperative Principle to evaluate how the speaker used conversational implicatures in his political communication. A new leader who has held different audiences defines the importance of pragmatic competence in political discourse. The study's gap is that no research has been conducted on the application of Grice's maxims in interpreting multicultural political speeches. The theoretical framework views the four maxims of communication introduced by Grice as quantity, quality, relation, and manner as a guideline for help-seeking communication. The approach used in this research is qualitative, aiming to determine the maxims of pragmatism and, as such, identify where Mamdani asserts and where he denies. The results indicate that Mamdani employs the maxim of quantity when providing sufficient information to intellectually engage with the story and the maxim of relation when adjusting his speech to the audience's interest, thus building solidarity and trust among both the audience and Mamdani. In addition, the findings indicate that Mamdani successfully uses the power of implicature to create unity, legitimacy, and appeal to communal values, thereby fostering successful cooperative communication. To sum up, the analysis has demonstrated that Mamdani effectively realizes these maxims in a project aimed at developing a sense of collaboration and appeal in political speech and, therefore, proves helpful in analyzing it.

Keywords: Grice's Cooperative Principle, Conversational Implicature, Political Speech Analysis, Pragmatics and Politics, Cooperative Maxims, Zohran Mamdani, Political Discourse, Pragmatic Strategies, Communication

1. INTRODUCTION

Language is more than a tool for conveying information; it is a powerful means of creating meaning, shaping ideologies, and facilitating socialization. Pragmatics is one of the branches of linguistics that focuses on the influence of context on the interpretation of utterances, paying attention to what the speaker intends to convey and what the listener infers from the utterance.

Among the early areas of endeavour is the Cooperative Principle developed by H.P. Grice, which explains how interlocutors use unwritten rules to make a conversation successful. Grice (1975) has postulated that speakers tend to cooperate during a conversation by adhering to the four maxims of Quantity, Quality, Relation, and Manner, which enable them to exchange

information reasonably, rationally, and in a socially intelligible manner. These maxims are not hard-and-fast rules, but expectations of conversation that, once violated, produce implicatures—the meanings left unspoken by the speakers, the reasons the conversation takes place, and the mutually shared knowledge that helps decode these implicatures. Zohran Kwame Mamdani is an emerging political leader in New York City, based in Kampala, Uganda, who was elected mayor in a narrow victory. Since 2021, he has represented Astoria, Queens, in the New York State Assembly. Mamdani entered the world of politics during his time at Bowdoin College, where he studied Africana studies and co-founded a chapter of Students for Justice in Palestine. The development of his political activism led him to transition into formal politics, as he worked as a housing counsellor to help low-income homeowners, which in turn shaped his agenda to include housing reform, police and prison reform, and public utility ownership.

Similar progressive views propelled Mamdani to greater heights as a politician, enabling him to defeat established incumbents and become a transformational figure focused on affordability, social justice, and inclusiveness in his local politics (Britannica 2025; NY Assembly 2017). The advantages of the maxim of quantity are that it strikes a balance between the informativity and brevity of speeches, as in the case of research by Cutting (2002). One of them is conversational implicature, which makes speeches polite and engaging, as Haught (2013) shows. Wu (2015) examines the manipulations of these maxims by speakers to convince the electorate to adopt their wishes, also demonstrating the relevance of CP to the success of the speech. Such studies offer a theoretical lens for analysing Zohran Mamdani's victory speech, examining how his practical application of Grice's maxims facilitates successful speech and how he can mobilise his listeners (Cutting 2002; Haugh 2013; Wu 2015). Past literature has shown that Grice maxims apply to politics, and politicians intentionally break them to fulfil rhetorical objectives.

To illustrate, the study by Al-Qaderi (2019) on the speech of Arabic politicians in Modern Standard Arabic demonstrated that speakers actively violated the Gricean maxims to dominate the truth, influence the audience's perception, and generate ideological ambiguity. Similarly, in his review of American political speeches, Al-Wuhaili (2021) found that the rules of Violence are tolerated in uncertain political situations, as long as they are not carried out in an overtly hostile manner. These results emphasise the practicality and malleability of political language and implicature in distinguishing the discourse of the people. Alam, Khan, and Aman (2022) examined the application of the Gricean Cooperative Principle in Pakistani political talk shows and found that conversational implicatures could be expressed as power challenges, opposition, and oblique criticism. Their activity focused on the dynamics of interaction during political communication and the practical competence in interpreting implicature. These points are essential in the comparison of Mamdani's speech because, being rooted in Western politics, it still incorporates elements that connect to the global agenda centered on fair representation and reform.

This paper examines the articulation of politics beyond first-order semantics, employing a pragmatic approach and conversational implicature, with reference to Zohran Mamdani's victory speech. The analysis indicates that the Cooperative Principle of Grice is not only an effective theoretical instrument for analyzing discourse concerning the applicability of language to reach political objectives, but also a crucial one. Still, through it, the elements of meaning that are implicit and, as such, build on the construction of popular perception and ideological form of orientation can be controlled. In the current study, the Cooperative Principle, as proposed by

Grice, is employed to analyze Zohran Mamdani's victory speech, a progressive member of the New York State Assembly. Charged ideologically and rich with the rhetorical appeals with an implicit call of unity, fairness, and change, the post-election speech by the author, Mamdani, is replete with such appeals. An example of such political language is a speech that conveys meaning through words, defends or argues against it, and makes sense in implicatures. In the context of Gricean pragmatics analysis of Mamdani's speech, this research aims to examine the peculiarities of the interrelation between linguistic and political functions, and to comment on how conversational implicatures can serve as a source of power, persuasion, and ideological influence.

1.1 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The paper examines the scarcity of research on how Grice's Cooperative Principles can be applied in contemporary political speeches, particularly in multicultural, diverse urban settings, as seen in Zohran Mamdani's November 4, 2025, victory speech. Although political speeches play a vital role in shaping the opinions and political identities of the masses, relatively little research has examined the practical contexts of such speeches, specifically how orators apply conversational implicatures and how they adhere to or break maxims to convince and attract people. The factual evaluation of Mamdani's speech identifies sophisticated communication strategies that contribute to cooperation, credibility, and appeal to constituents, which is critical to the field of political speech analysis and pragmatics.

1.2 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

- i. To examine the interrelation between linguistic choices and political functions in Mamdani's speech through the lens of Gricean pragmatics.
- ii. To analyze how conversational implicatures in Mamdani's speech function as mechanisms of power, persuasion, and ideological influence.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

One of the primary pillars of the pragmatic approach to communication is the Cooperative Principle (CP), developed by H.P. Grice, which subdivides participants in the dialogic process into cooperators, i.e., those who adhere to specific rules of communication, known as the quantity, quality, relation, and manner maxims. The principles of Grice are applied to political discourse, where conversing with implicatures and understanding their truth is crucial. This understanding enables politicians to create meaning where none exists in the literal sense. They achieve this by preconditioning changes in ideology and their personal perceptions. The Cooperative Principle has played a central role in the pragmatic theory, providing insight into the regulation that interlocutors and partners impose on their manoeuvres to achieve a meaning beyond the literal sense of things. Grice (1975) established that to ensure effective communication, communicators use the four maxims of conversation, which include Quantity, Quality, Relation, and Manner, when formulating their utterances, as well as to facilitate comprehension. A speaker willfully contravenes such maxims, which can lead to implicatures in a conversation, resulting in indirect statements adjusted to the listeners' situations. Such a process is of particular interest in the context of political language, where strategic ambiguity, rhetorical beauty, and ideological cueing are far more dependent on implicature than on explicit wording. Scholars have extensively studied the application of Gricean principles in political and general speeches.

According to Cutting (2002), implicature helps define audience comprehension, and politicians tend to corrode maxims to persuade people to feel or subscribe to their ideology. Similarly, Thomas (1995) emphasised that violating the maxim of quantity — providing excessive or insufficient information — may play a persuasive role in political situations, thereby allowing a speaker to accentuate or deemphasise key factors. It would be essential to note that these background works identify the Gricean framework as practical and relevant to the act of rhetorical analysis. More recently, Al-Qaderi (2019) studied the speeches of political leaders in Modern Standard Arabic and discovered that the system of violating Gricean maxims to preserve ideological ambiguity and control the impression on the audience. This research showed that political speakers did not usually adhere to the maxim of Quality to avoid a full-on clash, or even to criticise a different opinion indirectly. Al-Wuhaili (2021) generalised this discussion to political oratory in the U.S., where, under conditions of permissibility, especially when the topic was apology or defence, political speakers could work around sensitive arguments without losing credibility. These results suggest that implicature is not only a linguistic phenomenon but also a tool of political communication. Alam, Khan, and Aman (2022) also examined how the Gricean Cooperative Principle applies to Pakistani political talk shows in South Asia, finding that conversational implicatures involve opposing authority, expressing dissent, and engaging in indirect criticism. The victory speech of Zohran Mamdani presents a persuasive argument that warrants pragmatic examination, as it contains undertones of ideological appeal, rhetorical devices, and appeals to solidarity. At this stage, there is a lack of scholarly work on Mamdani's speech. His speech is an example of how representatives of political posts break the Gricean rules of conversation to construct implicatures that lead people to side with him, prove other points, and promote communal identity. Because the discourse of the Mamdani applies to the Cooperative Principle of Grice, this paper shall contribute to the literature that has filled the gap in the interrelationship between pragmatics and political rhetoric.

On the whole, the researcher can say that Grice's Cooperative Principle is an effective instrument for analysing political reports. It enables the researcher to lift the veil of meaning that informs perceptions and party affiliation in society. This premise served the current paper because the researcher followed the theoretical impetus in analysing Zohran Mamdani's speech on his victory and the idea of conversational implicature as the application of the Gricean Cooperative Principle.

3. METHODOLOGY

The research design employed in this study is a qualitative, pragmatic analysis based on the Cooperative Principle introduced by Grice and conversational implicature. The methodology of this research ensures that the analytical process of Zohran Mamdani's victory speech is as systematic as possible, with the maxims of Quantity, Quality, Relation, and Manner followed, violated, or even abused to elicit implicit meanings. It is a qualitative, descriptive research study based on a textual analysis of Mamdani's speech. The theoretical focus of pragmatics, along with the analytical guide of Grice's Cooperative Principle (Grice, 1975), serves as both the theoretical background and the analytical tool. This design suits well, since political speeches tend to be indirect forms of communication that involve implicature and rhetoric. The primary source in this paper is Zohran Mamdani's victory speech, delivered on November 4, 2025, and available in both transcript and audio formats, both freely accessible. The speech transcript was prepared using verbatim to preserve the language elements of pauses, repetition, and emphatic signs,

which are critical to pragmatic interpretation. These secondary data will consist of academic articles, books, and prior research on the Cooperative Principle of Grice in political texts (e.g., Al-Qaderi, 2019; Al-Wuhaili, 2021; Alam, Khan, and Aman, 2022). These sources provide comparative information and the contextual background for the analysis. The researcher evaluated the Cooperative Principle of Grice for a theoretical framework, which concentrates on the four maxims:

Maxim of Quantity: The question here is whether Mamdani provides enough information or even omits information to arrive at an implicature.

Maxim of Quality: Recognising, e.g., cases where the speaker told the truth, or cases where the speaker violated the maxim by exaggeration, irony, or use of rhetorical figures.

Maxim of Relation: Evaluating relevance in the discourse of Mamdani, especially in his relation of individual success to society and politics, in general.

Maxim of Manner: The interpretation of clarity, order, and avoiding ambiguity, and intentional vagueness when used in a rhetorical context.

Violations or adherence to these maxims is classified and interpreted to display conversational implicatures. Its analysis is interpretive, grounded in the background information on Mamdani's political position and the audience's expectations.

4. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The data for this research were analysed using Grice's Cooperative Principle, which Pragmatics points out that meaning extends beyond any literal interpretation of words and that the importance of context, the speaker's intent, and the listener's inferences are in fostering meaning. Based on the Cooperative Principle by Grice, there are four maxims for effective communication: Quantity, Quality, Relation, and Manner. These maxims are not the actual rules but rather communicative expectations presented by speakers, which may be followed or broken at will to form implicatures. The speeches may be regarded as a typical political practice because leaders often flout the conversational rules to stir, inspire, and organise the masses, giving meaning to the facade.

4.1 Maxim of Quantity: Adherence and Transgression in the Speech

The Maxim of Quantity has been similarly adhered to and contravened in the victory speech of Zohran Mamdani, depending on the rhetorical objectives of every individual part. By using the maxim, Mamdani makes concise and focused statements that are commemorative and assertive of the conclusion. By way of illustration, at one point, he tells us, "Tonight, we have it against all odds. The future falls in our hands." he gives us sufficient information to accept the victory and build confidence. The shortness and accuracy of this phrase are evidence of a rather definite communicative intention: to glorify the moment and not to weaken its effect. In this implicature, there is a sense of victory and transition —the campaign is over, and the question is what we are going to do with it.

Nonetheless, Mamdani does not adhere to the Maxim of Quantity very often to increase the emotional and ideological appeal of his speech. A particular instance here is his statement, in which he declared, "This win is not about me, but a win of all the kicked out tenants, all the immigrants who are struggling with dignity, all the workers who are organising, and all looking to have justice." This remark is more meaningful than just saying 'thank you.' Mamdani does this by enumerating certain groups and their plight, which provides redundant information that falls

short of inclusiveness and solidarity. The viewers are encouraged to read his victory as a metaphor for the oppression of oppressed groups. Not a lapse in communication, but rather a calculated growth that takes personal success and turns it into a shared accomplishment —the violation of the quantity in this case. The other example of the Quantity violation can be found in his speech when Mamdani narrates about the grassroots work during the campaign: "Each door we banged, each talk we made, revived politics to its people. The information is more detailed than what is required to transmit campaign activity. However, the implication is strong — it promises authenticity, hard work, and social engagement. These points lead the audience to conclude that this campaign was not initiated by elite interests, but rather by ordinary people collaborating. This appeal strengthens Mamdani as the speaker representing the people and also adds an emotional appeal for both the audience and the speaker. Quantity is also flouted by Mamdani through enumeration, in accordance with the ideological extent. In the verse, "For housing justice, for immigrant rights, for safe streets, for schools that serve all of us", he enumerates several areas of policy without putting in much detail about them. The list of stated causes exceeds the minimum required for information, suggesting that his campaign will be both intersectional and inclusive. The spectators view the movement as spacious, being able to cater to all kinds of needs and bring together different constituencies. The information overload in this situation expands the range of the speech and presents Mamdani as the head of a complex coalition. Mamdani counters quantity, even in reflection, to promote collective memory and labor. It is possible to say that Mamdani adhered to and was non-adherent to these maxims in his speech, and that every decision he made carried implicatures that added a new level to his personal victory, transforming it into a declaration of how an organisation should work. What is essential in his address is that the campaign demonstrated that systemic change (grassroots organising) is effective. This additional information adds ideological weight to the message and invites spectators to become agents of change.

4.2 Maxim of Quality: Adherence and Transgression in the Speech of Mamdani.

According to Grice's Cooperative Principle, the Maxim of Quality concerns truthfulness in communication. On the contrary, a speaker may also deliberately break the rule to generate emotions, instill hope, and forge ideological discourses. In this case, the implicature is of authenticity. Another example of adherence to Quality is when Mamdani mentions historical figures. The question "The sun may have set over our city this evening" evokes Eugene Debs, suggesting the rise of a new day and thereby evoking a truthful, historic feeling. This implies that his campaign is not a single event but a comprehensive historical narrative. But Mamdani also breaks the Maxim of Quality at the most critical moments. His most remarkable achievement is that we have shown that the commoners can conquer the most potent powers of this city. He challenges the viewer to infer that society can bring about change together. Another instance of Quality violation is the episode in which Mamdani repeats what his campaign was: "This was not a campaign; it was a movement." Strictly speaking, his campaign was an electoral campaign to secure his seat in government. He refutes the literal fact of its shape and extent by calling it a movement. This is the rhetorical strategy that transforms a short phenomenon into a permanent rationale. It is also the case that the Quality was violated through the metaphor and symbolic language implemented by Mamdani. The value of the implicatures produced by these statements lies in their ability to prompt the viewer to think about a future in which they will be involved. In this, Mamdani must use the flouting of Quality not to distort the truth, but to expand the horizon

of possibility. In brief, the application of the Maxim of Quality in Mamdani's victory speech is advanced. The implicatures created by his strategic breaches are used to inspire, encourage, and mobilize, which contributes significantly to the creation of trust and authenticity.

4.3 Maxim of Relation: Adherence and Transgression in the Speech of Mamdani.

In Grice's Cooperative Principle, the Maxim of Relation states that utterances should be directly relevant to the matter under discussion. Violations of the maxim produce a conversational implicature which invites the audience to make assumptions about associations between what is said and the world at large. The Maxim of Relation is adhered to while cleverly broken in Zohran Mamdani's victory speech. Mamdani observes the maxim when he says, 'Thank you to the volunteers, the elders, the youth, the tenants, and the workers.' He remains pertinent because he has acknowledged those who helped him. The implicature is one of appreciation, affirming that the campaign was a shared effort grounded in community involvement.

Another instance is when Mamdani recalls short-term objectives: 'We did not simply succeed in taking a seat, we showed that organisation works.' The implicature here is that grassroots mobilisation is a valid approach to changing politics. Nevertheless, Mamdani violates the Maxim of Relation to broaden his speech beyond the local circumstances. His statement, "This campaign was never about one seat in the Assembly," intentionally shifts focus from the electoral outcome to an ideological mission. The implicature is that his political activity spans systemic change. Mamdani also disobeys Relation through parallelism: "When we struggle to secure housing, we struggle to secure dignity." Such utterances tie certain policy areas to broad moral values, enticing his readers to view his campaign as a crusade for morality. We can also identify a violation in Mamdani's speech regarding systemic issues: The rent is actually increasing in our neighbourhoods... that is what this campaign was about, challenging that fact. Although the speech ostensibly discusses his election victory, Mamdani diverges into socioeconomic matters. Such a policy of political dumping of Relations enables him to focus on the priorities of the policies in a festive environment. In a nutshell, this thematic coherence is ensured by Mamdani's adherence. Quite to the contrary, his infractions imply broader meanings that enrich his message. Mamdani constructs a series of inspirational narratives and mobilises the electoral moment by underlining it.

4.4 Maxim of Manner: Adherence and Transgression in the Speech of Mamdani.

According to the Maxim of Manner, one must be open, well-organized, and free of ambiguity to convey communication effectively. In political speech, this maxim is often manipulated. Politicians can follow it to deliver unambiguous messages, or deviate to introduce ambiguity, giving them a chance to flex their ideology or appeal to the heart. It is not ineffective communication, but predictable rhetorical choices that generate conversational implicatures. The Maxim of Manner is followed in the speech where Zohran Mamdani was a loser. He uses definite words to assert unity, such as: "The fight will not be easy in the future, yet with the spirit of unity, we will have to win." The form is simple, the message is direct, and the tone is decisive. This conformity guarantees the audience a solid and practical impetus to action. The implicature is that the success of this campaign will not mark the end of a larger fight.

The maxim of manners is followed and abridged in the speech given by Mamdani after electoral victory. In instances like the following, when Mamdani follows the maxim, he is using accurate words to claim unity: "We are just getting started." The message is clear, and the tone is determined. Furthermore, Mamdani's methodical acknowledgments of volunteers, elders, and

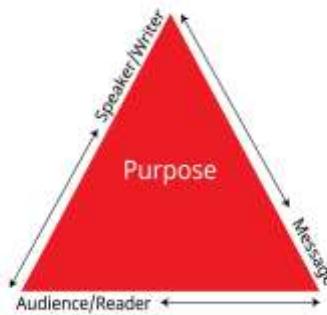
workers embody rhetorical transparency, revealing their statements about how each demographic made significant contributions to the campaign's triumph. However, Mamdani commits another maxim violation - that of manner, as he adds ambiguity. He says that political issues can be brought back to the people. Although grammatically correct, the message is deliberately vague. The refusal to answer questions about specific measures gives rise to implicatures of reclamation and democratic renewal. It is this strategic ambiguity that allows Mamdani to unite a large number of constituencies without necessarily approaching them through the limited interview.

The following is a good example of a manner violation: the statement "We will make it possible." The figurative statement lacks concrete referents, but this is not a coincidence; it is an expression of hope and the strength that comes from collective movement. The speech does not impose any clear policy implications on the audience; however, the gaps are filled by an assumed shared moral framework between the audience and the speaker. These stylistic devices can break the rule of accuracy but give the impression of a righteous life. Overall, Mamdani's speech is an excellent example of the maxim of manner. His obedience brings clarity and order, whereas his inaccuracies allow interpretation and emotional involvement. The resulting discourse is absolutely both precise and amorphous. By both following and contradicting the maxims, he establishes credibility while creating implicatures that offer hope and solidarity. The strategic use of language demonstrated in the pragmatic review aligns with existing literature.

Mamdani's breach of the rule of quantity (i.e., providing more information than necessary to compel speakers to offer a given analysis) is reminiscent of Al-Qaderi's (2019) finding that speakers provide excess information to create ideological accounts. Mamdani's list of tenants, immigrants, and workers makes the speech a communal story, in keeping with Al-Qaderi's findings on the mechanism of inclusive politicalisation. The maxim of quality is also strategically compromised to motivate. His statement that ordinary people can defeat the most dominating interests does not reflect reality, but rather exaggerations, as Al-Wuhaili (2021) reported. Mamdani's hyperbole implies empowerment, and the rebranding of his campaign as a "movement" signals a moral imperative. These strategies demonstrate that shared values can justify the violation of quality.

The maxim of relation is applied in such a way that the appropriateness of the electoral situation is shifted to systemic struggles. This aligns with the findings of Alam, Khan, and Aman (2022), who found that speakers tend to deviate to emphasize social problems. Mamdani ignores these aspects to associate policy domains with universal values, including dignity and justice, and to construct a moral system out of time. Mamdani employs the maxim of manner to achieve an equilibrium between directness and strategic vagueness. His direct language is in harmony with the manner, and words such as 'the fight ahead' convey calculated ambiguity.

The Rhetorical Triangle



This lends credence to Cutting (2002), who finds that manner is routinely breached in the domain of political oratory to facilitate ideological flexibility. Taken together, the findings confirm that the Cooperative Principle, as presented by Grice, remains one of the central principles used in analyzing political speeches. Mamdani's rhetorical choices align with tendencies in Arabic, American, and South Asian political speech. This research emphasizes that cultural conventions and audience expectations play a significant role in shaping the success of maxim flouting.

5. CONCLUSION

This paper focuses on Zohran Mamdani's victory. Mamdani follows and violates conversational rules, produces the identity of communities, fosters the cause, and perpetuates political action. These rhetorical strategies align with previous research. Al-Qaderi (2019), Al-Wuhaili (2021), and Alam et al. (2022) have documented the fact of Gricean maxims manipulation as an intercultural phenomenon. The importance of context is revealed through the interpretation of implicit meanings, as facilitated by the use of the Cooperative Principle.

In conclusion, Zohran Mamdani's post-victory address is a good example of pragmatic techniques. Conversational implicature facilitates the transformation of personal labor into a common manifesto, identity construction, group mobilization, and hope-building. Future research could develop a comparative study of the development of progressive rhetoric in different geopolitical conditions.

REFERENCES

Al-Qaderi, I. A. (2019). The cooperative principle in political discourse: Flouting Gricean maxims in Modern Standard Arabic political speeches. *Research Result. Theoretical and Applied Linguistics*, 5(4), 1–9. <https://doi.org/10.18413/2313-8912-2019-5-4-0-1>

Al-Wuhaili, A. K. S. (2021). Permissible flouting of Grice's maxims in American political speeches. *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science (IOSR-JHSS)*, 26(10), 33–39. <https://www.iosrjournals.org/iosr-jhss/papers/Vol.26-Issue10/Ser-1/F2610013339.pdf>

Alam, M. M., Khan, M. S., & Aman, F. (2022). Application of the Cooperative Principle to political talk-shows and interviews in the Pakistani context. *Turkish Online Journal of Qualitative Inquiry (TOJQI)*, 13(1), 424–430. <https://tojqi.net/index.php/journal/article/view/8774>

Britannica. (2025). Zohran Mamdani. In *Encyclopedia Britannica*. Retrieved from <https://www.britannica.com>

Cutting, J. (2002). *Pragmatics and discourse: A resource book for students*. Routledge.

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.

Haugh, M. (2013). Im/politeness, social practice, and the participation order. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 58, 52–72. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2013.07.003>

New York State Assembly. (2017). Assemblymember Zohran K. Mamdani. Retrieved from <https://nyassembly.gov/mem/Zohran-K-Mamdani>

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

Wu, J. (2015). A pragmatic analysis of conversational implicature in political debates. *International Journal of Language and Linguistics*, 3(6), 409–414. <https://doi.org/10.11648/j.ijll.20150306.18>