(Im)politeness strategies in Donald Trump's pre- and post-2016 presidential campaign tweets

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Master's thesis

(IM)POLITENESS STRATEGIES IN DONALD TRUMP'S PRE- AND POST-2016 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN TWEETS

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Zagreb, 2020

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ABSTRACT

The paper begins by explaining the concept of politeness, which first entered into a field of pragmatics when Brown and Levinson introduced an exhaustive politeness framework which later served as a basis for various research in this area. These linguists based their postulates on Grice's Cooperative Principle and Leech's conversational maxims. Their theoretical concepts prompted Cupleper's further research in the field. Culpeper focused his research on impoliteness as a term as equally relevant as politeness. Even though the basis of his taxonomy were Brown and Levinson's principles, he later modernized and adapted it according to Spencer-Oatey's Rapport management model, which served as a framework for the research. After setting up the framework for the thesis, the role of Twitter in contemporary political communication is explained, followed by the explanation of the methodology used. The main part of this thesis deals with the pragmatic analysis of impoliteness in Trump's tweets before and after the 2016 US presidential election using Culpeper's impoliteness strategies as a research base. In order to analyze his tweets, we created a table consisting of 92 tweets selected by keywords over a period of 6 months before the election and 6 months after the election. The table is based on the elements that were repeated in the data as well as on Culpeper's impoliteness super strategies, Spencer-Oatey's rapport management categories and most common impoliteness triggers. The final version of the table has eleven categories. The analysis of the results leads us to conclude that Donald Trump is using his powerful status to humiliate and insult political opponents and celebrities who opposed him during and after the campaign. The way of communicating on Twitter did not change much after he became president, so we conclude that Trump's unique style of communication is present both before and after the election, and that both men and women are targeted, which depended mostly on current topics and issues addressed by the president.

KEY WORDS: Pragmatic analysis, politeness framework, impoliteness, Twitter, Donald Trump

1. Introduction

Each of us has at least once felt insulted by someone's words, whether the insult was intentional or unintentional. On the other hand, each of us has at least once in our life intentionally or unintentionally threatened the interlocutor's face by a poor choice of words we addressed to him/her. That is why, from an early age, we learn the rules of conduct at the table, in the classroom, in public places, as well as the rules about the words addressed to people around us. However, we cannot always influence our actions and other people's reactions, so unforeseen life situations and choices often occur.

Few, other than the Simpsons, could have predicted that the American entrepreneur and reality TV star would become America's first choice in the 2016 US presidential election, and even fewer could have predicted his actions during and after the presidential campaign. Given that Donald Trump's presidency was topical during my studies which touched upon, among other things, pragmatic analysis of politeness in discourse and its relation to the ubiquitous communication via social media, it was the right time to combine all of the above into one paper. The thesis begins with the theoretical framework, which is extremely important for understanding the analysis. Politeness theory is explained as the foundation for what will later be introduced as an equally important phenomenon in research into language and communication and that is impoliteness. The paper then points to the importance of Twitter for the presidential campaign and the President's communication in general. The main part of the analysis quantitatively and qualitatively processes the data collected from the corpus of tweets and tries to give as accurate answers as possible to the research questions posed in the description of the methodology of work.

Overall, before delving into further analyses, it is important to state that the paper deals with pragmatic analysis of impoliteness in Trump's tweets in the period of six months before the 2016 presidential election and six months after the election. In order to focus clearly on the research and the methods used to obsevre and analyze impoliteness in this thesis, we will pose the following questions: *Is there a change in the type of impoliteness with the emergence of more power? Does the President use different impoliteness strategies in his tweets with female and male opponents? Which aspects of face and sociality rights does he attack the most?*

2. Definition overview

2. 1. What is linguistic politeness?

The term politeness has its origins in Late Medieval Latin word *politus,* which means 'smoothed', 'accomplished' and dates back to the fifteenth century when the English term polite was coined. Polite thus signified 'polished', 'refined' when referring to people (Reiter 2000: 2). The etymology of the concept helps understand the contemporary term and its relation to society. According to Reiter (2000), politeness can be defined as a form of social interaction performed by individuals. Although politeness stems from individual attitudes and actions, it is intrinsically a social entity, which means it only acquires meaning in social interactions and is subject to social norms (2000: 2).

Politeness can be both communicative and non-communicative, with the former one further divided into linguistic and non-linguistic. Although there has been considerable disagreement on the exact definition of linguistic politeness, the following proposition has been generally accepted. Thus, politeness refers to "strategies involved in friction free communication" (Reiter, 2000, p. 5).

As the starting theoretical point of view of this research, politeness was first analyzed in detail as a pragma-linguistic concept in 1973 and 1977 by Lakoff, who claimed that "the pillars of our linguistic, as well as non-linguistic interactions with each other" are to "1) make yourself clear and 2) be polite (1977, p. 86). Lakoff further expanded her original taxonomy by applying Grice's Cooperative Principle, according to which conversation exchanges should be "cooperative efforts" and have a "common purpose or set of purposes" (Grice, 1975, p. 45). Accordingly, he had introduced a set of norms (maxims) that should be followed in every conversation for it to be an effective exchange. Grice put forward the following maxims:

> Maxims of quality: one's contributions should be as informative as required,
> Maxims of quantity: one's contributions should be true,
> Maxims of relation: one's contributions should be relevant,
> Maxims of manner: one's contributions should be perspicuous. (p. 47)

Grice's model was, apart from Lakoff, adopted by Geoffrey Leech, who used it as a basis for his Politeness principle with six maxims: *tact, generosity, approval, modesty, agreement, and sympathy* (Leech, 1983). He introduced the term to explain the motivation behind the-so called implicatures, i.e. the additional meanings which are created every time the cooperative principle maxims are not adhered to for different reasons. Leech proposes a theory in which there is a "trade-off" relationship between the Cooperative principle and the Politeness principle. The first principle, states Leech, serves "to regulate the assumed illocutionary and discoursal goal of what is being said", while on the other hand, the Politeness principle serves "to maintain the social equilibrium and friendly relations which enable us to assume that our interlocutors are being cooperative in the first place" (p. 82).

The theory of politeness was then taken one step further by Goffman (1967) and Brown and Levinson (1978/1987). Goffman's definition of politeness prioritized the notion of face and the relevance assigned to it by participants in every "socially motivated linguistic action". According to Goffman, face, or "public self-esteem" may be defined as:

> The positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact. Face is an image of self-delineated in terms of approved social attributes - albeit an image that others may share, as when a person makes a good showing for his profession or religion by making a good showing for himself. (p. 5)

The 1980s successfully created new approaches to politeness, primarily led by Brown and Levinson's first edition of the 1978 book *Universals in Language Usage: Politeness Phenomena*. Relying primarily on the already published works of Goffman and Grice, Brown and Levinson offered their vision of this, as they claim, universal feature of language. This means that politeness is a phenomenon that occurs in every language in every culture. Their theory is based on the attempt to define the phenomenon of politeness through the concept of 'face'. Therefore, they adopt Goffman's proposition that politeness is "socially motivated linguistic action consisting of participants' mutual interactive efforts to support and maintain each other's face (public self-esteem). This theory rests upon the assertion that every individual has a 'face', which Brown and Levinson define as a personal image by which they present

themselves in public and which is "emotionally invested, […] can be lost, maintained, or enhanced, and must be constantly attended to in interaction" (1978, p. 61). They also distinguish between positive and negative face and define the terms in the following manner:

> Negative face is the want of every "competent adult member" that his actions be unimpeded by others.
>
> Positive face is the want of every member that his wants be desirable to at least some others.

In addition to that, Brown and Levinson posit that it should be in everyone's interest to maintain each other's face and avoid face threatening acts, which will be explained in the following paragraph (1987, p. 61).

The concept of Face Threatening Acts (FTAs) was first introduced by Brown and Levinson in relation to verbal and non-verbal behaviors that can possibly damage the hearer's positive and negative face wants. Positive face threats are explained as all behaviors that neglect the speaker's care about the hearer's wants, feelings, etc. Behaviors that threaten the hearer's positive face are expressions of disapproval, criticism, contempt or ridicule, complaints, accusations, expressions of violent topics, mention of taboo topics, etc. Threats to a negative face, on the other hand cover acts which indicate that the speaker does not intend to avoid impeding one's freedom of action. Instances of such behaviors are orders, requests, suggestions, advice, remindings, threats, warnings, dares, etc. (Brown Levinson 1987, pp. 65-66). They further add that "any rational agent will seek to avoid these face-threatening acts" by employing certain strategies to save the face and minimize the threat (p. 68). Their model of four major strategies included:

> *Bald on-record* does not attempt to minimize the threat to the hearer's face It is most commonly used when the relationship between the hearer and the speaker is close.
>
> *Positive politeness* their intention is to minimize the threat to the hearer's positive face and to make him feel good.
>
> *Negative politeness* strategies are utilized to avoid imposition from the speaker, who is intentionally indirect, apologetic, pessimistic, tries to minimize the imposition, etc.
>
> *Off record* politeness, the strategy in which the speaker uses indirect language techniques to avoid imposition. (pp.72-73)

Watts (2003) characterizes Brown's and Levinson's model as a "production model" because, he argues, its goal is to formulate how individuals produce politeness. Brown and

Levinson call these individuals Model persons (MP). An MP is an individual speaker who has to choose the appropriate politeness technique to convey the message and at the same time preserve both his/her own and the hearer's face, i.e. minimize potential face threats. Watts' major concern about the politeness model lies in the fact that the emphasis is solely on the speaker and his choosing of the right strategy, which puts the hearer in a subordinate position. The problem with Brown and Levinson's model is that the speaker should carefully consider the whole politeness taxonomy before choosing the appropriate strategy, which would disrupt the natural flow of the interaction. Watts also notes that such decisions exclude the possibility of choosing more than one strategy at once (pp. 85-88).

2. 2. What is linguistic impoliteness?

Impoliteness has not gained as much space in linguistic theory as politeness has and is most often referred to as "the other side of the politeness coin" (Mills, 2011, 40). Hence, many impoliteness theories build upon existing knowledge of politeness. Culpeper's (1996) initial idea of impoliteness rests on Brown's and Levinson's politeness theory and is thus described as "the opposite of politeness". The author wanted to explore what the opposite effect is and how social disruption occurs. He presented strategies taken from Brown and Levinson and then provided his own taxonomy. Similarly, Geoffrey Leech approaches impoliteness as the continuum of speech acts 'costly to the hearer', whereas politeness is 'beneficial to the hearer' (Leech, 2005 in Gino, 2001, p. 93). He argues that his position is that "a theory of politeness is inevitably also a theory of impoliteness, since impoliteness is non-observance or violation of the constrains of politeness" (p. 18).

Spencer-Oatey (2005) perceives the terms politeness and impoliteness as a whole – *(im)politeness* and emphasizes the role of subjective judgment in determining polite or impolite behavior. Thus, the author states that politeness is "an evaluative label that people attach to behavior, as a result of their subjective judgments about social appropriateness" (p. 97). Thus, the decision of what is polite or impolite is not influenced solely by theoretical constructs. On the contrary, it is greatly influenced by context and social norms by which a person differentiates between prescribed, proscribed or permitted behaviors in a particular communicative event (p.

99). Fraser (1990) adds that no behavior is inherently polite or impolite and that (im)politeness depends on the hearer's subjective judgement.

In addition to the social context, (im)politeness is greatly influenced by power relations between interlocutors. If one of the interlocutors is of a higher social status or has more power, there is a greater possibility that the less powerful participant's face will be threatened. According to Culpeper (1996) the chance that a powerful participant will be impolite is greater because "he or she can (a) reduce the ability of the less powerful participant to retaliate with impoliteness (e.g. through the denial of speaking rights), and (b) threaten more severe retaliation should the less powerful participant be impolite (p. 354).

Impoliteness is not just a matter of power and different statuses in a relationship; on the contrary, politeness can occur in relationships where individuals are of equal status and in close relationships. Intimate relationships are sometimes fertile ground for impolite interactions as well: "Equal relationships - by definition - lack a default mechanism by which one participant achieves the upper hand. An insult can easily lead to a counter-insult and so on." (Harris et al.'s study (1986) in Culpeper, 1996, p. 355). In his book from 2011, Culpeper uses the following exhaustive definition of impoliteness:

> Impoliteness is a negative attitude towards specific behaviours occurring in specific contexts. It is sustained by expectations, desires and/or beliefs about social organisation, including, in particular, how one person's or a group's identities are mediated by others in interaction. Situated behaviours are viewed negatively – considered 'impolite' – when they conflict with how one expects them to be, how one wants them to be and/or how one thinks they ought to be. Such behaviours always have or are presumed to have emotional consequences for at least one participant, that is, they cause or are presumed to cause offence. Various factors can exacerbate how offensive an impolite behaviour is taken to be, including for example whether one understands a behaviour to be strongly intentional or not. (Culpeper, 2011, p. 23)

Impoliteness occurs when: "(1) the speaker communicates face-attack intentionally, or (2) the hearer perceives and/or constructs behaviour as intentionally face-attacking, or a combination of (1) and (2)" (Culpeper, 2005a, p. 38).

It is important to point out that Culpeper, in his definition of impoliteness, retained the term 'strategies', which was used by Brown and Levinson for constructing, regulating and reproducing forms of cooperative social interaction (Watts, 2003, p. 267). Culpeper uses their model to present the set of strategies of uncooperative interaction. Hence his definition which states that impoliteness includes "communicative strategies designed to attack face, and thereby cause social conflict and disharmony" (Culpeper, 2003, p. 1546). Culpeper's initial model of impoliteness (super)strategies consists of five strategies whose purpose is to attack the interlocutor's face instead of saving it. He introduces the following model along with definitions and output strategies:

> *Bald on record impoliteness*: the FTA is performed "in the most direct, clear, unambiguous and concise way in circumstances where face is not irrelevant or minimized" (Brown and Levinson, 1987, p. 69).,
>
> *Positive impoliteness*: the use of strategies designed to damage the addressee's positive face wants, e.g. ignore, snub the other – fail to acknowledge the other's presence, exclude the other from an activity, disassociate from the other – for example deny association or common ground with the other, be disinterested, unconcerned, unsympathetic, use inappropriate identity markers – e.g. use a nickname when a distant relationship pertains, use obscure or secretive language, make the other feel uncomfortable, call the other names – use derogatory nominations, use taboo words – swear or use abusive or profane language.
>
> *Negative impoliteness*: the use of strategies designed to damage the addressee's negative face wants, e.g. frighten, condescend, scorn or ridicule – emphasize your relative power, belittle the other (e.g. use diminutives), invade the other's space (e.g. ask for or speak about information which is too intimate given the relationship), explicitly associate the other with a negative aspect – personalize, use pronouns "I" and "you", violate the structure of conversation – interrupt.
>
> *Sarcasm or mock politeness*: the FTA is performed with the use of politeness strategies that are obviously insincere, and thus remain surface realizations.
>
> *Withhold impoliteness*: the absence of politeness work where it would be expected. For example, failing to than somebody for a present.
>
> *Off-record impoliteness*: the FTA is performed by means of an implicature but in such a way that one attributable intention clearly outweighs any others. (1996, pp. 356-357).

Culpeper later (2005) upgrades and remodels his taxonomy, and pays attention to the Spencer-Oatey's 'Raport management model' from 2002 and describes it as a "refinement of Brown and Levinson's notions of positive and negative face" (p. 36). In this model, the notion of face includes cross-cultural perspective and group perspective. This is an upgrade of Brown and Levinson's model which has been criticized for being biased towards individualistic approach and "cannot adequately account for group-dynamics of at least some 'non-western' cultures"

(Culpeper, 2011, p. 21). Spencer-Oatey's model adapted by Culpeper (2016) has been summarized and presented in the following table:

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="3">Face
Defined with reference to Goffman desire for people to evaluate us positively in (1972: 5): "the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself [sic] by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact"</td><td>Quality face
"We have a fundamental desire for people to evaluate us positively in terms of our personal qualities, e. g., our confidence, abilities, appearance etc." (2002, p. 540)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Social identity face
"We have a fundamental desire for people to acknowledge and uphold our social identities or roles, e. g., as group leader, valued customer, close friend." (2005, p. 106)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Relational face
Relational face (related to the self in relationship with others): "there can also be a relational application; for example, being a talented leader and/or a kind-hearted teacher entails a relational component that is intrinsic to the evaluation" (2008, p. 15)</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Sociality rights
Defined as the "fundamental social entitlements that a person effectively claims for him/herself in his/her interactions with others" (2008, p. 13).</td><td>Equity rights
We have a fundamental belief that we are entitled to personal consideration from others, so that we are treated fairly: that we are not unduly imposed upon, that we are not unfairly ordered about and that we are not taken advantage of or exploited" (2008, p. 16)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Association rights
"We have a fundamental belief that we are entitled to social involvement with others, in keeping with the type of relationship that we have with them" (2008, p. 16)</td></tr>
</table>

Table 1 – Rapport management model by Spencer-Oatey (2002) and adapted by Culpeper (2005).

Even though Brown and Levinson's super strategies have been criticized, they are still relevant for the analysis of impoliteness techniques. Moreover, they are subsumed into the Rapport management model. Thus, according to Culpeper, positive face overlaps with quality face, social identity face and relational face, while negative face overlaps with equity rights and to a degree with association rights.

3. The emergence of Twitter as a new campaign platform

Given that the Internet today is a ubiquitous and unavoidable network used by millions of people every day, it is understandable that news spreads the fastest this way. The Internet goes hand in hand with television as the first medium for informing the public. Moreover, television, radio and other mass media are falling into the background and the internet is slowly but surely taking on the role of the main and most widespread medium. Presidential campaigns used to rely on newspapers and television to present candidates in as much detail as possible and leave an impression on the general public, and television debates have been the most watched and followed event in the campaign for years. However, this type of promotion of candidates, who in a short time slot and often censored television or radio space try to successfully present themselves and their political programs, is often not enough, so it is not surprising that recently politicians have begun to take advantage of social networks, i.e. platforms like Facebook, Twitter, Instagram and so on. The main difference between traditional media and social media is the choice of strategies that candidates use on social networks and in the mainstream media. The 2016 U.S. presidential campaign is remembered as the first in which candidates conducted the campaign via Twitter to a greater extent. Twitter was a suitable platform for candidates since it is "a short-message service that allows users to post 'in real time' what they are doing, either through the Net or through mobile phones or PC tablets" (Yus, 2011, p.135). The favorites of the Republican and Democratic parties, Hilary Clinton and Donald Trump, who were also the biggest rivals, were in the lead. They used the Internet to bring their campaign closer to ordinary people, which is a characteristic of the so-called third digital era. "The third, more generally termed the digital era, is characterized by an intensified personalization of political advocacy and increased anti-elitism, popularization and populism" (Enli, 2017, p. 52). Moreover, social media provided Donald Trump with a platform to critique the mainstream media as biased and untrustworthy. "Social media is contributing to a shift in the power relation between the politicians and their campaigns and the mainstream media and the journalists, because the politicians now have an access to the means of production as well as efficient and direct distribution channels" (2017, p. 53).

Enli adds that online platforms have raised presidential campaigns to a higher level in terms of professionalization and expertise in charge of content design. Obama went in that direction back in 2008 and even Clinton in 2016. Donald Trump, who was better known as a businessman and celebrity than as a politician at the time, decided, according to Enli, for the opposite strategy - deprofessionalization of the presidential campaign on Twitter. In other words, his intentional or unintentional strategies were guided by "gut-feeling tweeting" (Enli, p. 55), as evidenced by official data. "The comparison clearly demonstrates the contrast between the 2016 Trump campaign and the 2016 Clinton campaign in terms of standardization and professionalization. "Likewise, almost 55% of Trump's tweets were unconventional, as opposed to only 13% of Clinton's tweets." Compared to his opponent Clinton, it has been reported that Trump himself posted his tweets or dictated them to his associates, while Hilary did so to a lesser extent. In this way, which is considered amateurish, he showed how a political campaign can be successful even though it gives the impression of lack of experience. Still, it can be said that this amateurism was partly deliberately provoked, given that Trump, with his specific appearances on Twitter, attracted more public attention than other candidates, and thus gained increasing popularity. Furthermore, Enli writes that he built the image of the candidate through controversial and unexpected posts on that network: "His image as a candidate was largely formed by his widely circulated tweets, which were often quoted and debated in the mainstream media" (p. 56). His performance, although often controversial, was liked by the general public because it came across as more genuine and authentic, which was insinuated by the use of so-called authenticity markers, such as capitalization and exclamation marks (58). It can be concluded that in the 2016 campaign, Twitter played an important role, just like Trump's self-presentation that revealed more about his character traits than about political strategies, which the electorate obviously liked.

4. Methodology

In order to conduct the analysis of Trump's impolite tweets, we compiled our own corpus. The corpus consists of 92 tweets gathered on the Trumptwitterarchive.com. The Trump Twitter Archive is an online platform designed by Brendan Brown and, as it is stated in the section "About", updated hourly, it enables all users to be up to date with Trump's Twitter posts. There

are various search options for the archive. Tweets are searchable by date or time of publication, one can search a specific person, keywords, etc. We have chosen to search tweets with some of the keywords that have been placed in the 'insults' category of the archive and then we randomly selected twelve keywords from the 'insults' collection. We removed all retweets from the corpus, i.e. tweets of other authors, which Trump and his administration then shared from their profile @realDonaldTrump. The tweets are sorted according to the keywords marked as insulting on the above-mentioned web-page. The keywords from the corpus are the following: *loser, stupid/stupidity, weak, dope/dopey, dishonest, incompetent, fool, pathetic, clown, overrated, disgusting, low life.* It is important to mention that search results contain the date of publication of the tweets and the tweets are sorted from the oldest to the most recent ones. In addition to publication dates, the search also provides the full text of a tweet and a link to the original Twitter post. The corpus consists of tweets written over two time periods. The first period is the period of the 2016 presidential campaign of Donald Trump, i.e. from 4 May 2016, the day when he became the presumptive Republican nominee, to 8 November 2016, and the second period is from 1 January 2018 to 20 June 2018. There is a time gap between collected tweets so we could investigate whether there is a change in the way Trump tweets after becoming president. Comparing these two time periods gives more comprehensive results and more clear answer to the research question whether there is a change in impoliteness strategies with the emergence of more power. The aforementioned keywords will also serve as the main words for the table we created for the purpose of data analysis. The table will contain several categories to help categorize and describe the tweets. Out of a total of 14 categories in the table, one of them refers to the type of offense in impoliteness events originally designed by Spencer-Oatey (2005) and adapted by Culpeper (2011). Spencer-Oatey distinguishes five categories according to the type of face or sociality rights that are violated and therefore introduces *quality face, social identity face, relational face, equity rights, association rights* (Culpeper 2011). Another category involves Culpeper's (1996) impoliteness strategies, which partly overlap with Spencer-Oatey's taxonomy, as previously explained in the paper. Nevertheless, we decided to use both frameworks in order to conduct the research as accurately as possible. In addition to these categories, the table also contains impoliteness triggers assigned to (super)strategies and 'Rapport management model' as well as the following items: 'politician/political analyst', 'journalist', 'media channel', 'others'. (See Appendix for table).

The first column in the first section of the table and the seventh column in the second section of the table mark the number of tweets as we sorted them by publication date and by the default category to which they belong. Apart from the keyword that identifies the whole category, this column contains other words that we thought were key in determining the type of impoliteness. The third column denotes the date of publication and the fourth contains the text of the tweet. The fifth section of the table is the type of face and/or sociality rights, the categories from Spencer-Oatey's "Rapport management model" framework. If there is more than one type of face or right, all of them are listed. The sixth column shows the type of politeness triggers used. If there is more than one type of a trigger, all of them are listed. The eighth column, which is in the second section of the table, contains all impoliteness superstrategies used in one tweet. The ninth column consists of the name of a person a significant tweet is addressed to. Similarly, the tenth category of the table indicates a group or association mentioned in a Twitter post. The eleventh column contains all important linguistic features which helped achieve offence. The last column contains a link for each tweet in the table.

5. Analysis

In order to facilitate the division of Trump's tweets into categories following the pragmatic criteria, we primarily relied on Culpeper's division of outputs into impoliteness strategies from 1996 - his impoliteness (super)strategies. Given that the tweets on trumptwitterarchive.com were selected according to keywords that had been categorized as "insults" on the site itself, it was to be expected that most of them would contain similar or the same output strategies and be classified within the same (super)strategy. Thus, as many as 89 of 92 tweets, i.e., 96,7% of the analyzed outputs contained at least one segment or sentence which corresponded to Culpeper's description of Positive impoliteness strategies. The remaining 3% contained Negative and Bald on record impoliteness strategies. There was only one example of exclusively Negative impoliteness strategy (1.1%), and 2 examples of Bald on record strategies (2.2%). Some tweets contained more than one politeness event, and in some appeared, as Culpeper (2011) calls them, primary and secondary types of offenses, in which one type of offense can be more relevant in one context or situation, and other type in another context (p. 43). "It is often the case that there are primary effects for one type of face, and maybe secondary

for another. A further problem is that one and the same strategy can contain parts that orient to different types of faces." (Capone, May 2015, p. 428 in Culpeper 2005, p. 42).

Instances of combined strategies were found in some tweets; seven (7.6%) of them contained both positive and negative strategies. The same percentage applies to bald on record and positive impoliteness strategies, while five tweets contained all three mentioned strategies (5.4%). There was only one instance of a tweet with both positive politeness and off-record impoliteness (super)strategies (1.1%).

The first research question this paper sought to answer was whether the impolite content of presidential tweets was mostly addressed to the opposite sex or whether both sexes appeared in equal proportions. The analysis of the collected tweets showed that before the presidential election, i.e. during the election campaign, both men and women were targeted equally as far as the number of tweets is concerned (see Table 2). These results can be interpreted in various ways considering the context in which they are accounted for. The expected outcome was that men would be targeted more frequently given that women were not equally represented on the American political scene, i.e. that women held only 23% of government offices in 2016 and that there were four times more male senators than female representatives (Center for American Women and Politics at Rutgers University). On the other hand, in 2016, for the first time in history, a female candidate won a candidacy for one of the two major political parties (Boyle, Meyer, 2016, p. 11), which explains the fact that Hillary Clinton, Trump's fiercest opponent, was the most frequently targeted female in the period before the election. From a total of 29 tweets aimed at women, 14 of them mentioned his opponent Hillary Clinton. Almost all tweets targeted at Clinton contained attacks on her quality or relational face. These attacks were most regularly manifested in offensive vocabulary and the use of derogatory remarks that characterized Clinton in the same vein throughout the campaign. Of the 16 tweets targeted at Clinton, 13 of them label her as 'Crooked (Crooked Hillary)', while, depending on the context in which she is referred to, she is attributed other negative characteristics, such as 'stupid', 'fool', 'weak', 'dishonest', 'incompetent', 'liar' and 'overrated'. *Crooked* Hillary is not the only target of Trump's creative language use. On the contrary, the analysis has shown that the President tends to attribute derogatory names to other politicians and influential people who often appear as antagonists on

his Twitter account. Elizabeth Warren's[1] face was thus regularly attacked by dubbing her 'goofy', 'lowlife' and 'Pocahontas', referring to her alleged Native American origins. Other insults attributed to her were similar to those of the rest of the female targets. Trump mentions all female politicians in the context of 'weak', 'ineffective', 'incompetent' individuals, while Debbie Wasserman Schultz[2] is the only female target characterized as 'overrated'. Female targets from the world of media and other public figures mostly encountered positive face threats. Trump's lexical choices portrayed Alicia Machado[3] as 'disgusting', Maureen Dowd[4] as 'wacky', 'boring' and 'neurotic dope', Mika Brzezinski[5] was a 'clown', while others had negative traits such as 'low-life', 'drunk', 'drugged-up', 'loser' and 'no talent'.

BEFORE ELECTION	Politicians	Others	Percentage
Male opponents	15 (23,8%)	7 (11,1%)	34,9 %
Female opponents	21 (30,2%)	4 (6,3%)	39,7 %
AFTER ELECTION	Politicians	Others	Percentage
Male opponents	9 (31%)	1 (3,4%)	34,5 %
Female opponents	2 (3,4%)	2 (6,9%)	13,8 %

Table 2 – The percentage and number of insults pointed toward men and women

Although the percentage of tweets targeted at men and women is nearly equal, there is a significant difference in the ratio of targeted males and females. As already mentioned, tweets targeting the female population are numerous primarily because in 2016, the main political figure alongside Trump was a woman. However, when we look at the number of men appearing in tweets, there is a transparent disparity both in the number of politicians and in their relevance on the American political scene. To put it differently, there are 23 different male targets in the corpus of tweets as opposed to almost half as many female targets – 12. Among male political opponents, most examples from the corpus were targeting Bernie Sanders'[6] quality and relational face (three times), followed by Jeff Flake[7] and Joe Biden with two mentions each. As with female politicians, Trump tends to characterize his major male opponents with derogatory

[1] Senior U.S. Senator from Massachusetts. (https://elizabethwarren.com/)
[2] Congresswoman serving Florida's 23rd Congressional district. (https://wassermanschultz.house.gov/)
[3] Actress. (https://www.imdb.com/name/nm0532410/)
[4] New York Times Op-Ed columnist. (https://www.nytimes.com/column/maureen-dowd)
[5] American journalist, talk show host and liberal political commentator. (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mika_Brzezinski)
[6] U.S. Senator from Vermont. (https://berniesanders.com/about/)
[7] Former U.S. Senator. (https://jeffflake.com/)

names, which then constantly run through his tweets. Accordingly, Joe Biden was nicknamed 'Crazy Joe', and Mark Cuban[8], Robert Gates[9], Bill Kristol[10], Paul Begala[11] and Tony Schwartz[12] were attributed the title 'dopey' or called 'dope'. It can be said that, judging by the vocabulary he uses, Trump puts most political opponents and presidential candidates in the same category. In other words, the analysis of keywords in tweets revealed how different politicians were portrayed using the same key lexis. The category with the keyword 'weak' contained six different political names, while the category 'dope/dopey' had four aforementioned journalists and TV personalities. Interestingly, the conclusion is that Trump deliberately wants to show political opponents as weaker than himself, and media experts and public figures as unhinged and under the influence of drugs. According to van Dijk, "manipulation not only involves power, but specifically abuse of power, that is, domination" (van Dijk, 2006, p. 360). He contends that "Persuasion is a legitimate and ethical way to influence the audience; however, manipulation is an illegitimate and unethical way of influencing the audience" (p. 360).

In order to answer the research question of whether the president uses different strategies in tweets aimed at men and women as accurately as possible, it was necessary to calculate which strategies appear in which cases. The results showed that of the 32 tweets pointed at male political opponents, journalists, and other people he spoke against, 15 (46.88%) targeted "quality face" and 16 "relational face" (50%). Then in a somewhat smaller amount there are attacks on "social identity face" 4 (12.5%), "equity rights" 5 (15.63%) and "association rights" as the last recorded category appearing in 2 tweets (6.25%). The most common triggers that appear in face attacks of any kind frequently include (personalized) insults (24), followed by pointed criticisms/complaints in 9 examples and unpalatable questions/complaints in 2 cases. It should be noted that in some tweets several strategies appear at once, so sometimes, for instance, both "quality face" and "relational face" are targeted in the same tweet, which means that there is primary and secondary imposition on certain targets (see Table 1 in the Appendix). As far as female politicians, journalists and other women are concerned, the methods used are similar to those of their male counterparts. There are 29 tweets pointed at women and the most numerous

[8] Businessman. (https://markcubancompanies.com/marks-bio/)
[9] U.S. Secretary of Defense from December 2006 to July 2011. (https://www.defense.gov/Our-Story/Biographies/Biography/Article/602797/)
[10] Political analyst. (https://conversationswithbillkristol.org/about-us/)
[11] Political consultant and commentator. (https://theaapc.org/awards/hall-of-fame/paul-begala/)
[12] Journalist. (https://www.bbc.com/news/av/world-us-canada-54918925)

are those that attack quality face 16 (55.17%) and relational face 12 (41.37%). An attack on equity rights was found in 6 tweets (20.69%), there was 1 social identity face attack (3.45%) while attacks on association rights were not recorded. Attack strategies are again similar to those of men, with personalized insults in the first place (21), followed by pointed criticisms (4) and complaints. Unpalatable questions (2) and threats (1) appear in a few examples.

	Quality face	Social identity face	Relational face	Equity rights	Association rights
Male	15	4	16	8	2
Female	16	1	12	6	-

Table 3 – Rapport management results in collected tweets

	Taboo	Insults	Pointed criticisms/ complaints	Unpalatable questions/ presuppositions	Threats	Condescensions	Dismissals
Male	1	23	9	2	2	11	11
Female	2	23	4	2	0	4	6

Table 4 – Impoliteness triggers in collected tweets

The last analyzed segment focuses on tweets that target neither male nor female population, but use impoliteness strategies to offend certain groups of people, political groups and parties, news networks, newspapers, together with some laws and deals. The Democratic Party and the laws passed during the previous term precede in terms of the number of insults and are the subject of 13 tweets. This is followed by tweets in which the main focus is the press and the media. In third place, there are tweets that insultingly criticize U.S. trade deals; the corpus contains 4 such tweets, as well as CNN, an American news channel which, in Trump's opinion, is politically left-wing, which has caused numerous Twitter attacks. Other tweets appear in smaller numbers and target newspapers such as the NY Times (3 tweets), Vanity Fair (1), then

political experts (2), Fox and Friends (1) and Witch Hunt (1). The tactics of Trump's attacks on different groups of people are the same as attacks on individuals. The majority of examples attack quality face (19) and social identity face (11). They are followed by attacks on equity rights (4) and there is one example of association rights violation. Examples of the attacks on relational face haven't been found. Frequently appearing triggers are once again insults (22) followed by dismissals (2), pointed criticisms (15), condescensions (1) and 1 threats (1).

The last research question attempted to ascertain whether the President changed his impoliteness strategies after winning the election. From the data observed, we inferred that the President to some extent changed his rhetorical devices on Twitter after winning the mandate. There are many possible reasons for employing different tactics, but what is immediately obvious is that tweets have become longer, contain more words and are fewer compared to the same time frame and the same keywords in the period before the election. Tweets with the same keywords do not refer to the same subjects. Moreover, male and female politicians and other people from the media are no longer his primary targets. Trump is now focusing on current political issues and decisions he is questioning through his Twitter account. It is therefore not surprising that most post-election tweets, 16 of the 29 analyzed (55%), do not apply to individuals, as was the case when the focus was on winning the election.

As the tweets are longer, they contain more instances of offensive language, especially tweets that offend individuals. Tweets with the keywords 'stupid(ity)', 'weak', 'incompetent', 'fool', 'pathetic' and 'disgusting', which do not apply to individuals, are mostly pointed at border laws, immigration policies and trade deals. Trump's dissatisfaction with the current situation in politics is again expressed primarily with positive impoliteness strategies. However, the change in the way of communicating his thoughts is visible in tweets in which there are examples of Bald-on record and Negative impoliteness (super)strategies. In tweets with Bald on record strategy, Trump does the FTA in a direct, concise and unambiguous way, whereas Negative impoliteness most frequently uses condescensions, dismissals and threats as triggers. Bald on record impoliteness appears 12 times in the second part of the corpus, compared with the three examples in the first part. Negative impoliteness, on the other hand, occurs 6 times in each time period, but one should not ignore the fact that the pre-election period generated 63 tweets compared to 29 in the post-election time.

What is typical of most Trump tweets is the use of intensifiers or intensifying written elements. As many as 59 tweets contain an exclamation mark, 28 of them contain intensifiers (e.g. too, very, highly), and 14 tweets contain capital letters (e.g. now, weak, bad judgment, total disrespect). Most words written in capital letters appear after the election, as many as 15 examples. The use of intensifiers mostly occurs in the pre-election period, in 21 tweets.

6. Discussion

The research question of whether Trump uses different impoliteness methods to insult men and women did not yield the expected results. Although the President is often the target of criticism for lewd comments and sexist attacks on his colleagues and women in general, the analysis of the material collected has shown that available tweets insult men and women evenly. Personalized insults are found in 23 examples for both female and male opponents, but a smaller number of female targets should be taken into consideration. However, the difference is visible in the choice of insulting words; for instance, no male politician was found on the list of people insulted by a word 'disgusting', which is estimated as highly inappropriate and marked as Taboo in the Appendix. Given that Culpeper (2011) argues that determining whether something is Taboo or not is highly conventionalized and contextual, and intends to insult one's positive face, it has been estimated that 'disgusting' and 'sick loser' (targeted at FBI agent Peter Strzok) are taboo words when used by a presidential candidate in an election campaign. All things considered, the assumption from the beginning of the research that tweets sent to the female part of the spectrum will differ significantly in content from tweets sent to the male population has proven to be unjustified.

In her book *Talking Donald Trump*, the author Jennifer Scaflani looked back on Trump's linguistic performance from 2004 to 2007 as a host of the reality TV show, *The Apprentice*, in order to compare his as previous public appearances with his performance as a politician. Her conclusion is that Donald Trump remains linguistically consistent across the various realms of his public appearances, which means that his linguistic strategies he uses as a politician do not significantly deviate from his trademark style formed when he was a businessman and reality star (Sclafani, 2017, p. 24). This leads to an explanation of his unique political style of writing on

Twitter. Its consistency is manifested through repeated use of the same words, capital letters and excessive use of exclamation marks. Our task was to see whether the presidential election had any effect on the stated consistency in style. Therefore, the second research question was "Did Trump change his style of writing tweets after winning the election?"

Trump's tweets, as well as his speech, are generally characterized by simple, pompous, repetitive language in a rambling fashion, resembling a more conversational style" (Golshan, 2016, Liberman, 2016a, 2016b in Wang, Liu, 2018, p. 300). His style is identical in terms of repeated use of the same insults in tweets, as we have already mentioned. However, what changed after the election were mostly the linguistic features of his tweets. The most obvious is the increased use of capital letters. While Enli argues that "capital letters are often used to emphasize one's sincerity, spontaneity and engagement, offering the speaker an air of authenticity" (2017, p. 58), it is as equally important to add that capitalization and exclamation points express negative emotional states such as anger, rage, and the need to shout. Shane confirms this proposition by saying that "the hyphens, dots, and exclamation marks are often treated as fragments or traces of a certain emotional state." Barbaro, Haberman, and Rappeport (2016) specify that the state at hand is anger and explain it as Trump's propensity to "tap out bursts of digital fury" (Shane, 2018, p. 6).

The final research question focuses on the relationship of power and impoliteness in Trump's tweets. The assumption is that impoliteness comes with more power. Moreover, Scollon and Scollon argue that impoliteness in fact is the exercise of power, that no interaction exists without power relations and that it always has "an effect on one's addresses in that it alters the future action-environment of one's interlocutors" (Scollon and Scollon in Cahyono, 2018, p. 3). Power is especially evident in institutional politeness, where linguistic behavior is often limited by discourse practices of the community and certain rules of speaking need to be followed (Harris, 2001). In such occasions there is usually one more powerful, and the hierarchically higher participant in the conversation who is at liberty to be impolite, while on the other hand, the less powerful participant is restricted by social structures in his response to impoliteness (Culpeper 2011). He is, as Culpeper maintains, prone to face loss without the ability to reciprocate in the same manner (2011).

Trump is a real example of how the abuse of power and position and crossing the line of what is considered political behavior can lead to impoliteness. His public image and reputation were built even before he became president, and the position of a leader was previously established through his roles of a business magnate and TV personality. Trump's transition from entrepreneurship to politics was, as Enli states, highly predictable and recognizable (2017). His political messages in tweets resembled his previous performances and the authenticity of his presidential campaign manifested in the use of capital letters and exclamation marks appeared as "markers of an 'authentic outsider'" (2017, p. 58). His previously built powerful status goes hand in hand with Culpeper's thesis that "with great power comes great impoliteness" (2005, p. 37), which is found in his tweets both before and after the election equally. The segments which changed after the election were impoliteness strategies. Negative politeness appears in significantly more examples and is manifested in condescending remarks for Trump's opponents to make them look powerless, followed by the increased use of capital letters and exclamation points as linguistic features that are generally understood in online writing as emphasizing, shouting, etc.

To conclude this chapter, the strategies in Trump's tweets contain previously known features of his both written and oral linguistic features. Sclafani (2017) argues that the style he used in *The Apprentice* show is "stereotypically hypermasculine, with unhedged, 'bald on-record' (Brown & Levinson, 1987) face-threatening statements (2017, p. 5). The characterization of Trump's language from the TV show can be equally applied to tweets during and after the presidential campaign. Trump continues to use various means to emphasize his powerful position and undermine the importance of others. He amplifies his impoliteness strategies by the addition of modifiers, taboo words and particular prosodies, which Culpeper enumerates as the main features to exacerbate the impoliteness formula (2011).

7. Final remarks on the relevance of context and the challenges in this research

Culpeper (2011) emphasizes the importance of context in the following way: impoliteness is an attitude that is activated by specific kinds of behaviors in specific contexts. No sentence in itself is polite or impolite, on the contrary, Fraser and Nolan (1981) add, the

conditions in which a sentence is used determine the judgment of politeness. Given that tweets are short units of text that mostly follow the flow of Trump's thoughts, it was difficult to fully grasp their meaning and comprehend the message without further background research. To determine the impoliteness strategies, it was not enough to reach for the list of impoliteness triggers and look at the rules related to a particular strategy, moreover, it took a lot of research, google searches and reading newspaper articles commenting and explaining his actions. Even with all the available context, there were many dilemmas about determining the strategy because of the discrepancies and overlaps when trying to decide whether the strategy was negative, positive, bald-on record and so on. Brown and Levinson's, and later Culpeper's, taxonomy of superstrategies has been criticized because the distinction between the strategies is not always crystal clear like in their taxonomy. Moreover, complete precision in defining the type of a strategy would require perfect conditions in a perfect context, which is impossible because different people see different things. Of course, some situations are more subject to context, and some less so. For that reason, 'you fucking cunt' would be understood as the output of the 'Call the other names' trigger, while silence could be interpreted as the output strategy of 'Make the others feel uncomfortable' or many other outputs and is more sensitive to context (Culpeper, 2016, p. 10) Culpeper states that it is particularly difficult to determine whether something is a Positive or Negative impoliteness strategy. Blas Arroyo (2001, p. 22) notes that it is difficult to determine whether some output strategies should be Positive or Negative impoliteness superstrategies, especially the output category 'Condescend, scorn or ridicule'. This output, maintains Blas Arroyo, is clearly considered a Positive politeness strategy, while Culpeper, modeled on Brown and Levinson, places it in the Negative politeness category (Culpeper, 2016).

This research has proven that Negative impoliteness is "an awkward mix of things" (Culpeper, 2016, p. 6) because the same problems that the above authors mention were encountered in our own analysis. It was extremely difficult to determine if something was condescension, insult, pointed criticism or something else (e.g. 'weak leader', 'weak understanding', etc.) In some cases, 'weak' can be considered as an attack on negative face by diminishing someone's value and strength, but it can also be an insult to someone's positive face. It can at the same time be an issue of 'quality face' and 'equity rights'. Culpeper (2005) states that

> these “super strategies” rarely occur singularly but are more often mixed (contrary to what Brown and Levinson claim for politeness). Moreover, it is often the case that orientation to one kind of face may have implications for another. Thus, an interruption may, in specific contexts, attack negative face by impeding someone, but it may also imply that the interuptee’s opinion was not valued – a positive face issue. (42)

The same problem arose when determining, for example, whether something is taboo or not. In this case, context again played a key role. In other words, political discourse differs from everyday language and largely depends on the context, i.e. the assessment of what is or isn’t socially appropriate in a given situation, and we notice that political behavior is inappropriate only when it is violated (Watts, 2003, p. 248). Therefore, in many cases we relied on our own judgement and tried to assess the extent to which certain tweets were insulting. For instance, keyword ‘disgusting’ and ‘sick loser’ were estimated as highly inappropriate and even taboo due to our own assessment of the appropriate political behavior.

8. Conclusion

The innovations that Twitter and other social networks have introduced into the human communication involve greater intimacy on, until a few decades ago, an unimaginable scale. Now, as never before, we can follow current thoughts of presidential candidates, even hour by hour, and have a “live broadcast” of all political decisions, all thanks to the Internet. Although the online-communication benefits are numerous, there are also negative aspects that spread through the Internet as quickly as the positive ones. Unfortunately, the Internet and social networks contain a huge amount of unfiltered content available to everyone and at any time. In line with new trends, there have been changes on the political scene that have affected the way the most powerful people in the world communicate. Political figures and country leaders have turned to communication strategies that are sometimes reminiscent of the unwanted and unfiltered content on the Internet and social networks. At the forefront of this trend, as demonstrated in this paper, is current US President Donald Trump who uses his social platforms extensively to promote himself and downplay the importance of others, often adding offensive names and comments when writing about them. Part of this can be attributed to the President’s already recognizable style, and part to new trends appearing in communication via social networks. Time will show whether this is just another trend or whether that trend will become the new normal.

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APPENDIX

Number	Keyword	Date of creation	Text	Type of face / sociality right	Impoliteness triggers
1	LOSER, boring	Sep 17, 2016	a) @CNN just doesn't get it, and that's why their ratings are so low - and getting worse. b) Boring anti-Trump	a) Equity rights b) Social identity face	a) Dismissal b) Insult
2	Embarrassed Loser	May 29, 2016	a) PM Bill Kristol has been wrong for 2yrs-an embarrassed loser, but if the GOP can't control their own, b) then they are not a party.	a) Quality face b) Equity rights	a) Insult b) Dismissal
3	Liars, losers	May 9, 2016	@daybastrop @foxandfriends @bretbaier The liars that signed the pledge and now won't support @realdonaldtrump IS the reason they are losers	Social identity face	Insult

Number	Impoliteness Superstrategies	Person (politician/ journalist)	Group/association (media channel/political party)	Linguistic features	Link
1	a) Negative b) Positive		CNN	Exclamation point	https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/777133433915002880https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/737054226833149952
2	a) Positive b) Negative	Bill Kristol	GOP	Exclamation point, intensifiers	https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/737054226833149952
3	Positive	Bret Baier	Fox and friends	Capital letters	https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/729645861089775616

Number	Keyword	Date of creation	Text	Type of face/ sociality right	Politeness triggers
4	STUPID/ STUPIDITY, horror, disaster	Jul 26, 2016	In order to try and deflect the horror and stupidity of the Wikileakes disaster, the Dems said maybe it is Russia dealing with Trump. Crazy!	Social identity	Insult
5	Disastrous, stupid	Jul 25, 2016	The new joke in town is that Russia leaked the disastrous DNC e-mails, which should never have been written (stupid), because Putin likes me	Social identity	Pointed criticism/complaint
6	Stupid	Jul 2, 2016	It is impossible for the FBI not to recommend criminal charges against Hillary Clinton. What she did was wrong! What Bill did was stupid!	Relational face	Pointed criticism/complaint
7	Crooked, stupid	Jun 1, 2016	Crooked Hillary Clinton is a fraud who has put the public and country at risk by her illegal and very stupid use of e-mails. Many missing!	Relational face	Insult
8	Bad, stupid	May 22, 2016	a) Hillary Clinton is not qualified to be president because her judgement has been proven to be so bad! b) Would be four more years of stupidity! ?	a) Equity rights b) Quality face	a) Dismissal b) Pointed criticism
9	Stupidity	May 15, 2016	Wow, I have had so many calls from high ranking people laughing at the stupidity of the failing @nytimes piece. Massive front page for that!	Quality face	Pointed criticism
Number	Superstrategy	Person (politician/ journalist)	Group/association (media channel/political party)	Linguistic features	Link
4	Positive		Democratic national committee	Exclamation point	https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/

					75807126412 8806912
5	Positive		Democratic national committee	intensifiers	https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/757538729170964481
6	Positive	Bill Clinton		Exclamation point	https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/749341789102960640
7	Positive	Hillary Clinton		Exclamation point, intensifiers	https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/738132164399636480
8	a) Negative b) Positive	Hillary Clinton		Exclamation point, intensifiers	https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/734365143635759104
9	Positive		New York Times	Exclamation point	https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/731923681522397184
Number	Keyword	Date of creation	Text	Type of face / sociality right	Politeness triggers
10	WEAK	Oct 19, 2016	a) Hillary is too weak to lead on border security-no solutions, no ideas, no credibility. b) She supported NAFTA, worst deal in US history. #Debate	a) Relational face b) Equity rights	a) Insult/Condescension b) Dismissals
11	Weak, ineffective	Oct 11, 2016	Our very weak and ineffective leader, Paul Ryan, had a bad conference call where his members went wild at his disloyalty.	Relational face	Insult/Condescension
12	Weak	Oct 4, 2016	CLINTON IS WEAK ON NORTH KOREA: https://t.co/8prednmnfx #vpdebate	Relational face	Insult/Condescension
13	Weakness	Sep 19,	Hillary Clinton's weakness	Relational	Insult/Condes

		2016	while she was Secretary of State, has emboldened terrorists all over the world..cont: https://t.co/e5bdtiwlur	face	cension
14	Weak, disaster	Sep 14, 2016	a) I was never a fan of Colin Powell after b) his weak understanding of weapons of mass destruction in Iraq = disaster. We can do much better!	a) Equity rights b) Relational face	a) Dismissal b) Insult/Condescension
15	Weak, ineffective	Sep 4, 2016	The Great State of Arizona, where I just had a massive rally (amazing people), has a very weak and ineffective Senator, Jeff Flake. Sad!	Relational face	Insult/Condescension
16	Weak	Sep 4, 2016	Republican Party needs strong and committed leaders, not weak people such as @jeffflake, if it is going to stop illegal immigration.	Association rights	Condescension
17	Weakness, sad, irrelevant	Aug 10, 2016	Joe's weakness is its low ratings. I don't watch anymore but I heard he went wild against Rudy Giuliani and #2A - sad & irrelevant!	Relational face	Pointed criticism
18	Weakness	Jul 31, 2016	Captain Khan, killed 12 years ago, was a hero, but this is about RADICAL ISLAMIC TERROR and the weakness of our "leaders" to eradicate it!	Social identity	Pointed criticism
19	Weak, pathetic	Jul 24, 2016	There is no longer a Bernie Sanders "political revolution." He is turning out to be a weak and somewhat pathetic figure,wants it all to end!	Quality face	Insult/condescension
20	Weak, disrespect	Jul 24, 2016	Bernie Sanders started off strong, but with the selection of Kaine for V.P., is ending really weak. So much for a movement! TOTAL DISRESPECT	Relational face	Pointed criticism

21	Goofy, weak	Jul 17, 2016	a) If Goofy Elizabeth Warren, a very weak Senator, didn't lie about her heritage (being Native American) b) she would be nothing today. Pick her H	a) Quality face b) Equity rights	a) Insult b) Dismissal
22	Weakness, crooked	Jul 15, 2016	Four more years of weakness with a Crooked Hillary Administration is not acceptable. Look what has happened to the world with O & Hillary!	Quality face	Insult
23	Weak, crooked	Jul 10, 2016	Look what is happening to our country under the WEAK leadership of Obama and people like Crooked Hillary Clinton. We are a divided nation!	Relational face	Insult
24	Crooked, unfit, weak	Jul 5, 2016	Crooked Hillary Clinton a) is unfit to serve as President of the U.S. b) Her temperament is weak and her opponents are strong. BAD JUDGEMENT!	a) Equity rights b) Quality face	a) Dismissal b) Pointed criticism/complaint
25	Weak, ineffective	Jun 12, 2016	What has happened in Orlando is just the beginning. Our leadership is weak and ineffective. I called it and asked for the ban. Must be tough	Social identity	Pointed criticism/complaint
26	Weakness	May 16, 2016	A political commentator for @cnn, which I no longer watch, said "Trump showed some weakness in the Repub Primaries." I set all-time record!	Quality face	Pointed criticism/complaint
27	Goofy, weak, ineffective	May 6, 2016	a) Goofy Elizabeth Warren is weak and ineffective. b) Does nothing. c) All talk, no action – maybe her Native American name?	a) Quality face b) Relational face c) Equity rights	a) Insult b) Pointed criticism c) Dismissal
Number	Superstrategy	Person (politician/ journalist)	Group/association (media channel/political party)	Linguistic features	Link

10	Positive impoliteness	Hillary Clinton		Intensifiers	https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/788914665136922624
11	Positive impoliteness	Paul Ryan		Intensifiers	https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/785828772423561216
12	Positive impoliteness	Hillary Clinton			https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/783491875885813761
13	Positive impoliteness	Hillary Clinton			https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/777913567676866560
14	Positive impoliteness	Colin Powell		Exclamation point, intensifiers	https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/776269061823074304
15	Positive impoliteness	Jeff Flake		Exclamation point, intensifiers	https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/772571293438840832
16	Negative	Jeff Flake			https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/772556213313765377
17	Positive impoliteness	Joe Biden		Exclamation point	https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/763398630812311552
18	Positive impoliteness		Country leaders	Capitalization, quotation marks	https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/759734698415312897
19	Positive	Bernie		Exclamation	https://twitter.

	impolitene ss	sanders		point	com/realdonal dtrump/status/ 75720567882 1928960
20	Positive impolitene ss	Bernie sanders		Exclamation point, capitalizatio n, intensifiers	https://twitter. com/realdonal dtrump/status/ 75717476754 7977728
21	a) Positive, b) Negative	Elizabeth warren		Intensifiers	https://twitter. com/realdonal dtrump/status/ 75465288875 2910336
22	Positive, Bald on record	Hillary Clinton administrati on		Exclamation point	https://twitter. com/realdonal dtrump/status/ 75396265929 3396992
23	Positive impolitene ss	Barack Obama, Hillary Clinton		Capitalizatio n, exclamation point	https://twitter. com/realdonal dtrump/status/ 75211063003 1749120
24	Positive	Hillary Clinton		Capitalizatio n, exclamation point	https://twitter. com/realdonal dtrump/status/ 75054895924 0843265
25			Leadership		https://twitter. com/realdonal dtrump/status/ 74209603320 7844864
26	Positive			Exclamation point	https://twitter. com/realdonal dtrump/status/ 73220001245 7906176
27	Positive Negative	Elizabeth Warren			https://twitter. com/realdonal dtrump/status/ 72877759956 0892416
Num ber	Keyword	Date of creation	Text	Type of face / sociality	Politeness triggers

				right	
28	DOPE / DOPEY	Sep 24, 2016	a) If dopey Mark Cuban of failed Benefactor fame wants to sit in the front row, b) perhaps I will put Gennifer Flowers right alongside of him!	a) Quality face b) Equity rights	a) Insult b) Condescension
29	Dopey	Sep 17, 2016	a) Never met but never liked dopey Robert Gates. b) Look at the mess the U.S. is in. Always speaks badly of his many bosses, including Obama.	a) Quality face b) Social identity face	a) Insult b) Pointed criticism/complaint
30	Wacky, boring, neurotic dope	Sep 17, 2016	Wacky @nytimesdowd, who hardly knows me, makes up things that I never said for her boring interviews and column. A neurotic dope!	Quality face	Insult
31	Irrelevant, dope	Sep 10, 2016	I havn't seen @tonyschwartz in many years, he hardly knows me. a) Never liked his style. Super lib, Crooked H supporter. b) Irrelevant dope!	a) Association rights b) Quality face	a) Dismissal b) Insult
32	Dopey	May 22, 2016	b) Why do the networks continue to put a) dopey @billkristol on panels when he has called every single shot about me wrong for 2 yrs?	a) Quality face	a) Insult b) Unpalatable questions/presuppositions
33		May 17, 2016	Paul Begala, the dopey @CNN flunky and head of the Pro-Hillary Clinton Super PAC, has knowingly committed fraud in his first ad against me.	Relational face	Insult
Number	Superstrategy	Person (politician/ journalist)	Group/association (media channel/political party)	Linguistic features	Link
28	a) Positive, b) Negative	Mark Cuban		Exclamation point	https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/779729180334387200
29	Positive	Robert gates			https://twitter.com/realdonal

					dtrump/status/77728474425 3812740
30	Positive	Maureen Dowd		Exclamation point	https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/77719760488 7113728
31	a) Positive b) Negative	Tony Schwartz		Exclamation point	https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/77448706038 4276480
32	Positive	Bill Kristol			https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/73439532958 8670465
33	Positive	Paul Begala			https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/73278830623 7345794
Number	Keyword	Date of creation	Text	Type of face / sociality right	Politeness triggers
34	INCOMPETENT, scandal	Aug 3, 2016	a) Our incompetent Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton, b) was the one who started talks to give 400 million dollars, in cash, to Iran. Scandal!	Relational face	a) Insult b) Accusation
35	Incompetent, liar	Jul 26, 2016	The invention of email has proven to be a very bad thing for Crooked Hillary in that it has proven her to be both incompetent and a liar!	Quality face	Insult
36	Incompetent	Jul 13, 2016	a) Is Supreme Court Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg going to apologize to me for her misconduct? Big mistake by b) an incompetent judge!	Relational face	a) Unpalatable questions b) Insult
37	Crooked, dishonest, incompetent	Jul 6, 2016	Crooked Hillary has once again been proven to be a person who is dishonest, incompetent and of very bad judgement.	Quality face	Insult

38	Incompete nt	Mar 22, 2016	Incompetent Hillary, despite the horrible attack in Brussels today, wants borders to be weak and open-and let the Muslims flow in. No way!	Relational face	Insult
39	Incompete nt	Feb 22, 2016	a) Just watched the very incompetent Mitt Romney Campaign Strategist, Stuart Stevens. Now I know why Mitt lost so badly. b) Stevens is a clown!	a) Relational face b) Quality face	a) Insult b) Insult
Num ber	Superstrat egy	Person (politician/ journalist)	Group/association (media channel/political party)	Linguistic features	Link
34	Positive impolitene ss	Hillary Clinton		Exclamation point	https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/760783130978648064
35	Positive impolitene ss	Hillary Clinton		Exclamation point, intensifiers	https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/758020997383684096
36	Positive impolitene ss	Ruth Bader		Exclamation point	https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/753354905897668608
37	Positive impolitene ss	Hillary Clinton		Intensifiers	https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/750650894040064000
38	Positive impolitene ss	Hillary Clinton		Exclamation point	https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/712473816614772736
39	Positive impolitene ss	Mitt Romney		Exclamation point, intensifiers	https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/701941803327426560
Num ber	Keyword	Date of creation	Text	Type of face / sociality	Politeness triggers

				right	
40	FOOL	Oct 24, 2016	We are winning and the press is refusing to report it. Don't let them fool you- get out and vote! #draintheswamp on November 8th!	Association rights	Dismissal
41	Fool	Oct 11, 2016	DON'T LET HER FOOL US AGAIN. Https://t.co/3qsoadfh7s		
42	Dishonest, foolish, stupid	Jul 10, 2016	a) The media is so dishonest. If I make a statement, they twist it and turn it to make it sound bad or foolish. b) They think the public is stupid!	Social identity	a) Insult b) Pointed criticism/complaint
43	Fool	Jul 4, 2016	With Hillary and Obama, the terrorist attacks will only get worse. Politically correct fools, won't even call it what it is - RADICAL ISLAM!	Social identity	Insult
44	Fool	Jul 3, 2016	Only a fool would believe that the meeting between Bill Clinton and the U.S.A.G. was not arranged or that Crooked Hillary did not know.	Equity rights	Condescension
Number	Superstrategy	Person (politician/ journalist)	Group/association (media channel/political party)	Linguistic features	Link
40	Bald on-record		The press	Exclamation point	https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/790557856806371328
41	Bald on-record	Hillary Clinton			https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/785913754194104320
42	Positive		The media	Exclamation point, Intensifiers	https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/752211419634933760
43	Positive		Politically correct people	Exclamation point	https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/74998970927

					5885568
44	Negative		Anybody		https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/749698321074180096
Number	Keyword	Date of creation	Text	Type of face/ sociality right	Politeness triggers
45	Wow, PATHETIC, dishonest	Oct 10, 2016	Wow, @CNN got caught fixing their "focus group" in order to make Crooked Hillary look better. Really pathetic and totally dishonest!	Quality face	Pointed criticism
46	Poor, pathetic	Aug 12, 2016	I love watching these poor, pathetic people (pundits) on television working so hard and so seriously to try and figure me out. They can't!	Social identity	Insult
47	Pathetic	Jul 27, 2016	Not one American flag on the massive stage at the Democratic National Convention until people started complaining-then a small one. Pathetic	Social identity	Pointed criticism/complaint
48	Pathetic, weak	Jul 24, 2016	There is no longer a Bernie Sanders "political revolution." He is turning out to be a weak and somewhat pathetic figure,wants it all to end!	Quality face	Insult
49	Pathetic	May 17, 2016	The pathetic new hit ad against me misrepresents the final line. "You can tell them to go BLANK themselves" - was about China, NOT WOMEN!	Quality face	Insult
Number	Superstrategy	Person (politician/ journalist)	Group/association (media channel/political party)	Linguistic features	Link
45	Positive		CNN	Exclamation point, intensifiers	https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/785563318655

					2178432
46	Positive		Pundits	Exclamation point	https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/764064821000056832
47	Positive		Democratic National Convention		https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/758286077400580096
48	Positive	Bernie Sanders		Exclamation point	https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/757205678821928960
49	Positive		Advertisement	Exclamation point	https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/732535400498143232
Number	Keyword	Date of creation	Text	Type of face / sociality right	Politeness triggers
50	CLOWN	Aug 22, 2016	Some day, when things calm down, i'll tell the real story of @joenbc and his very insecure long-time girlfriend, @morningmika. Two clowns!	Quality face	Insult
Number	Superstrategy	Person (politician/ journalist)	Group/association (media channel/political party)	Linguistic features	Link
50	Positive	Joe Scarborough Mika Brzezinski		Exclamation point, intensifiers	(not provided)
Number	Keyword	Date of creation	Text	Type of face/ sociality right	Politeness triggers
51	OVERRATED	Aug 29, 2016	a) Crooked Hillary's brainpower is highly overrated. b) Probably why	a) Quality face b) Relational	a) Insult b) Pointed

			her decision making is so bad or, as stated by Bernie S, she has BAD JUDGEMENT	face	criticism/complaints
52	Phony, overrated	Jul 26, 2016	No matter what Bill Clinton says and no matter how well he says it, a) the phony media will exclaim it to be incredible. b) Highly overrated!	a) Quality face b) Social identity face	Pointed criticism/complaint
53	Overrated	Jul 24, 2016	I always said that Debbie Wasserman Schultz was overrated. The Dems Convention is cracking up and Bernie is exhausted, no energy left!	Relational face	Insult
54	Overrated	Jun 26, 2016	George Will, one of the most overrated political pundits (who lost his way long ago), has left the Republican Party. He's made many bad calls	Quality/ relational face	Insult
Number	Superstrategy	Person (politician/ journalist)	Group/association (media channel/political party)	Linguistic features	Link
51	Positive	Hillary Clinton		Intensifiers , capitalization	https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/770252177512230912
52	Positive	Bill Clinton	Phony media	Exclamation point, intensifiers	https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/758120321845235712
53	Positive	Debbie Wasserman Schultz		Exclamation point	https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/757311921095925760
54	Positive	George Will		Intensifiers	https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/747027629652443136
Num	Keyword	Date of	Text	Type of	Politeness

ber		creation		face/ sociality right	triggers
55	DISGUSTING	Sep 30, 2016	Did Crooked Hillary help disgusting (check out sex tape and past) Alicia M become a U.S. citizen so she could use her in the debate?	Quality face	Insult/taboo words
56	Failing, disgusting	Sep 17, 2016	My lawyers want to sue the failing @nytimes so badly for irresponsible intent. I said no (for now), but they are watching. Really disgusting	Quality face	Pointed criticism/complaint
57	Disgusting	Sep 3, 2016	@CNN is so disgusting in their bias, but they are having a hard time promoting Crooked Hillary in light of the new e-mail scandals.	Quality face	Insult/taboo words
58	Disgusting, corrupt	Aug 14, 2016	If the disgusting and corrupt media covered me honestly and didn't put false meaning into the words I say, I would be beating Hillary by 20%	Social identity	Insult
59	Disgusting, dishonest	May 23, 2016	Amazingly, with all of the money I have raised for the vets, I have got nothing but bad publicity from the dishonest and disgusting media.	Social identity	Insult
60	Disgusting, fraud	May 19, 2016	How quality a woman is Rowanne Brewer Lane to have exposed the @nytimes as a disgusting fraud? Thank you Rowanne.	Quality face	Insult/taboo words
Number	Superstrategy	Person (politician/ journalist)	Group/association (media channel/political party)	Linguistic features	Link
55	Positive	Alicia M			https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/781788223055994880
56	Positive		NY Times	Intensifiers	https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/77728025987

					5975169
57	Positive	Hillary Clinton	CNN		https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/772171469476552704
58	Positive		Media		https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/764803159692836864
59	Positive		Media		https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/734939680278519809
60	Positive		NY Times		https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/733348895615528960
Number	Keyword	Date of creation	Text	Type of face/ sociality right	Politeness triggers
61	Lowlife Goofy, Pocahontas	May 25, 2016	@elizabethforma Goofy Elizabeth Warren, sometimes referred to as Pocahontas because she faked the fact she is native American, is a lowlife!	Quality face	Insult
62	Low-life	May 18, 2016	Some low-life journalist claims that I "made a pass" at her 29 years ago. Never happened! Like the @nytimes story which has become a joke!	Quality face	Insult
Number	Superstrategy	Person (politician/ journalist)	Group/association (media channel/political party)	Linguistic features	Link
61	Positive	Elizabeth Warren		Exclamation point	https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/754652888752910336
62	Positive	NY Times		Exclamation	https://twitter.

		journalist		point	com/realdonaldtrump/status/733113480207798272
Number	Keyword	Date of creation	Text	Type of face/sociality right	Politeness triggers
63	NO TALENT	Dec 15, 2016	a) Has anyone looked at the really poor numbers of @vanityfair Magazine. Way down, big trouble, dead! Graydon Carter, no talent, b) will be out!	a) Quality face b) Equity rights	a) Insult b) Threat
Number	Superstrategy	Person (politician/ journalist)	Group/association (media channel/political party)	Linguistic features	Link
63	Positive Negative	Graydon Carter	Vanity Fair	Intensifiers, Exclamation point	https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/809383989018497024
Number	Keyword	Date of creation	Text	Type of face/ sociality right	Politeness triggers
64	Sick, LOSER, discredited, angry, conflicted, witch hunt	Jun 17, 2018	Why was the FBI's sick loser, Peter Strzok, working on the totally discredited Mueller team of 13 Angry & Conflicted Democrats, when Strzok was giving Crooked Hillary a free pass yet telling his lover, lawyer Lisa Page, that "we'll stop" Trump from becoming President? Witch Hunt!	a) Relational face b) Social identity	a) Insult/Taboo words, b) Unpalatable questions/presuppositions
65	Drunk, drugged up, loser	Apr 21, 2018	(The New York Times and a third rate reporter named Maggie Haberman, known as a Crooked H flunkie who I don't speak to and have nothing to do with, are going out of their way to destroy Michael Cohen and his		

			relationship with me in the hope that he will "flip." They use....) a) ....non-existent "sources" and b) a drunk/drugged up loser who hates Michael, a fine person with a wonderful family. Michael is a businessman for his own account/lawyer who I have always liked & respected. Most people will flip if the Government lets them out of trouble, even if....	a) Equity rights b) Quality face	a) Dismissals b)Insult
66	loser	Feb 18, 2018	The Fake News of big ratings loser CNN. Https://t.co/rysv90cnvs	Quality face	Insult
Number	Superstrategy	Person (politician/ journalist)	Group/association (media channel/political party)	Linguistic features	Link
64	Positive politeness	Peter Strzok		Exclamation point, Intensifiers	https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/1008510118395293699
65	Positive politeness Negative	Maggie Haberman		Intensifiers	https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/987679850545778689
66	Positive politeness		CNN		(not provided)
Number	Keyword	Date of creation	Text	Type of face / sociality right	Politeness triggers
67	STUPID / STUPIDITY	Jun 2, 2018	The United States must, at long last, be treated fairly on Trade. If we charge a country ZERO to sell their goods, and they charge us 25, 50 or even 100 percent to sell ours, it is UNFAIR and can no longer be tolerated. That is not Free or Fair Trade, it is Stupid Trade!	Quality face	Insult
68	Stupid	Apr 9, 2018	When a car is sent to the	Quality face	Insult

			United States from China, there is a Tariff to be paid of 2 1/2%. When a car is sent to China from the United States, there is a Tariff to be paid of 25%. Does that sound like free or fair trade. No, it sounds like STUPID TRADE - going on for years!		
69	Stupid	Mar 3, 2018	The United States has an $800 Billion Dollar Yearly Trade Deficit because of a) our "very stupid" trade deals and policies. Our jobs and wealth are being given to other countries that have taken advantage of us for years. They laugh at what fools our leaders have been. No more!	Quality face Social identity face	Insult
Number	Superstrategy	Person (politician/ journalist)	Group/association (media channel/political party)	Linguistic features	Link
67	Positive		Trade	Exclamation point, capitalization	https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/1002971013313908738
68	Positive		Trade	Exclamation point, capitalization	https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/983284198046826496
69	Positive		Trade	Exclamation point, intensifier	(not provided)
Number	Keyword	Date of creation	Text	Type of face/ sociality right	Politeness triggers
70	WEAK, ineffective	Jun 18, 2018	a) It is the Democrats fault for being weak and ineffective with Boarder Security and Crime. b) Tell them to start thinking about the people devastated by	a) Social identity b) (Bald on record)	a) Insult

			Crime coming from illegal immigration. Change the laws!		
71	Witch hunt	Jun 17, 2018	Daniel Henninger of The Wall Street Journal: "This IG Report makes it clear, as did Rod Rosenstein's memo, that Trump was absolutely justified, unquestionably justified, in firing Jim Comey. So I think the Mueller Investigation is on pretty weak grounds right now." Witch Hunt!	Quality face	Pointed criticism/complaint
72	Weak, stiff	Jun 13, 2018	Congratulations to Corey Stewart for his great victory for Senator from Virginia. Now he runs against a total stiff, Tim Kaine, who is weak on crime and borders, and wants to raise your taxes through the roof. Don't underestimate Corey, a major chance of winning!	Relational face	Insult
73	Meek, mild, weak, dishonest	Jun 9, 2018	PM Justin Trudeau of Canada acted so meek and mild during our @G7 meetings only to give a news conference after I left saying that, "US Tariffs were kind of insulting" and he "will not be pushed around." Very dishonest & weak. Our Tariffs are in response to his of 270% on dairy!	Relational face	Pointed criticism/complaint
74	Weak	Jun 8, 2018	a) Obama, Schumer and Pelosi did NOTHING about North Korea, and now b) weak on Crime, High Tax Schumer is telling me what to do at the Summit the Dems could never set up. Schumer failed with North Korea and Iran, we don't need his advice!	a) Equity rights b) Relational face	a) Dismissals b)Insult

75	Weak	May 28, 2018	A Democratic lawmaker just introduced a bill to Repeal the GOP Tax Cuts (no chance). This is too good to be true for Republicans...Remember, the Nancy Pelosi Dems are also weak on Crime, the Border and want to be gentle and kind to MS-13 gang members...not good!	Social identity	Pointed criticism/complaint
76	Weak, ineffective	May 4, 2018	Our Southern Border is under siege. Congress must act now to change our weak and ineffective immigration laws. Must build a Wall. Mexico, which has a massive crime problem, is doing little to help!	Quality face	Pointed criticism/complaints
77	Weak, ineffective	Apr 30, 2018	The migrant 'caravan' that is openly defying our border shows how weak & ineffective U.S. immigration laws are. Yet Democrats like Jon Tester continue to support the open borders agenda – Tester even voted to protect Sanctuary Cities. We need lawmakers who will put America First.	Quality face	Pointed criticism/complaints
78	Filthy, failure, weak	Apr 29, 2018	The White House Correspondents' Dinner was a failure last year, but this year was an embarrassment to everyone associated with it. The filthy "comedian" totally bombed (couldn't even deliver her lines-much like the Seth Meyers weak performance). Put Dinner to rest, or start over!	Quality face	Insult
79	Leaker, liar	Apr 13, 2018	a) James Comey is a proven LEAKER & LIAR. Virtually	a) Relational face	a) Insult Pointed

			everyone in Washington thought he should be fired for the terrible job he did-until he was, in fact, fired. He leaked CLASSIFIED information, for which he should be prosecuted. He lied to Congress under OATH. He is a weak and.....	b) Equity rights	criticism/complaint b) dismissals
80	Weak	Apr 4, 2018	Our Border Laws are a) very weak while those of Mexico & Canada are very strong. Congress must change these Obama era, and other, laws NOW! The Democrats stand in our way - they want people to pour into our country unchecked....CRIME! We will be taking strong action today.	a) Quality face b) (Bald on record impoliteness)	a) Pointed criticism/complaint
81	Weak	Apr 3, 2018	The big Caravan of People from Honduras, now coming across Mexico and heading to our a) "Weak Laws" Border, b) had better be stopped before it gets there. Cash cow NAFTA is in play, as is foreign aid to Honduras and the countries that allow this to happen. Congress MUST ACT NOW!	a) Quality face b) Equity rights	a) Insult b) Threats
82	Weak	Apr 2, 2018	a) Honduras, Mexico and many other countries that the U.S. is very generous to, sends many of their people to our country through our b) WEAK IMMIGRATION POLICIES. Caravans are heading here. Must pass tough laws and build the WALL. Democrats allow open borders, drugs and crime!	a) Equity rights b) Quality face	a) Patronizing behavior b) Insult
83	Weak	Apr 2, 2018	...Congress must immediately		

			pass Border Legislation, use Nuclear Option if necessary, to stop the massive inflow of Drugs and People. Border Patrol Agents (and ICE) are GREAT, but the weak Dem laws don't allow them to do their job. Act now Congress, our country is being stolen!	Quality face	Insult
84	Crazy, weak	Mar 22, 2018	Crazy Joe Biden is trying to act like a tough guy. Actually, he is weak, both mentally and physically, and yet he threatens me, for the second time, with physical assault. He doesn't know me, but he would go down fast and hard, crying all the way. Don't threaten people Joe!	a) Equity rights b) Equity rights	a) Condescension b) Threats
85	Weak	Mar 12, 2018	The Pittsburgh Post Gazette just endorsed Rick Saccone for Congress. He will be much better for steel and business. Very strong on experience and what our Country needs. Lamb will always vote for Pelosi and Dems....Will raise taxes, weak on Crime and Border.	Quality face	Pointed criticism/comments
Number	Superstrategy	Person (politician/ journalist)	Group/association (media channel/political party)	Linguistic features	Link
70	a) Positive, b) Bald on record		Democrats	Exclamation point	https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/1008709364939677697
71	Positive			Exclamation point, intensifiers	https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/1008326335083761664
72	Positive	Tim Kaine		Exclamation point	https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/

					10068374597 94251776
73	Positive	Justin Trudeau		Exclamation point, intensifiers	https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/10055865629 59093760
74	Positive, Bald on record Negative	Charles E. Schumer		Exclamation point, capitalization	https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/10050282437 60611328
75	Positive	Nancy Pelosi Dems		Exclamation point	https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/10012120776 99149825
76	Positive, Bald on record		Weak laws	Exclamation point	https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/99234874052 9815552
77	Positive, Bald on record	Jon Tester	Immigration laws		https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/99108442499 2296962
78	Positive, Bald on record impoliteness	Seth Meyers		Exclamation point	https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/99078229166 7488768
79	Positive Bald on record Negative	James Comey		Capitalization	https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/98476357921 0633216
80	Positive, Bald on record		The Democrats	Capitalization, intensifiers	https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/98149143923 3355776
81	Positive, Negative, Bald on record		Border laws	Exclamation point, capitalization	https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/98096108654

					6632705
82	Positive, Negative, Bald on record		Immigration laws	Exclamation point, capitalization	https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/980961086546632705
83	Positive, Bald on record		Weak Dem laws	Exclamation point, capitalization	https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/980764358530789380
84	Positive, Negative, Bald on record	Crazy Joe Biden		Exclamation point	https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/976765417908776963
85	Positive	Conor Lamb			(not provided)
Number	Keyword	Date of creation	Text	Type of face/ sociality right	Politeness triggers
86	Incompetent, corrupt	Jun 5, 2018	Wow, Strzok-Page, the incompetent & corrupt FBI lovers, have texts referring to a counter-intelligence operation into the Trump Campaign dating way back to December, 2015. SPYGATE is in full force! Is the Mainstream Media interested yet? Big stuff!	Relational face	Insult
87	Incompetent	Apr 4, 2018	We are not in a trade war with China, that war was lost many years ago by the foolish, or incompetent people who represented the U.S. Now we have a Trade Deficit of $500 Billion a year, with Intellectual Property Theft of another $300 Billion. We cannot let this continue!	Social identity	Insult
Number	Superstrategy	Person (politician/ journalist)	Group/association (media channel/political party)	Linguistic features	Link
86	Positive	Strzok		Exclamation	https://twitter.

	impoliteness	Page		point, capitalization	com/realdonaldtrump/status/1004160401658073090
87	Positive impoliteness		Leaders	Exclamation point	(not provided)
Number	Keyword	Date of creation	Text	Type of face/sociality right	
88	Fool	Jun 10, 2018	Fair Trade is now to be called Fool Trade if it is not Reciprocal. According to a Canada release, they make almost 100 Billion Dollars in Trade with U.S. (guess they were bragging and got caught!). Minimum is 17B. Tax Dairy from us at 270%. Then Justin acts hurt when called out!	Quality face	Insult
Number	Superstrategy	Person (politician / journalist)	Group/association (media channel/political party)	Linguistic features	Link
88	Positive, Bald on record		Fair Trade	Exclamation point	(not provided)
Number	Keyword	Date of creation	Text	Type of face/ sociality right	Politeness triggers
89	Pathetic	Apr 2, 2018	Mexico is making a fortune on NAFTA...They have very strong border laws - ours are pathetic With all of the money they make from the U.S., hopefully they will stop people from coming through their country and into ours, at least until Congress changes our immigration laws!	Quality face	Pointed criticism/insult
Number	Superstrategy	Person (politician/ journalist)	Group/association (media channel/political party)	Linguistic features	Link

89	Positive politeness		Border laws		(not provided)
Number	Keyword	Date of creation	Text	Type of face/ sociality right	Politeness triggers
90	DISGUSTING, illegal, unwarranted	May 17, 2018	Despite the disgusting, illegal and unwarranted Witch Hunt, we have had the most successful first 17 month Administration in U.S. history - by far! Sorry to the Fake News Media and "Haters," but that's the way it is!	Social identity face	Pointed criticism
91	Disgusting	Apr 21, 2018	The Washington Post said I refer to Jeff Sessions as "Mr. Magoo" and Rod Rosenstein as "Mr. Peepers." This is "according to people with whom the president has spoken." There are no such people and don't know these characters...just more Fake & Disgusting News to create ill will!	Quality face Social identity face	Insult Pointed criticism/comments
Number	Superstrategy	Person (politician/ journalist)	Group/association (media channel/political party)	Linguistic features	Link
90	Positive impoliteness Off-record impoliteness		Witch Hunt	Exclamation point	(not provided)
91	Positive impoliteness		Media	Exclamation point	(not provided)
Number	Keywords	Date of creation	Text	Type of face/ sociality right	Politeness triggers
92	NO TALENT, horrible,	Jun 1, 2018	Why aren't they firing no talent Samantha Bee for the horrible language used on her	Quality face	Unpalatable questions/presuppositions

	low ratings		low ratings show? A total double standard but that's O.K., we are Winning, and will be doing so for a long time to come!		Pointed criticisms/complaints
Number	Superstrategy	Person (politician/ journalist)	Group/association (media channel/political party)	Linguistic features	Link
92	Positive impoliteness	Samantha Bee		Exclamation point, intensifiers	(not provided)