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A Pragmatic Study of Sarcasm in Political Debates- Boris Johnson's Brexit Debates a Case Study

A Thesis Submitted to the Council of the College of Education for
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Requirements for the Degree of Master in English Language/ Linguistics.

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بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

﴿وَمِنَ النَّاسِ مَن يَشْتَرِي لَهْوَ الْحَدِيثِ لِيُضِلَّ عَن سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ بِغَيْرِ عِلْمٍ
وَيَتَّخِذَهَا هُزُوًا ۚ أُولَٰئِكَ لَهُمْ عَذَابٌ مُّهِينٌ﴾

﴿But there are, among men, Those who purchase idle tales, Without knowledge (or meaning), To mislead (men) from the Path Of God and throw ridicule (On the Path) ; for such There will be a humiliating Penalty﴾

Certification

I hereby certify that the thesis entitled (**A Pragmatic Study of Sarcasm in Political Debates, Boris Johnson's Brexit Debates Study Case**) written by **Sarah Yasir Abd-Alsajad** has been prepared under my supervision at the College of Education for the Human Sciences/ University of Kerbala in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master in English Language / Linguistics

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Dedication

To My Country Iraq;

To My Parents;

and

To My Late Husband's Soul.

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Abstract

This research analyses pragmatically the concept of sarcasm in British Prime Minister Boris Johnson's Brexit debates. It has been chosen to focus on this topic mainly because it is vital in modern political discourse. The problem this study seeks to solve is the way to understand sarcasm in debates depending on a pragmatic approach; it also seeks to find the purpose behind using sarcasm. Accordingly, the present study tries to find the appropriate answers to the following questions: 1) what is the pragmatic theory/ies sustainable in sarcasm analysis? 2) what are the pragmatic strategies used to achieve sarcasm in Boris Johnson's Brexit debates? 3) what is the pragmatic functions Johnson intends to attain by consuming sarcasm? 4) does he violate the four GM in sarcasm production in political debates? To find appropriate answers to those questions, the following aims are stated: 1) establishing the sufficient pragmatic approach to analyse sarcasm; 2) identifying the most frequently used speech acts for issuing sarcasm in political debates; 3) elucidating the relation between sarcasm and GM; 4) demonstrating the frequent and the distinct pragmatic patterns utilised to produce sarcasm, and 5) clarifying the purposes behind sarcasm in political debates. In the light of the aims mentioned above, the following hypothesis are innovated: 1) sarcasm is a process that can be pragmatically analysed as occurs in Brexit debates; 2) different speech acts can be utilised to perform sarcasm; 3) sarcasm is produced intentionally by violating GM; 4) specific pragmatic structures of sarcasm are used more frequently than others in Brexit debates; 5) sarcasm is a sharp weapon used to reflect negative attitude. Accordingly, certain procedures are performed to

accomplish the specified aims and to determine the validity of these hypotheses, including the following: 1) stating a theoretical background which helps to introduce the main aspects related to the study such as definitions of sarcasm, its types, and other associated pragmatic theories as SA and GMs, in order to get a broad understanding of the study's phenomena; 2) gathering data from the Brexit debates of the British Prime Minister Boris Johnson; by analysing the sarcastic utterances that occur throughout these debates; 3) utilising a model established for this purpose; 4) calculating the results of the analysis and statistically verifying the findings of the analysis using a statistical approach represented by the percentage equation, and 5) reaching conclusions according to the findings of the study. The study confirms the first, second, and fourth hypotheses but partially rejects the third and fifth hypotheses. The study comprises five chapters, including an eclectic model adapted to encompass with the purpose of the study. The study reaches a number of conclusions; the blatant ones are; some pragmatic combinations are more commonly employed in the production of sarcasm than others to convey the speaker's intentions such as, assertive speech act, illocutionary sarcasm, and sarcasm serves a variety of roles, namely negative attitude. The study ends with a few recommendations and suggestion for further studies.

Key Words: *Sarcasm, Illocutionary Structure of Sarcasm, Gricean Maxims, Speech Acts, Sophistication, Persuasion and Evaluation.*

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List of Abbreviations

Abbreviations	Title
CP	Cooperative Principle
FL	Foreign Language
GM	Gricean Maxims
MP	Member of Parliament
N.E	Negative Evaluation
P.E	Positive Evaluation
P.F.S.	Pragmatic Function of Sarcasm
PM	Prime Minister
P.S.S.	Pragmatic Structure of Sarcasm
SA	Speech Acts
Ss	Speakers

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Chapter One

Introduction

1.0 Introductory Notes

Human emotions have long been a mystery. It is difficult to deduce what a person wants to express just by reading a sentence written by him or her or by merely listening to a sentence from a stream of utterances. Humans have learned different ways of expressing their sentiments as trends and times have changed. The most common of them is sarcasm. People nowadays utter phrases and sentences that are not literally meant by the speaker or have a hidden meaning that the listener is supposed to understand. This study's goal is to introduce the realm of sarcasm and strategies for identifying it.

The term 'sarcasm' is derived from the Greek word 'sarkazein', which means to rip or bite flesh (Ayota, 2009, p. 321). Sarcasm, as defined by Attardo (2000, p. 5), is a more overtly hostile kind of irony, with more markings that are distinct and a clear target. McDonald (1999, p. 21) argues that sarcasm is a type of ironic communication that is frequently employed to communicate implicit criticism directed at a specific victim. The term irony is derived from the Greek words 'eironeia' or 'eiron' and can refer to a variety of things, including pretended ignorance, dissimulation, or contempt (Miller, 2019, p. 29). A sarcastic tone in the speaker's voice is also a hint that the speaker is being sarcastic. When a sarcastic word or phrase is employed for effect, not to convey the literal meaning, it is sarcasm. When someone speaks something

opposite to his/her believes to be true, sarcasm occurs. Sarcasm is a kind of communication in which people use it to mock, insult, criticise, and ridicule others. One does not need to aim to be ironic in order to be ironic, but one must intend to be sarcastic in order to be sarcastic, i.e. the speaker's intentionality is the line between irony and sarcasm. A sarcastic utterance may be made in speech or writing, in speech it is combined with some extra linguistic features as intonation.

1.1 The Problem of the Study

For Leech (1983, p, 2) pragmatics is a well-known distinguished field from linguistic. Many would say, that the nature of speech itself could not be understood until we grasp that language is deployed in communicating pragmatically.

Within the field of pragmatics, there are numerous topics those are worthy of investigation, i.e., speech act, directness, conversational maxims, implicature, presupposition. Broadly speaking, Crystal (2011, p. 446) describes speech act theory as a theory, which analyses the role of utterances in relation to the behaviour of the speaker and the hearer in interpersonal communication.

In the 1960s, the British philosopher Paul Grice attempted an in-depth analysis of conversation behaviour. In this respect, Grice (1969, pp. 63-64) proposes four maxims for conversational implicature which are the quantity, quality, relation and manner maxims. Besides, Yule (2010, p. 65) describes implicature as an additional meaning conveyed by a speaker adhering to the cooperative principle (henceforth: CP). On this occasion, Trask

(1999, p. 38) discusses that CP is an essential concept to the verbal exchange's underlying premise to understand better how individuals communicate.

Elizabeth Camp proposes a new distinct perspective on sarcasm from implicature theorists, semanticism and expressivism. An operator that 'inverts' the literal meaning of the word or clause to which it refers semantically encodes sarcasm at the logical level (for semanticism). Whereas expressivism denies that sarcasm is a matter of meaning at all, arguing instead that it serves to draw attention to a discrepancy between how things are and how they should be and thus expunges it. While implicature theorists explained, sarcasm from what the speaker implies in an utterance. Camp comes to conclude that sarcasm is a mixture of all those vies at different levels (Camp, 2012, p. 598).

Consequently, the problem that the study seeks to solve is the way to understand sarcasm in debates depending on a pragmatic approach; it also seeks to find the purpose behind using sarcasm. Accordingly, the present study tries to find the appropriate answers to the following questions:

1. What is the pragmatic theory/ies sustainable in sarcasm analysis?
2. What are the pragmatic strategies used to achieve sarcasm in Boris Johnson's Brexit debates?
3. What is the pragmatic functions that Boris Johnson intends to attain by consuming sarcasm?
4. Does he violate Gricean maxims in the production of sarcasm in political debates?

1.2 The Aims

The study sets the following aims:

1. Identifying sustainable pragmatic model for the analysis of sarcasm in the chosen data.
2. Finding which speech acts (as part of pragmatic strategies) contribute pragmatically to process sarcastic utterances communicating Johnson's perspectives in Brexit debates.
3. Inspecting the relation between sarcasm and Gricean maxims.
4. Identifying the pragmatic structures of sarcasm that are frequently utilised in political debates to create effective sarcasm.
5. Exploring the effects that sarcastic utterances reflect depending on Attardo's model.

1.3 The Hypotheses

Throughout the above-mentioned information and in the light of the aims mentioned earlier, it is hypothesised that:

1. Combination of Searle's (1969) Speech Act theory, Gricean Maxims (1976), Camp's (2012) classification and Attardo's (2001) functions are feasible as a model to analyse sarcasm pragmatically.
2. Different forms of speech acts are manifested to produce sarcastic utterances.
3. Sarcastic utterances are produced intentionally by violating

Gricean Maxims to serve the speaker's target purpose, assuming that the speaker is adhered to the CP i.e. intends to mean more or less than what is said.

4. Some of Camp's pragmatic structures of sarcasm are highly adopted in Boris Johnson's Brexit debates.
5. In political debates, sarcasm always serves as a sharp verbal weapon reflecting negative effects.

1.4 The Procedures

The following procedures are going to be followed in this study:

1. Presenting an adequate theoretical background regarding pragmatic strategies of speech act, conversational maxims, the pragmatic structures and functions of sarcasm.
2. Choosing and selecting the samples for the study.
3. Designing the instrument that is an eclectic model for pragmatic analysis of sarcasm.
4. Analyzing the results and discussing the findings.
5. Reaching conclusions based on the results of analysis, followed by some suggestions for further studies and recommendations.

1.5 The Limits

The present study is limited to the pragmatic analysis of four of Johnson's debates (1- the 3rd of September 2019, 2- the 4th of September 2019, 3- the 15th of October 2019, and 4- the 19th of December) that tackle the Brexit deal as streamed on TV from the 'House of Commons'. Those debates occurred before voting for

British exit from the European Union by the parliaments. They are chosen after being detected to involve the target aspects of the study, i.e. sarcasm. The analysis is based on four theories, i.e. Searle's SAs, Gricean Maxims, Camp's classification and Attardo's functions.

1.6 The Value

The pragmatic investigation of sarcasm through the chosen data is particularly significant since it establishes an essential reading material that most native and non-native English readers need to comprehend. Additionally, Brexit is a controversial contemporary English political issue, led by Boris Johnson, who is a unique personality as described by British press (web1). These two entities make the current study significant. The research will also be critical for individuals interested in linguistics, particularly the language of politics and political disputes. This study signifies the form and function of sarcasm in political debates and demonstrates the connection between pragmatic aspects, sarcastic utterances and politics. It also contributes to foreign language learners since understanding sarcasm is considered an advanced skill in language learning.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

2.0 Introductory Note

This chapter is devoted to present the theoretical background for the main concepts in this study, namely, the meanings, definitions, theories, points of view, properties of sarcasm, and previous studies all are deliberated. The current topic is based heavily on speech act theory and the pragmatic strategies of sarcasm. Moreover, other topics that are related to the subject under investigation are explicated such as the classification of speech act theory, co-operative principle and maxims, etc.

2.1 Sarcasm

Briggs (1978, p. 685) states that the term ‘sarcasm’ to be derived from the Greek verb ‘Sarkazein’ means ‘to rip flesh,’ a meaning that appears to stick in the public imagination, as seen by the frequent connection of terms such as ‘cutting’, ‘biting’ and ‘irony’. It endures the synonyms ‘ridicule’, ‘derision’, ‘mockery’, ‘irony’ and ‘satire’. This confusion is employed almost exclusively by beginners, nearly to the exclusion of these other, less frequent terms in their lexicon. They believe that the person who uses sarcasm means to be harsh, bitter, stinging, scornful, disdainful, and spiteful, that he or she is unsympathetic and sneering, and that he or she is using his or her position or training to inflict mental punishment and suffering by denigrating someone with the purpose to harm. Abrams (2012, p. 77) supports Briggs and adds, the difference in applying the two terms

(i.e., irony and sarcasm) begins from the difference in their etymologies; ‘irony’ is derived from ‘eiron’ a ‘dissembler’, whereas ‘sarcasm’ is derived from the Greek verb ‘sarkazein’ which means ‘to tear flesh’. He adds a clue to sarcasm is the exaggerated inflection of the speaker’s voice.

Attardo (2000, p. 801) defines sarcasm as ‘an overtly aggressive type of irony, with clearer markers/cues and a clear target’. In the same year, McDonald (1999, p. 450) states that sarcasm is a form of ironic speech commonly used to convey implicit criticism with a particular victim as its target.

According to Toplak and Katz (2000, p. 1481) there are many factors that affect the use, or degree of sarcasm in everyday language: exaggeration, nature of the speaker, relationship of the speaker to the victim, severity of the criticism, and whether or not the criticism is being made in private or in front of an audience.

Katyayan (2019, pp. 6-7) defines sarcasm as an attempt to make a sharp or bitter comment in order to fulfil any of the three purposes: ‘wit, whimper, or evasion’. Sarcastic remarks generally do not mean literally what is said but they convey implicit meaning often as a contrast to their actual meaning. Katyayan declares that the negativity and the indirectness of sarcasm serve the speaker’s specific purposes.

In Oxford dictionary of language (2006, p. 692) another purpose for sarcasm is stated that is to criticise other people to make them look silly. Consequently, Cambridge and Collins dictionaries agree that sarcasm (spoken and rarely in a written form) does not imply mocking or criticising something or someone only, but it implies insulting and hurting feelings, supporting their view with example:

(1) *Thank you for explaining that my eye cancer isn't going to make me deaf. I feel so fortunate that an intellectual giant like yourself would deign to operate on me.*" (web5).

In this example, it is clear that the speaker tries to offend and criticise the addressee's laziness and does not make this utterance for humour purposes only.

It is almost obvious that sarcasm is one of the influential means of mockery that has recently been used by speakers or writers. It is not difficult to detect sarcasm in a given utterance because it conveys something trivial or absurd yet mocking. According to Shaw (1978, p. 241), sarcasm is a type of irony, bitter and often harsh derision. Sarcasm, for him, is always personal, always mocking, and always intended to hurt.

Viewed linguistically, Zajdman (1991, p.30)and Macmillan English Dictionary (2007, p. 1158) both show sarcasm as a term or phrase used for impact that does not have its ordinary or literal meaning it happens when a speaker means the opposite of what he or she says. For example:

(2) *Very good; well done!* As a reply to an inappropriate work (web 5).

Thus, sarcasm is viewed as an indirect kind of communication in which speakers transmit their messages indirectly.

Colston and Gibbs (2007, pp. 22-24) maintain that 'sarcasm as a term commonly used to describe an expression of verbal irony'. From another perspective, Dews et al. (2011, p. 1574) point out that sarcasm, combined with devices such as jocularly, hyperbole, rhetorical questions, and understatement are linguistic constructions

that can help produce irony. They mean such aspects are strategies by which irony is expressed.

Abrams (1981, p. 136) presents that in order to define sarcasm, two points should be taken into consideration. The first point is the literal meaning of words, and the second point is the use of the word in language and literature

Therefore, to determine whether a speech is sarcastic, the semantic meaning of the speech must be substituted for the pragmatic meaning, and then both meanings must be assessed for identification.

Fowler (1991, pp. 12-20) says 'the essence of sarcasm is the intention of giving pain by ironical words or other bitter words'. He declares that irony often represents the main device to create sarcasm, but it is not necessarily that sarcastic situation must involve irony. The same opinion was made by Haiman (1998, p. 20) who considers the intention of the speaker as a cornerstone in which people depend on to judge whether the situation is sarcastic or ironic, he defines sarcasm as an intentional behaviour which the speakers make to mock others. He adds that people may be unintentionally ironic, but sarcasm must require a frank intention. (Ibid, p. 21)

Crystal (2004, p. 404) in his Encyclopaedia of English language says that sarcasm is a verbal irony where only the speaker is amused, while the listener is attacked and insulted. Abrams (2012, p. 136) defines sarcasm as a form of irony (sometimes used as equivalent for all irony forms), but it differs in the exaggeration of the speakers' voice (intonation). From Abrams definition, sarcasm seems to have another basic property in addition to intention, which is the intonation (tone).

Crystal (2011, p. 278) in his Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics makes the same point; the changing of the intonation has an

important role in the personal communicative attitude like sarcasm and anger.

To end with, according to all these opinions, a definition for sarcasm can be drawn, that sarcasm is an indirect speech act in a form of verbal irony or sometimes a behavioural irony in which the speaker has a frank intention to express his (mostly) aggressive attitude towards interlocutors (blaming, insulting, hurting, criticising, etc.). Sarcasm can be found spoken but rarely written. It has its special forms and patterns related to some extra-linguistic features (when spoken, i.e. precise intonation).

2.1.1 Irony and Sarcasm

Broadly speaking, an ironic remark creates tension over what is said and what is supposed to be expressed. This difference is frequently the outcome of an utterance's pragmatic perception. Thus, it is critical not to accept a sarcastic statement literally, as the pragmatic interpretation contains the actual message.

Muecke (1982, p. 16) claims that the word 'irony' never appears in English till 1502 and does not come into general literary use till the 18th century like in the rest of Europe, the concept of irony improve so slowly in England. Irony is clarified as saying reverse of what someone does as saying something and doing the opposite, as a fibber who criticises fibbers.

Cuddon (2013, p. 371) says that irony was originally documented in Plato's Republic, where it nearly had the definition of 'a witty and deceptive method of enticing people'. Socrates himself assumes the role of 'dissembler' in the 'Platonic' debates, asking seemingly harmless and innocent questions that progressively

discredit his interlocutor's argument and force him to confront the truth. Irony has several classifications, including that it is a figure of speech refers to a contradiction or inconsistency between what is predicted and what occurs.

However, the majority of the definitions of irony in Colston and O'Brien (2000, p. 1558), Yus (2000, p. 29), Li (2008, p. 6) and Singh (2012, p. 67) agree that 'irony' entails a difference between true reality and surface texture. It is a discrepancy between what appears to be real and what is truly true, which is intrinsically the same in regards to sarcasm.

At the beginning of the 19th century, the expression 'irony' begins to adopt various meanings that range from recently developed distinctions of irony such as philosophical irony, world irony, tragic irony and cosmic irony (Li, 2008, p. 6).

As a rhetorical device, Valstas (1991, p. 21) assumes that 'irony' becomes furthermore tricky when its riddle is interrelated throughout a text. Cruse (2006, p. 90) remarks that 'irony' is a type of figures of speech wherein the actual intent of a phrase is generally the complete antithesis of the literal interpretation, like when someone says:

(3) *You have been a tremendous help!*

Addressing one whose actions have just precipitated a catastrophe.

The literal meaning of an ironic statement frequently mirrors someone else's words or assumed views and is intended to criticise or mock. Here, Cruse maintains that, in order to achieve sarcastic expression one must be ironic. For him, sarcasm is one of the purposes of irony (Ibid, p. 91).

To identify some utterances as ironic, the procedure of substituting an utterance's semantic meaning for its figurative

meaning must be followed, and both meanings must be evaluated for the purpose of identification. Irony, on the other hand, is defined as ‘saying one thing but really meaning the opposite’. Irony is sometimes defined as a pragmatic phenomenon in that it causes some action to be taken as a result of a sarcastic expression (Hutcheon, 1995, p. 65).

When the hearer is aware of a breach of specific pragmatic rules, such as co-operative maxims or felicity conditions for a speech act, an ironic utterance is detected, and the reverse of the literal meaning is transmitted, for example:

(4) *This room is very clean!*

This utterance is a typical example of irony, and the speaker, a mother, intends to convey something other than what the words explicitly mean (Ibid, p. 66).

Irony depends nearly completely on inferential activation of scripts. The central part of irony contrasts between the ‘literal’ and the ‘figurative’ or in alternative words between assertion and reality, (Colston and O’Brien, 2000, p. 1560). Different types of irony are set by scholars involving: verbal irony, dramatic irony and situational irony.

Hence, sarcasm and irony have different linguistic values, although a nonprofessional person might confuse using the two terms interchangeably. Still, irony is the big umbrella via which sarcasm is achieved. Irony is defined as a figure of speech that has a pragmatic meaning different from the semantic one and sarcasm is sometimes a function of irony that serves a certain function made deliberately by the speaker (Winner and Leekam, 1991, p. 69). Hence, to explain the apparent difficulty in separating these two phenomena, it has been suggested that ‘the concept of irony may be structured as a type of

family resemblance or radial category in which various instances are connected by different motivated links' (Gibbs, 2011, p. 28), or that it is a 'prototypical and perhaps exemplar category' (Attardo, 1994, p. 39).

2.1.2 Verbal Irony and Sarcasm

Verbal irony is traditionally defined as a figure of speech that conveys the inverse sense of what is said directly. It is widely used in everyday conversation. Indeed, it is so popular that many ironic expressions have become idiomatic, losing their ironic edge (Sperber and Wilson 1995, pp. 281-286). Verbal irony is a variation in language and determination that occurs when someone says something but means another, for example:

(5) '*All generalisations are false*' (Cuddon, 2013, p.427).

In his view, Grice (1975, p. 46) states that all cases of verbal irony comprise an opposition between what is literally said and what is meant. Grice (1978, p. 124) adds it is essential that irony includes a term of attitude, feeling or evaluation. He declines the requirement of an ironic tone of voice as an exigency for the expression of irony.

Concerning verbal conversation, the first reference that one's word should not be taken literally appears in the speaker's body language. The facial expression of the speaker reveals that the audience is dealing with verbal irony when the speaker makes a funny or a fortuitous grimace while seemingly appears serious purposely sway his/her eyes, or slowly wag his/her head (Kotthoff, 2003, p. 411). Colebrook adds that in many occasions the hearer might not realise that the speaker tries to be ironic, and then irony misses its goal (Colebrook, 2004, p. 41).

Peck and Coyle (2002, p. 159) argue that verbal irony is distinct from situational and dramatic irony by the fact that speakers purposefully generate it. For example, if a person says,

(6) ‘*I'm not upset!*’ (Ibid, p. 160)

However, if he/she exposes angry moods and emotions via his/her tone while really claiming he/she is not disturbed, then he/she conducting to a sarcastic remark.

The audience recognises the irony within the speaker's manner and performance, and if the same speaker uses the same utterances and wants to indicate that he or she will be irritated by pretending not to be, the speech is verbal irony (Colebrook, 2004, p. 42).

It is good to make a brief comparison between sarcasm and other aspects of irony. In this respect, in dramatic irony, the tension is created by what the reader knows and what the character knows. In situational irony, the knowledge of the reader develops along with the character. Situational irony develops not from the contrast between their levels of knowledge (dramatic irony), but from the contrast between the assumptions both made to begin with and the situation that emerges (Peck and Coyle, 2002, p. 161).

2.1.3 Sarcasm and Satire:

The term ‘satire’ is derived from the Latin word ‘Satur,’ which means ‘well-fed,’ and was used in the phrase ‘lanx satura,’ which is translated as ‘a plate brimming with various types of fruit.’ Though these terms appear to be at odds with the modern concept of satire, they were employed by ancient Roman critics and authors to refer to what we now refer to as satire, including what is often regarded as satire's literary origin: Aristophanes's Old Comedy. In the sixteenth

century, the term ‘satire’ entered the English language. Aristophanes, an ancient Greek poet, authored *Lysistrata* in 411 BC. In this satirical comedy, *Lysistrata* urges women to forgo intimacy from males to persuade them to stop the *Peloponnesian War* (Web 3).

Satire is a kind of wit intended to criticise human vices or errors, frequently via the use of exaggeration, understatement, sarcasm, and irony. Nowadays, satirists most frequently employ this type of comedy to reveal political errors or societal deficiencies in ordinary life, perhaps with the intention of encouraging change (Ibid.).

Satire in literature is a ‘societal critique’. Exaggeration, irony, and other tactics are used to mock a leader, a social habit or tradition, or any other prominent social figure or practise.

The first political cartoons appeared in 18th-century England. Political satire is still essential today. Satire serves in two political streams:

1. Political Cartoons: These can be printed or online. A political cartoon often has one huge panel with a sketch that exaggerates the physical attributes of an elected politician or other noteworthy figure and shows a situation that makes a scathing political statement (Singh, 2012, p.67)

2. Political Stunts: Some comedians have gone beyond sarcastic jokes on TV to do elaborate political satire pranks. In his 2018 television show ‘Who Is America?’ Comedian Sacha Baron Cohen disguised himself to interview politicians and catch them in moments of hilarity and hypocrisy. (Singh, 2012, p. 68)

In conclusion, it is obvious that sarcasm is more generalized rather than specific, i.e. occurs in more varied situations than satire does and works on different social levels. Satire in the modern sense

is specified in the political field, giving possible solutions, criticizing, mocking and judging political issues from both politicians and citizens.

2.1.4 The Pragmatic Structure of Sarcasm

Different theorists categorise sarcasm differently. However, lately Professor Camp (2006-2012) proposed several theoretical papers about this aspect of language. In her study '*Sarcasm, Pretense, and The Semantics/ Pragmatics Distinction*'. Camp (2012, p. 588) signifies a pragmatic categorisation of sarcasm and divides it into four types: propositional sarcasm, lexical sarcasm, 'like'-prefixed sarcasm, and illocutionary sarcasm. Each of the constructs is based on the idea that sarcasm works by reversing the context, As a result, each type either rejects something or purports something.

2.1.4.1 Propositional Sarcasm

From the four types of sarcasm that will be addressed, propositional sarcasm is considered the most direct (Camp, 2012, p. 590). Besides that, the concept of this kind of sarcasm is based on Yule's (2010, p. 25) principle of presupposition and entailment, which describes a presupposition as anything the speaker believes to be the situation before submitting an utterance and an entailment as that which logically arises by what is claimed in the utterance.

Consequently, propositional sarcasm focuses on proposition through which sarcastic remark is achieved presenting the reverse of a factual utterance (Camp, 2012, 607). For instance,

(7) '*He's a fine friend.*'

To comprehend this utterance as a sarcastic one; the speaker should produce a kind of confirmation on this utterance, indicating the reverse to the factual utterance. Therefore, both semantic and lexically centred pragmatic processes are set to grasp this statement in terms of sarcasm. As a result, the proposition of ‘*he is a fine friend*’ brings to mind a situation wherein one would believe that the conversation is about a good friend, but the speaker’s pretence to emphasise this proposition, the speaker truly entails the contrary of that, consequently, that his friend is rather bad (ibid, p. 607).

Propositional sarcasm can be found in the following example from a TV show ‘*Sherlock*’:

(8) *Anderson: Rachel is German for Revenge. She could be trying to tell us something.*

Sherlock: Yes, thank you for your input.

Here, the sarcastic remark made by ‘*Sherlock*’ in order to express irritation to ‘*Anderson*’; which is contrary to what the literal meaning of the utterance. ‘*Anderson*’ wants to indicate something and it is obvious that ‘*Sherlock*’ is clever and knows that already (Camp, 2012, p. 608).

To summarise, propositional sarcasm is the most apparent kind of sarcasm when it is based on a presupposition that a true argument may have submitted the utterance. In the simplest situations, as in example (8), if the latter example sarcastically is performed, this will indicate the person referring to is not good enough as the surface meaning tells. Thus, the sarcastic utterance enfolds the reversed proposition (Camp, 2012, p. 608).

2.1.4.2 Lexical Sarcasm

Lexical sarcasm is usually identified by choosing a lexicon, which is inserted in speech to produce sarcastic utterance. Certainly, here, the speaker is involved in an illocutionary power producing an utterance whose syntactic construction is in the usual manner, but its lexically- focused pragmatic procedures entail the opposite sense (Camp, 2012, p. 611).

Another aspect related to lexical sarcasm is the frequent use of certain expressions, like ‘brilliant’, ‘genius’, ‘magnificent’, ‘thrilled’, etc. Through these utterances, the very contrary meaning is indicated by sarcastic expressions. For instance, the utterance:

(9) *That’s an excellent idea!*

If it is intended by the speaker to express sarcasm, it will indicate the opposite extreme in the scale, i.e. very bad (ibid, p. 613).

Additionally, negative value is achieved through an utterance while the surface meaning of it states a positive value. For example:

(10) *If you manage to generate one more half-baked, inconsequential idea like that, then you’ll get tenure for sure.*

Here, the word ‘tenure’ is inserted to express sarcasm as a reward for imperfect work (Camp, 2012, p. 612).

2.1.4.3 Like-prefixed Sarcasm

This category is sometimes confused with declarative sentences; it is directed by the conventional meaning beside pragmatic processes.

The prominent feature of this category is the use of sarcastic *like* that gives the impression of reversed to what follows, it emphasises that the speaker is declining what comes after.

For instance:

(11) *Like I've talked to John in weeks.*

The speaker in this statement uses sarcastic like to assure that she or he has done the reverse to what is stated, that s\he did not communicate with John (Camp, 2012, p. 614).

(12) *Like that's a brilliant idea.*

Utterance (12) carries a sarcastic mood, indicating the contrary of the following statement. Here, it is meant the idea is not brilliant or insignificant (Ibid).

2.1.4.4 Illocutionary Sarcasm

Camp (2012, p. 618) holds that, Illocutionary sarcasm involves not only a part of the utterance or a proposition related to the spoken phrase or sentence, but the entire illocutionary act directed by a legitimate utterance of the related speech.

Furthermore, evaluative attitudes, such as, pity, admiration, or amazement initiated in implicatures, are distinguishing features of illocutionary sarcasm. For example, in a scene when someone is in a certain situation, she or he is going out of a place, and another one is behind him\her shouts the door, the speaker will be amazed, inserting the following statement:

(13) *Thanks for holding the door.* (Camp, 2012, p. 618)

This is the most effective kind of sarcasm and its effectiveness lies in the full contrast between the actual case and the sarcastic utterance.

In general, any speech that possesses illocutionary power, including expressions, inquiries, orders and optative's can be utilised in a sarcastic manner:

(14) *Could I tempt you to eat just one more slice of pie?*

Addressed to someone who just has eaten most of the pie (Camp and Hawthorne, 2008, p. 3).

2.1.5 The Pragmatic Functions of Sarcasm

Because sarcasm is a sophisticated and oblique speech act, the listener should sort out suggested meanings in sardonic comments. Sarcasm, as a type of linguistic irony, is used to demonstrate someone's skill to 'manipulate' language for a certain purpose. A speaker says one word but implies another (Holmes and Schnurr, 2005, p. 52).

Sarcasm is a complex and subtle speaking act; the listener must decipher implied meanings. Sarcasm is a form of linguistic irony used to show one's ability to 'manipulate' language. A speaker implies a word (Attardo, 2000, p.68).

According to Attardo's (2001), sarcasm is classified as an interplay between comedy and irony (Ibid, p. 172). Sarcasm provides six functions according to him: sophistication, evaluation tool, politeness tool, a persuasive aspect, retract-ability, and group affiliation tool.

2.1.5.1 Sophistication:

Sarcasm is a verbal game that shows a speaker's mastery of the English language. The speaker can regulate his emotional state by manipulating his words Attardo (2001, p.183). Therefore, sarcasm is a clever and subtle way of expressing oneself especially in politics creating a less aggressive environment than expressing intended meaning directly. Because the listener must first understand, the speaker's suggested meaning before continuing the dialogue. Films also utilise sarcasm to produce comic effects. In such cases, the speaker delivers a comment that contradicts the intended intention. The difference between implicit and explicit meaning in speech may also assist generate humour in specific contexts, according to Dews et al. (1995, p. 154). Omitting some phrases also creates a void between the words and the inferred meaning (Ibid, p. 155). However, there are occasions in which sarcasm does not derive from humour, and vice versa, but mostly it has a humorous effect.

Sarcasm is sometimes sophisticated with a form of humour, as a result of arising contrast between the speaker's accommodating language and his cruel intentions, humour in sarcasm can be described as an incongruity. (Haiman, 1998, p. 22). The following can perform an example of sarcastic humour:

(16) *Sarah: What are these squiggles?*

Sherlock: They're numbers. Written in an ancient Chinese dialect.

Sarah: Of course. Yes. Should have known that.

(Camp, 2012, p. 614)

The preceding example is from the television series *Sherlock*, in which one of the characters, Sarah, responds to Sherlock's remark by believing that she should recognise such stuff (which she did not), and it is apparent that she's doing this sarcastically in order to create humour (Ibid).

2.1.5.2 Evaluation

The evaluative aspect of sarcasm functions on two scales, negative and positive evaluation, depending mainly on the context where sarcasm is employed. Evaluation (both positive and negative) could be on three levels, self-evaluation, group evaluation and interlocutor evaluation.

As Grice states, negative attitudes, feelings or evaluations of someone are designed by sarcastic expressions. He classifies sarcasm as a sub-type of verbal irony (Grice, 1978, p. 124). Dews & Winner (1995, p. 15) assert that the goal of using sarcasm is to communicate a negative attitude.

Sperber and Wilson (1981, p. 133), on the other hand, oppose that the negative effects of criticism will be concealed when introduced by evaluative sarcastic expressions while amplifying the positive effects of praise. The detrimental influence of unfavourable feelings is mitigated by the speaker's civility in his or her speech. As a result, using sarcasm serves as a face-saving tactic. This statement can be justified by explaining the following instance:

(17) *Sheldon: Would you pass the mustard?*

Leonard: Sure. Hey, want to hear a fun fact about mustard?

Sheldon: Is it that the glucosinolates, which give the mustard its flavour, evolved the cabbage family as a chemical defence against caterpillars?

Leonard: Yeah.

Sheldon: Well, that was fun. Good for you, Leonard
(Camp, 2012, p. 618).

‘Sheldon’ in this example, uses sarcasm as a way of mitigating the fact that what he said about mustard is not a fun fact since fun facts are supposed to be relatively humorous. However, ‘Sheldon’ wants to save the face of ‘Leonard’ and that he has no sense of humour (Ibid).

Carston (2002, p. 23) states that a speaker can evade any penalties that might result from expressing directly what he feels. This trait allows the speaker to have an unrestricted attitude towards his statement. Sarcasm can work as a tool of politeness, negative evaluation expresses face threat, and positive evaluation reflects an aspect of face-saving.

2.1.5.3 Persuasive Aspect

The role of sarcasm in persuasive communication is critical. Researchers argue that sarcasm possesses a number of unique characteristics that make it an excellent tool for persuasion, most notably the ability to emphasize the contrast between expectation and reality. Sarcasm works by establishing unstructured intellectual groups that encourage audiences to view themselves as ‘masterminds’ in accepting the values to which sarcasm alludes inadvertently. Researchers illustrate this in a variety of applied contexts (e.g., advertisements, personal arguments, political debates, intellectual discussions, and literature) and argue that contemporary cognitive and

social psychology research provides conclusive proof behind why sarcasm is so frequently used in persuasive communication (Gibbs et al. 2005, p. 135)

Moreover, one of the purposes of sarcasm is likely to be used in order to convince someone to perform something. There are two characteristics of sarcasm where can be used persuasively. Firstly, sarcasm is a powerful rhetorical tool since it makes clear the veracity of an implied meaning (Carston, 2002, p. 30). However, the speaker and the hearer have to share a common ground in order to understand the speaker's meaning.

Secondly, sarcasm is unforgettable (Kotthoff, 2003, p. 411), i.e., it enables the speaker to be successful in expressing his communication efficiently. For example:

(18) Leonard: Since when do you hum songs?

Sheldon: What are you talking about?

Leonard: You were just humming.

Sheldon: Are you sure? Sometimes when my brain really gets moving, it makes noise.

Leonard: How does your brain feel about calculating the surface tension of the domain walls? (Camp, 2012, p. 613)

This example is extracted from a conversation between two characters of The Big Bang Theory TV. In the instance above, ‘Leonard and Sheldon’ try to solve their physics problems at their apartment but ‘Sheldon’ could not stop humming a song, which had been ringing in his head. By conveying the speech above, ‘Leonard’ wants to convince ‘Sheldon’ indirectly to cease humming and to return to solving their physics problems. Therefore, ‘Sheldon’ does not

presume that Sheldon will answer his question. He merely employs the question to inform Leonard to give up humming because the latter's humming of songs obstructing their study.

2.1.5.4 Politeness:

Sarcasm may also be used to perform politeness. It is seen as less harmful than outright hostility in direct verbal acts. Dews and Winner (1995, p. 13) suggest that sarcasm reduces the threat of intentional meanings. Barbe (1995, p. 90) adds that employing sarcasm might help a speaker avoid causing a rupture by not being overtly insulting the addressee. The speaker's politeness reduces the impact of unfavourable feelings. Sarcasm is thus a face-saving tactic.

2.1.5.5 Retract-ability:

Sarcasm as a retract-ability is used to express things in such a manner that the speaker may avoid being made responsible for improper behaviour. Carston (2002, pp. 23-25) asserts that a speaker can avoid any consequences associated with expressing his feelings directly. This characteristic enables the speaker to approach his remark with an open mind. However, this use of sarcasm is quite unusual, as it necessitates a highly specific context.

2.1.5.6 Group Affiliation:

Sarcasm, as a kind of group membership, enables the speaker to establish both insider and outsider status. It establishes the group's allegiance. Sarcasm has a dual role in this instance. First, sarcasm may be used to foster intragroup cohesion. Second, it can be used to express negative judgements about people and to exclude them from a

group. Thus, it demonstrates whether someone adheres to the group's values (Myers-Roy, 1981, p. 412)

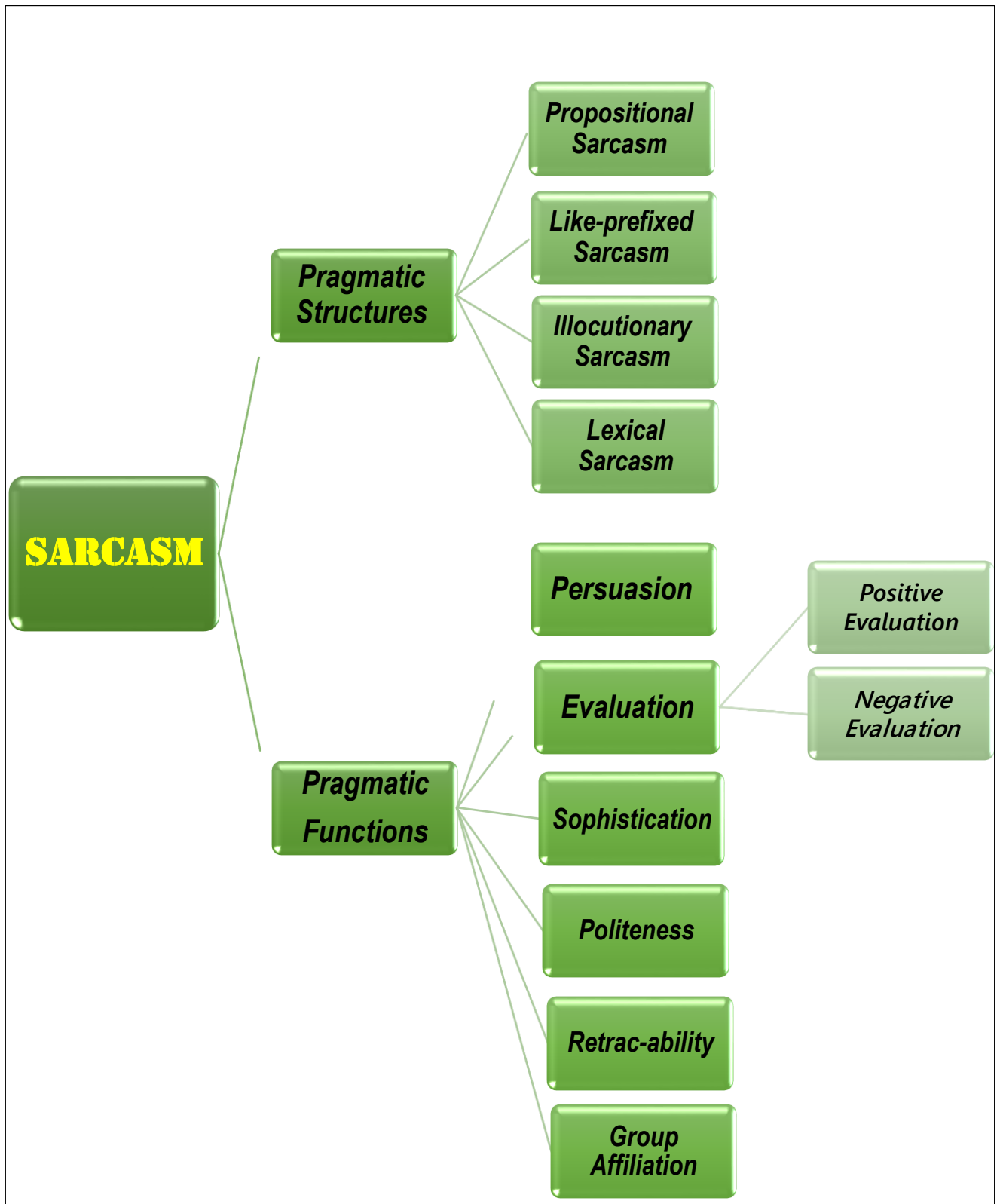


Figure 1: Camp's (2012) Pragmatic Structures of Sarcasm and Attardo's (2001) Pragmatic Functions of Sarcasm.

2.2 Pragmatics

Generally, pragmatics is a field of linguistics, which has its origin in the philosophy of language. Its philosophical roots belong to the philosophy of the 1930s, particularly the work of Rudolf Carnap (1930), and Charles Morris (1938). According to Huang (2007, p. 2) semiotics is divided into three parts: syntax, semantics, and pragmatics. Syntax is concerned with the formal relationship between two signs, semantics with the relationship between signs and their meaning, and pragmatics with the relationship between signals and their users and interpreters. Thus, syntax is the most abstract, pragmatics is the least abstract, and semantics is in between. As a result, syntax is a source of information for semantics, whereas semantics itself is a source of information for pragmatics.

Additionally, within the analytic philosophy of language, two diametrically opposed schools of thought arose in the 1950s, namely the school of ideal language philosophy and the school of ordinary language philosophy. The former's fundamental concepts were primarily concerned with the study of logical systems of artificial languages, whilst the later emphasised natural language above the formal languages studied by logicians. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, some of Noam Chomsky's dissatisfied generative semantics students organised a movement to oppose their teacher's view of language as an abstract, mental instrument divorced from its applications and purposes.

Levinson's seminal textbook 'Pragmatics', published in 1983, codified the discipline and heralded the emergence of pragmatics as a distinct linguistic branch. Since that time, Huang says, the field of study has continued to grow and thrive (Huang, 2007, p. 2).

As linguists, Richards and Schmidt (2010, p. 422) emphasise that pragmatics is concerned with ‘the study of language usage in communication, particularly the connections between sentences and the settings and situations in which they are employed.’ Pragmatics examines two senses in each speech: the expressive and the intellectual (Byram, 2000, p. 693).

Besides, Cruse (2006, p. 136) claims that pragmatics deals with aspects where context must be taken into consideration. On this occasion, context is interpreted in a broad sense that encompasses previous utterances (discourse context), participants in the speech event, their interrelations, knowledge, and objectives, and the social and physical setting of the speech event. In other words, it associates with the uses forming those senses (Ibid).

There is a widespread agreement on four tenets, particularly among those who study language in its communication capacity. The following are these tenets:

- 1 .Communication that entails a distinct complicated purpose executed by the addressee in order to be differentiated.
- 2 .The addressee must deduce the addressee's intention from the speech, which is a type of inference to the best elaboration.
- 3 .Principles or maxims regulate communication. Typically, these concepts are hypothesised to originate from more general principles of rationality or cognition.
4. There is a contrast between what a speaker expresses openly and what he implies, both of which are components of the speaker’s sense or 'what is conveyed. (Allot, 2010, p. 1).

Additionally, Huang (2007, p. 1) says that pragmatics is a developed area in contemporary linguistics and philosophy of language. Recently, pragmatics has emerged as a critical problem for anthropologists and researchers in artificial intelligence, cognitive scientists, psychologists, and semioticians.

Consequently, Levinson (1983, p. 5) maintains that pragmatics is not directly interested in language, but in what people do with language, its uses, and users. Speakers attempt by language to alter either the world (e.g., by getting another person to do something) or the state of mind or knowledge of others (for instance, by telling them something new). He adds, 'Pragmatics, as such, investigates what language users mean, what they do and how they do it in real situations' (Ibid).

Thus, pragmatics, according to Leech (1983, p. 6), is the study of meaning in connection to speech conditions. He argues that pragmatics might be seen as a way of addressing difficulties that may arise, both from the standpoint of the speaker and the hearer. The difficulty, according to the person speaking, is the forethought necessary to create an utterance. On the other hand, from the perspective of the listener, the issue is handled via interpretation, which needs the listener to grasp the likely goal of the speaker's words.

2.2.1 Speech Act Theory

Broadly speaking, Crystal (2011, p. 446) describes speech act theory as a theory that examines the role of utterances in connection to speaker and hearer behaviour in interpersonal communication. It is not an 'act of speech' (in the sense of parole), but rather a

communicative activity (a locutionary act) defined by the intents of the speakers while speaking (the illocutionary power of their utterances) and the effects they accomplish on listeners (the perlocutionary effect of their utterances).

Besides, Yule (2010, p. 62) states that speech acts can be described as the action performed by a speaker with an utterance. If one says, '*I'll be there at six*', he or she is not just speaking, instead, he or she is performing the act of promising.

The core idea of speech act theory was formulated by Austin then developed and modified by Searle. In this respect, Austin (1962, p. 101) affirms that speech acts are statements whose vocalisation needs the performance of a certain action on the behalf of speaker or hearer. He mentions that stating anything will frequently, if not always, have certain consequential consequences on the feelings, ideas, or actions of the audience, the speaker, or other people and that effect may be done by the aim, design, or purpose of generating them (Ibid).

As for the facets of speech act, Cruse (2006, pp. 167-168) mentions three basic elements that are following:

1. *Locutionary act*: the production of an utterance, with a particular intended structure, meaning, and reference.
2. *Illocutionary act*: an act done by a speaker in stating something (with proper aim and context), rather than producing a specific result by speaking anything. For example, if someone says, 'I order you to go immediately,' they have done the act of ordering merely by uttering the words, regardless of whether the addressee responds in the intended manner.
3. *Perlocutionary act*: a verbal act that is contingent on the achievement of a certain result For example, in Pete convinced Liz to marry him, may not be enough for Pete to have spoken specific

words what is needed is that a previously hesitant addressee be made to act in an acceptable manner.

2.2.2 Development of Speech Acts

According to Huang (2007, p. 76), Austin made two significant observations. First, he pointed out that certain regular English phrases, such as those in example (19), are not used to make a statement and so cannot be claimed to be true or untrue.

- (19) a. *Good day.*
 b. *Does he identify as a Republican?*
 c. *Please, come in*(Ibid).

Second, and more crucially, Austin discovered that there are declarative statements in common English that also reject a truth-conditional interpretation. The aim of saying such statements is to do actively things as well as to say things. To put it another way, performatives are utterances used to accomplish things or execute acts, whereas constatives are utterances used to make claims or declarations.

Austinian analysis of speech acts began with his article '*Others Mind*' in (1946), which is reproduced in his book '*Philosophical Paper*' in (1961), in which he addresses the Aristotelian concept of 'true vs. false' utterances. The most well-known Austinian book in this subject is '*How to Do Things with Words*' (1962), which was released by the 'Clarendon Press' in (1984).

Afterwards, Griffiths (2006, p. 23) states that Searle (1969) inserted several modifications on Austinian analysis. The following methods emphasise the Searlean examination of speech act theory:

1. The speaker frequently makes a performative speech.

2. The speaker expects his performative speech to be acknowledged in the way he intended.
3. The speaker anticipates that his performative speech will have a variety of consequences on the listener (Ibid).

2.2.3 Classifications of Speech Act

2.2.3.1 Austin's Typology

Al-Sulaimaan (2010, p. 290) mentions that Austin states five types of acts presented by performative verbs, which can be explained below:

1. Verdictives: they depend on the authority of the speaker, such as appraisals, assessments, estimation, conviction of performative verbs in this category are; *convict, estimate, assess, appraise, analyse, etc.*

(20) *The Iraqi Ministry of Trade declares that the quantity of wags this year is more than twenty percent.*

2. Exercitives: they are typified by exercising the power of the speaker, rights or influence. An exercitive is the giving of a decision in favour of or against a certain course of action, or advocacy of it. It is a decision that something is to be so, e.g. *offer, advice, press, enact, resign, etc.* for instance:

(21) *The neighbourhood gathered to appoint George to be their representative.*

3. Commisive: the act of committing one's self into a certain action or promise, they include *offers, pledges, promises, refusals, and threats.* For instance:

(22) *I promise you that I will quit eating fast food.*

4. Behabitives: which is a reaction to a certain act. This category includes diverse types of verb acts such as apologising, congratulating, cursing, etc., and verbs like: *thank, criticise, welcome*, etc. For instance:

(23) *Magin says: 'Congratulations on your graduation'*

5. Expositives are speech acts related to one's opinion. Some examples as affirm, state, agree, describe, etc. For instance:

(24) *Scientists affirm that staying at home is a must to protect yourself and your family from COVID-19* (Kemmerling, 2002, pp.83-97).

2.2.3.2 Searle's Typology

Huang (2007, p. 106) points out that Searle's classification can be considered as the basic categories of illocutionary acts that are a modified version to Austin's one. In the past three decades, speech act theory has become an important branch of the contemporary theory of language thanks mainly to the influence of J.R. Searle (1969, 1979) and H.P. Grice (1975) whose ideas on meaning and communication have stimulated research in philosophy and in human and cognitive sciences, (Vanderkeven and Kubo, 2002, p. 16). From Searle's view, there are only five illocutionary points that speakers can achieve on propositions in an utterance, namely as the following:

1. Assertives: are speech acts that link the speaker to the truth of the conveyed assertion and hence have a truth-value. They articulate the speaker's point of view. Examples of pragmatic occurrences are *asserting, claiming, complaining, concluding*,

reporting, and stating. The speaker represents the world, as he or she believes it is. In this sort of speech act, making the words fit the world of belief (Huang, 2007, p. 98). As in the following:

(25) *The ambassador cooperates with all refugees.*

2. Directives: are attempts by the speaker to get the addressees to do something for his sake. The verbs that belong to this classification are *request, ask, invite, etc* (Ibid, p. 101). For example:

(26) *Can you speak slowly, please, I cannot understand.*

3. Commisives: are linguistic acts that establish a connection between the speaker and the conveyed claims veracity and hence have a truth-value. They convey the speaker's perspective. Commisives are speech acts by which a speaker is committed to some future action. The promiser tries to make the world fit to his words. The promiser intends to do an action or something by uttering his words. The speaker commits himself to a certain course of action (Thomas, 1995, p. 35). Verbs such as *promise, threaten, vow, commit* and *pledge* are classified under this class. Consider the following illustration:

(27) *I'll be back in five minutes.*

4. Expressives: kinds of speech act that explain a psychological attitude or state of the speaker such as *joy, sorrow, and likes/dislikes*. Pragmatic cases include *apologising, blaming, congratulating, praising, and thanking* (Allot, 2010, p. 13). For instance:

(28) *I'm so sorry for your loss.*

5. Declarations (or declaratives): are clarification of a statement

and produce changes to a person, people, or to the world. Pragmatic cases include *bidding in bridge, declaring war, excommunicating, firing from employment, and nominating a candidate*. For instance:

(29) *Teacher: I name Mark as the class monitor*
(Ibid).

2.2.4 Implicature: Overview

First, implicature originates from the efforts of philosopher Grice. Leech (1983, p. 238), Brown and Levinson (1987, p. 288) besides, Grice (1989, p. 18), define implicature as an extra meaning provided by a speaker conforming to the CP principle. In this respect, Thomas (1995, p. 38) finds the CP principle as an important principle controlling conversational engagements. In the 1960s, the British scholar Grice made his primary finding which is called co-operative principle. The best known of his ideas that of a conversational implicature, first appeared in a 1961 paper 'The Causal Theory of Perception' viewing it as the underlying concept that controls verbal exchanges. This theory contends that when participants in a conversation collaborate, they are more interested in confirming that their counterparts are collaborating than introducing new ideas. When someone else says anything, conformity and collaboration are assumed (Bach, 2006, p. 7).

Grice's approach states that speaker's utterances involve both 'what is said' and 'what is implied'. Hence, 'what the speaker says' belongs to the field of semantics as dealing with the surface meaning of words, therefore, semantics based on truth condition can analyse it. On the other hand, it is a matter of pragmatic interest and it is not

subjected to truth conditional analysis. The reason behind Grice's paper success is that it is regarded as the first effort, which makes a clear distinction between literal meaning and suggested (or implicated) meaning. Grice used both implicate and implicature to refer to the suggested meaning and so he makes it distinct from the literal meaning (Mey, 2001, p. 365).

Implicature means to cover certain ways to convey the literal information, which has not been stated. The total signification of an utterance used to cover both the sum of the literal meaning of the sentence and the implicated meaning of the utterance of that sentence. Hence, semantics deals with sentence meaning which is abstract, while pragmatics deals with the utterance concrete meaning, that is, what goes beyond the inherent meaning of words and sentences (Leech, 1983, p. 47).

2.2.4.1 Types of Implicature

Grice (1989, p. 33) distinguishes between what a speaker expresses directly with his or her words and what he or she implies or suggests. Grice distinguished between two types of implicature: conventional and conversational. When a speaker transmits information through conversational implicature, he or she violates a conversational norm, such as disclosing more information about the discourse's purpose than is required (Ibid). On the assumption that the speaker is collaborating, the hearer attempts to derive the implication (that is, what the speaker intended but did not formally express) from the speaker's words and apparent violation of the conversational norm. The following two sentences satisfy Grice's literal truth-conditions identically:

(30) a. *Jane is prosperous but humble.*

b. *Jane is prosperous but modest* (Yule, 2010, p. 48).

The above two statements (30 a, b) are true only if Jane is both wealthy and modest, but only the latter implies a contrast between wealth and humility (in the conventional sense of the word 'but').

One cause of discontent with the Gricean approach is the necessity that the proponent belief traditional implicature provides comprehensive propositional content that satisfies all truth criteria. When speakers utilise or interpret a term, this cognitivist assumption implies that they have an overflowing mental representation of the expressive material associated with the term's meaning (Ibid).

Allot (2010, p. 39) defines conventional implicature as ‘a communicated inference of an utterance (i.e. an implicature) derived from the linguistic meaning of a linguistic item or items.’ In contrast to traditional implicatures, conversational implicatures are inferred rather than directly drawn from the meaning of individual words. As Paul Grice points out, certain words transmit meaning that does not contribute to the truth conditions of the sentences in which they appear. Consider the following two sentences:

(31) *John lives in London, while Mary is a student at Oxford.*

(32) *Mary is a resident of Oxford, whilst John is a resident of London* (Yule, 2010, p. 53).

Both statements (31, 32) are true if and only if John and Mary reside in London and Oxford, respectively: they have the same truth conditions. However, their intuitive connotations are rather different.

This non-truth-dependent shift in meaning is difficult to articulate clearly.

To correctly enunciate the second phrase, a speaker must wish to convey that Mary's residency in Oxford is exceptional, considering John's location in London. If both the speaker and hearer are aware that John and Mary are married, for example, pronouncing the phrase may be suitable, as there is a long-held assumption that couples live together (Ibid).

2.2.5 Gricean Maxims

Richard and Schmidt (2010, p. 330) state that a conversational maxim is an unwritten communication standard that people are aware of and that influences how they speak. Take, for example, the following exchange:

(33) A: *Why don't we go to the movies?*

B: *I have a test planned for tomorrow.*

B's response may look unrelated to A's comment. However, because A extended an invitation and a response to an offer is usually either acceptance or rejection, B's remark is seen here as a reason for refusing the invitation (i.e. a refusal). B has used the word 'maxim' to suggest that speakers usually offer replies that are relevant to the issue at hand (Ibid).

The use of conversational maxims to infer meaning during conversation is known as conversational implicature, and the 'cooperation' between speakers in utilising the maxims is known as the co-operative principle. Grice (1975, pp. 41-58) provides four maxims for conversational implicature: quantity, quality, relationship, and manner. These maxims can be formulated as follows:

Quantity: Make an effort to provide useful information (for the current purpose of the exchange). Make sure you are not giving out too much information.

Quality: Do not make claims that are not true. Make no statements unless you have sufficient evidence to back them up.

Relation: Be relevant.

Manner: Avoid obscurity of expression. Avoid ambiguity. Be brief (avoid unnecessary prolixity). Be orderly.

The concept appears to be that, at some level of what is intended, U is assumed to be following the Cooperative Principle. The phrasing of the maxims appears to imply that some are just concerned with what is stated (e.g., 'Do not speak something you think to be untrue'), while others are presumably concerned with what is intended (e.g., 'Be relevant'). We could certainly chalk this up to Grice's uncommon looseness of language. Except for Manner maxims (which can only apply to what is said), it is plausible to interpret Grice as enabling a breach of a maxim at the level of what is said to be permitted or overridden by adherence at the level of what is involved. According to this viewpoint, brazenly breaching a maxim at the level of what is stated while sticking to it at the level of what is involved does not always imply a violation of the Cooperative Principle (Neale, 1992, p. 16).

In fact, speakers either obey (observe), violate, flout, or opt out the maxims. There is a clear correlation between these maxims and the notion of implicature. That is, when one of the maxims is flouted or violated, the meaning of the sentence will not be understood as it is supposed to be (intended). Therefore, the maxims of conversation have a great effect on determining what the speaker intends of what

she/he says. When speakers observe and obey the conversational maxims, it would seem that it is easy for the hearer to make the appropriate inferences that what is meant is exactly of what is said. Therefore, the co-operative principle is useful in pointing and figuring out the conversational implicature (Bach, 2006, p.4).

Consequently, Allot (2010, pp. 47-48) shows that maxims can create implicatures in at least three different ways:

1. Adherence to maxims, even when they appear to be broken. An implicature may arise when the speaker does not violate any maxim but appears to do so at the level of what is expressed. For example, if the inference is meaningful, a comment that would be inconsequential if assessed only on what is expressed may be regarded as adhering to the relational principle, as in B's remark below:

(34) a. *Smith does not appear to be dating anyone at the time.*

b. *He has recently made many trips to New York.*

B's comment would be unhelpful unless it suggested that A has (or may have) a girlfriend in New York, which it does.

2. Maximal incompatibility. Two or more maxims may contradict one other by advocating for opposing courses of action. For example, a speaker should answer directly to direct queries in order to be as informed as possible for the benefit of the current debate (first quality maxim). If she or he were unclear, delivering a comprehensive and accurate response would contradict one or both of the quality maxims (Cuddon, 2013, p. 105). Quality virtually always prevails over quantity in these

cases, and the speaker makes a wide or ambiguous statement, like in Grice's famous example:

(35) A: *What is C's address?*

B: *It's possible that it's in southern France.*

B suggests here that she is ignorant of C's exact whereabouts.

3. Making a mistake. Defying one or more maxims publicly and flagrantly is known as maxim violation. Violating leads to implicatures through exploitation. Although a maxim is broken at the level of what is spoken, it is assumed that the Cooperative Principle is in full operation (and perhaps some maxims too). If the speaker is striving to be co-operative, the listener may assume that he or she must have floated the maxim for a reason, namely to communicate a specific implicature (Allot, 2010, p. 48). Saying sarcastically,

(36) *It's beautiful weather for June.*

while rain turns to freezing sleet, is a clear violation of the first quality maxim: Do not mention anything that you believe to be untrue. Assuming the speaker is trying to be co-operative on some level, the listener may infer that she has hinted something true, namely the polar opposite of what she appeared to be saying, namely something along the lines of 'It's horrible weather for June'.

On this occasion, Brown and Millar (2013, p. 212) illustrate that implicatures are inferences that enable interlocutors to go beyond what speakers say to what speakers actually mean. The inferences are not part of the truth conditions of propositions conveyed by utterances nor are they logical entailments. They are based on assumptions about speakers following the maxims of conversation. If the question 'Is

Jane a good cook?’ Elicits the response ‘*Her mother’s a good cook*’, the questioner will probably infer, not that the interlocutor is maliciously changing the topic, but that he or she is saying indirectly that Jane is not a good cook. Such an inference is a conversational implicature (Ibid).

To summarise, sarcasm exhibits the features of verbal irony, such as double meaning statements, sometimes violating Gricean maxims, and performing a purposeful goal carried out by the speaker to express specific views. Accordingly, the pragmatic formation of sarcasm involves Speech Acts as mentioned earlier to formulate the utterance, CP assuming that the sarcastic person is cooperating then measuring the maxims to see how co-operative he or she is with inner intention. This leads to another level that is specified with sarcasm concerning its structures and the functions accommodated with.

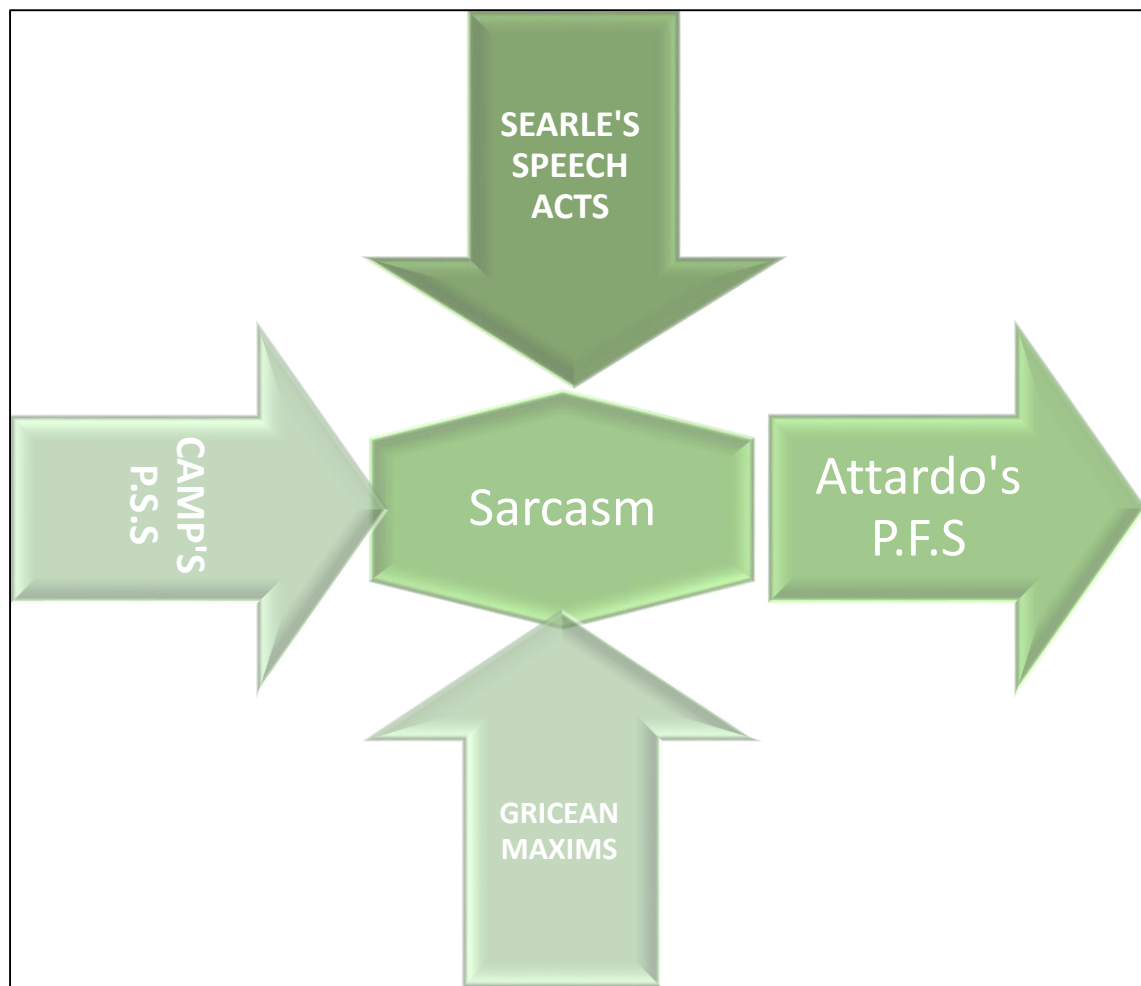


Figure 2: The Pragmatic Procedures to Sarcasm.

P.F.S. = Pragmatic Functions of Sarcasm, P.S.S. = Pragmatic Structures of Sarcasm.

2.3 Previous Studies

Researches dealing with pragmatics, especially speech acts and other aspects of pragmatics have been tackled within different fields whether in the conversation of everyday life or, literature, movies or any other types of text whether written or spoken. While the meanings of speech acts or other aspects of pragmatics, such as implicature, presupposition, politeness and co-operative principles are all based on the context which has a very important role in understanding the pragmatic aspect, the findings of every research are different from one

to another. Here the previous are presented based on how relevant to the discussion of pragmatic aspects concerning the political language.

The first study is an article by 'Prabowo' (2013) entitled 'Better, Faster, [and] Smarter: Developing A Blueprint For Creating Forensic Accountants'. The article investigates the forms and functions of sarcastic expressions found in the movie *The Guard*. He adopts Camp's theory (2011) to classify the sarcastic utterances, and Leech's theory (1983) to investigate the functions of the sarcastic utterances. Among the seventeen occurrences of sarcastic words in the film, only two types of sarcasm were detected: six were propositional sarcasm and eleven were illocutionary sarcasm. Sarcasm was then used in competitive, convivial, and collaborative situations. Sarcasm, according to Prabowo (2013), is more than just a simple meaning inversion; it also requires a suitable context, the speaker's aim, and the hearer's response.

The second study is a dissertation by 'Al-Hindawi and Kadhim' under the title of 'A Pragmatic Study of Irony in Political Electoral Speeches' (2015). The pragmatic perspectives of two American presidential contenders, Barack Obama and George W. Bush, are examined in this study. In the absence of contextual signals, the study explores ironic tactics and phases, as well as the possibility of deducing irony from the speaker's illocutionary power and explaining the progressive nature of sardonic insincerity. To achieve these objectives, a model for analysing sarcasm in political election speeches is developed. The outcomes of the study support the hypotheses that irony is a process consisting of phases, strategies, and the speaker's sarcastic insincerity, and that irony is an obvious speech act. On the contrary, it disproves the notion that irony cannot be

transmitted in the absence of contextual clues. The study concludes that ironic statements are always felicitous.

The third related research is a thesis conducted by 'Rizky Fadhilah' *'Hate Speech Used by Haters in Social Media'* (2018). The study's aims are to 1) determines the sorts of hate speech tactics used by haters on politicians' Instagram, 2) explaining the implementation of hate speech used by haters on politicians' Instagram, and 3) characterising the motives for using hate speech used by politicians' Instagram. The descriptive qualitative design was utilised in this investigation. According to the study's results, 1) there are four types of hate speech tactics on politicians' Instagram profiles, including bare on record hate speech, positive hate speech, negative hate speech, and sarcastic or mock hate speech. 2) Language hate speech realisations included being disinterested, uncaring, and unsympathetic, using inappropriate identifying markers, using cryptic or concealed language, seeking disagreement, using banned terms, other names, scare, condescend, disdain, or ridicule, and personalise/pronoun. 3) The use of hate speech was intended to communicate unpleasant feelings, entertain viewers, and promote communal aims.

The fourth study proposed by 'Završni Magistarski Rad'. A thesis under the title of 'Pragmatic analysis of speeches of far-right parties in the English speaking countries (United States of America, Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Canada, and Australia)' (2020). This study utilises a pragmatic approach to analyse the speeches of four far-right politicians: Pauline Hanson of Australia, Gerard Batten of the United Kingdom, Donald Trump of the United States, and Maxime Bernier of Canada. This pragmatic method integrated three of the field's most prominent theories: Paul Grice's principle and

implicatures of cooperation, John Searle's speech act theory, and Penelope Brown and Stephen Levinson's politeness theory. Our research found that these four speeches had both parallels and differences. These four politicians often violated the quantity principle; the assertive illocutionary act was their most frequently used speech act, and they engaged in many face-threatening acts. Several contrasts became apparent in their use of implicatures and hedges to illustrate their grasp of the cooperative concept, which President Trump mentioned more frequently than the other three leaders.

The fifth study is a thesis entitled 'Creative Thinking Portrayed from Sarcasm of Netizen's Comments in Donald Trump's Instagram Account' by 'Amalia Ilmi Fitriyanti' (2020). The model constructed consist of Camp (2011) suggested four forms of sarcasm: illocutionary, lexical, like-prefixed and propositional, Attardo's functions (2001): sophistication, evaluation, courtesy, persuasiveness, retract-ability, and group affiliation and Guilford's (1956) four areas of creative thinking: fluency, flexibility, originality, and elaboration. The study is qualitative. The findings show that lexical sarcasm is the most used form. Sarcasm's highest goal is sophistication. Finally, fluency is the most common and representative data remark of creative thinking. It is concluded that lexical sarcasm is more natural looking and transparent regarding harsh speech behaviours. To produce humour by contrasting explicit and implicit meanings. Even so, netizens can still manage their emotions. Internet users' capacity to turn basic words into sarcasm to express many different views.

The current study differs from prior studies in terms of technique (i.e. sarcasm), theory represented by the research model, and data analysed. a pragmatic analysis of four of Boris Johnson's

Brexit Debates will be set, using Searle's (1969) taxonomy of the speech act theory, Gricean maxims (1975), Camp's (2012) pragmatic strategies of sarcasm, and the associated functions of sarcasm depending on three of Attardo's (2001) functions. This study is a qualitative study, that aims to 1) establishing the sufficient pragmatic approach to analyse sarcasm; 2) identifying the most frequently used speech acts for issuing sarcasm in political debates; 3) elucidating the relation between sarcasm and GM; 4) demonstrating the frequent and the distinct pragmatic patterns utilised to produce sarcasm, and 5) clarifying the purposes behind sarcasm in political debates.

Chapter Three

Methodology

3.0 Introduction

This chapter is concerned with describing the nature of both qualitative and quantitative aspects in a case study. It also describes the procedures of data collection and some background information for the source of data and the adopted model of this study. The analysis of the current study is based on thoroughly studying sarcastic remarks in Boris Johnson's Brexit Debates.

Methodology is used to systematically solve the research problem. A science is used to study how the research is done scientifically. The study adopts methodology as steps or devices that are generally used to study the research problem and the logic behind them (Kothari, 2004, p. 12).

3.1 Research Design

This study is a case study in nature since it is concerned with studying the phenomenon of sarcasm acted by a certain person that is '*Boris Johnson*' in a defined situation 'the Brexit Deal Debates'. A case study is an in-depth examination of a single person, group, or event. A case study examines nearly every aspect of the subject's life and history to look for patterns and causes of behaviour. Case studies have applications in many fields, including psychology, medicine, education, anthropology, political science, and social work, Creswell (1998, p. 90). The hope is that the knowledge gained from studying one case will be applicable to many others. Admittedly, case studies are highly subjective, making it difficult to generalize findings to a larger

population Gagnon (2010, p. 75). A case study can have both advantages and disadvantages. Before deciding whether to conduct this type of study, researchers must judge the benefits and drawbacks.

Among the major benefits of a case study is that it allows researchers to investigate phenomena that are frequently difficult to imitate in an experiment (Ibid. p, 76). Case studies can be used in a variety of ways by researchers, including:

1. Collective case studies entail investigating a group of people. Researchers may investigate a small group of people in a specific setting or an entire community.
2. Descriptive case studies are those that begin with a descriptive theory. The characters are then monitored, and the data gained is compared to the previously established theory.
3. Explanatory case studies are frequently utilized in causal investigations. In other words, researchers are looking for elements that may have caused specific events to occur.
4. Exploratory case studies are sometimes used as a precursor to more in-depth research. This enables researchers to collect more data before creating their study questions and hypotheses.
5. Instrumental case studies: These occur when an individual or group enables researchers to learn more than what is initially clear to them, Yin (2017, p.32).

The recent study is a descriptive case study that tries to search in depth the targeted phenomenon. A case study could be both qualitative and quantitative, due to certain factors. It is qualitative because it depends on arguments in interpreting texts. Shank (2002, p. 5) stated that a qualitative method is defined as a form of systematic empirical analysis into meaning. By systematic, Shank means 'planned, ordered

and public'. By empirical, he means that this kind of inquiry is based on the world of experience.

The study presents a background to the concept of speech act as related pragmatically to the aspect of sarcasm. Berman (2017, p. 6) elucidated, 'In an exploratory design, qualitative data is first collected and analysed, and themes are used to drive the development of a quantitative instrument to further explore the research problem'.

Given (2008, p. 17) stated that qualitative research 'is concerned... with the usefulness and application of knowledge. Its primary focus is on the production of knowledge that is practical and has immediate application to pressing problems of concern to society at large' (Ibid).

3.2 Data Collection

The primary research tool in this study is the observation of the data because it is a descriptive qualitative study. Moleong (2009, p. 87) emphasised that in a qualitative study, the researcher is the planner, collector, interpreter, analyst and reporter of the research results. Creswell (1998, p. 56) stated that in the qualitative research, the researcher is the principal instrument in collecting and specifying the data that compiles words, analyses inductively, and observes the utterance delivered by the speakers or writers. There are certain processes to gather the data such as planning the research, selecting the data, categorising the data, analysing the data, interpretation results, and summing up conclusion.

For collecting data in this study, Boris Johnson's Brexit Debates are collected, and then are read thoroughly many times to distinguish the aspects involved in production sarcasm. Whenever, there is a violation of Grice's maxims of cooperative principles.

3.3 Source of Data

The data of this work have been accumulated purposely from the formal websites of ‘House of Commons’ (<https://parliamentlive.tv/event/index/>) concerning Boris Johnson’s Brexit. The study depends on visual (textual) and auditory data observations.

3.3.1 Boris Johnson (PM)

Boris Johnson, also known as Alexander Boris de Pfeffel Johnson, an American-born British journalist and Conservative Party politician, was elected Prime Minister of the United Kingdom in July 2019. Boris was elected mayor of London from 2008 to 2016, and he was named Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs during Prime Minister Theresa May's final term.

Johnson was selected by the Conservative Party to run in the general election for the House of Commons seat of Clwyd South in 1997; however, he lost to incumbent Labour Party member Martyn Jones. Later that year, Johnson began appearing on television, beginning with ‘*Have I Got News for [You] on the BBC*’. His inelegant demeanour and risqué comments have made him a fan favourite on British talk shows. The second time for his election was in 2001 as a member of the parliament for the second time, representing ‘Henley-on-Thames’. Despite becoming one of the country's most well-known British celebrities, he did not allow celebrity get the better of him. (Web 1).

3.3.2 The Concept of Debate

Debate is defined by Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (2000, p. 54) as 'A formal discussion of an issue at a public gathering or in a legislature.' Also as 'an argument or discussion expressing different opinions. It usually means to express an opinion freely. A debate between politicians and pundits often means an intense argument or shouting match. During a debate, a speaker tries to convince the audience of a particular point of view. This normally involves an argumentation process, where the structuring of ideas is built upon logical connections between claims and premises, and a persuasive communication style (Cano-Basave and He, 2016, p. 1405).

3.4 Data Context

Context is regarded as an important factor that plays a highly significant role in understanding and explaining how the meanings of an utterance. Context includes the following:

In order to comprehend and explain how an utterance functions, context is considered a crucial element. The surrounding circumstances include the following:

The Speaker: Boris Johnson is the subject of this investigation.

The Addressee: The members of Parliament and citizens of the United Kingdom.

The Topic: The subject of a speech is referred to as its topic. One of the major goals of this research is how to use sarcasm in Brexit debates and British culture to teach the population how to deal with and overcome adversities.

Setting: The setting relates to the date, time, and location of the debates. Two people might strike up in a discussion in a particular location for a certain purpose. The setting here is the ‘House of Commons’. The location of a speech event may influence what is said and how it is said (Richard and Schmidt, 2010, p. 525).

3.5 Procedures to Data Analysis:

Due to the nature of the research a qualitative and a quantitative method is adhered, the researcher will be the main instrument for collecting data. As part of the research, the researcher obtains Boris Johnson's debate on Brexit, which is read and heard many times in order to identify sarcastic expressions. The researcher also makes observations of political debates, and the implication discovered is clarified. The researcher pays attention to the speech act performed in sarcastic utterances and the forms and functions of sarcasm as set by Camp (2012) and Attardo (2001) to reach the aims of the study and check the validity of the hypothesis set.

After collecting data, the researcher uses some steps to analyse the obtained data as follows:

1. Identifying the speech acts according to Searle's classification, and clarifying how Johnson employed them to give the political speech a binding force for the audience and the members of the parliament.
2. Illustrating sarcasm as a speech acts based on Searle's theory.
3. Describing the cooperative principle and Gricean maxims in Boris Johnson's Brexit debates.
4. Revealing sarcasm in Boris Johnson's Brexit Debates according to Grice.

5. Finding the highest pragmatic structure of sarcasm used, and revealing their functions.
6. Drawing conclusions from data analysis and giving further suggestions.

3.6 Data Validation:

In qualitative research, there are some ways that can be chosen to test the data validation. According to Moleong (2009, p.66) there are four criteria to check the data validation which are the following:

1. **Credibility:** It aims at achieving the data validation through careful and comprehensive reading and rereading of the selected data in accordance with the research question, so that the data can be considered credible.
2. **Transferability:** The researcher had to provide all information needed to enable the readers to understand the finding and that the information was obtained through careful reading of the selected data.
3. **Dependability:** The researcher should read and observe the data carefully and frequently in order to understand the whole text and to make correct interpretation. This what the researcher does in reading the Iraqi constitution.
4. **Conformability:** It is a technique to determine the objectiveness of the research by making discussion with other researchers, advisors and asking the experts about the validity of the data.

3.7 The Model of Analysis

As previously indicated, the key paradigm for assessing the speech acts in Boris Johnson's Brexit will be Searle's (1969) taxonomy

of speech acts. Whereas other pragmatic aspects are analysed according to Grice (1975) in the concerned speech. Side by side with the pragmatic classification of sarcasm structures according to Elizabeth Camp's theory (2012). Additionally, the purpose behind using sarcasm is explained as presented by Attardo's classification (2001) as in *figure(3)*.

This eclectic model is chosen since it is seen as sufficient to investigate the illocutionary act of the specified extracts. Searle states that the understanding of the speaker's intention is an essential factor to capture the meaning of an utterance (Searle, 1969, p. 82). Without the speaker's intention, it is impossible to understand the words as a speech acts. Saeed (1997) declares that to understand language, one must understand the speaker's intention since 'part of the meaning of an utterance is its intended social function, hearers have to coordinate linguistic and non-linguistic (social) knowledge to interpret a speaker's intended meaning' (Ibid, p. 204).

Since the target of this study is to investigate the illocutionary acts of the debates selected depending on understanding the speaker's intention, which is essential for capturing the meaning. The researcher prefers to adopt the aforementioned taxonomy as a model for this study.

3.7.1 Workability of the Model

To assure the efficiency that the eclectic model of analysis, a tentative extract is analysed according to the model mentioned earlier. However, the extract below will be investigated that, is extracted from a debate occurred in the 'House of Commons'. The main topic is Brexit deal and the opening statement of the Prime Minister was a farewell to the speaker of the house 'John Bercow' because of his retirement, Boris

tends to use a lot of figures of speech, sarcastic remarks to bring humour sense to a bit sad situation that is ‘*Bercow’s*’ retirement.

Tentative Text

Boris Johnson (PM): *‘Thank You Mr. speaker immediately after questions, today I will be opening the debate on the Grenville tower inquiry reports but Mr Speaker I know the whole house will want to join me in recording that after 10 tumultuous years. This is your last Prime Minister’s Questions and as befits a distinguished former Wimbledon competitor. You have sat up there in your high chair and not just as an Empire ruthlessly adjudicating on the finer points of parliamentary procedure with your trademark Tony Montana scowl.’*

Analysis of the extract based on the model of the current study:

Speech Act:

The speech act performed is an assertive act. ‘*Boris*’ asserts a claim that ‘*Bercow*’ (the speaker of the Parliament) used to act like an empire, i.e. with a high tone and judges everyone , then he asserts another assumption comparing ‘*Bercow*’ to ‘*Tony Montana*’ who is a fictional character and the protagonist of the 1983 film ‘*Scarface*’ (web 2). ‘*Montana*’ is famous for his fast reaction and unhesitant fires his enemies, a shared character with ‘*Bercow*’ ; only ‘*Bercow*’ shoots with eloquent words.

Gricean Maxims:

1. The Quantity Maxim: Johnson violates the quantity maxim because he presents many issues, he is being more informative than is required.
2. The Quality Maxim: in the current extract, he applies the quality maxim,

i.e. since he does not say what he might believe to be false.

3. The Relevance Maxim: Johnson's speech is relevant to the topic concerned.
4. The Manner Maxim: Johnson violates this maxim where Johnson's speech is ambiguous and not brief. He adopts a lot of metaphors and similes that arose a vague atmosphere.

The Pragmatic Structure of Sarcasm:

Propositional Sarcasm:

Johnson utilises propositional sarcasm as he uses metaphors, which are considered by Camp (2012, p. 617) as a sarcastic utterance when they are not describing a true virtue. Propositional sarcasm includes implicature that denotes the contrary of the speaker's spoken words, which is fixed by semantic composition and lexically focused pragmatic processes (Ibid). In this case, metaphor evokes an evaluative scale of pretense.

The Pragmatic Purpose of Sarcasm

Sophistication:

Johnson shows his attitude about the speaker's '*Bercow*' adequate knowledge and debates management abilities by means of his humorous utterance. Thus, Johnson resembles him with a fictional character, Tony Montana, for his total linguistic knowledge and ability to use words skilfully and as an emperor, for his perfect control of the house debates. This also reflects evaluation with humorous sense. Finally, all the aspects including speech acts, Gricean maxims, Camp's pragmatic structures and Attardo's pragmatic functions combined to construct a sarcastic utterance with the effect intended by the speaker.

3.7.2 Concluding Remarks

It has been observed from the earlier tentative extract that the eclectic model is workable for the investigation of the data in question since speech acts can be regarded as crucial to offer what type of acts whereby sarcasm is issued. Consequently, Grice's maxims are also important in concentrating what type of maxim is violated or observed to do sarcasm. As well as the pragmatic structure and purposes of sarcasm are critical in observing the structure and function of sarcasm as employed in Boris Johnson's Brexit debates. Thus, the eclectic model is adequate to the current study with reference to the knowledge of the main pragmatic issues of sarcasm in Boris Johnson's Brexit debates.

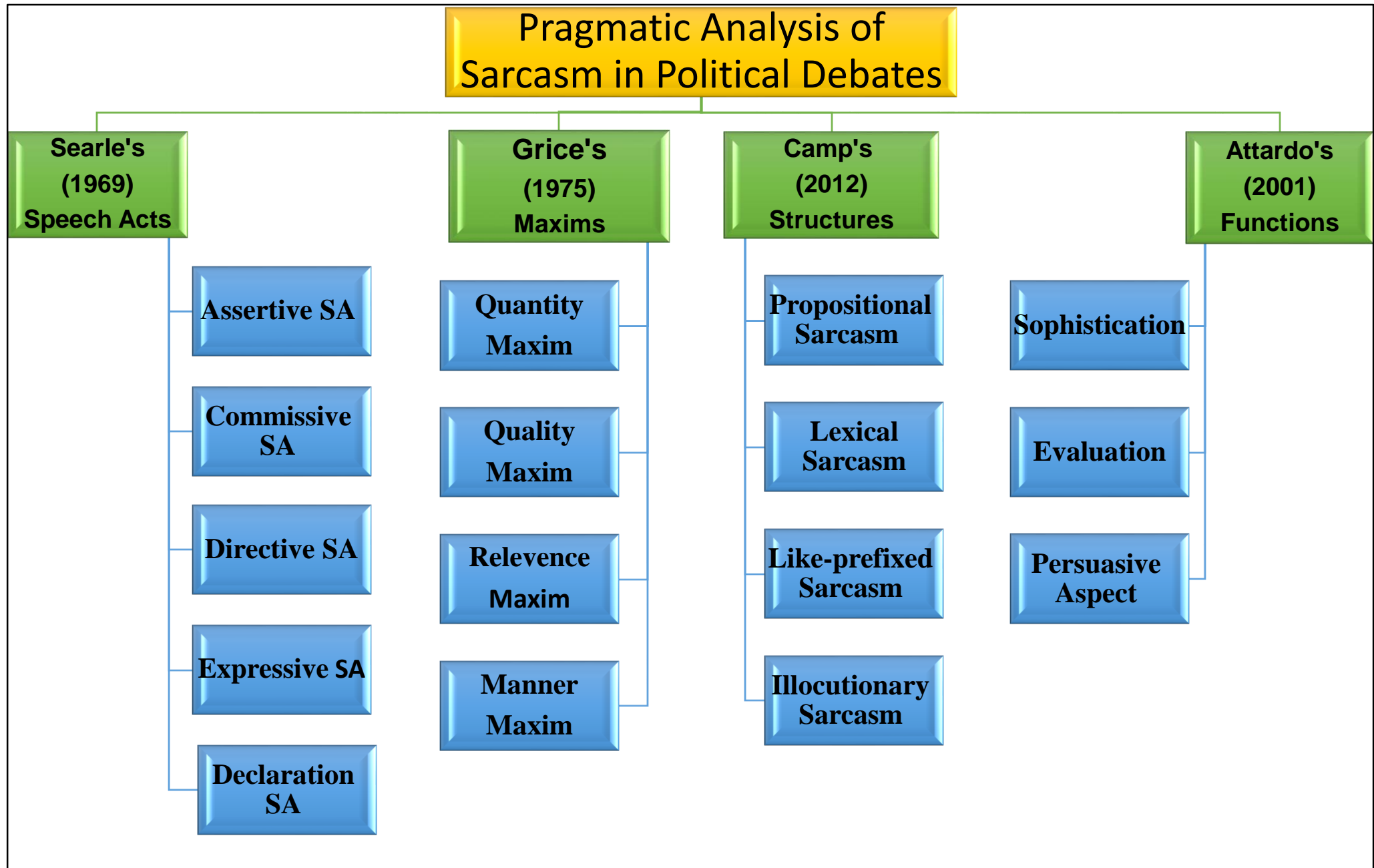


Figure 3: The Eclectic Model for Pragmatic Analysis of Sarcasm

Chapter Four

Analysis, Results and Discussion

4.0 Introduction

The following is an attempt to demonstrate how Searle (1969) classifies and describes language functions, as well as to identify the connection between an utterance's general structure and the participants' ability. As discussed in the preceding three chapters, the SAs, GMs, Camp's (2012) pragmatic structures classification and Attardo's (2001) pragmatic function sarcasm, and their effectiveness in evaluating communication abilities is contingent upon the language, context, and usage of statements capable of producing sarcasm. This was determined by analysing the following samples.

The data was collected from previously recorded debates streamed from the 'House of Commons' and broadcasted in the internet. The researcher first observes the data and highlights the utterances with sarcastic sense. Twelve representative extracts are selected from five British Brexit debates, in which Boris Johnson, the British PM, is part of those debates.

The following is the analysis of the representative extracts with an introductory explanation about place of occurrence, date and subject of negotiating. Followed by a detailed, pragmatic analysis based on the model of the research. The analysis is operated on three stages; stage one examining Sealer's Speech Acts and GMs; on the second stage finding which pragmatic structure served to declare sarcastic utterance based on Camp's 2012 classification and on the third stage interpretation of the pragmatic function of each sarcastic situation as introduced by Attardo (2001).

4.1 Data Analyses

Extracts (A) is extracted from a debate that has occurred on September 4/2019. At the House of Commons, Conservatives with *Boris Johnson* as their Leader and the opponent Labour party with '*Jeremy Corbyn*' as their Leader. The debate has sections concerning social, economic, and political subjects. The extract is from the political part concerning Brexit, which is a conflicting point perceived by conservatives and is declined by Labour.

EXTRACT (1) Boris (PM): *'If this Bill is passed this afternoon, I do not want an election, and I do not think that the right honourable Gentleman wants an election, but there is a petition on his own Labour website in which 57,000 people, including Carol, Nigel, Graham, and Phoebe, have called for an election. I do not know whether there is a Jeremy on the list. I do know that the right hon. Gentleman is worried about free trade deals with America, but I can see only one chlorinated chicken in the House, and he is sitting on the Opposition Front Bench.'*

Speech Act:

In the previous quotation, Boris adheres to assertive SA, claiming something that is not vitally true. Boris is claiming his ignorance about the existence of '*Corbyn's*' name, in fact, he definitely knew, and that is why he is arguing that point, as in '*I do not know whether there is a Jeremy on the list.*' Stating his condemnation because a leader must be on the head of a list. Using

assertive speech act assists the speaker to express his opinion about his interlocutor on one side and the whole opponent party congruity.

Besides, through assertive SA, the speaker can convey complains to counterpart policy and attitude, as in '*I do know that the right hon. Gentleman is worried about free trade deals with America*' which is something not to worry about (from Boris's view).

Finally, another claim is asserted, '*but I can see only one chlorinated chicken in the House, and he is sitting on the Opposition Front Bench.*' The utterance includes metaphoric expressions that cannot be taken literally. Boris compares his opponent as a chlorinated chicken, referring to the chicken importing deal rejected by Labours and society because there were rumours that the American chicken is injected with chemicals to preserve it longer. Boris is defending his alliance by sneering at his opponents.

Gricean Maxims:

1. The Quantity Maxim:

It is perceived through this extract since Boris is trying to be as informative as possible, avoiding any lengthy, redundant elaboration or incomplete information. Restricting to a point headed in debate makes the quantity maxim perceived.

2. The Quality Maxim:

This maxim is violated intentionally, as the act performed is not truthful.

'I do not know whether there is a Jeremy on the list' Boris refrain from providing the audience with direct statistics; in fact, he is very aware that Jeremy's name was not there. Boris's utterance implies that '*Corbyn's*' name was not enlisted; he violated the quality maxim to

show the weaknesses of the other party and their inconsistency with their Leader.

3. The Relevance Maxim:

The speaker is informing only what is related to the current case of debate discussion. Thus, this maxim has been adhered.

4. The Manner Maxim:

Ambiguity is found throughout Boris speech. Besides, ideas are not arranged orderly serving the speakers intentions, to include what he wants to assess avoiding any speech that negatively affect his presidential campaign . Boris here uses odd expression referring to his opponent that breaks the relevance maxim: *'I can see only one chlorinated chicken in the House, and he is sitting on the opposition front bench.'* Furthermore, Referring to 'Corbyn' as a 'chlorinated chicken' brings obscurity to the PM's speech. Concerning the second part *'he is sitting'* seem illogical for a chlorinated chicken to sit in the House of Commons!

Hither, the manner maxim is violated purposely by the speaker for two reasons; either to avoid direct use of harsh words, which is forbidden according to rules of the House or to convey a message related to Brexit and the trade deal that has been rejected by the parliaments.

The Pragmatic Structure of Sarcasm:

Propositional sarcasm is adhered to by both syntactic observation and pragmatically oriented processes. Thus, to pretend something and means another thing, as in *'I do not know whether there is a Jeremy on the list.'* Alternatively, indicate the contrary of what has been stated by literal meaning, as in *'I do know that the right hon.*

Gentleman is worried about free trade deals with America'. Successively, Boris is confident that free trades deal should not be a cause of fear but totally the opposite.

The last utterance involves metaphor, which Camp also considers another form of propositional sarcasm. It states the personal attitude of the speaker towards the addressee. As in:

'I can see only one chlorinated chicken in the House, and he is sitting on the Opposition Front Bench'.

The Pragmatic Function of Sarcasm:

1. Evaluation:

The speaker is trying to criticize the interlocutor case, state and attitude. Boris claims that 'Corbyn' is not fully aware about his party members, which is somewhat ashamed for a leader *'I do not know whether there is a Jeremy on the list*'. Then, he goes on to criticize his hesitation that he could not make his mind about what he really wants to the future of the country and people comparing him to *'chlorinated chicken*', which is actually chickens treated with poisonous and toxic materials, which is part of the trade deal to be imported from USA, what Labour party firmly refused. *'I can see only one chlorinated chicken in the House, and he is sitting on the Opposition Front Bench*'.

2. Persuasive aspect:

Here, sarcasm serves another purpose: to persuade the audience that the deal Boris is after involves free trade deals. That is something people should admire and be optimistic about, unlike his opponent (Jeremy Corbyn), who is worried about it. *'I do know that the right hon. Gentleman is worried about free trade deals with America*'.

EXTRACT (2) MP (Lab): *‘if the Prime Minister really believes in no deal, let him put it to the people and ask our people if that is the price they want to pay.’*

Boris (PM): *‘As the honourable Lady knows very well, this Government will take this country out of the European Union on October 31. There is only one thing that stands in our way: the surrender Bill currently being proposed by the Leader of the Opposition.’*

Speech Act:

Commissive SA is performed through this utterance. The speaker (Boris) is vowing to make a resolute decision or promise to do something, i.e., succeeding Brexit deal. *‘this Government will take this country out of the European Union on October 31.’*

Also, the SA of assertion is performed to indicate the speaker’s peculiar opinion or view. For example, claiming that the bill delivered by the Labour party is ‘a *surrender Bill*,’ saying that it is accurate or is a fact, although he cannot prove it and other people might not believe it. The speaker is complaining about delaying the Brexit deal because of that Bill.

Subsequently, two forms of SA are performed, the assertive SA declaring the speaker’s vision, through which he both claims and complains. The second speech act is the act of commission, by which the speaker is promising to do something which is here leaving the European Union.

Gricean Maxims:

1. The Quantity Maxim:

In this extract, quantity maxim is perceived, since Boris tries to be as informative as possible, avoiding any lengthy, redundant elaboration.

2. The Quality Maxim:

This maxim is not violated and perceived since Boris says what he believes to be true.

3. The Relevance Maxim:

The speaker (Boris) is not observing this maxim since his answer is not directly related to the MP's question. The answer is contrary to what was interrogated. Nevertheless, he submits what he wants to say and believes to be. The Lady wanted clarification for people if the EU goes through no deal and asks the people what they really wish to. On the other hand, he replayed that the deal will be done, bearing no chance for the no-deal Brexit. This precisely goes with what (Murray 2007-p: 23) elaborates that the speaker deliberately tries to make his utterance overt or to be noticed. This violation makes the hearer infer an implicature.

4. The Manner Maxim:

Ambiguity and obscurity are not found in this extract; thus, the MM has adhered.

The Pragmatic Structure of Sarcasm:

Propositional sarcasm is the pragmatic structure ascended from the extract. Speaker pretends to assert a proposition, evokes a situation at one end of an evaluative scale, implicating the contrary or

evaluative attitude. Here, he stimulates the contrary, *‘knows very well, this Government will take this country out of the European Union on October 31’*. The fact is the Lady (does not know very well) is not sure whether there is a deal or no deal, and she is inspecting the destiny of the UK people.

Additionally, he states that her party and her Leader's ‘bill’ offered by her party is the only obstacle to the UK’s deal. Thus, he is implicating a contrary proposition of what he previously states.

The Pragmatic Function of Sarcasm:

Persuasive Aspect:

The speaker persuades the audience and the other party to support the Brexit deal and abandon their ‘Bill’ using propositional sarcasm. He refers to the Bill as a surrender bill! Which is a metaphoric expression used literally for criticism. He also forces his plan to address it as something that actually occurs, as a course of persuasion.

EXTRACT (3) Boris: *‘Frankly Mr. Speaker it is time to differentiate between the politics of protest and the politics of leadership.’*

Speech Act:

The directive SA is advocated in this extract. The speaker acts as director by giving advice addressing the audience in general and aiming at a specific opposition leader.

The extract starts with a pragmatic marker, the adverb ‘frankly,’ which shows the speaker's manner. The speaker is stating his speech with confidence and advising that there is a fact that must be considered. Another antecedent is the phrase ‘it is time,’ which

semantically reflects that something must end and action must be taken.

The whole extract shows Boris advising his opponent to separate political ethics from protesting manner, which implies Boris's accusing the opponent of ignorance in such matters.

Gricean Maxims:

1) The Quantity Maxim:

This maxim is not violated since the speaker is answering the question addressed to him then he stated this remark. The speaker is cooperative, introducing information needed in order to set a clear vision to the audience.

2) The Quality Maxim:

The maxim in question has been fully adhered to. The speaker says what he believes to be true, adding nothing that he or others might suspect of its occurrence. Being loyal to this maxim interprets that the speaker is seeking to get the audience's trust.

3) The Relevance Maxim:

The extract lacks relevancy because the speaker is stating advice unrelated to the question addressed to him. Meanwhile, consciously violating this maxim infolds a point the speaker urges to deliver. Without a doubt, the message involves criticism to his interlocutor in the form of advice.

4) The Manner Maxim:

The current extract indulges vague structure since the sentence lacks an antecedent that identifies whom the message is headed. This kind of vague structure is known semantically as non-linguistic

ambiguity; moreover, Lyons describes non – linguistic ambiguities as ‘that are introduced into utterance – signals by channel-noise by deficiencies in the language – user’s competence or performance or by the particular context in which the utterance occurs’ (Lyons, 1977, p. 398).

The Pragmatic Structure of Sarcasm:

The form of illocutionary sarcasm is introduced in this extract. Disdain for the entire a situation is inferred. The speaker takes on an overall speech act whose illocutionary force is guided by the uttered sentence’s grammatical mood in the usual way. There is no meaning in reversal. Instead, an evaluated scale for a person or situation is managed.

‘Boris’ adopts the illocutionary sarcasm conducting a negative critical attitude implied in his words towards his opponent. On a scale of knowledge, ‘Boris’ is stating his opponent as unaware of politics and protesting.

It is good to know the manner of protest adhered by ‘*Corbyn*’ that up rages ‘Johnson’. This made him call for a political negotiation and debate, not a mere act of protest.

The Pragmatic Function of Sarcasm:

Evaluation:

The illocutionary sarcasm evokes an evaluative scale on the level of political awareness. ‘Boris’s’ sarcastic utterance dubious ‘*Corbyn’s*’ knowledge and negotiating skills. The speaker merely pretends to deliver advice, which implicates criticism. As a result, the act of advising by sarcastic force turned into an insult.

In a net shell, collective aspects starting with the declarative SA by which the speaker performed advice made the sarcastic utterance. Side by side with the violation of relevance maxim and manner maxim that helped form implicature, which works to give two levels of meaning that is insult into advice form.

Extracts (B) Sept. 3/2019. House of Commons. *Boris Johnson* is planning an instant general election on October 14; if the MPs block a No Deal Brexit this week, as they have revealed, streamed from the ‘House of Commons’.

EXTRACT (4) Boris (PM): *What an extraordinary policy, what an extraordinary policy, Mr. Speaker!*

Speech Act:

Assertive SA is performed, the speaker acts claiming, which is to say something claiming it is true but cannot prove that or others cannot believe the felicity of utterance. The act of exclamation one might consider as a direct speech act to express praise and surprise. However, according to this situation, it performs an indirect speech act referring to the speaker’s demeaning of the encounter’s ideas, indicating the opposite of what has been said. ‘Boris’ delivers negative amazement effect by exclamatory sentence towards Labour’s approach to Brexit, their favour to stay in the EU, and their agreement about handing the fishing income to EU control.

Gricean Maxims:**1) The Quantity Maxim:**

The speaker delivers a full descriptive speech and adds insertion at the end of his speech. Thus, the maxim in the entire speech is adhered to. However, concerning the quotation above, since the syntactic structure is an exclamatory sentence that cannot be considered informative, then it is violated.

2) The Quality Maxim:

The quality maxim is also violated. The speaker does not present an honest utterance, and he breaks the maxim in question because he is saying what he does not believe to be true

3) The Relevance Maxim:

The relevance maxim investigates whether there is a relation between what is said and what is supposed to be. An exclamatory sentence usually exclaims something existed; thus, it is observed. Observing the relevance here delivers the speaker's message directly to the matter in question.

4) The Manner Maxim:

The maxim is violated. The utterance includes ambiguity since the utterance can be interpreted in two ways or more. The phrase '*an extraordinary policy*' can be interpreted as the Labour's policy in general or as '*Corbyn's*' policy in particular.

The Pragmatic Structure of Sarcasm:

The speaker asserts a lexical sarcasm formula. Camp states that it is vague for questions to have propositional meaning, and if so, then the meaning is the reverse of what is said. This phenomenon can be

noticed here precisely, *'What an extraordinary policy!'* Lexical sarcasm is generally obliged to a particular evaluative scale; this scale usually represents the far two ends of the scale. The word 'extraordinary' implicates the total opposite; a praising word is located to express disparaging a negative attitude towards the idea given by a Labour member. Boris implicates that the idea given by the Labour member is insignificant and not even worth argumentation. In the end, lexical sarcasm is the typical form of sarcasm since it carries the opposite sense of a specific lexicon.

The Pragmatic Function of Sarcasm:

Evaluation:

Boris is trying to impose evaluation towards interlocutor attitude by advocating the form of lexical sarcasm. Typically, lexical sarcasm exposes evaluation on a scale; not graded but is located at the extremes. Interlocutor evaluation involves either negative (criticism) evaluation or positive (compliment) evaluation. Boris is sending a negative evaluative attitude criticizing the MP's idea as being an invalid one. Sarcasm works here as a negative evaluative criticism sent with a bunch of flowers.

EXTRACT (5) MP (Lab): *'The Liberal Democrats doctors like him tell me they want to stop Brexit because it will plunge our NHS into deep crisis haemorrhaging vital staff and threatening access to life-saving medicines when will the Prime Minister stop playing with people's lives and stop Brexit.'*

Boris (PM): *'I'm glad that the honourable lady has given me occasion to remind the house of the fact 700 more doctors in the NHS since the vote to leave the EU... ..I'm grateful to her for I need to point that out'.*

Speech Act:

'Boris' adopts expressive SA through this extract. An expressive SA functions here to express the speaker's psychological state; here, it is gratefulness (thanking). The adjective (grateful) is a clear indicator, but what is implied is a chance for the speaker to confront the opponents with Brexit vitality and his achievements, which he considers significant that not to be opposed. Then he moves on to another SA that is the assertive SA. This form bonds speakers to the legitimacy of a proposition associated. He is performing the act of stating, *'I need to point that out'*, indicating the necessity to highlight an issue.

Gricean Maxims:

1. The Quantity Maxim:

There is no violation found. Here, Boris tries to be as informative as possible, avoiding any lengthy, redundant elaboration.

2. The Quality Maxim:

The current maxim is observed through *Boris's* speech. He is communicating what he believes to be true.

3. The Relevance Maxim:

This maxim is obeyed, the speaker (*Boris*) is trying to be cooperative, and his words and answer are related to the Lady's question about the NHS.

4. The Manner Maxim:

The fourth GM of manner is also maintained during his response. The speaker is not using ambiguous language or vague statements.

The Pragmatic Structure of Sarcasm:

‘*Boris*’ communicates illocutionary sarcasm in his response to the MP’s complaints and questions. The utterance holds inconsistency between answer and response and the actual situation surrounding the encounter. ‘*Boris*’ performs the act of gratefulness to a whole scenario of indications, which is usually not a predicted response. This arose a sarcastic effect on the speaker’s answer since he thanks her for accusing him. ‘*Boris*’ takes it as a chance to mention his achievement and praising the deal he is defending. Illocutionary sarcasm works as a method to avoid a direct clash maintain sincerity and enhance the speaker’s position. Thus, positive credit is added to the sarcastic person.

The Pragmatic Function of Sarcasm:

Evaluation:

Illocutionary sarcasm usually serves as an evaluative scale different from what is found in both propositional sarcasm and lexical sarcasm. Here it evaluates an entire situation—sarcasm here functions as a positive react for a hostile attack. The sense of self appreciation is on the surface. The speaker manifests it to avoid blame on one hand and to achieve self-praise.

EXTRACT (6) Boris (PM): *'Advice listen to the Chancellor's spending review statement tomorrow and if she's seriously opposing this spending on schools and on hospitals and all forgets if that's really what the Labour Party is all about now.'*

Speech Act:

Boris employs the directive SA, in which the speaker is performing the act of recommending, which is to suggest something is suitable for a particular situation or someone. He recommends the MP to listen to the government's chancellor stating his review about the government's economic plan *'advice listen to the Chancellor's spending review statement tomorrow.'*

In the second part, he is adhering to an assertive SA, where he is complaining about the MP's attitude toward the economic policy adopted by his government, which he thinks is good. He says that the Labour party has nothing to complain about or oppose the Conservatives only by criticizing all their merits.

Gricean Maxims:

1) The Quantity Maxim:

The speaker is breaking the quality maxim. He is communicating more information that is required. Boris is required to answer the MP's question only, but he further criticizes her opposition side by side with her party's aim and purpose of protesting. This addition makes Boris's communication lengthy. The purpose behind breaking this maxim is to express a confident attitude on edge against his

opponent's policy and shed light on the specific point, which is the absurdity of the opponents' protest.

2) The Quality Maxim:

The quality maxim is perceived since the speaker is communicating what he believes to be factual. Keeping this maxim gives the speaker legitimacy.

3) The Relevance Maxim:

In the current extract, the relevance maxim is adopted. The speaker's response is related to the subject being asked about and to the point of divergence.

4) The Manner Maxim:

There is no vagueness found in this extract. The use of words and structures is syntactically arranged and pragmatically applied. The speaker aims to achieve his point clearly through direct, obvious lexicons despite the implied message he asserts.

The Pragmatic Structure of Sarcasm:

Lexical sarcasm appears in this extract. Generally speaking, lexical sarcasm indicates either evaluative scale or allusive expressions, as Camp (2011: 25) mentioned. Statements with if conditional primarily reflect the evaluative scale, but a suggestive expression is featured to refer to a highly opposite evaluation of the recognized feature. Certain expressions accompanied with lexical sarcasm highlight it, such as 'this, that, indeed, so, and like that.'

Boris uses words such as 'seriously and really', which clearly indicate lexical sarcasm. The expressions he uses are suggestive for evaluating the interlocutor's view. In the use of 'seriously,' he

indicates that the MP is definitely not seriously neglecting the importance of stipulating the budget for NHS and schools as in *'if she's seriously opposing this spending on schools and on hospitals.'*

He adds another allusive evaluative expression, 'really', as in; *'if that's really what the Labour Party is all about now.'* The utterance suggests a criticism for the Labour party, economic and protesting policy, implying speculation about them.

The utilization of demonstratives 'this and that' exhilarated the effect of lexical sarcasm.

The Pragmatic Function of Sarcasm:

Evaluation:

The sarcastic structure used in the extract serves to give interlocutor evaluation depending on the speaker's response to the questioner. Boris sets negative evaluation (criticism) for both the MP's manner against an approach he thinks is for the good of all and, on the other hand, the Labour party, which the MP is a member of it.

The use of assertive and directive SA, side by side with violation of the quantity maxim, adding to the use of lexical sarcasm all served an evaluative effect imposed by Boris to the other party members and policy.

Extracts (C) October 30/2019. PM first questions since MPs voted for an election on December 12, from the ‘House of Commons’. It is the first stand for Boris after winning the elections. The argument about the Brexit deal is still on. Boris tries to answer the MP’s questions and inquiries as well as trying to persuade them.

EXTRACT (7) Corbyn: *‘the NHS needs over 4,000 extra beds could the Prime Minister explain why under his government the number of people in England waiting for an operation has now reached a record high of 4.4 million.’*

Boris (PM): *‘I’m surprising keep a straight face saying that while his government has cut so much from the Welsh government’s budget!’*

Speech Act:

This extract includes an assertive SA. The speaker (Boris) is performing complaining, which reflects the speaker’s agitation towards something or someone using exclamatory structure. Complaining here indicates that there is something wrong with what has been said or the opponent’s claim.

Boris tries to clarify that ‘*Corbyn’s*’ government caused damage to the economy and gave nothing to NHS and national public services. Therefore, Boris is surprised that ‘*Corbyn*’ seems worried about patients, while he did not help them when he was in charge.

Gricean Maxims:**1) The Quantity Maxim:**

The maxim is violated since the speaker is not informative enough about the issue in question. The answer does not fully report statistics or explanation that take over the questioner's suspense and claims.

2) The Quality Maxim:

Concerning the quantity, it is perceived throughout the speaker's answer. Boris communicates what he believes to be accurate; this keeps the maxim under investigation, not violated.

3) The Relevance Maxim:

This maxim is violated. Boris's answer is not related to the question in advance. He stated irrelevant statements, reflecting his own attitude that cannot be considered an answer to the question. The speaker purposely violates the relevance maxim to affirm a specified idea or avoid a direct answer.

4) The Manner Maxim:

The current extract does not involve any obscurity or vagueness; the words and constructions are apparent. Boris keeps this maxim this helps him to deliver his point clearly. He ensures that the cause of the patients' suffer is 'Corbyn's' government terrible economic management, not his.

The Pragmatic Structure of Sarcasm:

The illocutionary sarcasm can be detected. The entire utterance holds the sense of sarcasm implied, not just a specific word. The speaker criticizes the interlocutor's opinion compelling negative evaluation.

‘Boris’s’ reply with an exclamatory utterance, as a way to express his disagreement about ‘*Corbyn’s*’ protest and claims, because what ‘*Corbyn*’ stood against in this Parliament sitting is exactly what he and his government neglect when Labour was ruling. Consequently, criticism is implied in the exclamatory construction to convey the speaker’s attitude sarcastically.

The Pragmatic Function of Sarcasm:

Evaluation:

The pragmatic structure of illocutionary sarcasm calls for an evaluative scale to the situation. Boris is implying interlocutor evaluation, a negative one.

The essence of criticism is perceived. Boris criticizes the way ‘*Corbyn*’ refers to the problem of NHS and patients’ need for more care, and there should be more focus on the needs of the health sector. Boris inserts a sarcastic mode on that question for ‘*Corbyn*’, and his party did not develop the NHS when they were responsible for that.

‘Boris’ adds that the ‘Wales’ government, which Labour controls, reduced the financial plan for health services that are totally contrary to what ‘*Corbyn*’ is calling for!

To sum up, the assertive SA, the violation of the quantity and relevance maxims intentionally and inserting the illocutionary sarcasm structure, helped to utter a sarcastic utterance that is effective with the purpose of the speaker.

EXTRACT (8) *Hunt*: *didn't we have a pact, Boris?*
We weren't [gonna] talk over each other! Boris: that's
a very [very] gentle murmur!

Speech Act:

'*Boris's*' replay represents assertive SA. 'Boris' shows his view towards his competitive follower Hunter; this is claiming with a flavour of fun. 'Boris' praises Hunter's choice of words, which might be sarcastically interpreted because he was embarrassed by that remark. As Searle clarifies, the literal meaning and speaker meaning are not performing the same SA and imply another level of SA.

Gricean Maxims:

1) The Quantity Maxim:

The current maxim is violated purposely by the speaker to insert his contribution. 'Boris' delivers his words when he is not requested to interact, although it is a response to 'Hunter's' remark. 'Boris' is not informative enough or too much, the whole utterance uttered as an interruption.

2) The Quality Maxim:

The quality maxim is obeyed since the speaker says what he believes to be factual. His insertion reflects how he perceives the previous utterance. Thus, the quantity maxim is not violated.

3) The Relevance Maxim:

Additionally, this maxim is perceived. The insertion is related to the previous utterance. Observing this maxim is a signal of the fluency of interaction.

4) The Manner Maxim:

Both the surface structure and meaning does not involve any ambiguity or vagueness, thus it is obvious that this maxim is not violated.

The Pragmatic Structure of Sarcasm:

Propositional sarcasm can be found in the current utterance. The normative evaluative scale is found in the phrase ‘*very very good murmur.*’ propositional sarcasm is inserted combined with intensifiers. The speaker presents positive sarcasm with positive expressions. The social rank and the relation between the interlocutors create an affable atmosphere where positive sarcasm is expected.

The speaker is not saying that the interlocutor murmur is not pleasing; i.e. no inversion is targeted. On the contrary, it brings weird feelings to the receiver of that ‘murmur’. That is where the sarcastic effect appears.

The Pragmatic Function of Sarcasm:

Sophistication:

The primary notable function of sarcasm, in the current utterance, is to bring a pleasant atmosphere to keep relations on a social scale. The speaker intends not to criticize the other speech or attitude; in fact, it shows an effect on the speaker himself, which is somewhat awkward. Consequently, showing self-embarrassment indicates a sarcastic-humour sense.

To sum up, the assertive SA side by side with the violation of quantity maxim pragmatically goes with the propositional structure of

sarcasm that brought the pragmatic function of humour that creates sarcastic utterance.

EXTRACT (9) Boris to Hunt: *'you've said you'd be prepared to wait until Christmas and which Christmas is it'*

Speech Act:

The extract above involves an assertive SA. *Boris* complains about '*Hunt's*' unspecified limitation of time, claiming that *Hunt's* words are vague and can be interpreted in multiple ways. When a speaker uses assertive SA, he\she is adhering to the sense of involving new disputes he\she believe to be true; here, *Boris* believes that his opponent words and promise cannot be taken for granted. The phrase '*and which Christmas is it*' implies more than just inquiring about the time; that is surface interpretation. It implies the lack of accurate planning, which on the other hand, reflects the inappropriateness of his opponent to take the Conservatives leadership. Furthermore, the use of the assertive SA assists *Boris* to employ his point indirectly.

Gricean Maxims:

The Quantity Maxim:

The quantity maxim is violated. The speaker is not as informative as required. In fact, he resets his contribution in the form of the question that implies more information that is not being told. Violating this maxim reflects the speaker's intention to avoid delivering criticism directly and presenting his opposing view.

The Quality Maxim:

The quality maxim is observed in this extract since the speaker inserts information he believes to be true depending on common knowledge. Observing this maxim reveals the speaker's intention to keep his utterance's factuality and perceive the audience trust.

The Relevance Maxim:

Relevance maxim is observed. This can be detected from what is stated. The utterance is a response to a previous contribution stated by the interlocutor. Observing this maxim appeals to the speaker's adherence to the CP.

The Manner Maxim:

In the current extract, the manner maxim is not violated. The speaker is seeking clarification and clearly highlighting that point; thus, no ambiguity is involved.

The Pragmatic Structure of Sarcasm:**Illocutionary sarcasm:**

The form of illocutionary sarcasm is manifested because of a previous speech produced by the interlocutor. The utterance does not imply a contrary sense, but it implies a reaction that denies the action issued. Illocutionary sarcasm encodes disparity. When disparities are highlighted, people may see which extreme ranges are most pronounced. The speaker pretended to offer a question that would be suitable if the addressee acted articulately and planned perfectly. Consequently, it draws attention to the difference between (situations in which a genuine utterance would be acceptable) and (the actual situation).

The Pragmatic Function of Sarcasm:

Evaluation:

The illocutionary sarcastic utterance raises an evaluative attitude. The speaker imposes a negative evaluation on the interlocutor. The negative effect is drawn in the form of criticism for Hunt's ill-planning that reflects Boris's point that Hunt is not a qualified opponent, which is an expected strategy between counterparts to enhance their credit by focusing on one another weak points, especially in debates to win voices to their side.

To sum up, the pragmatic aspects manifested, including assertive SA and the violation of quantity maxim. Side by side with the illocutionary structure of sarcasm produced a sarcastic utterance that served the evaluative function of the utterance which the speaker intends.

Extracts (E) 19 December/2019. House of Commons. 'Boris' and 'Corbyn' clashes after the queen's speech supporting the conservative political vision.

EXTRACT (10) MP (Lab): *'to impose tougher sentences on the most serious offenders now.'*

Boris (PM): *'if the Honourable Lady opposite actually wants to contest the need for tougher sentences for serious offenders, I'm happy to hear!'*

Speech Act:

The speaker in this extract uses an assertive SA, claiming that he is happy to hear what she opposes as a ‘tougher sentence.’ In fact, the Lady is unable to provoke such rules since her party formally failed to do so. He looks pretty welcoming if any progress can be heard from the opposite party, which is, in reality, there will not be any. The speaker commits himself to the factuality of utterance when s\he uses assertive SA. Particularly claiming, through which the speaker presents something as accurate but neither s\he nor others can prove the factuality of that utterance. Depending on the context, one cannot interpret ‘*I am happy to hear*’ as an expressive SA, which surface meaning might indicate due to previous hypothetical utterance, which brings contradiction to logic.

Gricean Maxims:

1) The Quantity Maxim:

The maxim is violated because the speaker rejects to answer and replays with a suggestion. Breaking this maxim reflects the speaker’s intended intention: the unwillingness to give a direct answer to show upset towards the interlocutor’s words. Echoing is a form of opting; the speaker echoes the Lady’s words.

2) The Quality Maxim:

The maxim in question is also violated because the speaker is not stating a truthful utterance that can be trusted. Opting a maxim puts the speaker in suspecting mood, where she or he purposely avoids answering either to avoid a clash with interlocutor or to perceive self-dignity.

3) The Relevance Maxim:

This maxim can be assumed to be perceived as the answer is related to the question. The speaker does not give a direct answer, but he shows his interest to hear further insertions from the Lady, those he might not be aware of.

4) The Manner Maxim:

Eventually, the fourth maxim is not violated because the speaker's response is not vague; he is inquiring for suggestions'; that is why the utterance appears to be clear.

Pragmatic Structure of Sarcasm:

Illocutionary Sarcasm:

The speaker commits himself to the utterance that suggests disparity with the situation; an evaluative attitude appears when the speaker clarifies the disparity between the MP's speech and the actual policy of her party towards the issue discussed. The speaker rejects to replay until she delivers her suggestions. Instead, he inserts a locutionary positive proposition that implies positiveness, and that positivity depends on the conditional sentence. *Boris* wants to state that '*to contest the need for tougher sentences for serious offenders,*' which is his initial political concern and which is not for her party, then the MP's speech contradicts their actions and views. He moves on to say, '*I'm happy to hear!*' where he pretends this act but sarcastically reflects their inability to deliver what she is after.

The Pragmatic Function of Sarcasm:

Evaluation:

The sarcastic utterance delivered functions as an evaluative scale reflecting criticism for a specific group of people; the Labour party and their policy. This evaluation eliminates the idea imposed by the MP from the general policy adopted by the party's vision. Sarcastic utterance here exposes the speaker's repulsive attitude towards the opposite party in general, their perception, and the conception delivered by their MP, which initially contradicts their perception. All in all, the four aspects gathered helped in generating sarcastic sense indirectly signifying offend mood.

**EXTRACT (11) Boris to the speaker of the house
and MPs: *'if you can't believe the Daily Telegraph
Mr. speaker, what can you believe!'***

Speech Act:

The speaker performs praising via the expressive SA. The use of an expressive SA reveals much of the speaker's personal feelings; trust and confidence are exposed here. In the form of praise, Boris reflects his trust in the news, reports and whatever is published in the Daily Telegraph. The use of hypothetical construction and enclosed by a question eliminates any other conditions and possibilities for another option to be raised, reaching the value of The Daily Telegraph as Boris believes. Boris's utterance, *'if you can't believe the Daily Telegraph Mr. speaker, what can you believe,'* implies the all ahead information.

Gricean Maxims:

1) The Quantity Maxim:

The speaker breaks this maxim since he is not as informative as required about what to believe and why this newspaper is specific. His contribution cannot quickly be figured. Most of what tries to communicate are implied, i.e. hidden, and the addressee interprets it. Breaking this maxim leaves the addressee to decide whether he intends to criticize the opponents trusted newspaper or to praise the paper he trusts.

On the other hand, '*Boris*' is delivering unnecessary information about the newspaper and the Conservative PM, which is not actually crucial to the debate's topic or the question opposed to him.

2) The Quality Maxim:

The quality maxim is obeyed. The speaker is informing what he believes to be taken for sure. Obeying this maxim raises the esteem of the speaker and enhances his credit for being honest with the audience, which is crucial in politics.

3) The Relevance Maxim:

Throughout this utterance, the relevance maxim is not followed. '*Boris*' violates this maxim by stating records not related to the appropriate answer to the question headed to him. Breaking this maxim also infolds more than what words tell. He intends to praise his party members, their campaigning newspaper and compares them to the opposite front.

4) The Manner Maxim:

The combination of a hypothetical sentence and a question within it raises vagueness. Thus, the manner maxim is floated. Not observing

this maxim, '*Boris*' gives his utterance form of ambiguity that serves his purpose to convey what he is up to in a humour sense.

The Pragmatic Structure of Sarcasm:

Illocutionary Structure:

This form appears when there is disparity between the action that occurred ahead and what is said after. This disparity creates a sarcastic sense. Boris begins with a condition addressing the speaker in particular and MPs in general. What is expected to follow in the main clause is the release of the condition; instead, he neglects such a possible release cancelling all other options.

The Pragmatic Function of Sarcasm:

Sophistication and Evaluation:

The recipient of the sarcastic utterance identity is a factor that reveals whether a friendly function is adopted or the contrary. '*Boris*' here addresses his follower member and the speaker of the house (a conservative alliance). The way he structured his words presents sophistication.

Besides, this sarcastic utterance evokes an evaluative scale, self-evaluation. '*Boris*' gives positive credit to his followers in the party, his campaigning newspaper, and consequently, his positive points to the opposition parties and the electoral audience in general. As a result, sarcastic utterances can hold for positive sense, not only harsh negative ones.

To sum up, the expressive SA and the violated maxims reflect the pragmatic aspect that formulates sarcastic utterance. Side by side with the illocutionary structure that includes disparity which evokes

the humour sense. Pragmatic aspect and pragmatic structures gave way to the pragmatic function behind using them which is self-evaluation and sophistication.

EXTRACT (12) Mr. Nigel Evans (Con.): *‘The Guardian newspaper last week reported that the largest number of happiest people live in the Ribble Valley and I believe you have the capacity to make them happier will you ensure that of the hundred and fifty three extra police.’*

Boris (PM): *‘like I make him even happier still by pointing out that not a 153 is just the first wave and Mr. Speaker for rebel Valley and part of the 20,000 more police that we’ll be putting on the streets of this country.’*

Speech Act:

Boris uses the assertive SA. He is boasting, praising something, that he presents or acts, which is here; *‘I make him even happier.’* The assertive SA commits the speaker to the truth of the proposition enclosed. The form used indicates that the speaker is showing off, trying to prove to the audience that he can make the interlocutor happier by his words. In fact, the utterance infolds the opposite effect to the recipient’s source of information, ‘The Guardian,’ which is known for its Liberal alliance; the construction of the sentence starting with ‘like’ rhetorical effect tells that compared with the recited speech, the speaker is implying that his speech will be aggravating. ‘Boris’ boasts of his ability to make the people of the Ribble Valley happier, providing them with services.

Gricean Maxims:

1) The Quantity Maxim:

The speaker perceives the quantity maxim since he delivers good tidings to communicate his idea. Boris is answering his follower Sir Nigel about a quotation from ‘The Guardian’ newspaper. Utilizing this maxim reveals that the speaker is cooperative, corresponding clear and adequate information.

2) The Quality Maxim:

The structure of the opening sentence enfolds something opposite to what has been stated. Thus, the current maxim is disobeyed since the speaker tells what he does not believe to be factual. Breaking this maxim purposely to embed a message the speaker seeks to deliver both to enhance his face by strategically delivering facts to the audience and increase his credit as well as implicate that his good doings irritate the opposition.

3) The Relevance Maxim:

The relevance maxim is obeyed in the current extract. The speaker seems obedient. He does not break this maxim to deliver a message that directly reinforces the idea given by ‘Nigel’.

4) The Manner Maxim:

This maxim is violated. The structure of the sentence ‘*like I make him even happier*’ begins with ‘like’ which sometimes used informally to begin a quotation or imitation. This is sometimes referred to as ‘like-quotation’. The term is often used to indicate utterance next to it is not an accurate example but rather conveys a sense of overbearing to what has been said. In this case, ‘like’ functions associated with the verbs to be (also speak, think, and so on), as in the following example:

- *He was like, 'I'll be there in five minutes.'* (Web 4)

The use of like in this sentence altered the form of the sentence. This alteration brings vagueness. Besides, the sentence may have two different antecedents. First, 'him' might refer to the inquirer, second 'him' may refer to the writer of the Guardian newspaper. This duality in interpretation is known as ambiguity. Due to vagueness in structure and ambiguity, this maxim is violated. Breaking manner maxim purposely reflects the speaker's intentions to avoid direct referent.

The Pragmatic Structure of Sarcasm:

This extract includes the Like- prefixed sarcasm, which functions as a denial. The speaker uses like- prefixed to assess deniability to what comes after the word 'like.' Like prefixed sarcasm usually combined with declarative sentences, not interrogative one. He implies that he is not going to make him happy.

The Pragmatic Function of Sarcasm:

Evaluation:

The sarcastic message functions as a self-evaluative scale, where the speaker evaluates his ability or position to do something. Here, 'Boris' positively evaluates his ability to tease 'the Guardian's' editors. The positive and negative functions of sarcasm are both notable cases. Negative sarcastic utterances might include criticism, teasing, insult, or patronizing. On the other hand, positive sarcasm also involves evaluation but on a different level, as in the current extract, where self-praise is opposed.

4.2 Findings:

Speech Acts:

It is found that the most prominent speech act is the assertive speech act it occurs (59 times, 67.816%) in Boris's Brexit Debates. It appears ten times in the representative contexts, and (49 times) in the rest of the debates. Assertive SA has the highest frequency due to the multiple acts acted by assertion including: stating, claiming, blaming, complaining and boasting that serve Boris's aims in asserting sarcasm. While other speech acts presented less occurrences, (17times, 19.541%) expressive SA, (8, 9.195%) directive SA, (twice, 2.299%) commissive and declarative SA (once, 1.149%), as shown in table (1).

Table (1): Searle's Speech Acts in Johnson's Brexit Debates.

Speech Acts	Assertive	Expressive	Commissive	Directives	Declarative	Total
Searle's Speech Acts as found in representative extracts (1-12)						
Frequency	10	2	1	3	0	17
Percentage	62.5%	12.5%	6.25%	18.75%	0%	100%
Searle's Speech Acts as found in the extracts (13-82)						
Frequency	49	15	1	5	1	71
Percentage	69.015%	21.127%	1.408%	7.042%	1.408%	100%
Searle's Speech Acts in Johnson's Brexit Debates (1-82)						
Total frequency	59	17	2	8	1	87
Total percentage	67.816%	19.541%	2.299%	9.195%	1.149%	100%

Gricean Maxims:

Through the analysis of the 82 extracts from Boris's debates, it is found that the maxims are either totally violated in one extract or one maxim or more is violated or all the maxims are adhered. This finding indicates that violation of GMs is not a confirmed clue of sarcasm, sarcastic utterances occur even with the total observant of the maxims. Even more, frequency of non-violation is about (232 times) of all GMs in the 82 extracts analysed, which is more than GMs violation that is about (96 times) in total. The quality maxim is the most violated maxim (31 times violated, 32.3%) this reflects the nature of sarcasm that calls for reversing the truth or to the speaker's believes, see table (2). While the most observed maxim is the manner maxim, this indicates the other side behind sarcasm usage, which is to avoid vagueness making the speaker's message clear.

Table (2): Violation Versus Non-Violation of Grecian Maxims in Johnson's Brexit Debates.

Gricean Maxims	Quantity Maxim	Quality Maxim	Relevance Maxim	Manner Maxim	Total
Violation Versus Non-Violation of Grecian Maxims in representative Extracts(1-12)					
Violation Frequency	6	4	4	3	17
Violation Percentages	35.3%	23.52%	23.52%	17.66%	100%
Non-violation Frequency	6	8	8	9	31
Non-violation Percentages	19.3%	25.8%	25.8%	29.1%	100%
Violation Versus Non-Violation of Grecian Maxims in Extracts (13-82)					
Violation Frequency	23	27	15	14	79
Violation Percentages	29.113%	34.177%	18.987%	17.723%	100%
Non-violation Frequency	47	43	55	56	201
Non-violation Percentages	23.383%	21.393%	27.363%	27.861%	100%
Violation Versus Non-Violation of Grecian Maxims in Boris's Brexit Debates Extracts(1-82)					

Total Violation	29	31	19	17	96
Violation Percentages	30.2%	32.3%	19.8%	17.7%	100%
Total Non-Violation	53	51	63	65	232
Non-Violation Percentages	22.83%	21.97%	27.2%	28%	100%

The Pragmatic Structures of Sarcasm:

As shown in Table (3), Illocutionary sarcasm (39 times, and 47.56%) is the most adopted form by Boris, see Table (3). This form enables the speaker to reverse a full situation or aspect without altering the surface semantic construction of the utterance. This does not exclude the manifestation of other pragmatic structures. Propositional sarcasm is the second highly used structure (32 times and 39.02%). The lexical sarcasm occupied (10 times and 12.21%) while like-prefixed structure occurs only ones, as shown in Table (3) for more illustration.

Table (3): Pragmatic Structures of Sarcasm in Boris Brexit Debates.

Pragmatic Structures of Sarcasm	Illocutionary Sarcasm	Propositional Sarcasm	Lexical Sarcasm	Like-prefixed Sarcasm	Total
Camp's Pragmatic Structures of Sarcasm in representative Extracts (1-12)					
Frequency	6	3	2	1	12
Percentage	50%	25%	16.67%	8.33%	100%
Camp's Pragmatic Structures of Sarcasm in Extracts (13-82)					
Frequency	33	29	8	0	70
Percentage	47.14%	41.43%	11.43%	0%	100%
Pragmatic Structures of Sarcasm in Boris Brexit Debates Extracts (1-82)					
Total Frequency	39	32	10	1	82
Total Percentage	47.56%	39.02%	12.21%	1.21%	100%

The Pragmatic Function of Sarcasm:

The most apparent function or purpose behind using sarcasm by Boris is negative evaluation (51 occurrences and 57.31%). This finding reflect part of the nature of political debates especially when related to election and campaigns, sarcasm is utilised to avoid direct criticism. The second prominent aspect is positive evaluation (17 occurrences and 19.1%), where sarcasm is manifested to show followers' or one's self virtues. The third function in Boris's use of sarcasm is persuasive aspect (12 occurrences and 13.48%). Sophistication, (8 occurrences and 10.11%) which reflects the speaker's eloquence and mastery of conversation, sophistication appeared. All aspects occurrences and percentages are stated in table (4).

Table (4): Attardo's Pragmatic Function of Sarcasm in Johnson's Brexit Debates.

Pragmatic Functions	Evaluation		Sophistication	Persuasive Aspect	Total
	Positive	Negative			
Attardo's Pragmatic Function of Sarcasm in Extracts (1-12)					
Frequency	3	7	1	2	13
Percentage	23.1%	53.84%	7.69 %	15.37%	100 %
Attardo's Pragmatic Function of Sarcasm in Extracts (13-82)					
Frequency	14	44	7	10	75
Percentage	18.7%	58.7%	9.3%	13.3%	100%
Attardo's Pragmatic Function of Sarcasm in Boris's Brexit Debates Extracts (1-82)					
Total Frequency	17	51	8	12	88
Total Percentage	19.1%	57.31%	10.11%	13.48%	100%

4.3.2 Overall Statistical Results of all debates Analyses

The following figures and illustration describe how sarcasm is processed in debates, in the form of percentage. However, the data illustrates the varied percentage rates of each approach that was employed in the selected debates, which is an important point to this study.

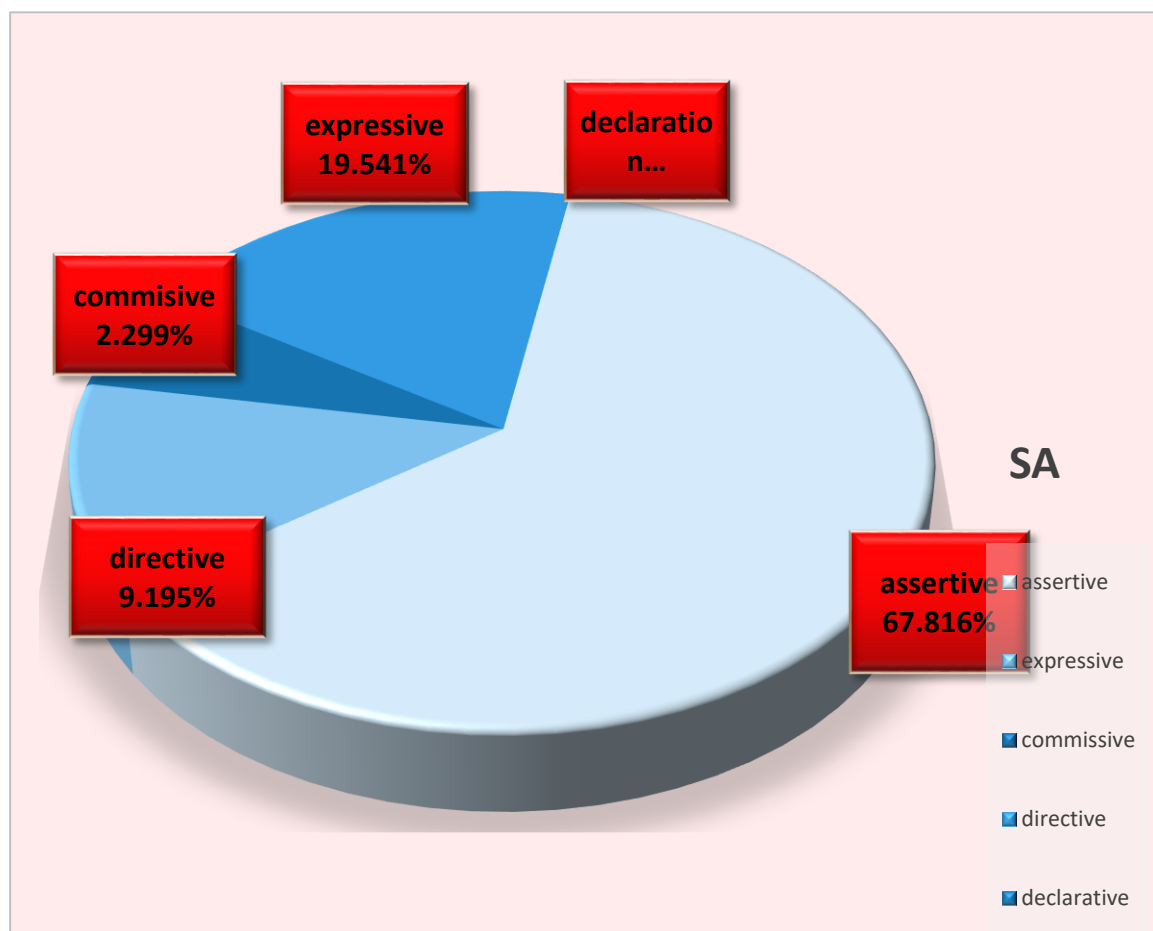


Figure 4 Searle's Speech Act in Boris's Debates.

1. The results of analysis of the sarcastic utterances as found in Boris's four Brexit debates, show that assertive speech acts were the most frequently used by Boris to produce sarcasm (that is, assertive speech act 67.816% percent), see figure (4). Expressive SA comes the second followed by directive, commissive and declaration is the least utilised SA.

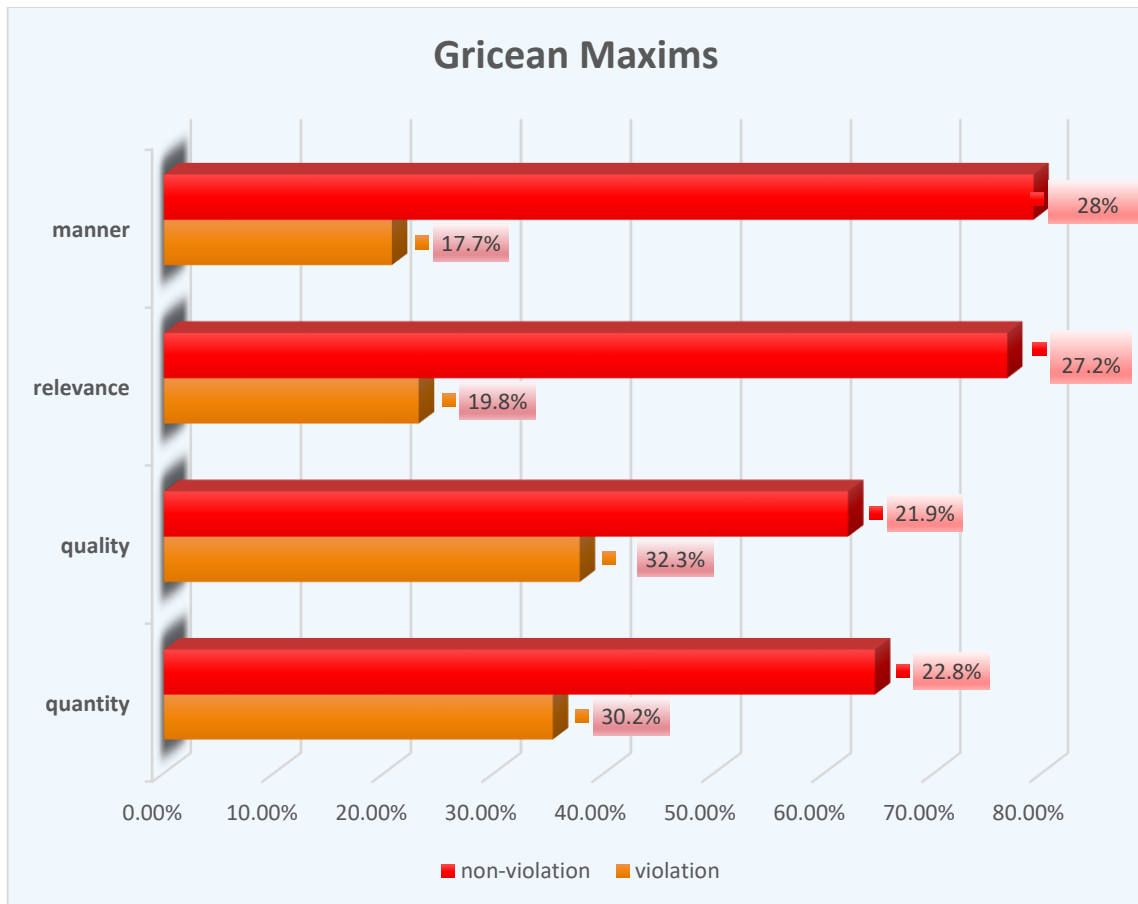


Figure 5: Gricean Maxims violation and non-violation in Boris's Debates.

2. Due to the indirect quality of sarcasm an implicature is expected to be included and thus violating at least one of the CP maxims. Violation has the highest fraction (32.3%) for quality maxim violation when processing sarcasm. However, there are sharp remarks with complete maxim adherence about 28% percent of maxims observance does not refute sarcasm existence. This finding partially enfeebles the third hypothesis, see figure (5).

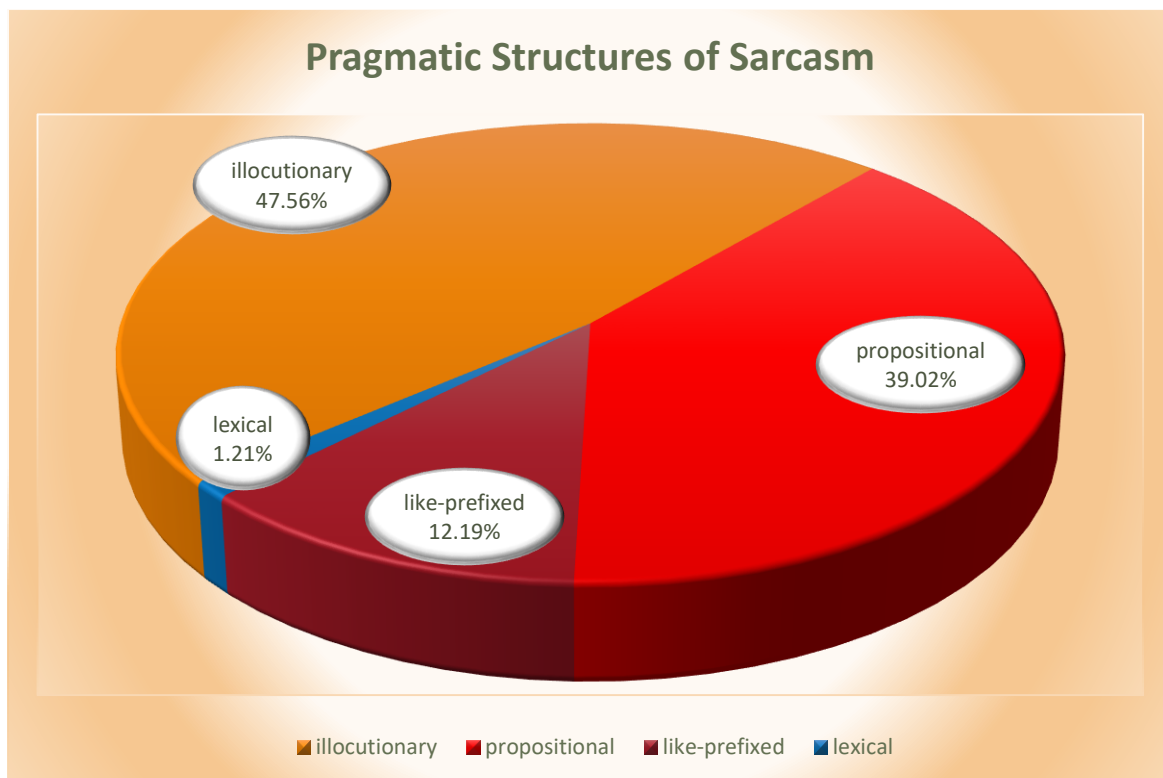


Figure 6 Camp's Pragmatic Structures of Sarcasm in Johnson's debates

3. Illocutionary sarcasm with 47.56% percent for illocutionary pragmatic structure that is the most commonly employed sarcastic structure. This result is to expresses the mocking of ideas and views rather than words without asserting non-factual utterances, see figure (6). The second structure is propositional sarcasm followed by lexical sarcasm, while like-prefixed sarcasm is the least used.

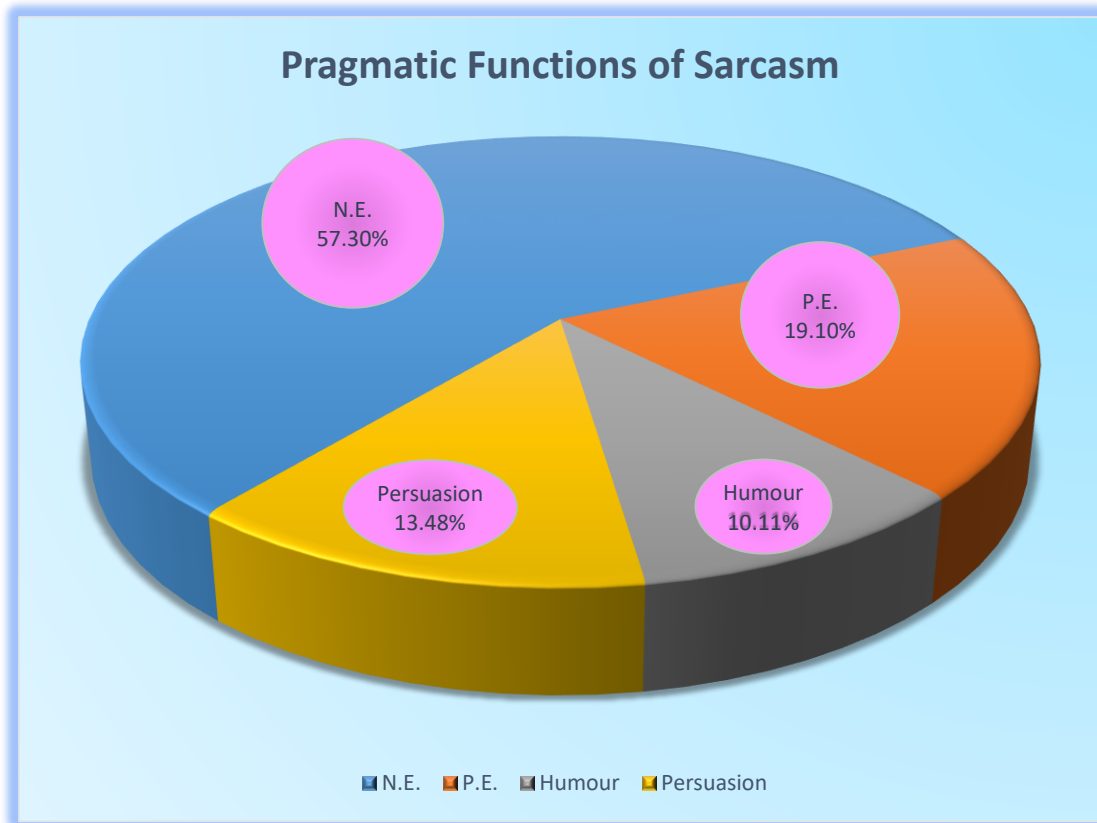


Figure 7 The Pragmatic Functions of Sarcasm as occurred in Boris's debates.

Note: N.E.= Negative Evaluation, P.E.= Positive Evaluation.

4. In terms of sarcasm functions, negative evaluation for interlocutor obtained the highest degree (that is, 49% percent). This supports the speaker's purpose of criticising opponents and boosting his reputation. The percentage somewhat supports the fourth hypothesis, see figure 7.

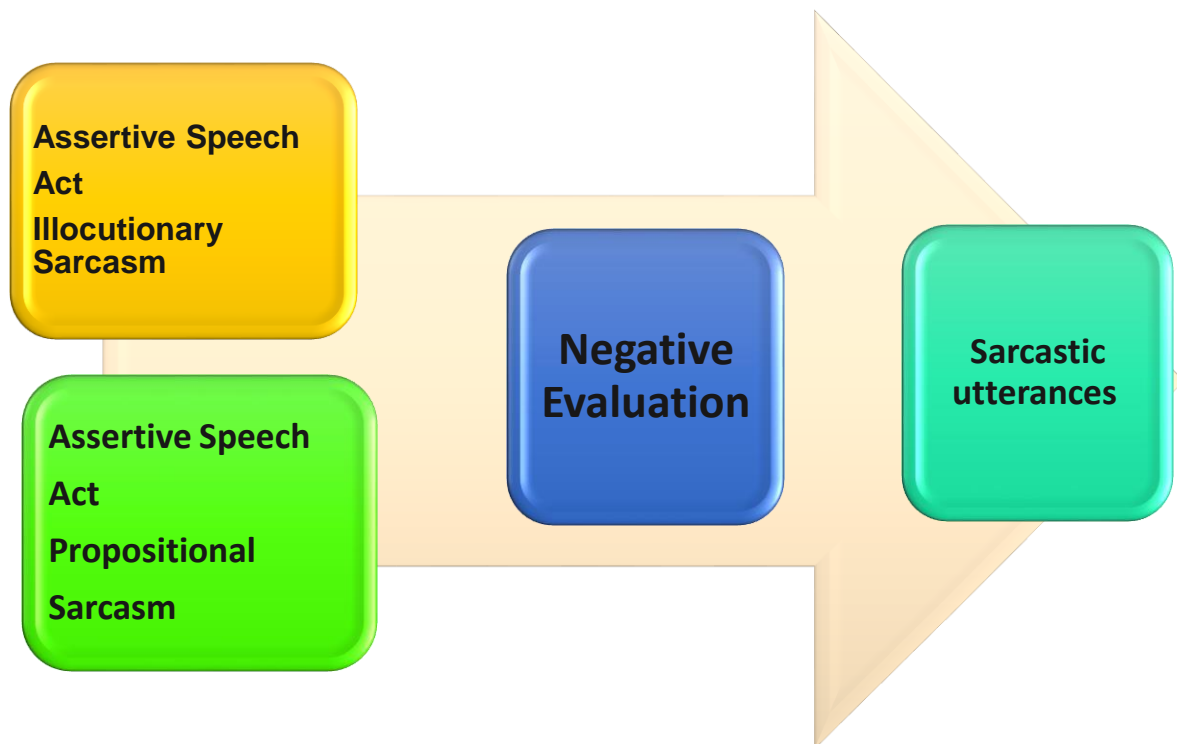


Figure 8: The Prominent Pragmatic Combination of Structures and Effects manifested in Boris Johnson's Brexit Debates.

According to the percentages reached, it is found that the most frequent combinations that communicate sarcasm most strongly, depending on Boris's usage, are:

- 1- The SA of assertion+ illocutionary sarcasm+ negative evaluative attitude= sarcastic utterance.
- 2- The SA of assertion+ propositional sarcasm+ negative evaluative attitude= sarcasm, as seen in figure (8).

Other constructs appeared less frequently and had distinct purposes throughout political arguments. This supports the first hypothesis accuracy.

4.3 Discussion:

After the examination of the data from the chosen debates, the study's findings will be reviewed to determine whether the findings meet the study's objectives and inspecting whether the hypotheses were confirmed or rejected.

First, although certain extracts, such as extracts (20, 31, 72, and 82, see appendix1) are difficult to be read as sarcastic utterances, the contextual variables provided and the addresser's intended meaning helps the addressee to perceive all the situations as sarcastic ones. Such difficulty in interpreting the sarcastic situation satisfies the study's first goal (conducting a feasible pragmatic model for the analysis of sarcasm in the chosen data. See [1.2 No.1, p. 3]). It is found that sarcasm is processed and interpreted on the practical, theoretical level exemplified by Searle's Speech Acts Theory and GMs, Camp's pragmatic scheme of sarcasm, and Attardo's interpretation level to investigate the effects of such a combination of pragmatic theoretical essence with unique structures. This finding affirms the first hypothesis (i.e. a combination of Searle's (1969) Speech Act theory, GMs (1976), Camp's (2012) classification and Attardo's (2001) functions are feasible as a model to analyse pragmatically sarcasm. See [1.3, No.1, p. 3]).

Second, it is found that 59 extracts including assertive speech act, 17 extracts involve expressive speech act, 8 extracts directive speech act is adhered, two commissive speech acts and only one declarative speech act. This finding conforms the second aim of the study (finding which speech acts contribute pragmatically to process sarcastic utterances communicating Johnson's perspectives in Brexit debates. See [1.2, No.2, p. 3]). Accordingly, the second hypothesis is

followed (different forms of speech acts are manifested to produce sarcastic utterances. See [1.3, No.2, p. 4])

Third, it was found that 26 extracts without any violation of GMs and 56 cases with total or partial violation. This result conforms that sarcasm is independent and does not necessarily accompanied to the violation of maxims; sarcasm occurs even if the maxims are adhered, which fulfils the third objective of the study (inspecting the relation between sarcasm and GMs. See [1.2, No.3, p. 3]). Thus the third hypothesis is refuted partially because sarcastic utterances are produced intentionally (Sarcastic utterances are produced intentionally by violating GMs to serve the speaker's target purpose, assuming that the speaker is adhered to the CP i.e. intends to mean more or less than what is said. See [1.3, No.3, p. 4]).

Fourth, the findings of extracts (4, 6, 9, 10, and 11) are consistent with the findings in the extracts found in utterances (14, 16, 17, 18, 20, 22, 23, 25, 28, 31, 34, 42, 44, 45, 49, 55, 58, 62, 67, 68, 70, 73, 79, 81, and 82, see [appendix1, p. 136]) in which illocutionary sarcasm is introduced. This finding achieves the fourth goal of this study (i.e. identifying the pragmatic structures of sarcasm that are frequently utilised in political debates to create effective sarcasm. see [1.2, No.4, p. 3]). Those results also support the fourth hypothesis (some of Camp's pragmatic structures of sarcasm are adopted highly in Boris's Brexit debates. see [1.2, No.4, p. 4]). Consequently, it has been proven that a particular sarcastic structure is commonly used in each unique circumstance in order to communicate sarcasm in an acceptable manner.

Fifth, throughout the extracts (4, 8, and 12) analysed, sarcasm acts as a positive evaluative factor and as a negative evaluative element in extracts (1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, and 10), depending on the

addressee's position and audience perception. This discovery fulfils the fifth aim (i.e. exploring the effects that sarcastic utterances implicate. See [1.2, No.5, p. 3]). This result also rejects a portion of the fifth hypothesis (i.e., in political debates, sarcasm always serves as a sharp verbal weapon that reflects negative effects. See [1.3, No.5, p. 4]). This hypothesis is partially refuted because sarcasm does not always function negatively; it is possible to find positive effect for sarcastic utterances.

4.3.1 Impact of Sarcasm on Political debates

After assessing the five objectives of the study and evaluating the five hypotheses of this study, we will explore the impact of sarcasm on the audience during debates. The extracts examined from four Brexit debates demonstrate how sarcasm is employed to achieve specific, pragmatic goals in a range of settings. As the results indicate, sarcasm is used as a shield to hide the speaker's antagonistic views. Sarcasm is used throughout the Brexit debates to illustrate the addresser's power over the situation in order to influence the audience's opinions and urge them to vote in favour of the EU referendum. To convey the right message, 'Boris' must rely on the audience's sarcastic competence, which is found in 82 sarcastic extracts [see appendix 1] to show his ability to manage language use, to effect on audience's choices and criticises opponents. This is the primary reason why addressers employ a variety of apparent speech acts and implicatures to express sarcastic behaviours, and why the audience is able to grasp and evaluate all of these ostensible utterances in a variety of contexts. Additionally, the study discovers that sarcasm is transmitted by the same elements in four different English settings, and that it has a substantial impact on the audience's comprehension.

Chapter Five

Conclusions, Recommendations and Suggestions for Further Researches

5.0 Conclusions

The findings of the investigation can be utilised to create a number of assumptions about the situation. The study conclusions are tied to the aims and hypothesis of the study, other findings are found in the course of analysis, which more conclusions are offered. This has contributed to the study modifications. The findings of the study investigations shed light on the following issues:

1. Sarcasm is governed by unique pragmatic frameworks; what is meant is revealed and interpreted contextually and situationally.
2. based on analysis, it is found that the assertive speech act is the most frequently used to produce sarcastic utterances.
3. Searle's taxonomy, Gricean Maxims, Camp's classification and Attardo's functions have proven to be feasible for analysing sarcasm in the study data.
4. Two distinct forms of sarcasm may be distinguished in Boris's debates: illocutionary and propositional sarcasm.
5. Sarcasm is employed pragmatically for two purposes: evaluative intent, with a sense of humour, and oppose persuasive aspects, when utilised in political contexts.
6. The most frequently used pragmatic methods for delivering sarcasm in the debates analysed are the

- assertive speech act, the illocutionary pragmatic structure of sarcasm, and at least one breaking of a Grecian maxim.
7. The Gricean Maxims swings between violation once and adherence another. It is found that sarcasm production is not related to the maxims violation.
 8. Sarcastic utterances are produced with the speaker's intent to be sarcastic. The speaker's intended situation, interlocutors and their degree of relation affect meaning.
 9. Politicians tend to utilise indirect speech acts such as sarcasm to achieve variety of targets, including political and societal concerns about Speakers and interlocators. This manifestation of sarcasm creates and sustains a continuous communication channel between elected officials and their constituents (the nation, the parliaments and even the enemies). It also aids to convince an audience to accept their politicians' political perspectives. Sarcasm serves as tool to express the true message of the targeted politician.
 10. Sarcasm works on two levels either overtly (propositional and lexical sarcasm) or implicitly reflects meaning inversion (illocutionary and propositional sarcasm).

5.1 Recommendations:

1. College students are required to be trained and acquainted with the different strategies and tactics of sarcasm. This enables them to make use of these tactics and strategies successfully and appropriately in their daily life.

2. Textbooks writers and teachers of FL are motivated to enable their students to distinguish sarcasm from other similar phenomena such as irony, jocularly and satire. This can be done by involving student in carefully designed communicative activities.
3. Foreign language (FL) learner must be acquainted in sarcastic forms and structures as part of the foreign culture. The interpretation of sarcasm represents an advanced level of language acquisition.

5.2 Suggestions for Further Researches:

- 1- A pragmatic study of sarcasm in political conferences.
- 2- A pragma-rhetorical study of sarcasm in short stories.
- 3- A socio-pragmatic study of sarcasm in Arabic and British sports interviews

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Appendix 1

List of Extracts from Brexit Debates

3 \ Sept. 2019

- 13) To “stretch time in this particular session what must be the longest retirement since Frank Sinatra”
- 14) “the answer to that is very simple is because it is not on the table”
- 15) “is he seriously suggesting is he seriously suggesting that the NHS should not engage in negotiations to ensure that British patients is he's so phobic he's he's so phobic of American companies that he would forbid them for having those discussions”
- 16) that” I think he frankly must be out of his mind let me tell him”
- 17) “the reality is that he would wreck that economy”
- 18) well Mr speaker”I can certainly take we well deal with his constituent Gillion's concerns”
- 19) ‘another referendum on Scottish independence why on earth why on earth should the people of this country spend the next year which would be a glorious year going through the toxic tedious torpor of two more referendums thanks labour”
- 20) “still going into the European Union handing back control of Scotland's Fisheries Scotland's spectacular marine wealth just at the moment that they've been won back by this country handing back control of those fisheries to Brussels that's their policy” Mr speaker I look forward to contesting it at the barricades 21) “the truth is that one person's rant is a another person's stream of passionate and uninterrupted eloquence”
- 22) “I might ask her how she can justify spending another billion pounds per month by this country on on delaying our exit from the European Union which is that which is what she voted for”
- 23) “she might ask her friend the mayor of London what he's doing with that money and what and why he can't do it do better because he's frankly he's written his record on policing in London is utterly shameful”
- 24) “She should be holding him to account”.
- 25) “I'm afraid all that this party would do is whack up taxes on business on companies in such a way a to destroy the viability of the UK economy and that's that's the program that he supports”
- 26) “and I don't think that we should break that promise”
- 27) “I thank my honourable friend who does a superb job of representing his constituents my own my own footballing skills. I can do it Mr speaker I can do it I enjoy it”
- 28) “the Labour Party for his last night last night I think more than 100 of them who couldn't even be bothered to vote for a general election in which that which there shortly about to contest what kind of confidence is that in their leader Mr speaker”
- 29) “the most important thing the most important point that she might bear in mind is that her constituents the people of Wales voted to leave the European Union and that is what that is what the people of this country voted for that is what the majority of the constituents of the benches opposite voted for and it is high time that they honored that promise”
- 30) “but the most powerful way of addressing this issue as he knows will be if we can all work together to get the Stormont Executive back up and running to deal with the matter themselves”
- 31) “I think all the people in this country want is their promises kept and I'm not disposed to believe in the promises of the Liberal Democrats when their leaflets in London say they want to revoke the result of the referendum their leaflets in the southwest of the country don't mention Brexit at all”

4 \ Sept. 2019

- 32) “As the hon. Lady knows very well, this Government will take this country out of the European Union on 31 October. There is only one thing that stands in our way: the surrender Bill currently being proposed by the Leader of the Opposition”.
- 33) “He is asking for mobs of Momentum activists to paralyze the traffic.”
- 34) “What are they supposed to chant? What is the slogan? What do we want? Dither and delay! When do we want it? We don't know. That is his policy’.
- 35) “I am afraid that the right hon. Gentleman is guilty of the most shameless scaremongering.” We have made ample preparations for coming out of the EU. What his party is recommending is yet—“
- 36) “I really do not see how with a straight face the right hon. Gentleman can accuse anybody of being unwilling to stand up to scrutiny”
- 37) “when he will not agree to submit his surrender Bill to the verdict of the people in an election”.
- 38) “I might ask the right hon. Gentleman if he will respect the democratic will of the people of the United Kingdom”

- 39) “We love Telford”
- 40) “persuade his right hon. Friend to summon up his courage and to stop being so frit. If he is going to pass this wretched surrender Bill’.
- 41) “If the hon. Lady wants to speak for the people of Lincoln, who, after all, voted to leave—yes, they did—the best thing she can do is make sure we come out of the EU on 31 October with a deal’.
- 42) “I think it absolutely bizarre that a London Labour Member of Parliament should ignore the role of the present Mayor of London”
- 43) “Mayor of London, who is, frankly, not a patch on the old guy.”
- 44) If the hon.”Gentleman is interested in democracy, I hope he has been listening to what I have been saying today”.
- 45) “Again, that is a bit rich from a member of a party whose shadow Chancellor says that business is the enemy—Where is he? He has gone’.
- 46) “The hon. Lady should listen to the people of her constituency who voted to leave the EU and implement their wishes, and that is what this Government is going to do’.
- 47) “When I made those remarks, which was many, many years ago, it was, I am afraid, when his constituency had the sad misfortune to have a Labour Government in power. That is no longer the case.”
- 48) “If the hon. Gentleman took the trouble to read the article in question, he would see that it was a strong liberal defense of—as he began his question by saying—everybody’s right to wear whatever they want in this country.”
- 49) “I am used to breasting applause from Labour audiences, particularly since, unlike the Leader of the Opposition, we are actually devoted to delivering on the mandate of those Labour constituencies and we are going to take the UK out of the EU on 31 October.”
- 50) “Her constituent Kristin—if she has indeed been here for 45 years, and I am sure she has”

15/ October /2019:

- 51) “I think wanting to get this thing over the line they don't want to have the Brexit party continuing to occupy the airwaves in Strasbourg”
- 52) “in the way that they are they were the largest single group any animal echoes fantastic but you know there's a limit I think to the to the amount they want to hear from her in in the EU”
- 53) “I think I'm gonna I'm afraid that modesty would normally forbid me from it from advertising my at my own Credentials but there's nothing for it tonight I'm going to”
- 54) “it depends how well we prepare a very important point”
- 55) “Jeremy is talking now”
- 56) “we will have a fourth not even the Sun has any plans to change that I trust”
- 57) “London is doing unbelievably well I still in spite of the depredations of the current mayor who isn't as nearly as good as the last guy in my London”
- 58) “one minute did I get that right I might be off of the post of Chancellor in closest you've come to an inducement to collaborate there so far in this campaign it's breaking out into outrageous Harmony”
- 59) “unlike unlike some in the house”
- 60) “it is a bill that if passed would force me to go to Brussels and beg an extension’.
- 61) “Mr speaker to describe this deal it is Jeremy Corby’s surrender bill”.
- 62) “the right honourable knows for well that this country has engaged actively with our European friends and partners actively like European friends and partners to make sense of the Iran nuclear deal and to ensure that that deal continues’.
- 63) “as the father of the house knows I'm alive I'm a long standing and Mara of the or I don't remember brush nib and anything I was there I was the only member of the 2001 intake to vote for my right over offenders as a leader of the Conservative Party”.
- 64) “I was a fact that I don't think he him he much thank me for it”.
- 65) “ the sad truth is there are many members in this - I'm afraid including the right honourable gentleman opposite who simply want to block Brexit”.
- 66) “ Mr Speaker I don't comment on leagues even in the pages even in pages as hallowed as as the ones described”.
- 67) the Scots Scots didn't follow” I didn't swallow that argument in 2014” they rejected it.
- 68) “ my advice listen to the Chancellor's spending review statement tomorrow and if she's seriously opposing this spending on schools and on hospitals and all forgets if that's really what the Labour Party is all about now”.
- 69) Mr speaker “I'll tell you why Mr speaker because the alternative is more delay more chaos more confusion and uncertainty for British business and an infinite protraction of UK membership of the EU”.

- 70) "I think lady should learn to count Mr speaker because 30 days the 30-day timetable may have begun but it is not elapsed".
- 71) "it's highly unlikely that you could keep me away from the key when the house is sitting Mr speaker that is that is what I will do but you can't".
- 72) "I must respectfully say to her that actually it is the backstop and the withdrawal agreement itself that undermines the balance undermines the balance of the Good Friday Agreement"

19 \ Dec. \ 2019

- 73) "if you can't believe the Daily Telegraph Mr speaker what can you believe"
- 74) "the leader of the Opposition a stickler as we all know for watching a Queen's speech at the right time though I don't I don't know what he has against chlorinated chicken"
- 75) "Mr speaker as our exchanges across these dispatch boxes come towards a close alas" 76) "So I done laid aside and they have they have forfeited the confidence of the opposition".
- 77) "I'm happy to give way if he's opposed to it he's opposed to helping struggling commuters".
- 78) "and I'm delighted here for sure".
- 79) "I think it was Nicola Sturgeon herself who said that the referendum in 2014 was a once-in-a-generation I don't know about you Mr speaker"
- 80) "but I feel that the Scottish nationalists body should concentrate more on delivering all the domestic priorities and rather less on breaking up our United Kingdom"
- 81) "it is a very interesting idea he should be I advised him to watch this face and indeed watch this space"
- 82) " and indeed watch that space between between those Islands because what has said is not it has not fallen on deaf ears"

Appendix 2

Analysis

Table5: Extracts Analysis.

EXTRACT NO. ASPECTS	SA	GM (V. NV.)				P.S.S	P.F.S
		Qn.	Ql.	R.	M.		
EXTRACT 13	Assertive	V.	V.	V.	NV.	Prop.	Pers. / Soph.
EXTRACT 14	=	NV.	NV.	NV.	V.	Illoc.	N.E.
EXTRACT 15	=	V.	V.	NV.	NV.	Lex.	N.E.
EXTRACT 16	=	NV.	V.	V.	NV.	Illocu.	N.E.
EXTRACT 17	=	=	NV.	NV.	=	=	=
EXTRACT 18	Commissive	=	=	=	=	=	Soph.
EXTRACT 19	Assertive	=	V.	=	=	Prop.	N.E. / Pers.
EXTRACT 20	=	=	NV.	=	=	Illoc.	N.E.
EXTRACT 21	=	=	=	V.	=	Prop.	P.E.
EXTRACT 22	=	=	=	NV.	=	Illoc.	N.E.
EXTRACT 23	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
EXTRACT 24	Expressive	=	V.	V.	=	Prop.	Pers.
EXTRACT 25	Assertive	=	NV.	NV.	=	Illoc.	N.E.
EXTRACT 26	=	=	V.	=	=	Prop.	Pers.
EXTRACT 27	Expressive	=	NV.	=	=	Prop. / Illoc.	P.E.
EXTRACT 28	Assertive	=	=	=	=	Illoc.	N.E.
EXTRACT 29	Directive	=	=	=	=	=	Pers.
EXTRACT 30	Assertive	=	V.	=	=	Prop.	N.E.
EXTRACT 31	=	=	NV.	=	=	Illoc.	N.E.
EXTRACT 32	=	=	V.	=	=	Prop.	Pers.
EXTRACT 33	=	V.	V.	=	=	=	N.E.
EXTRACT 34	=	NV.	NV.	NV.	NV.	Illoc.	N.E.
EXTRACT 35	=	=	=	V.	=	Lex.	N.E.
EXTRACT 36	=	V	=	=	V	Prop.	N.E.
EXTRACT 37	Expressive	NV.	NV.	NV.	NV.	Illoc.	Pers.
EXTRACT 38	Assertive	V.	V.	V.	V.	Prop.	N.E.
EXTRACT 39	=	=	=	NV.	NV.	Illoc.	N.E.
EXTRACT 40	Expressive	=	V.	NV.	NV.	Lex.	N.E.
EXTRACT 41	Directive	NV.	NV.	NV.	NV.	Illoc.	Pers.
EXTRACT 42	=	=	=	=	=	=	N.E. / Pers.
EXTRACT 43	Expressive	V.	=	=	=	Prop.	N.E.
EXTRACT 44	Assertive	NV.	V.	V.	V.	Illoc.	P.E.
EXTRACT 45	=	V.	V.	NV.	NV.	=	N.E.
EXTRACT 46	=	NV.	NV.	=	=	Prop.	=

EXTRACT 47	Directive	=	=	=	=	Illoc.	Pers.
EXTRACT 48	Assertive	V.	=	=	=	Lex.	N.E.
EXTRACT 49	=	NV.	NV.	NV.	NV.	Illoc.	N.E.
EXTRACT 50	Expressive	=	V.	V.	NV.	Prop.	P.E.
EXTRACT 51	Assertive	=	NV.	NV.	=	Illoc.	=
EXTRACT 52	=	=	V.	=	V.	Prop.	N.E.
EXTRACT 53	Assertive	NV.	V.	NV.	NV.	Prop.	P.E.
EXTRACT 54	=	V.	NV.	=	V.	=	Soph.
EXTRACT 55	Expressive	=	=	=	=	Lex.	P.E.
EXTRACT 56	Assertive	NV.	NV.	NV.	NV.	Illoc.	=
EXTRACT 57	=	V.	=	=	V.	=	N.E.
EXTRACT 58	=	NV.	V.	V.	NV.	Prop.	P.E.
EXTRACT 59	=	V.	NV.	NV.	V.	Illoc.	N.E.
EXTRACT 60	=	=	V.	=	=	Prop.	N.E.
EXTRACT 61	=	NV.	NV.	NV.	NV.	=	=
EXTRACT 62	=	=	=	=	=	Illoc.	P.E.
EXTRACT 63	Expressive	V.	=	V.	=	Prop.	N.E.
EXTRACT 64	Assertive	NV.	NV.	NV.	NV.	=	=
EXTRACT 65	Expressive	V.	V.	V.	V.	=	=
EXTRACT 66	=	=	NV.	NV.	=	=	=
EXTRACT 67	Declaration	=	V.	=	=	Illoc.	=
EXTRACT 68	Assertion	NV.	NV.	NV.	NV.	=	=
EXTRACT 69	=	=	V.	=	=	Prop.	=
EXTRACT 70	=	=	NV.	=	=	Illoc.	Soph. / P.E.
EXTRACT 71	=	=	=	=	=	=	N.E.
EXTRACT 72	=	V.	=	=	V.	Prop.	=
EXTRACT 73	Expressive	=	NV.	V.	NV.	=	P.E.
EXTRACT 74	=	=	V.	NV.	=	=	N.E.
EXTRACT 75	Assertive	NV.	=	=	=	Lex.	P.E.
EXTRACT 76	=	V.	NV.	V.	=	Illoc.	Soph.
EXTRACT 77	=	=	V.	NV.	=	Prop.	N.E.
EXTRACT 78	Expressive	NV.	=	=	=	Lex.	=
EXTRACT 79	Assertive	=	NV.	=	=	Illoc.	Soph.
EXTRACT 80	Directive	=	=	=	=	=	N.E.
EXTRACT 81	Assertive	=	=	=	=	=	P.E.
EXTRACT 82	=	V.	=	=	V.	Prop.	N.E.

Note: SA: Speech Acts, GM: Gricean Maxims, V.: Violated, NV.: Non-violated. P.S.S.: Pragmatic Structures of Sarcasm, Lex.: Lexical Sarcasm, Illoc.: Illocutionary Sarcasm, Prop: Propositional Sarcasm. P.F.S.: Pragmatic Functions of Sarcasm N.E.: Negative Evaluation, P.E.: Positive Evaluation, Soph.: Sophistication, Pers.: Persuasive Aspect of Sarcasm.

Appendix 3

Brexit Debates

1) Boris Johnson CLASHES with Jeremy Corbyn: A new GOLDEN AGE is in reach - Queens Speech debate with Inggeris subtitles:
19\ December\ 2019

CORBYN: that conservative party does not stand for the people at the receiving end of their policies despite all their promises that is exactly what this Queen's speech shows mr. speaker the central aim of my party the Labour Party is to stand up for working people for every part of this country for the many not the few to deliver social justice prosperity and a society that works for all as this government plows ahead with its programme of gimmicks and false promises we will be holding them to account every step of the way and campaigning inside and outside Parliament and across this country for the real change that this government sadly will not deliver but that our country so desperately needs

[Applause]

I know call the Prime Minister

[Applause]

BORIS: thanks mr. a speaker this is the moment to repay the trust of those who send us here by delivering on the people's priorities with the most radical Queen speech for a generation if there was one resounding lesson of this election campaign one message I heard in every corner of these islands it's not just that the British people want their government to get Brexit done though they do they want to move politics on and move the country on building hospitals renewing our schools modernizing our infrastructure making our streets safer our environment cleaner our Union stronger and this Queen's Speech of this People's Government interlocking program to unite and level up across the whole United Kingdom and unleash the potential of all our people this one nation government will enshrine in law record funding for our NHS take back control of our borders with a wholly new immigration system toughen our criminal justice system with longer sentences for the most dangerous offenders double/double investments in basic science research and protect our

environment with a bill so ambitious and so vast that there is no environmentally friendly way of pretty it off and mr. speaker this is not a program for one year or one Parliament it is a blueprint for the future of Britain just imagine imagine where this country could be in ten years time trade deals across the world creating jobs across the UK 40 new hospitals great schools community and the biggest transformation of our infrastructure since the Victorian age British scientists using new gene therapies to cure the incurable the hitherto incurable and leading the dawn of a new age of electric vehicles not just cars but planes pioneering solutions to the challenge of climate change and I do not think I do not think it vainglorious are implausible to say that a new golden age for this United Kingdom

[Applause]

to deliver it mr. speaker mr. speaker Her Majesty's Her Majesty's gracious speech was expertly proposed by a beacon of our one Nation conservatism my own

[Applause]

who is not only a football coach a great distinction who has done much to champion the female game which will be a key part of this country's bid for the 2030 World Cup but she is so personally skilled at the game with what was being described by her adversaries as a take-no-prisoners a take-no-prisoners style that according to the Daily Telegraph and "if you can't believe the Daily Telegraph mr. speaker what can you believe" she was once she was once barred from playing against men to protect their egos I've even used this despatch box even used this despatch box for an impromptu game of kikyo kikyo he's a suspect rocks as a goal key as a goal man mr. speaker in what was probably one of the less shocking innovations tolerated by the previous speaker

my old friend errs has also done pioneering work on tackling loneliness improving dementia care and curbing the harms as we've heard inflicted by gambling and alcohol and is so dedicated to her job she's Wrigley bought her son Freddie into the lobbyists Arijit Singh the voting age to about six months and chattin was great parliamentary sketch writer Charles Dickens himself would confirm that her speech was in the very finest traditions she was followed with great style by my honourable friend also law when he addressed this house for the first time in in 2017 he said and I quote the good people of Warsaw north have had to wait 41 years to hear a maiden speech from their MP you can imagine how disappointed they will be will my own be characteristically modest but I cannot help them see how the good people of Warsaw north have taken drastic steps to avoid another maiden speech is majority

just to be sure

member jenrog rifleman rob disease product you wait years for a a cream speech and then along come to in short order something my horrible friend would appreciate as one of the growing number of bus drivers children or conservative benches he was elected he was elected as a as a I know you will ask you about that is all really almost about buses but I I must because he was elected as a as a blue-collar conservative from a traditionally labor seat a path that many have just followed and since then as he pointed out quite right he has secured funding for a new ane department at his local hospital a new railway station for will at all I know he comes from a labor family but I think his brother is their labor counselor and when he first declared himself a conservative he felt he said like the black sheep of the family all I could say is I bet if they're watching today they will feel nothing but pride mr. speaker let me also let me also welcome to his place then he will let me welcome to his place right honourable gentleman "the leader of the Opposition a stickler as we all know for watching a Queen's speech at the right time though I don't I don't know what he has against chlorinated chicken.

speaker as our exchanges across these dispatch boxes come towards a close alas” let me say let me say that our our personal relations have always been excellent and as for all our disagreements I have never doubted that the right honourable gentleman's beliefs are deeply held and his sincerity is to be admired certain members of his shadow cabinet on the other hand are absolutely clear where the responsibilities of the election result lies and the voters of the country have let their “so I done laid aside and they have they have forfeited the confidence of the opposition” and the time has come for labor to take the only possible step dissolve the electorate and replace it with a new one at least I think that's what the lady phase engine and Finsbury say from my own part mr. speaker I feel a costal sense of obligation to the electorate that I we are humbled to servant to those people who lent us lent us their votes however hesitantly this government will now engage flat out black eyed on a programme of change for the better tomorrow is the day when we finally peel back the plastic wrapping about which you have heard so much mr. speaker present our oven-ready deal and it will go into the microwave as the withdrawal agreement that works in works in both devices this deal taking back control of our money our borders our laws our trade our clearing the way for an overarching program of national renewal and above all it is time to invest in that institution that gives the country its cohesion and even our national spirit the simple and beautiful idea that whoever you are the NHS is there for you when you fall say and as our NHS cares for us so we will care for the NHS delivering the biggest cash boost in a generation and for the first time this Queen's Speech guarantees a new funding settlement in law and what will that pay for mr. speaker I hate you ask the biggest hospital building program in living memory with 40 new hospitals 50,000 50,000 more nurses and their bursaries 6,000 more gp's 15 million more GP appointments and we will introduce an NHS visa a new NHS visa to fast-track talented staff from overseas we will scrap those iniquitous hospital parking charges for all staff and vulnerable people and we will guarantee dignity and fairness for everyone in their later years with a long-term and sustainable solution to social care and indeed I invite cross-party work on that solution corporation that I think is supported by many many members on both sides of this house and mr. speaker while many of these measures were indeed foreshadowed in the last scream speech fortified by our new mandate we will go even further we will give millions of tenants greater rights over their rented homes abolishing no-fault evictions we will help millions of commuters whose lives are made miserable by strike action by imposing minimum service agreements “I'm happy to give way if he's opposed to it he's opposed to helping struggling commuters and I'm delighted here for sure”

MP : our owner used to slogan people's Parliament but the people Scotland reject it has government believes me people as narrate the people of Scotland should have a say and a referendum

BORIS: Mr. Speaker I think that “I think it was Nicola Sturgeon herself who said that the referendum in 2014 was a once-in-a-generation I don't know about you Mr. speaker but I feel that the Scottish nationalists body should concentrate more on delivering all the domestic priorities and rather less on breaking up our United Kingdom” we will we will abolish I believe Mr. speaker that if I gave way to the Honorable gentleman I'd be forced to repeat the point I've just made” we will abolish the threat of no-fault evictions and we will take forward our plans to rejuvenate and in some cases in many cases in many cases mr. speaker to revolutionize the infrastructure of Britain including northern powerhouse rail we will remedy the scandal the Leeds is the largest city in Western Europe without light rail or a Metro we are dramatically improving local bus services levelling up across the country to the standards set in London at least as they were set under a previous mayor and we are investing nearly 30 billion pounds in our road network including upgrading the 866 to the first continuous dual carriageway across the Pen ions since the 1970s are above all above all this one nation government will strengthen our United Kingdom of England Scotland Wales

[A p p l a u s e]
The most successful union in history and a sacred inheritance that this Parliament will never never allowed anyone to rip up or rend asunder and we will stand by one of the greatest international symbols of British courage and daring our armed forces who sacrificed so much to safeguard our way of life we will protect our protectors from unfair and vexatious legal claims which undermine their morale and confidence and we will spare no effort in addressing the profound concerns of millions about the state of our criminal justice system with the first royal commission for almost 30 years and action now to impose tougher sentences on the most serious offenders now III “if the Honorable lady opposite actually wants to contest the need for tougher sentences for serious offenders I ' m h a p p y t o h e a r ”

MP : in the Queen's Speech was mention of a sentencing bill will basically provision for increasing the sentence for death by dangerous driving from 14 years to life imprisonment and if it won't is the government open to accepting an a m e n d m e n t

BORIS: the honourable lady makes an important and valid point I have no doubt that she reflects our the concerns of her constituents and we will certainly be looking at what we can do to make sure the people who are guilty of dangerous driving do receive the penalties that they deserve like alike and I know that the Home Secretary will listen very carefully to what she has said and we will also will end the the dangerous practice of early release of terrorists but our reforms will only stand the test of time if our system of government here at Westminster meets the challenge of a new era the steady erosion of faith in politics has poisoned our public life and so we will establish a constitutional democracy and rights commission to recommend proposals to restore trust in our institutions and democracy and as a first step we will repeal the fixed term so that never never again can we have the ludicrous spectacle of an opposition party trying to defy the will of a majority of the house and run away run away from a general election and we will do everything in our power we will do everything in our power to restore devolved government install mods so that Northern Ireland is once again ruled by its own elected representatives and it when it comes to standing by our friends on the ground of course.

SPEAKER: I thank the Prime Minister for giving way and of course we all look forward to devolve government being re-established in Northern Ireland fairly and equitably for all will the Prime Minister make good and his commitment for a golden age of all of the United Kingdom by ensuring that he makes good and the promise was made for bus building

and Northern Ireland and for infrastructure and other “answers we can all enjoy the Golden Age of infrastructure and felled the Boris bridge not just a forest boss”

BORIS: well I I'm grateful to the honorable gentleman and I think I he could certainly he can certainly be sure of my commitment to ensuring the beautiful busses continue to be built in Palomino and I will do everything we can to make sure that that continues to be the case as been his desire for a bridge to connect the two biggest aisles and the British Isles all I can say “ it is a very interesting idea he should be I advised him to watch this face and indeed watch this space and indeed watch that space between between those Islands because what has said is not it has not fallen on deaf ears” mr. speaker and when it comes when it comes to standing by our friends when it comes to standing by our friends whether in in Northern Ireland or elsewhere or elsewhere our one innovation that this green speech introduces mr. speaker is that we will stop public bodies from taking it upon themselves to boycott goods from other countries to develop their own pseudo foreign policy against our countries which with nauseating frequency turns out to be Israel and mr. speaker the scale no mr. speaker the scale of our program is matched only by the sense of responsibility that falls upon us now upon all of us now who have been elected and again I congratulate all new members but a huge responsibility falls upon all of us now to redeem and to repay the trust of the British people and I say to the people of this country we owe you we know it and we will deliver and we have now the energy we have the ideas we have the mandate we have the people and we will spare no effort to fulfil that mandate and as we engage full-tilt now in this mission of change I am filled with invincible confidence in the ability of this nation are you mighty Kingdom are United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to renew itself in this generation as we have done so many times in the party and after the dither after the delay after the deadlock after the paralysis and the platitudes the time has come for change and the time has come for action and it is action that the British people will get from this patience speech this most gracious speech and I commend it to the house.

[Applause]

4/ September/ 2019

Mr.PEAKER::order questions to the prime minister

dr. alan whitehead::Thank You mr. speaker labor would benumber one mr.

BORIS:: Thank You mr. speaker immediately after questions today I will be opening the debate on the Grenville tower inquiry reports but Mr Speaker I know the whole house will want to join me in recording that after 10 tumultuous years this is your last Prime Minister's Questions and as befits a distinguished former Wimbledon competitor you have sat up there in your high chair and not just as an umpire ruthlessly adjudicating on the finer points of parliamentary procedure with your trademark Tony Montana scowl and mr. speaker not just as a commentator offering your own opinions on the rallies you are watching sometimes acerbic and sometimes kindly but above all as a player in your own right peppering every part of the chamber with your own thoughts and opinions like some tennis ball machines AN uncontrollable tennis ball machine misters begin delivering a series of literally unplayable unreturnable formerly unreturnable bullies and smashes and although we may disagree about some of the legislative innovations that you have favored there is no doubt in my mind that you have been a great servant of this Parliament and of this hazard comment you have modernized you have widened access you have cared for the needs of those with disabilities and you have cared so deeply for the rights of backbenchers that you've done more than anyone since Stephen Hawking to “stretch time in this particular session what must be the longest retirement since Frank Sinatra” I'm sure the whole house will want to join me in thanking you and hoping that you enjoying your retirement the soothing medicament that you

[Music]

I know I know members from across the house who want to join me in wishing the

England rugby team their very best on Saturday mr. speaker this morning I had meetings with ministerial colleagues and others in addition to my duties in the house and I shall have further such meetings later today

dr. Alan whitehead::: Thank You mr. speaker I would like to fully associate myself with the comments and the Prime Minister about your outstanding service as Speaker I'm speaking to wish you a long and successful life after your speakership labor will be producing a strong offer on the climate emergency and net zero of Forthcoming election including a full ban on the extraction of fossil fuel by fracking what Charles as a prime minister think he has of matching this offer particularly in light of the news that the conservative manifesto is going to be written by a lobbyist for the fracking industry

[Music]

BORIS:: mr. speaker we will shortly be making it an announcement about fracking in this country in view of thee a very considerable anxiety so that additionally being raised about the earthquake sort of followed various fracking attempts in the UK and we will certainly be following up on on those findings because they are very important you know they'll be of concern to members around house but I must say this this government yields an opening in our enthusiasm for reducing co2 carbon emissions massively in the UK and we are we're the first European country to commit to nitrogen zero but what we can do it because we believe in a strong dynamic WILL bust market economy that is delivering the solutions in clean technology that are deployed by the party opposite

[Applause]

SIMON:: behalf of these benches can I first of all wish my right honourable friend the best of good fortune for the 12th of

[Applause]

December there are 426 people who have the labium idea who very much rely upon the health grubs to give them dignity care and support that grant comes to an end in a few years time mr. speaker as chairman of the a PPG for further demise and on behalf those 426 recipients could I urge my right honourable friend to end their uncertainty as soon as possible by signaling a renewal of that grant to give them the peace of mind which I hope the whole house would agree they most certainly deserve

BORIS:: well I congratulate my honourable friend on everything he does for his kids which is a indeed for the fill in my victims and I can reassure him that the current health grant which is indeed as he rightly says subject to review in 2023 will be reviewed and I'm getting the confirmation of that from my right honourable friend the health secretary I hope that he will pass those assurances to the falooda my victims as fast as he can .c

Jeremy Corbyn: : Thank You Mr. speaker
 [A p p l a u s e]
 Thank You mr. speaker I hope you will indulge me one moment while I say a word about you"" I'm sure you will"" I want to thank you mr. speaker for the way that you've used your speakership in the decade-long tenure you've had you've done so much to reform this House of Commons and our democracy is the stronger for the way that you've done it you have preserved for 10 years you've given real power to backbenchers vastly expanded the use of urgent questions which has been overwhelmingly popular with all government ministers and opened up the number of emergency debates which is even more popular with even more government ministers and in the traditions of the great speaker lens than others you've stood up for Parliament when it has to be stood up for I think we thank you for that because you've also carried that message internationally as well in the role of parliamentary democracy and Parliament's holding government's to account and as we hope to form a government in the future we hope to be held to account by Parliament as well but I also think well I also think and I'm sure the whole house would agree with me on this you've done excellent work in opening up Parliament to visitors exhibitions and children and you've reduced some of these strange customs and strange wear garments that people wear in this building "" it's all right I know you're all jealous of my tie but it's okay"" and and the way in which you've used your office mr. speaker to increase diversity amongst the staff in the house and make this a much more LGBT friendly place you've taken it away from being a gentlemen's club that happens to be in a royal palace to a genuinely democratic Institution so I want you to accept our thanks and pass on our best wishes to Sally Freddie Oliver and Jemima your wonderful family For the support they've given you and a great celebration today and """"I'm sure the whole house will join us in this is when you and I mr. speaker celebrate Arsenal beating Liverpool t o n i g h t "" "" "" ""]

[A p p l a u s e]
 the Labour Party loves to the patient loves a bit of banter mr. speaker the Prime Minister's mr. speaker the Prime Minister's planned sellout deal with Donald Trump means
 [M u s i c]
 [A p p l a u s e]
 means yet more National Health Service money being siphoned off into private profit channel for dispatches reported reported that the cost of drugs and medicines has repeatedly been discussed between US and UK trade representatives why did the Prime Minister previously say the health service wasn't on the table in any post brexit trade deal BORIS:: mr. speaker "the answer to that is very simple is because it is not on the table" by the way I paid tribute to the officials of the NHS who have just done a brilliant job in reducing the cost of or can be so the system Ericka by the way so the cystic fibrosis sufferers in this country get the treatment they need at a cost that is reasonable to the taxpayers of this country and if he wants to know how the people of this country are able to afford the stupendous investments that we're now making in the NHS thirty four billion pounds the biggest ever investment in the NH forty new hospitals that we are building as a result of as a result of the decisions that we are taking it is because this is the party this is the party that supports wealth creation and the reason to invest in the NHS mr. speaker Is to the last nine years this economy has been growing it is grown by 19 percent since the Conservatives first came into office and we would ruin this economy and ruin our ability to fund the NHS and that is the reality CORYBN:: mr. speaker mr. speaker we all welcome the fact that a can be will now be able to be provided in this country under the NHS and we thank those that campaign for it the shame is that we're not told what the deal is with the company concerned and as for these as for these fabled 40 hospitals that figure dropped to 20 and then finally dropped to 6 mr. speaker we learned this week we learned this week that government officials have met us pharmaceutical companies five times as part of the Prime Minister's plan detail trade detail the US has called for full market access to our NHS which would mean prices of some of our most important medicines increasing by up to seven fold mr. speaker whilst the government is having secret meetings with US corporations its patients here that continue to suffer can the Prime Minister explain why the number of people waiting longer for urgent cancer treatment has tripled over the last nine years BORIS:: Mr. speakers he knows as he knows very well this this government is investing thirty four billion pounds into the NHS we are seeing we are seeing improvements in cancer survival rates across the country we're seeing improvements in cancer survival rates thanks to the investments that this government is making and I think it absolutely satirical a Mr. speaker that he should he should claim credit for getting or can be and other drugs delivered at a reasonable price that is the work of the that is the work of the UK government that is the work of the NHS so supporting nice to ensure that people in this country get affordable treatments and he may not be he may not be mr. speaker but the vertex the company that makes all can be comes from America "is he seriously suggesting is he seriously suggesting that the NHS should not engage in negotiations to ensure that British patients is he's so phobic he's he's so phobic of American companies that he would forbid them for having those discussions"]

[M u s i c]
 CORYBN:: mr. speaker not for the first time that Prime Minister's talking nonsense
 [A p p l a u s e]
 of course we need to import medicines from various places I just want it to be done I just want it to be done in an open and transparent way I don't want secret talks between government officials on behalf of ministers with big pharma corporations in the USA and last year mr. speaker 34,000 cancer patients waited more than two months for treatment and whilst early detection is obviously very important the longer people wait the less chance there is of survival from cancer the Prime Minister knows that I know that the whole world knows that why can't he get it and put the necessary resources into the NHS to cut the waiting time .

[A p p l a u s e]
 [M u s i c]
 [A p p l a u s e]
 if he could just be patient for 30 seconds he says Mr. speaker he's claims Mr. speaker the NHS is safe in his hands why then has NHS privatization doubled under this government with nearly 10 billion pounds being spent on private
 c o m p a n i e s w i t h i n o u r N H S
 BORIS:: Mr. speaker the NHS who is receiving unrivaled unprecedented sums of taxpayers money but if he if he is seriously saying that he would not like a dentists and opticians and Macmillan care nurses to work with the NHS that " I think he frankly must be out of his mind let me tell him " let me tell in the cancer survival rates have actually increased a year-on-year since since 2010 cancer survival rates have increased and more and more people have seen within the the right waiting time thanks to the investments thanks to the investments that we are making and I think he should pay tribute to the hard work of NHS style he should recognise and
 s t o p
 talking down their incredible achievement recognize that we intend if we are allowed if we come back as an ex-government we will invest massively in that NHS and take it forward with the funds that we will make available from a strong and growing economy and "the reality is that he would wreck that economy"
 CRYBON:: Mr. speaker what we don't want is private companies like Virgin Healthcare suing our NHS the contracts they didn't get our NHS should be focused on making people better not the wealthy few richer
 [M u s i c]
 [A p p l a u s e]
 the National Health Service a A&E departments Mr. Speaker have just had their worst September on record this morning the Royal College of Emergency Medicine says this winter the NHS needs over 4,000 extra beds could the Prime Minister explain why under his government the number of people in England waiting for an operation has now reached
 a r e c o r d h i g h o f 4 . 4 m i l l i o n
 BORIS:: Mr. Speaker there's a reason there's a reason why more people are receiving NHS care that's because the NHS is working harder and achieving more than ever before and if you want to look at if you want to look at what Labour if the House wants to look at what labour would be like in office look at their performance even by the way I should say the SNP government the negotiated a much higher price for a or can be in occurs to me they would they wait they did they did as they got the price totally wrong you should have a word with them but but if you look at if you want if the people in this country won't want a horrific horrific foretaste of what life would be like under a labor run NHS look at look at the NHS in Wales where all health targets are routinely miss the a mean waiting target hasn't been met since 2008 in patient education having met since August 2010 urgent cancer team he talks about cancer treatment mr. speaker it hasn't been met since June 2008 that is that is how labor runs the NHS any hobby
 BORIS:: " I'm surprising keep a straight face saying that while his government has cut so much from the welsh
 g o v e r n m e n t ' s b u d g e t "
 [M u s i c]
 Jeremy: and from a govern ment that's cut 15,000 beds out of the NHS that has cut seven billion from Social CareI don't know how he's got the brass neck to say what he just said the reality is mr. speaker his words are hollow anyone has tried to get a GP appointment who sees how overworked our NHS staff are when they visit a hospital and the stress NHS staff goes through when they can't deal with all the patients that are coming in he needs to think about this I'll give an example a lady called Jilly and wrote to me this week yes it's a real case of a real person and I will quote her letter if I may mr. speaker Gillian says my mother died in February as Anna reset direct results of the GP shortage in the UK her last years were marred by long waits for treatments and for interventions whenever she got care it was given by overstretched but very dedicated people but it always came after painful and debilitating delays why should that happen to Gillian's mum or anybody else's mum the problem is the shortage of GPS the shortage of nurses and the excessive waiting time for people with very difficult conditions and deep pain they should be sympathized with and supported
 BORIS:: well Mr. speaker "I can certainly take we well deal with his constituent Gilion's concerns" but I can I can I can I can tell him I can tell him I can tell him that there are seventeen thousand three hundred more doctors and over seventeen thousand more nurses on our wards since 2010 and and I think "frankly mr. speaker it is time to differentiate between the politics of protest and the politics of leadership" he should he should apologize a Mr. speaker for continually striking attitudes that I do not think are in the interests of the it's all very easy to be an is lling tone e'en a protester and say that you sided with russia over what happened in salisbury or to say that you have 196 billion pound program of reen a tional ization or continually to flip-flop one way or the other now leave now remain refusing to respect the verdict of the people in the referendum on the EU leadership leadership means standing up for the people of this country standing up for our police standing up for our NHS making sure that it gets the funding that it needs and standing up for our economy and for our wealth creators and above all it means getting brexit done and ending the dither and the delay the time for protest is over mr. speaker it's time for leadership and that is what this government provides
 CRYBON:: mr. speaker coming from Prime Minister withdrew his own bill it seems it seems a bit odd my question my question mr. speaker my question mr. speaker was about somebody whose mother died and she believes that's because of the shortage of staff within the NHS I would have hoped the Prime Minister would have tried to show some empathy and answer that question because GP numbers are falling this forty three thousand nurses shortage in the NHS and it suffered the longest spending squeeze ever in its history mr. speaker the choice that this election couldn't be clearer
 [A p p l a u s e]
 people have a chance to vote for real change after years of conservative and lived and cuts privatization and tax handouts for the richest this government that support our NHS into crisis this election is a once-in-a-generation chance to end privatization in our AHS give it the funding it needs and give it the doctors the nurses the GPS and all the other staff

that it needs despite the Prime Minister's denials our NHS is up for grabs by US corporations in a trump style trade deal

i s n t t h e t r u t h

mr. speaker::: a noble gentleman will not be shouted down under any circumstances he will complete his inquiry to the satisfaction of the chair and people who think otherwise will quickly learn that they are as usual wrong

Jeremy Corbyn :: mr. speaker despite his denials the NHS is up for grabs by US corporations in a trump trade deal isn't the truth and the government may not like it isn't the truth that this government is preparing to sell out our NHS health service is in more danger than in any other time in its glorious history because of his government his attitudes and the

t r a d e d e a l s h e w a n t s t o s t r i k e

BORIS:: Mr. Speaker I do indeed agree that there is a stark choice facing this country at this election and it is between economic catastrophe under the labor party the Labour Party 196 billion pound program taking away money from companies and putting in our pointless RENATIONALIZATION program putting up taxes on corporations or people on pensions on businesses and has the highest level in the whole of Europe Mr. speaker that is the catastrophe the economic catastrophe the office but it's worse than that but as he also offers a political disaster consigning next year which should be a wonderful year for our country - two more referendums mr. speaker another referendum on the EU "because he can't make up his mind or what he thinks flip-flopping this way and that and another referendum on Scottish independence why on earth why on earth should the people of this country spend the next year which would be a glorious year going through the toxic tedious torpor of two more referendums thanks labour" we want next year to be a great year for our country Mr Speaker we wanted to be agreeable as we are going to invest more in front-line NHS services we are going to reduce violent crime with more police officers on assets 20,000 that's what I pledged on the street other steps of Dinah Street and we've done it we are going to invest in every one of our schools primary and secondary across the country that's what I pledged on the steps of Daley street and we are delivering it we are going to invest in a fantastic infrastructure program for our country gigabit broadband across the whole nation that's what I pledged across the specs and other sectors I see that is what we are going to deliver and we are going to deliver a fantastic deal by which this country will come out of the European Union a deal that he has tried to block and that we will deliver that is the future for this country drift and dither under the Labor Party or taking Britain forward to a brighter future under the

C o n s e r v a t i v e s t h a t i s t h e c h o i c e t h i s c o u n t r y f a c e s

[A p p l a u s e]

mr. Blackman::: speaker for more than 30 years the Royal National Orthopaedic Hospital in Stanmore was promised to rebuild under a Conservative government's we have the first phase of those medication to match the world-class treatment provided by the medical team there however we have two problems one is that the next phase is caught up in NHS bureaucracy and sadly two eminent non-executive directors have been dismissed from the board can my writer or friend sweep away this NHS bureaucracy so we can provide the medical facilities that are required and also order an investigation as to why the non-executive directors have been removed by the board by NHS London

BORIS:: Mr. Speaker we've actually my honorable family doctor KOB papers constituents and in particular for his hospital in in stammel I can assure him that we will be making sure that that hospital along with many others will be in line for the funding he requires but may I tell him that on his specific point about the administration of that hospital I will indeed ask he'd be asking my right honourable friend the health secretary to deal with his concerns very speedily in

Blackford:: Thank You mr. speaker and can I on behalf of those of us in these benches wish you all the best for your impending retirement and salute you sir for the way that you have stood up for the democracy of this house in order at this time of crisis that we hold the government to account we trust that you enjoy your many passions in retirement you'll always be welcome up in Scotland and if you need to visit Lee football team as an antidote Arsenal you'll always be welcome and Easter Road to see these mr. speaker wishing and all the best for the rugby mr. speaker this Prime Minister's extreme brexit multi key wrecking ball to the economy has cost Scotland and the United Kingdom up to seventy billion pounds you know mr. speaker we can talk about the impact of brixon and the heroin complain because they ignore the

r e a p l i a t e y

[A p p l a u s e]

the truth Prime Minister is willing to throw Scotland under his big red bus to deliver his brexit no matter what the cost

BORIS:: Mr. speaker as he as he as he as a realtor who knows very well the greatest damage that could be done to the Scottish economy will be their reckless plan to break up the Union over the UK 60 percent of Scotland's business of Scotland's exports is with the rest of the of the UK they would they would be throwing away not just the biggest block grant in history that will aid the Scotland Italy this year but of course all the benefits of membership of the most successful political partnership in history from shipbuilding shipbuilding and governed to the Glasgow climate change summit next year Mr. speaker to be at glory a glory of our whole United Kingdom and which is coming to Scotland precisely but God's Scotland is part of the United Kingdom all that away Mr. speaker with their crackpot plan for borders at barrack and creating a new Scottish currency Mr. speaker or going or joining the euro a were "still going into the European Union handing back control of Scotland's Fisheries Scotland's spectacular marine wealth just at the moment that they've been won back by this country handing back control of those fisheries to Brussels that's their policy" mr.

s p e a k e r I l o o k f o r w a r d t o c o n t e s t i n g i t a t t h e b a r r i c a d e s

BLACKFORD:: you know Mr. speaker the thought of his prime messes questions not a run from me

[A p p l a u s e]

Oh mr. Kerr I'm seriously worried about your condition calm yourself man I'm very concerned for you calm down Ian Blackburn well I certainly wish Mr. grant all the best for his future because he's not coming back like so many of them

[A p p l a u s e]

we hear that the Prime Minister is going to be coming up to Scotland and the elections campaign can I tell the Prime Minister his welcome because each time he comes to Scott only drives SNP support Oh Scotland didn't vote for Brexit and we won't have it forced upon us isn't it clear that the Scottish National Party is the only party standing up for Scotland's injuries democratic decision to the remain in the European Union Mr. speaker this coming election but we

one of the most important in Scotland's history only a vote for the SNP can secure the escape route for Scotland away from this bracelet list from the chaos of Westminster the austerity of the Tories and to protect Scotland's right to choose our own future as an independent country

BORIS:: "there's moments of speak I'm sorry if I seem to have ran took the right honourable gentleman but I might if I may say mr. speaker by only he does rent quite a lot about independence for for Scotland yeah he bangs all about it anything why does he go on about Scottish independence watch because he wants to conceal what the SNP government is actually doing and they are diabolical for the Scottish economy they had the highest taxes in the UK they're not running either health or education well that is why they're so monomaniacal about about independence and smashing the union Mr Speaker I actually when look at the good things that are happening in Scotland there are some wonderful things happen is it is it is very often thanks to Scottish Conservatives" who are delivering 200 million pounds 200 million pounds mr. speaker for Scottish farmers all thanks to the intercessions of Scottish Conservatives the biggest ever block grant from London to Scotland mr. speaker and of course it is Scottish Conservatives who can be relied upon unlike any other party in Scotland unlike labour unlike this SNP to keep the Union together the most successful partnership in history hospice care myself "the truth is that one person's rant is a another person's stream of passionate and uninterrupted eloquence"

mr. Nigel Evans:: give us the speaker as your former Deputy Speaker can I say that nobody has sat in that chair who has done more to defend and promote the rights of LGBTI people in this country and throughout the world and when so many people live in fear of being born the way they are I salute you Thank You Prime Minister The Guardian newspaper last week reported that the largest number of happiest people live in the Ribble Valley and I believe you have the capacity to make them happier will you ensure that of the hundred and fifty three extra police that are coming to Lancashire Ribble Valley gets its fair share that we get our fair share of rural funding for health services like the Slade Byrne Health Center and we get equal funding per pupil in our schools and finally will he ensure that for the 57% who voted brexit and for the almost 100 percent who believed in democracy and after the general election when he's Prime Minister he will deliver the brakes if people think

BORIS:: I could certainly give him the assurance on the second point in the only way to deliver a great Brexit is to vote for this party and for this government "like I make him even happier still by pointing out that not a 153 is just the first wave and Mr. speaker for rebel Valley and part of the 20,000 more police that we'll be putting on the streets of this country" yes

Phillips:: Thank You mr. speaker I won't have never known this place without you here and I think it will be it well it's going to be different it's a delight to see your children here watching today because I know that while you have a responsibility to Parliament that you take your responsibilities as a parent incredibly seriously also and now to the Prime Minister today is my son Danny's 11th birthday thanks to the years of Curt's voted for by the Prime Minister Danny my son and hundreds of children in Birmingham Yardley are in super-sized classes and are only being educated four and a half days a week I don't want to hear his fancy stock answers about brexit or Russia that he's been giving from his little folder I want both representatives the despatch-box spoke with force and fully the Honourable lady is not going to be cut off by people ranting at her she will be heard if there are people who don't want to hear it they're welcome to leave and anything she'll care and neither will I the Honourable lady's question will be heard and that's the end of it just finished I don't want to hear his campaign ad answer because my son won't be able to go to school on Friday so his campaign ad answer does nothing for me as a parent I don't so glad that you think it's really funny that people can't go to school five days away the Prime Minister is responsible for the children in this country and while he might struggle with that personally will he today commit that there will be a minimum number of children in every class post the election and every single child will be able to go to school for five days a week

BORIS:: well Mr. speaker I first of all wish a very happy birthday to Danny and and I can I can reassure her that I believe that under this government under this conservative government he will have the best possible chance not only of having the funding for his school that he needs because we're investing in every primer in every secondary school in the country and yeah and mr. speaker he will also as I say 14 billion pounds to level up funding both in primary and in secular schools and Mr Speaker I believe that Danny will have a better chance of a great job under this government and look at what they've achieved already record record employment under this government and a better chance of being able to find eventually his own home so Danny has a great future under this government and mr. speaker and I hope she'll reassure him on that point

LAMMONS:: thank you very much mr. speaker in Scotland install the Nicola Sturgeon an SNP a letting down are a wonderful NHS staff in the cases targets might be missed capital investment has been flashed and as a 1 billion pounds maintenance backlog does the clay Menace to agree with me than rather than obsessing about independence referendums Nicola Sturgeon should enter neglect of Scotland's any change

BORIS:: Mr. Speaker I congratulate my honourable friend on everything that he does for his constituency in Barrie actually he's absolutely right that it is and that is why as I said I know that is why they want to use his own word that is why they ran so incessantly about independence because they wish to distract they wish to dead cat as the saying goes from the lamentable failures of the SNP government in Scott and NHS the entirely right if this goes on I think that the SNP will forfeit all right to manage the NHS in Scotland

Ronnie Cowen ::: fire Watson politics can be entertaining unfortunately fireworks of explosive states can cause great distress disgusted people peace and livestock they're saying peace got discovered on a 14 week consultation and receive over 16,000 responses ninety four percent of respondents said they would welcome increased controls on the sale of fireworks the relevant legislation covers consumer protection and Explosives environmental law and animal welfare law has the played master ever considered banning the sale of fireworks to the general public and in a short time left to him will he

BORIS:: Mr. Speaker I think it's important to strike a balance and people should be allowed to celebrate Guy Fawkes night and other occasions with fireworks but he's plainly right that they are very disturbing for animals I know that my right or my friend the business secretary is looking at this very matter I just point out on on animal welfare matrix seem

to know that there are measures we will be able to implement as a result of Brexit such as banning sow farrowing crates for instance which I think is a great concern to our constituents banning the live export of animals that we would not otherwise be able to do that is one of the reasons why we need to get Brexit done and take this country forward

MP:: Mr. speaker thousands of British people in Wycombe have family and friends on one or both sides of the line of control in Kashmir with so many serious allegations of human rights abuses being made does the government accept that this is not merely some foreign policy issue to be dealt with by others but that it is an issue of the most immediate and profound concern in Wycombe and in towns across the UK

BORIS:: I thank my honourable friend and he's absolutely right that this matters very much not just to him and to his constituents but the the welfare of communities in in Kashmir is of profound concern to the UK government and he also knows of course that it is the long-standing position of the UK government that the crisis in Kashmir is fundamentally a matter for India and Pakistan to resolve and it is not alas since we were there at the very beginning of this crisis he will understand for longstanding reasons it is not for us as the UK to prescribe a solution in that dispute

Speaker ::: in my constituency the squeeze on government spending has meant we have a third fewer police than we had in 2010 we have lost half of our children centres and the state of disrepair at Mary's Hospital Paddington is so acute that last week a outpatients Department was closed because of leaking sewage how then can the Prime Minister justify squandering two million pounds of public money on No Deal for it suits the preparation following his feeble pledge to e x i t E U t o m o r r o w d o o r d i e

BORIS:: Mr. Speaker "I might ask her how she can justify spending another billion pounds per month by this country on on delaying our exit from the European Union which is that which is what she voted for" has been and I might I might remind I might remind her that under this government we are spending 225 million pounds more per year on policing in London than there was a case when I was mayor of London Mr. speaker and "she might ask her friend the mayor of London what he's doing with that money and what and why he can't do it do better because he's frankly he's written his record on policing in London is utterly shameful and she should be holding him to account".

WILLIAM:: thank you very much Mr. speaker I welcome the significant additional investment in Stockport schools thanks to the Prime Minister's work will my right on my friend the Prime Minister congratulate the excellent schools in my constituency and pledged further resources so that they can continue to deliver an excellent education for our young p e o p l e

BORIS:: Mr. speaker I'd be very happy to congratulate Warren wood and Norbury Hall schools which I believe Norbury horse which I believe is the alma mater a my my honourable friend and understand to confirm WHAT I think he knows what the whole house knows that those schools and every other school in the country is getting 14 billion pounds more to level up funding for every pupil in this country that is possible because the policies pursued by our conservatives are one nation Conservative government and "it will be ruined by the Labour opposition"

Scalinger :: if I give us this bigger due to health and equalities men and my Stockton North constituency live an average of 16 years less but in his so with the Prime Minister agree is time my area got the new hospital promised 10 years ago but acts by the Tory Lib Dem coalition

BORIS:: Mr. Speaker I will certainly look at what we can do to ensure that he does get a a new hospital in his constituency but I can tell him that there is we have a huge program now underway but I can tell him the only word the only way to deliver that investment 34 billion pound investment in the NHS the biggest the biggest in modern history is to ensure that you have a dynamic dynamic one nation market economy of the kind that we had what and all "I'm afraid all that this party would do is whack up taxes on business in such a way a to destroy the viability of the U K e c o n o m y a n d t h a t ' s t h a t ' s t h e p r o g r a m t h a t h e s u p p o r t s "

[A p p l a u s e]

Mr. speaker:: may I take the occasion of your last Prime Minister's Questions mind to join in the tributes to our own role in the chair during your decade there have been unprecedented attempts really to try to at times increase the power of the executive at the expense of this Parliament and you have been very formidable in maintaining the duty of governments to be accountable to this house I trust your successor will try to live up to a very considerable achievement and to show that a veteran MP can still look to the future even one who is retiring from the house can ask my right honourable friend to give me some clarity on what he will seek to achieve if by chance he wins this unpredictable general election by way of the permanent relationship that he will have to negotiate between the EU and the United Kingdom as an ex member in the years of negotiation that you will have to undertake will he seek to ensure that we maintain trade and flows of investment between the whole of the United Kingdom and the European Union that are free of tariffs free of custom controls largely free of regulatory distinctions indeed as near as possible to the single market and the customs union the barrier because just talking about a free trade agreement is an extremely vague aspiration it covers a wide range of possibilities so can he demonstrated he really is a liberal free trader at heart.

BORIS:: indeed Mr. speaker and as he knows the advantage of the the partnership that we were built is that not only will we have zero tariffs as I'm sure they will if the talks go well we have zero tariffs zero quota arrangement with our European friends and partners but we will also under the current deal which is a fantastic deal we will be able to do free trade deals around the world Mr. speaker there will be there will be many ways in which of course we will stay very close with our European friends and partners in many many ways which will stay close but there will also be important ways in which we may seek to do things differently and better I've already mentioned animal welfare I might mention tax breaks for new technology I might mention cutting a v8 Eon sanitary but I might mention free ports mr. speaker there are all sorts of ways I mention different regulation on biotechnology or many of the areas in which this country now leads the world that is the opportunity for our country to do a great free trade deal with our European friends and partners of a kind of a time for my right honourable friend would thoroughly approve but also to be a champion for free trade around the world and that is what we're going to do

MP:: as the father of the house leaves this place after 49 years without interruption I for one want to salute him right honourable and many gentlemen is one of the most popular and respected politicians in our country for his service to

this place for his service to his constituents and for his service to our country he deserves the warmest appreciation for my part I thank him for his support and friendship over decades the right honourable and learn a gentleman as I think most sensible people know whether they agree with him or not is a great man

MP:: Thank You Mr. speaker I know everyone on this side of the house would like to associate themselves with those comments mr. speaker one of the most consistent things I've seen in all my parliamentary caseworkers I'm afraid too many children with special educational needs not getting the support they need something I know mr. speaker you personally support a great deal this year councils in England alone will overspend on their Sen budgets by over 400 million pounds and even then there is simply not enough resource in the system so Prime Minister how could any government like yours justify going ahead with cutting corporation tax to 18% when children with the greatest needs in this country are simply not getting what they should

BORIS:: I'm afraid that shows the fundamental division but between us alas because I think that what you need is a strong and dynamic government and the evidence is that if you reduce corporation tax you deliver more in yields you deliver more you deliver more growth and that is how that is how we've been able to commit now to spending another 780 million pounds on special educational needs schools and allowing and allowing communities to set up new Sen D schools where they desire them and we will back them with the funding that is made available by that strong economy that is the fundamental difference between him and me.

Andrew Mitchell:: it's my right honourable friend aware that during your time in office mr. speaker and the 326 Prime Minister's Questions over which you have presided thanks to decisions made by the government and by this house the British taxpayer has paid for life-saving vaccinations for more than a hundred and forty million children living in the poorest countries of the world Mr. speaker at a time of considerable division in our country is not that an achievement in which the whole of Britain can take real pride

Boris:: Mr. Speaker it certainly is an achievement in which I think the whole house should be proud and I know that the right honourable gentleman right my right honourable friend has done a huge amount to champion the cause of overseas development and he can be absolutely certain that this government will continue not just to provide support for vaccinations around the world but of course to ensure that we continue to lead the world in our overseas development budgets because our commitment I may say is followed and respected by countries around the world

Stevens:: yesterday it was reported that a former staff member of the Secretary of State for Wales Ross England had in the words of a trial judge single-handedly and deliberately sabotage a rape trial by referring to the victim sexual history against the judges instructions the trial had to be stopped and started again from scratch and the defendant was convicted unbelievably the party opposite then selected Mr. England as a Welsh Assembly candidate with the Secretary of State's endorsement is the Prime Minister going to sack Mr. England

BORIS:: Mr. Speaker be inappropriate for me to conquer to comment on André legal proceedings [M u s i c]

Clare parry O'Neill:: questions I would like to follow the comments that have been made about your very strong leadership from that chair and indeed your kind comments about my good friend you're writing remember thought Ruislip and others I would also like if I may take this opportunity to thank the staff of this place particulars in the library the catering department the doorkeepers to do so much to keep us far hale and hearty I'd like to thank my very number of friends and colleagues across this place including my writer of a friend the member from Maidenhead who have been so personally kind to me over the last few months and so supportive of our policies particularly introduction of our net zero legislation I would like to thank the people of Devizes who have given me their trust for the last nine years it has been the privilege of my life to serve Him I would like to ask the Prime Minister a question does he believe like me that there is no planet B and that we should take the opportunity of this Brexit blockage breaking election to move on move the country on and focus on the incredible things that we can do as the hosts of the UN's global climate change talks which may be in Glasgow but are a four-nation cop next year so that we can help the world to get on with dealing with the problem of the next 13 years how we record we repair on climate

BORIS:: well Mr. speaker may I pay tribute to my right although everything she's done in her parliamentary and in detail ministerial Korea and to agree with her associate myself by the way Mississippi with your comments on my arrival for in the member for rush cliff as well who but I know that she is actually leaving this place to do something perhaps even more important which is to run our cop 26 summit and next year in Glasgow and I know that he will do an absolutely outstanding job and I think she's completely right that it'll be far more wonderful for this country to focus on what we can do to lead the world in tackling the problems of the environment and tackling climate change than frittering away yet more political time and capital in two more pointless referendums so I highly agree with her proposal.

MP:: Mr. speaker can I say to you from the Highlands Guro Mejia life Prime Minister my constituent Rachel has been separated from our two young children and a husband mark and forced the return to Malaysia because her two thousand-pound special visa application was refused that was refused because her husband marks peace lifts were not included the problem is Prime Minister that piece lips are not a requirement on the UK VI checklist and she called an e-mailed UK bi and was told no further information was required does he consider this to be fair and will he personally look into her new 2,000 pound application to ensure this Highland family are reunited by Christmas

BORIS:: raising his constituents a problem with the immigrant with UK VI and I won't I will make sure that my right honourable friend the Home Secretary addresses it immediately

John Baron:: we all remember that the opposition parties never wanted to give the people an EU referendum even opposing our amendment to the 2013 Queen's Speech selected by you mr. speaker an early BRICS Atia - regretting the absence of a referendum bill given that they've done everything they can to delay our departure may I urge the prime minister as we head into Christmas whatever their antics that he leads they're positive decent one nation campaign a stronger economy to help those less fortunate which addresses the divisions in our country and we wish him well I [A p p l a u s e]

BORIS:: thank my friend for putting it so succinctly and so well that is exactly what we want I think it's what the people of this country want they want to get Brexit done and they want they want to move forward with a with a one nation agenda to unite this country level up across the country with better education better infrastructure and fantastic new technology that is our agenda their agenda is four years more of political dither delay and division

MICKNILE:: mr. speaker my slave as well from the hilling ending year mr. speaker with Scotland's changing status in Europe since 2014 why will the Prime Minister not agree to a section 30 why is he so far refused to section 30 as a route to enable an independence referendum for Scotland Scotland needs to join the dozens of normal independent European nations and become independent

BORIS:: well mr. Speaker "I think the Honorable and knows my answer to that which is that there was a referendum in 2014 the rather result was very clear people were promised that it would be a once-in-a-generation referendum and I don't think that we should break that promise"

HUE MARRYMAN:: moon thank you very much mr. speaker it's a pleasure to see you in your arsenal tyre warned - well for two reasons I'm sorry the leader of the Opposition has not warned his own mr. speaker before I go on ask the Prime Minister a question can I thank you not just for giving me a voice in this place but for giving representations to my family and those I grew up in Buckingham that you've served so well as their local MP they have asked me to pass on that you'll be missed dearly by them returning back to the football politics metaphor with the Prime Minister agree with me that when it comes to both football and politics the owner of the number-10 berth is key to success and so would he rather see a center-right dominant leader sweeping all before him in domestically and in Europe or should we look towards the left wing where we might see a misfiring striker more at home in the 1970s.

MP BORIS: : " I thank my honourable friend who does a superb job of representing his constituents my own my own footballer balling is skilful [M u s i c] I can do it mr. speaker I can do it I enjoy it" but the most important thing is to have a team that is United and that will deliver deliver a great future for this country and that is what that is what we offer mr. speaker and I'm afraid is he's in shock Kandra distinction from "the Labour Party for his last night last night I think more than 100 of them who couldn't even be bothered to vote for a general election in which that which there shortly about to contest what kind of confidence is that in their leader mr. speaker"

Roberts nikamoda:: Kovalev 8vv the Tepig and a tomato amoeba the link weld Oh Keesha I don't think we'll see you're like you're like again but we will miss you in this house and now we're coming to the close of 9 years of Tory miss rule misinformation and broken promises leading us in this merry dance is the Prime Minister a Lord of misrule at this shambolic Christmas election but mr. speaker my party has long been prepared for this election in Wales we have a simple choice we can back our country by voting play Henry or be let down once again by one of these deeply divided Westminster parties who offer nothing but more brexit chaos will the Prime Minister be honest for once with Wales there's only one way out of this chaos isn't there and that is to remain in the European Union.

MP BORIS:: well I thank the right honourable lady for her beautifully beautiful beautiful Welsh round could get all of it they're all the Welsh but I just remind her "the most the most important thing the most important point that she might bear in mind is that her constituents the people of Wales voted to leave the European Union and and that is what that is what the people of this country voted for that is what the majority of the constituents of the benches opposite voted for and it is high time that they honored that promise" to Caroline Johnson mr. speaker my constituents in North High come here with some of the worst traffic congestion in the country and they tell me that completing Lincoln's bypass would make a huge difference to their lives can my right honourable friend the Prime Minister confirm his government will support by building of this bypass

BORIS:: mr. speaker not only counter I could confirm that but I can thank both her and our candidate in Lincoln Col Mc Cartney: : they can't pay for that bypass

mr. Nigel Dobbs:: Thank You mr. speaker and can I on behalf of the members of my party thank you for your service to this house you came to office on a very very turbulent and challenging time for for this house and you've always been very assiduous and protecting the rights of backbenchers on smaller parties and we thank you for that wish you well in your retirement mr. speaker in the dying days of this Parliament would the Prime Minister please do something for the victims of historical institutional abuse in Northern Ireland I raise this at door now questions there is still time in this Parliament to get this legislation through the victims have been waiting for so long now it is cross party cross community support would he please act on that

BORIS:: what is what he's the point is made and he's campaigned very much for on that issue of the government of course has fulfilled his promise to introduce legislation on the matter and it as he knows am I right on my friend the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland has had productive meetings with representatives from victims and survivors groups "but the most powerful way of addressing this issue as he knows will be if we can all work together to get the Stormont Executive back up and running to deal with the matter themselves"

john hay:: will never be because there could never be a more eloquent articulate speaker we will miss your style and Europe on your remarkable encyclopedic grasp of detail and I will miss the literary references by the way mr. speaker Marcel Proust they're about proust the only real way to discovery consists not in seeking new landscapes but having new eyes and hard-working British Patriots the voted to leave the European Union with fresh eyes have in their sights the boudoir liberal elite who is trying to steal bread from [A p p l a u s e] so with my so will my rot right Hannibal friend he's rule cards on the wireless and elsewhere and actually we filled in real life too in the coming days and weeks simply evangelized this plain and straightforward message back brexit back

B A r p i t a s i e n [A p p l a u s e]

BORIS:: there is only one way to get take this country forward and that is to get brexit done and I can tell him he is a Doughty campaigner for people in his constituency across the country and if our government is returned as I as I hope it will be and I will work very hard to ensure that it is the people of this country will be seeing record investment in their NHS they will be seeing improvements in their wages for the biggest expansion of the living wage in memory and they will be seeing reductions in the cost of living because it is one nation conservative policies that can be relied on to take this country forward and it is that party that would take us backwards

JANE WILSON ::can we wish you well and congratulate you on a decade particularly as a modernizing speaker from topicality of debates to promoting diversity within the staff of the house to reforms to support parents through our MPs you have helped to drag this institution out of the past so that it can face the future at this general election voters deserve better than a choice between the two tired old

[M u s i c]

people deserve to hear from a leader who loves to stop brexit and build a better future so will the Prime Minister limits today to take part in those 3-way debates or is he going to run scared

Prime Minister BORIS:: Mr Speaker "I think all the people in this country want is their promises kept and I'm not disposed to believe in the promises of the Liberal Democrats when their leaflets in London say they want to revoke the result of the referendum their leaflets in the southwest of the country don't mention Brexit at all"

[A p p l a u s e]

what they stand for that's the bunch of hypocrites among them they stand for nothing but a policy of dither and delay and indecision and to take this country forward to take this country forward with fantastic environmental policies fantastic policies on education of a kind of a kind that I think will appeal to all her constituents she should join this party vote for this government and support us at the general election

SPEAKER:: Thank You mr. speaker if I may can I join with the tributes from across the house to your service annual speakership even though our 30-year friendship notwithstanding I haven't agree with everything you've done recently but I've been a big supporter of yours in the chair even a champion backbenchers and you've allowed the chamber to hold the executive to account and enabled her in a very good way and can I just say the best of luck and could wishes to you and your family thank you could I when my right honorable friend was standing for the leadership of our great party he spoke about ending the witch-hunt of our Northern Ireland veterans he said we need to end unfair trials of people who served Queen and country he said the persecution of veterans facing historical allegations over troubles in Northern Ireland has got to stop now given that there was nothing in the Queen speech can he give a clear manifesto undertaking that if he's really elected as prime minister with a Conservative government it will bring forward legislation as quickly as possible to end this awful injustice

boris:: everything he has done to campaign on that issues he knows the consultation on the new legislation was only concluded a few days ago and I can certainly give him the reassurance that we will be bringing forward legislation to ensure that there are no unfair prosecutions of people who serve this country faithfully and and well when there is no new evidence being provided.

Speaker :: "'''''' said at the start that I had demonstrated that I was stretching time and I wouldn't want to disappoint him two final contributions from colleagues'''''' who I know are leaving the house mr. Ronnie Campbell:: mr. speaker appealing Parliament for 32 years and I've seen many speakers in the chair and I must see it you've been the best yeah and as we see in the Northeast I'm not quite good at when the elaborate of the Welsh well you're a canny laddie can I ask the Prime Minister the watch be women were given a bad deal and our pensions can the Prime Minister or has the promoter got any plans to rut put that wrong rate

BORIS:: well first of all mr. speaker can I pay tribute also to the honourable gentleman as he as he as he leaves this house and indeed to again repeat my my congratulations to all honourable members who are standing down on the the service they have given on the specific issue that he raises of the the waspy women as he knows it is a very difficult issue and very very highly emotionally charged we have done our best to try to satisfy that group and another billion pounds has I think been allocated to the support of waspy pensioners but I would I would just remind our honourable members opposite who are who are chanting at me that under the under the Labour Party I seem to remember that bench and female pensions were went up by 75 P that was that was their approach to pensions rights for women we are Mr Speaker we are indeed looking at what more we can do to satisfy that issue but it is as he knows a very difficult issue

mr. Richard Ben Jana:: Thank You mr. speaker can I wish you well and can I add to the plaudits that have been made to you by thanking you for the way you've represented my father's old constituents and bucking him I know they you've been a Sidious in that that many years ago the Prime Minister was campaigning in Newberry to help get me elected and he was asked by the Newbury weekly news whether there was any chance of him becoming Prime Minister and he said he said ""he thought there was more chance of being decapitated by a frisbee"" can I say that I take a great delight and will continue to great take great delight that he has defied those odds if he can commit to me here today to continue this country's bold ambition on ocean conservation where we are a world leader

BORIS:: I thank my friend for all the service he has given this this country and he has I remember vividly campaigning with him actually one occasion we were interrupted by a dog show I know I seem to I seem to remember but he has also done particularly important work in conserving oceans and he has helped to ensure that this country has global leadership in establishing marine conservation areas around the planet this country as you know mr. speaker protects what one of the vast expanses vast expanses of the oceans of any country on earth and it is thanks to the work of my right honourable friend that we have put that issue at th forefront of our politics protecting marine life protecting the not just the fish but of course the Penguins as well and as you will know dad of the world's emperor penguins are British and he has done a signal job he has done a signal job mr. speaker of protecting those penguins and I thank him for it

[A p p l a u s e]

3/ Sept. /2019

Siobhain McDonagh (Mitcham and Morden) (Lab): If he will list his official engagements for Wednesday 4 September.

The Prime Minister (Boris Johnson): I know that the whole House will want to join me in paying tribute to PC Andrew Harper, who was killed while on duty. His death and the serious injuries sustained by PC Stuart Outten in London and PC Gareth Phillips in Birmingham are a powerful reminder of the dangers that police officers face every day to keep us

s a f e . This morning, I had meetings with ministerial colleagues and others. In addition to my duties in the House, I shall have further such meetings later today.

Siobhain McDonagh: May I associate myself with the comments about the brave acts of the police officers? On Brexit, the former Prime Minister's deal was unacceptable to this House, but to leave without a deal is unthinkable, yet the Prime Minister pursues a game of brinksmanship built on the livelihoods, health and future of my constituents and our country. There is still an option to resolve this once and for all: if the Prime Minister really believes in no deal, let him put it to the people and ask our people if that is the price they want to pay.

The Prime Minister: "As the hon. Lady knows very well, this Government will take this country out of the European Union on 31 October. There is only one thing that stands in our way: the surrender Bill currently being proposed by the Leader of the Opposition". I invite the Leader of the Opposition to confirm, when he stands up shortly, that if that surrender Bill is passed, he will allow the people of this country to have their view on what he is proposing to hand over in their name with an election on 15 October.

Robert Halfon (Harlow) (Con): Will my right hon. Friend confirm that when we leave the European Union on 31 October, we will no longer be subjected to EU rules on VAT on our energy bills, costing Harlow constituents and households around £55 extra every year? Will he confirm that we will take back control of our energy bills and save households around £1.5 billion a year on their heating and lighting?

The Prime Minister: I thank my right hon. Friend for his excellent suggestion. As he knows, we currently apply the reduced 5% rate on domestic fuel and power, which is the lowest allowed under EU law, but of course when we leave the EU on 31 October, it will be open to us to change this to the benefit of the people of Harlow.

Jeremy Corbyn (Islington North) (Lab): I start by paying my deepest respects to PC Andrew Harper, who died in the line of duty. It is a reminder of the risks that he faced and that police officers face all the time trying to protect communities. We send our sympathies to his family, colleagues and friends. I also send our condolences to those affected by Hurricane Dorian, which hit the Bahamas at the weekend. I hope and am sure that the Government and the Department for International Development will do all they can to send all the help that is necessary. Yesterday, it was revealed that the Prime Minister's negotiating strategy was to run down the clock and that the Attorney General told him that his belief that the EU would drop the backstop was a complete fantasy. Are these reports accurate, or can the Prime Minister provide the detail of the proposals he has put forward to the EU?

The Prime Minister: Our negotiating strategy is to get a deal by the summit on 17 October, to take this country out of the EU on 31 October and to get Brexit done. The right hon. Gentleman's surrender Bill would wreck any chances of the talks. We do not know what his strategy would be if he took over. He is asking for mobs of Momentum activists to paralyze the traffic. What are they supposed to chant? What is the slogan? What do we want? Dither and delay! When do we want it? We don't know." That is his policy. Can he confirm now that he will allow the people of this country to decide on what he is giving up in their name with a general election on 15 October? Or is he frit?

Jeremy Corbyn: My first question to the Prime Minister, and no answer given! I asked what proposals had been put to the EU. We asked yesterday—many colleagues asked—and he seems utterly incapable of answering. Any rational human being would assume therefore that none have been put and there is no answer. The Prime Minister and his Cabinet colleagues have said he is making progress. The EU's chief negotiator, the Chancellor of Germany and the Taoiseach of Ireland say that no proposals have yet been made by the UK. If the Prime Minister thinks he has made progress, will he publish the proposals he has put forward to replace the backstop?

The Prime Minister: As the right hon. Gentleman knows very well, you do not negotiate in public. We are making substantial progress and we will get that backstop out.

Mr Speaker: Order. Forgive me for interrupting, Prime Minister, but there is a long way to go and a lot of questions to be reached. The questions must be heard, and the Prime Minister's responses must and will be heard.

The Prime Minister: Let us be absolutely clear. This Government will get a deal from our friends in Brussels and we will get the backstop out. We will get an agreement that I think the House can agree with. The only thing standing in our way is the undermining of our negotiations by this surrender Bill, which would lead to more dither and delay. We delayed in March; we delayed in April; and now the right hon. Gentleman wants to delay again for absolutely no purpose whatever. What does he intend by this? The Government are spending £1 billion to put 20,000 more police officers on the streets. He wants to spend £1 billion a month—net—to keep us in the EU beyond 31 October. I will never allow that.

Jeremy Corbyn: I really fail to see how I can be accused of undermining negotiations, because no negotiations are taking place. The right hon. Gentleman has been Prime Minister for six weeks, and he promised to get Brexit sorted. In six weeks, he has presented nothing to change the previous Prime Minister's deal, which he twice voted against. The negotiations that he talks about are a sham. All that he is doing is running down the clock. At the weekend, the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster said that food prices would go up under no deal. Will the Prime Minister publish the Yellowhammer documents so that people can see which food prices will go up and by how much?

The Prime Minister: The Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster said absolutely no such thing, and I can tell the right hon. Gentleman that, thanks to my right hon. Friend's good offices and thanks to his efforts, preparations for no deal are very far advanced. I can also tell him that the surest way of getting no deal is to undermine this country's ability to negotiate, which is what he is doing. If this Bill is passed this afternoon—I do not want an election, and I do not think

that the right hon. ”Gentleman wants an election, but there is a petition on his own Labour website in which 57,000 people, including Carol, Nigel, Graham and Phoebe, have called for an election. I do not know whether there is a Jeremy on the list! I do know that the right hon. Gentleman is worried about free trade deals with America, but I can see only one chlorinated chicken in the House, and he is sitting on the Opposition Front Bench.” Will he confirm that he will let the people decide on what he is doing to this country’s negotiating position by having a general election on 15 October?

Jeremy Corbyn: Perhaps the Prime Minister will tell us what the negotiating position actually is. The Prime Minister may have forgotten the question that I asked, given his rather lengthy peroration. When the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster denied that there would be shortages of fresh food, the British Retail Consortium said that that was “categorically untrue”. I hope that no more young female staff are going to be frogmarched out of Downing Street, because there was another Government leak at the weekend, concerning disruption of our ports. The leaked documents, written by the Government in the last fortnight, show that no deal would lead to shortages on the shelves and shortages of medical supplies in hospitals. People need to prepare. So I ask the Prime Minister again: will he publish the Yellowhammer documents in full, so that people can see which foodstuffs are not going to be available, which medicines are not going to be supplied and what will happen given the shortages of vital supplies in every one of our hospitals all over the country?

The Prime Minister: “I am afraid that the right hon. Gentleman is guilty of the most shameless scaremongering.” We have made ample preparations for coming out of the EU. What his party is recommending is yet—

Mr Speaker: Order. It is very difficult to hear the responses from the Prime Minister. Members must calm themselves. The Prime Minister: What the right hon. Gentleman is recommending is yet more dither, yet more delay and yet more uncertainty for business. What we in the Government want to do is deliver on the mandate of the people. The right hon. Gentleman used to be a democrat. He used to believe in upholding the referendum result. Can he say now whether he would vote in favour of leave or remain, and can he say now whether is in favour of a second referendum or not?

Jeremy Corbyn: The Prime Minister failed to answer my questions about food supplies, about medicine supplies and about the problems in hospitals. He refuses to publish the Yellowhammer documents. He talks about scaremongering. Where does the information come from, other than his office in his Government? He is obviously so confident of the position that he has adopted that he is now prepared to spend £100 million of our money on an advertising campaign to try to persuade people that everything is fine. He knows it is not, and they know it is not. He is hiding the facts. The Government have refused to publish their impact assessments on how a no-deal Brexit would affect poverty in this country. They received a request under the Freedom of Information Act from the Glasgow-based Poverty Alliance; the DWP replied that the public interest would not be served by that disclosure. Will the Prime Minister publish that analysis? If he won’t, what has he got to hide?

The Prime Minister: Unlike the right hon. Member, who would squander £1 billion a month of taxpayers’ money on staying pointlessly in the EU, this Government are getting on with running a sound economy so that the poorest people in our country are seeing increases in their wages for the first time in more than a decade. I am proud to say that those on the living wage are now taking home £4,500 more every year than they were in 2010, thanks to this Conservative Government.

Jeremy Corbyn: Mr Speaker, you don’t have to go very far from the portals of this House to see real destitution: people begging and sleeping on the streets; child poverty is up compared with 2010; pensioner poverty is up; and in-work poverty is up. The Prime Minister will not give us any of the information of the assessments of increased poverty that could come from his Government’s proposals. We are less than 60 days away from leaving the EU with no deal. The Prime Minister had two days in office before the summer recess and then planned to prorogue Parliament. Yesterday, he lost one vote—his first vote in Parliament—and he now wants to dissolve Parliament. He is desperate—absolutely desperate—to avoid scrutiny. In his third day in office, after five questions from me, we have not had an answer to any of them. I can see why he is desperate to avoid scrutiny: he has no plan to get a new deal—no plan, no authority and no majority. If he—

Mr Speaker: Order. If we have to go on longer because people sitting on the Treasury Bench are yelling to try to disrupt, so be it, we will go on longer. Some people used to believe in good behaviour; I believe in good behaviour on both sides of the House. It had better happen or it will take a whole lot longer—very simple, very clear.

Jeremy Corbyn: Thank you, Mr Speaker. If the Prime Minister does to the country what he has done to his party in the past 24 hours, a lot of people have a great deal to fear from his incompetence, his vacillation and his refusal to publish known facts—that are known to him—about the effects of a no-deal Brexit.

The Prime Minister: “I really do not see how with a straight face the right hon. Gentleman can accuse anybody of being unwilling to stand up to scrutiny when he will not agree to submit his surrender Bill to the verdict of the people in an election”. He is frit; he is frightened. He makes a contrast between this Government and his own proposals. The contrast could not be clearer: we think that the friends of this country are to be found in Paris, in Berlin and in the White House, and he thinks that they are in the Kremlin, in Tehran and—He does, and in Caracas—and “I think he is “Caracas”!” We are putting 20,000 police on the street, we have 20 new hospital upgrades, we are growing the economy. The right hon. Gentleman, by contrast, would put a £300 billion tax on every company in the country, he wants a tax on homes, and he is calling incessantly for a general strike. The shadow Education Secretary says that Labour’s economic policy is—and I quote, by your leave, Mr Speaker,—“shit-or-bust”; I say it is both. What this country needs is sensible, moderate, progressive Conservative government and to take this country out of the EU on 31 October, and that is what we are going to do.

Mr Speaker: There will indeed be more, starting with the closed question from Dr Julian Lewis.

Dr Julian Lewis (New Forest East) (Con): I should like to ask a well-behaved Question on the National Security Adviser. For what reasons the roles of Cabinet Secretary and National Security Adviser were merged; and if he will make it his policy to separate those roles.

The Prime Minister: As my right hon. Friend is aware, the decision to put the two roles together was taken by my predecessor, although I have a high admiration for the gentleman in question.

Dr Lewis: I hope that my right hon. Friend is not going to follow every policy adopted by his predecessor. This is one that he should not follow. The Defense Committee needs to take evidence from the National Security Adviser on the failure to anticipate the Iranians' reaction to the British seizure of a tanker. It is hardly likely, however, that the Cabinet Secretary will come before the defense Committee, so would it not make sense to have a full-time occupant of the post of National Security Adviser as soon as possible so that Select Committees and the National Security Committee can do our jobs properly?

The Prime Minister: I think that the role has been very well performed in recent times, but I take my right hon. Friend's point very humbly and sincerely, and I will ensure that invitations to appear before his Committee are considered in the usual way and that he gets all the satisfaction he desires.

Ian Blackford (Ross, Skye and Lochaber) (SNP): Last night, Parliament once again defeated this shambolic Tory Government. Today, we have seized back control from a Prime Minister who is behaving more like a dictator than a democrat. The Prime Minister must be stopped, and MPs must tonight unite across this House to take no deal off the table. We will defeat the Government again, so, when we succeed, will the Prime Minister respect the democratic vote of this House and the democratic will of the people we represent and finally act to remove the threat of a catastrophic no-deal Brexit?

The Prime Minister: "I might ask the right hon. Gentleman if he will respect the democratic will of the people of the United Kingdom", which this House voted to do time and again, to implement the result of the referendum.

Ian Blackford: I know that the right hon. Gentleman is a new boy, but may I suggest to him that we ask the questions and he is supposed to answer them? Quite simply, my colleagues and I are sent here by the people of Scotland, where we have a majority. The people of Scotland voted to remain in the European Union and we are not going to be dragged out against our will by the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister must also not be paying attention to the polls this morning. They show that the Scottish National party is polling to win a majority in Scotland once again, with the Tories in retreat, so if he wants an election, he should enable the Bill and bring it on. It is clear for all to see that the Prime Minister is playing a game of bluff and bluster. He does not care about stopping a no-deal Brexit. His strategy, as his lead adviser put it, is a sham. This is not a Parliament versus the people; it is a Parliament standing up for the people. The people did not vote for a no-deal Brexit. This Prime Minister is robbing the people of power and handing control to the Leave campaign, the cult now running No. 10. Once again, I ask The Prime Minister: are you a dictator or a Democrat?

Will he accept the legislation today so that no deal can be avoided, and will he let us vote for an election so that the people can truly decide the next steps?

The Prime Minister: I am a democrat, because I not only want to respect the will of the people in the referendum but want to have an election—or I am willing to have an election—if the terrible Bill goes through. There is a reason why the separatists in Scotland drone on and on about breaking up and smashing the oldest and most successful political union, and that is to detract from their appalling domestic record. They are a total shambles. They have the highest taxes anywhere in Europe. Their educational standards are falling, for which they are responsible. Their signature policy—This is a useful point. Their signature policy is to return Scotland to the European Union after Brexit, complete with the euro, the full panoply of EU laws and, as I never tire of saying, the surrendering of Scottish fish just when they have been taken back by this country.

Lucy Allan (Telford) (Con): I warmly welcome the Prime Minister to his place. My constituents sent me here to speak for them, and what they care about is better hospital care, more police on our streets, and good schools for their children. Does the Prime Minister agree with people in Telford that those are the issues we should be discussing in this place? Will he commit to building on his welcome spending announcements to deliver great public services for my constituents?

The Prime Minister: I thank my hon. Friend very much. "We love Telford", of course, and it is going to see even more when my right hon. Friend the Chancellor announces his spending review shortly. There will be investment in the NHS, more police officers to keep our streets and the hon. Lady's streets safe, and more money for every school in this country. Conservatives are delivering on the priorities of the British people.

Douglas Chapman (Dunfermline and West Fife) (SNP): Mr Speaker, you know that I am not a doomster or a gloomster. On that positive note, I thank the Prime Minister for boosting support for Scottish independence just a few weeks into his premiership—they may be his last few weeks, too. According to research by the UK Trade Policy Observatory, a no-deal Brexit would cost up to 1,100 jobs in my constituency and over 63,000 jobs across Scotland. Will the Prime Minister explain to me and my constituents, who are facing that dreadful prospect, what their families should about the heavy price that they may pay for a Brexit that they never voted for?

The Prime Minister: Of course we are preparing for a no-deal Brexit if we absolutely must have one. I do not think that the consequences will be anything like as bad as the merchants of Project Fear have said, but the way to avoid a no-deal Brexit is to allow this Government to get on and do a deal at the summit on 17 October. The choice for this country is who they want doing that deal: this Government or that Labour party, led by Jeremy Corbyn.

Mr Speaker: Order. We do not name people in the Chamber. People must observe the rules—Order. I am simply and politely informing the Prime Minister of the very long-established procedure with which everybody, including the Prime Minister, must comply. That is the position—no doubt, no argument, no contradiction—and that is the end of the matter.

Dame Cheryl Gillan (Chesham and Amersham) (Con): I welcome the new Prime Minister to the Dispatch Box and tell him that this year we celebrate 10 years since this House passed the Autism Act, which is still the only disability-specific piece of legislation in the UK. The all-party parliamentary group on autism, made up of Members from all parts of the

House, will publish next week the 10th annual review, with recommendations for the Government right across the board. Will my right hon. Friend undertake to look at the recommendations carefully and instruct his Chancellor to put more resources and more money into helping people with autism and their families receive the help and services they need?

The Prime Minister: I thank my right hon. Friend very much for everything she has done for that cause over many years, and I reassure her that, very shortly, the Chancellor of the Exchequer will outline not just more money for primary schools and secondary schools, but also a big investment in schools for special educational needs and disabilities. That is, again, delivering on the priorities of the British people.

Geraint Davies (Swansea West) (Lab/Co-op): People in Swansea voted to leave the EU, but leave voters are saying to me that they did not vote for a no deal or for “do or die” on 31 October. They want to live. They voted for good things—for more money, more jobs and more control—and now they see that they will get less money, less jobs and less control, so they want a final say. Will the Prime Minister undertake, when he goes to extend article 50 after the passage of the Bill we are considering this afternoon, to ensure there is a proper referendum so that there is a choice between a managed deal and remain, and not a kamikaze no deal?

The Prime Minister: If the hon. Gentleman wants to put that matter to the people, the best thing he can do is “persuade his right hon. Friend to summon up his courage and to stop being so frit. If he is going to pass this wretched surrender Bill, at least he should submit it to the judgment of the people in the form of a general election. If the hon. Gentleman wants to implement the will of the people of Swansea, what he should do is vote with this Government and not for the surrender Bill tonight.

Mr David Gauke (South West Hertfordshire) (Ind): The Prime Minister has said that the Prorogation of Parliament is nothing to do with Brexit. Is that still his position?

The Prime Minister: As my right hon. Friend knows full well, there have been demands for the Prorogation of Parliament ahead of a Queen’s Speech from the hon. Member for Walsall South (Valerie Vaz) and from across the House. This Session has lasted longer than any in the last 400 years, and there will be ample opportunity to debate the Brexit deal in this House after 17 October if this Government are allowed to get on and deliver a deal.

Mr Adrian Bailey (West Bromwich West) (Lab/Co-op): The Chancellor today announced another £2 billion, on top of the £6.3 billion already allocated, to help companies after a no-deal Brexit. Industry, the public and Parliament have a right to know which industries will benefit, for how long and what the total cost will be to the taxpayer. Can the Prime Minister insist to tell us?

The Prime Minister: There is a great deal of preparatory work going on—particularly in the west midlands, which the hon. Gentleman represents—to make sure that automotive supply chains are indeed ready for a no-deal scenario, but we do not want a no-deal scenario. And the way to avoid it is not to vote for the absurd surrender Bill that is before the House today and to let the Government get on and negotiate a deal, because that is what we want to do.

Douglas Ross (Moray) (Con): The Scotch whisky industry is hugely important in Moray. The potential tariffs applied by the US as part of its trade war with the EU could cost hundreds or thousands of jobs across Scotland and the United Kingdom, so what representations has the Prime Minister made to President Trump? Will his Government do everything possible to avoid these tariffs being applied to the Scotch whisky industry?

The Prime Minister: I congratulate my hon. Friend on everything he does to represent that vital industry, which earns billions of pounds in revenue for this country. Tariffs on Scotch whisky would be absolutely absurd—a point we have made repeatedly to our friends in the United States—but, again, when we do free trade deals around the world, Scotch whisky is one of those many products that will have its chances boosted in growing export markets.

Karen Lee (Lincoln) (Lab): Last weekend, in Lincoln and right across the country, there were cross-party protests against the Prorogation of Parliament. Does this unelected Prime Minister, who has no majority in this House, believe that his attack on our democracy is his only means of forcing a disastrous no-deal Brexit on Lincoln and on the businesses and people of this country?

The Prime Minister: If the hon. Lady wants to speak for the people of Lincoln, who, after all, voted to leave—yes, they did—the best thing she can do is make sure we come out of the EU on 31 October with a deal. If she is genuinely prepared to frustrate that ambition, through the surrender deal being proposed today, will she at least have a word with her friend on the Front Bench and urge him, as she speaks of democracy, to submit his Bill to the will of the people, in the form of a general election on 15 October? Will she at least say that to him?

Karen Bradley (Staffordshire Moorlands)(Con): Many of us in this House will know the value of community hospitals in our constituencies, with none more valued than Leek Moorlands Hospital in my constituency. A consultation has recently been undertaken on the provision of healthcare in north Staffordshire, and there is understandable concern about the future of Leek Moorlands. So will the Prime Minister join my campaign to keep the hospital open in Leek, with enhanced services, for the benefit of all the people of Leek and Staffordshire Moorlands?

The Prime Minister: First, let me thank my right hon. Friend for everything she has done for the people of Northern Ireland and for rightly raising this issue in her constituency with me. Of course she will understand that decisions affecting Leek Moorlands must be led by clinicians, but I hope a solution can be found that benefits everyone in her constituency.

Paul Blomfield (Sheffield Central) (Lab): In a desperate attempt to win yesterday’s vote, the Prime Minister apparently made emotional appeals to Conservative MPs that he was serious in seeking a deal, but his answers in the House yesterday and today make it clear that there are no real negotiations, in public or in private. Those with whom he claims to be negotiating in the European Union have said: “Nothing has been put on the table”. So does the Prime Minister understand why, across this country, people find it difficult to trust a word he says?

The Prime Minister: May I tell the hon. Gentleman that what the people of this country want to see is us come together to come out of the EU on 31 October with a deal? We are making great progress with our friends and partners in Brussels and Dublin, and even in Paris, but I am afraid those talks are currently being undermined by the absurd Bill before the House today. I urge him to reject it. If he must pass it, will he have a word with his right hon. Friend and ensure that that Bill is put to the people, in the form of a general election?

Mr Dominic Grieve (Beaconsfield) (Ind): In the light of the Prime Minister's answer to my right hon. Friend the Member for South West Hertfordshire (Mr Gauke), could the Prime Minister please explain why it has proved impossible to find any official or Minister prepared to state that the reasons for Prorogation were to pave the way for a Queen's Speech, in the course of the current legal proceedings in which the Government are involved? Would the Prime Minister like to reconsider the answer he has just given to the House?

The Prime Minister: I hesitate to advise my right hon. and learned Friend about legal proceedings but, if he looks at what happened in Scotland this morning, he will discover that that case was thrown out.

Ms Karen Buck (Westminster North) (Lab): As a result of budget cuts to the Home Office, largely enacted while the right hon. Gentleman was Mayor of London, police numbers plummeted: we have 1,000 fewer officers in the west London command unit alone; and we are one third down on police officers in my borough of Westminster. He is now promising to get us back to where we were in 2010, with an additional 20,000 officers. He has told us, and he said this again today, that those 20,000 will be frontline police and on the streets. It is, however, now clear that at least 7,000 of those officers will not be frontline police. So in order to help this House build some trust in any of the promises he makes, can he tell us whether that is true?

The Prime Minister: "I think it absolutely bizarre that a London Labour Member of Parliament should ignore the role of the present Mayor of London, who is, frankly, not a patch on the old guy." I left him £600 million and he has squandered it on press officers. Sadiq Khan has squandered it on press officers, and the faster we get rid of him and get more police officers out on the street, the better. That is the best possible argument for Shaun Bailey as Mayor of London.

Mr Speaker: Order. In the remaining minutes of this session, I appeal to colleagues to take account of the fact that we are visited by a distinguished group of Lebanese parliamentarians, at the invitation of the Inter-Parliamentary Union and the all-party group on Lebanon, which is chaired by the right hon. Member for South Holland and The Deepings (Sir John Hayes). We would like to set them a good example; I am not sure at the moment how impressed they will be.

Sir Gary Streeter (South West Devon) (Con): I think I can comply with that advice, Mr. Speaker. I welcome the extra £14 billion that was recently announced for schools, especially in respect of South West Devon, where I understand we will have the largest increase in the country to correct historical underspending. Does my right hon. Friend agree that this cash boost will help our hard-working teachers to prepare the next generation to reach their full potential? Will it not be wonderful, when we get through Brexit, to start to talk about education, health and social care—the things our constituents are really bothered about?

The Prime Minister: My hon. Friend is exactly right. That is exactly why we need that three-year investment in education, and to get Brexit done on 31 October and not be attracted to any more dither, delay and confusion under the Labour party.

Vernon Coaker (Gedling) (Lab): Yesterday, the Prime Minister booted 21 MPs out of his own party for voting against a reckless no-deal Brexit. They included well-respected Members of this House, including a former Chancellor, Churchill's grandson and the Father of the House. Presumably, that was done on the orders of the Prime Minister's chief of staff. Given the fact that the Prime Minister himself voted against the former Prime Minister's deal without losing the Whip, does this not demonstrate to the British public his view of life—namely, that there is one rule for him and another for everybody else?

The Prime Minister: r o s e —

Mr Speaker: Order. Leave me to control the proceedings; I should be immensely grateful for your assistance in that regard. The heckling must cease and we will hear the reply.

The Prime Minister: I am not going to take any lectures from anybody in the Labour party about how to run a party. There is a party in which good, hard-working MPs are daily hounded out by anti-Semitic mobs. Let us be absolutely clear: if the hon. "Gentleman is interested in democracy, I hope he has been listening to what I have been saying today". In an anti-democratic way, the Bill that will come before the House today would hand over this country's right to decide how long to remain in the EU, and it would hand it over to the EU itself. That is what the Bill involves. If the hon. Gentleman thinks that is a good idea, let him submit it to the judgment of the British people in an election.

Richard Harrington (Watford) (Ind): I am sure that you, Mr Speaker, will know that tomorrow is the ninth annual Watford jobs fair. I am taking particular interest in the 1,000 or so vacancies this year, and I feel that other Members on both sides of the House might be interested as well. I thank Victoria Lynch and Anna Cox for organizing it. We have 1,000 vacancies in more than 60 companies. If the Prime Minister has any spare time tomorrow—there is not much going on here—perhaps he could pop up to Watford, where he would be very welcome.

The Prime Minister: I thank my hon. Friend, who has been a wonderful champion for Watford and for conservative values. I have been to campaign for him in Watford and seen how popular he is. There are now 20,000 job vacancies in the police, if he or anybody in Watford wishes to take up that role, and there are many more in nursing. As my hon. Friend knows, in Watford and throughout the country, unemployment is at a record low and employment is at record highs, because of the sound economic policies that this Government have followed.

Liz McInnes (Heywood and Middleton) (Lab): This week, the director general of the CBI wrote to all MPs in the north-west urging us to do everything we can to get a deal that works for businesses in our region. The CBI says that a no-deal Brexit would be disastrous for north-west business, particularly small businesses. We all know what the Prime Minister has said in the past about business but, now that he has assumed a position of some responsibility, will he stop this relentless posturing around no deal, listen to the CBI and work to protect our vital businesses?

The Prime Minister: “Again, that is a bit rich from a member of a party whose shadow Chancellor says that business is the enemy—Where is he? He has gone. The hon. Lady should listen to the people of her constituency who voted to leave the EU and implement their wishes, and that is what this Government is going to do.”

Sir Roger Gale (North Thanet) (Con): Much has been made about provision for EU nationals resident in the United Kingdom post Brexit. Much less comfort has been offered to those 1.5 million United Kingdom nationals resident throughout the rest of the European Union. Is the Prime Minister in a position to confirm not on a piecemeal, but on a pan-European basis that all pensions will be paid in full, that exportable benefits will continue to be paid in full, that healthcare will be covered in full, and that rights of domicile and freedom of movement will be protected? There are frightened people who need an answer.

The Prime Minister: I thank my right hon. Friend and I can assure him that that matter is, of course, at the top of our concerns with all our EU friends and partners. We have made it absolutely clear that the very, very generous offer that this country has rightly made to the 3.4 million EU citizens here in this country must be reciprocated symmetrically and in full by our friends in the way that he has described.

Stephen Morgan (Portsmouth South) (Lab):> The Prime Minister has said that the great city of Portsmouth is too full of obesity and drug addiction. Despite that disgraceful and inaccurate statement about my home city, how would he expect our much-loved NHS to deal with these issues when it is his Government who are exposing us to medicine and staff shortages, according to his own Health Secretary, by hurtling us towards a no-deal Brexit?

The Prime Minister: I must correct the hon. Gentleman because, in fact, unemployment is well down in his constituency, employment is up and health outcomes are up. “When I made those remarks, which was many, many years ago, it was, I am afraid, when his constituency had the sad misfortune to have a Labour Government in power. That is no longer the case.”

Ross Thomson (Aberdeen South) (Con): I know that, like me, my right hon. Friend has deep concerns about the unfair retrospective loan charge. It is tearing families apart, driving people to despair and reportedly some to suicide. With more than 8,000 people signing my petition saying that we cannot go on like this, can he advise the House on what urgent action his Government will be taking to address this?

The Prime Minister: I thank my hon. Friend for his question because this is an issue that my own constituents have raised with me, and I know that many of my hon. Friends have also had this issue raised with them. I am sure that Members on all sides of the House have met people who have taken out loan charges in the expectation that they can reduce their tax exposure. It is a very, very difficult issue and I have undertaken to have a thoroughgoing review of the matter. Of course, I will make sure that my hon. Friend has every opportunity to have further discussions with the Treasury about how to redress the situation and about the gravity of the situation.

Mr Tanmanjeet Singh Dhesi (Slough) (Lab): If I decide to wear a turban, or you, Mr Speaker, decide to wear a cross, or he decides to wear a kippah or skull cap, or she decides to wear a hijab or a burqa, does that mean that it is open season for right hon. Members of this House to make derogatory and divisive remarks about our appearance? For those of us who, from a young age, have had to endure and face up to being called names such as towelhead or Taliban, or to people saying we come from bongo, bongo land, we can appreciate full well the hurt and pain felt by already vulnerable Muslim women when they are described as looking like bank robbers and letterboxes. So rather than hide behind sham and whitewash investigations, when will the Prime Minister finally apologize for his derogatory and racist remarks? Those racist remarks have led to a spike in hate crime. Given the increasing prevalence of such incidents within his party, when will the Prime Minister finally order an inquiry into Islamophobia within the Conservative party, which was something that he and his Chancellor promised on national television?

The Prime Minister: Order.

Mr Speaker: Order. The response from the Prime Minister will be heard.

The Prime Minister: “If the hon. Gentleman took the trouble to read the article in question, he would see that it was a strong liberal defense of—as he began his question by saying—everybody’s right to wear whatever they want in this country.” I speak as somebody who is proud not only to have Muslim ancestors, but to be related to Sikhs like him. I am also proud to say that, under this Government, we have the most diverse Cabinet in the history of this country. We truly reflect modern Britain. We have yet to hear from anywhere in the Labour party any hint of apology for the virus of antisemitism that is now rampant in its ranks. I would like to hear that from the hon. Gentleman.

Margot James (Stourbridge) (Ind): The great lady, whom I am sure you and I both revere, Mr Speaker, once said, “Advisers advise, Ministers decide.” Can I ask the Prime Minister to bear that statement closely in mind in relation to his own chief adviser, Dominic Cummings?

Mr Speaker: Order. The reply must be heard. If the House were to want as a matter of course to allow clapping, by decision of the House, so be it, but it should not otherwise become a regular practice. We have heard the question, pungently expressed. Let us hear the answer from the Prime Minister.

The Prime Minister: “I am used to breasting applause from Labour audiences, particularly since, unlike the Leader of the Opposition, we are actually devoted to delivering on the mandate of those Labour constituencies and we are going to take the UK out of the EU on 31 October.” As for the excellent question that my hon. Friend asked, be in no doubt that we are deciding on a policy to take this country forward, not backwards, as the Leader of the Opposition would do.

Jo Swinson (East Dunbartonshire) (LD): The Prime Minister’s response to the hon. Member for Slough (Mr Dhesi) was appalling. An apology was required, rather than some kind of justification that there is ever any acceptable context for remarks such as the Prime Minister made in that column. He is the Prime Minister of our country. His words carry weight and he has to be more careful with what he says. My constituent Kristin is afraid because her mum, a European citizen, has been struggling to get settled status after 45 years in this country. Our friends, colleagues and neighbours deserve better than his failures and carelessness with language.

The Prime Minister: In the case of his constituent Kristin—

V a l e r i e V a z (W a l s a l l S o u t h) (L a b) : H i s ?
 The Prime Minister: “Her constituent Kristin—if she has indeed been here for 45 years, and I am sure she has” should
 be automatically eligible for settled status. Clearly, it is a difficult case, but the answer is for the hon. Member for East
 Dunbartonshire (Jo Swinson) to bring it to the Home Secretary, and I am sure we can sort it out.
 h t t p s : / / w w w . y o u t u b e . c o m / w a t c h ? v = R 2 A 1 D y Y g x R w /

S p e a k e r : o r d e r s t a t e m e n t P r i m e M i n i s t e r .

Boris: before I begin I'm sure that the whole house will join me in remembering the DG's 80 years today that this country
 entered the Second World War those of course true that the horror of that conflict surpasses all modern compromises
 it's also true that this country still stands then as now for democracy for the rule of law this is United around the world
 mr. speaker with your permission I'll make a statement about the g7 summit in Biarritz as I speak vast tracts of the
 Amazon rainforest are on fire free traders in retreat 130 million girls worldwide are not in education our oceans are
 being foundly polluted and so it's never been more important for global Britain to use our voice as an agent for change
 and progress it's only by exerting our influence at a global level only by sticking up for our values and our beliefs that
 we can create the international context for Britain to prosper and to ensure that this is the greatest place on earth to live
 to work to start family open a business trade and invest so at the g7 I made the case for free trade as an engine of
 prosperity and progress that has lifted billions out of poverty and yet the reality is that trade is a share of the world
 economy has been stagnant for the last decade in the leaders declaration the g7 unanimously endorsed open and fair
 world trade and were determined to reform the WTO the World Trade Organization to reach agreement next year to
 simplify regulatory barriers Britain is on the verge mr. speaker of taking back control of our trade policy and restoring
 o u r i n d e p e n d e n t s e a t i n t h e W T O f o r t h e f i r s t t i m e i n 4 6 y e a r s

[A p p l a u s e]

[A p p l a u s e]

Mr. speaker: order order resume your seat thank you for a minute sir order order I ask the house to have some regard
 to how our Proceedings of viewed by people outside the chamber I will always facilitate the expression of opinion by
 this house order meanwhile the Prime Minister is making a statement and that statement should be heard and he will be
 h e a r d a s w i l l e v e r y o t h e r m e m b e r e n d o f s u b j e c t .

the Prime Minister: Britain is on the verge of taking back control of our trade policy as I say “mr. speaker on the verge
 and we could achieve even more in our trade with the United States by using the powers we will regain to do a
 comprehensive free trade deal a deal in which both President Trump and I have agreed that the NHS is not on the table
 and “unlike unlike some in the house” I consider the United States to be a natural ally and of course for good in the world
 and I recoil from the visceral juvenile anti-americanism I know that the whole house will share my concern about the
 gravity of the situation in Hong Kong as a nation with a deep belief in freedom of expression and assembly we stand firm
 in upholding Hong Kong's way of life guaranteed by one country two systems and I welcome the unwavering support of
 my g7 counterparts on this vital matter mr. speaker the UK is at the forefront of a new campaign to end the tragic loss of
 species around the world we cannot bequeath a planet where the Sumatran tiger and the African elephant and entire
 ecosystems like the Great Barrier Reef live in the shadow of destruction so I am delighted that vg7 accepted UK proposals
 for more ambitious targets to halt and reverse the loss of biodiversity Britain is responsible for 2.6 million square miles
 of ocean the fifth-largest Murray maritime estate in the world our blue belt programme would ensure that marine protected
 areas encompass 1.5 million square miles and at the g7 announced a further seven million pounds for this vital effort I
 also announced another 10 billion pounds to protect the rainforest in Brazil where 41,000 fires have raged so far this year
 more than twice as many in the same period in 2018 Britain is bidding to host the UN's 26 Climate Change Conference
 next year if we succeed we shall focus on solutions that harness the power of nature including reforestation and there is
 one measure that would address all those issues mr. speaker and if they think that's a waste of money mr. speaker that I
 think that tells you all you need to know one major one measure that will address all those issues and that is ensuring that
 every NGO in the world receives the education that is her right not only curb infant mortality eradicate illiteracy and
 reduce population pressures it would strike a blow for morality and justice in beer it's the g7 therefore endorsed the UK's
 campaign for twelve years of quality education for every girl in the world lionized new funding for 90-minute Blanc a
 million pounds says that 600,000 children in countries torn by conflict where girls are twice as likely as boys to be out of
 the classroom get the chance to go to school and as well as my g7 colleagues I was delighted to meet other leaders
 including President Ramaphosa of South Africa Prime mr. Modi of India Primus of Morrison of Australia who heroically
 masked his emotions in the face of the historic innings of pence notes and in every conversation I was struck by the
 enthusiasm of my colleagues to strengthen their relations with this country whether on trade security and defence Science
 and Technology Mr Speaker I was also able to use the g7 to follow up my conversations in Berlin and Paris with
 Chancellor Merkel and president macro on brexit as well as with as well as with Prime Minister Conte Prime Minister
 Sanchez and president tusk I have since spoken to Commission President and many other leaders and I was able to make
 clear to them all that everyone in this government wants a deal real early leader but it is their reality that the House of
 Commons have rejected the current withdrawal agreement three times and it simply cannot

[Applause]

Mr. speaker: Mr. Sherman I look to you as a senior and distinguished elder statesman in the house to set an example of good behavior analogous to the Buddha like Carm of the father of the house which is exhibited at all times.. the Prime Minister

prime minister: thank you Mr. speaker that is why I wrote to president Tusk on the 19th of August to set out our arguments why any future agreement must include the abolition of the anti-democratic backstop we have also been here we have also at which is by the way as oppose on all sides we have also been clear that we will need changes to the political declaration to clarify that our future relationship with the EU will be based on a free trade agreement and giving us full control over our regulations our trade and our foreign and defence policy this clarity has brought benefits far from jeopardizing negotiations it is making them more straightforward in the last few weeks I believe the chances of a deal have risen this week this week we are intensifying the pace of meetings in Brussels our European friends can see that we want an agreement and they're beginning to reflect that reality in their response president macro said if I quote I quote if mr. speaker they don't want to hear the words of our kinda part about the channel they don't want to hear about any progress that we might be making

mr. speaker: mr. Bleeker order order I want to hear everything said in the order order well I've never had any difficulty hearing the Prime Minister but if it is necessary for him to speak up I am certainly order order I'm certain that he'll overcome his natural shyness in order to do so the Prime Minister

Prime Minister: Mr. Speaker I think they are willfully closing their ears so the reality that our friends and partners are increasingly seeing the possibilities of an agreement I I again I quote the president Macro in France if there are things he said which is part of what was negotiated by Michel can be adapted and are in keeping with the two objectives that I've mentioned stability knowledge stability knowledge which the law which we all support and the integrity of the supermarket we should identify them in the coming months is that the negative spirit of the opposition speaking in Berlin a possible alternative to the backstop Chancellor Merkel of Germany said once we see and say this could be a possible outcome this could be a possible arrangement this backstop is a sort of placeholder which is no longer necessary no longer necessary she said that's a positive spirit which they are not I'm afraid hearing echoed on the other side of the house today and I believe there are indeed already they don't want to hear about solutions but they don't want to hear about any oh there are practical arrangements that we can find which avoid anyone putting infrastructure I say to the honourable members departing back and he does it well these have been well worked out and involved measures such as trusted trader schemes transit provisions frontier zones reduced bureaucracy for smaller local traders and many others in particular we recognize I advise the members opposite to pay attention to what is being said we recognize that for reasons of geography and economics agri-food is increasingly managed on a common basis across the island of Ireland we are ready to find ways forward that recognize this reality provided it clearly enjoys the consent of all parties and institutions with an interest we will also be discussing this with the EU shortly and I will be discussing it with the t-shirt Leo Verado and I see him in Dublin on Monday mr. speaker it is simply wrong it is simply wrong to say we are not making progress there is a lot to do in the coming days but things are movin a major reason for that is that everyone can see that this government is utterly determined to leave the EU on October the 31st come what may without a deal if necessary and that is why over the summer my right hundred friend the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster has been leading the government's efforts seven days a week to accelerate our national preparations for this possibility and he will be making a statement on that subject shortly my writeable friend the Chancellor has made all the necessary funds we reached agreements with our partners to roll over trade deals worth around 89 billion of exports and imports we have secured air services agreements around the world we have increased the capacity of our border for strengthen the resilience of our ports bolstered our freight capacity and worked with meticulous detail to ensure the uninterrupted supply of critical goods including medicines we will be ready mr. speaker we will be ready mr. speaker I returned from the g7 with real momentum in the Brexit discussions I want I want I want to return from next month's European Council in a similar way with a deal with a deal that this house can debate and scrutinize and endorse in time for a departure on October the 31st but Mr Speaker there is one step that would jeopardize all the progress that we have made in the g7 and around the capitals of Europe and that is if this house were to decide that it was simply impossible for us to leave without a deal and to make that step illegal to force us that's what they want to force us that's what they want to force us to beg for yet another pointless delay if that happens all the progress that we have been making will have been for nothing yesterday "yesterday mr. speaker a deal was published a bill that the leader of the opposition has spent all summer working on and "this is not a bill in any normal sense of the word it is without precedent in our history" it is a bill that if passed would force me to go to Brussels and beg an extension it would force me to accept the terms offered it would destroy any chance of negotiation for a new deal"" it would destroy an indeed it will enable our friends it would enable our friends in Brussels to dictate the terms of the negotiation that's what it does there is only one way "mr. speaker to describe this deal it is Jeremy Corbyn's surrender bill" [A p p l a u s e] it means running up the wall the bell chamber it means you running up it means running up the white flag I want to make clear I want to make clear to everybody in this house there are no circumstances in which I will ever accept anything like it I will never surrender the control of our negotiations in the way the leader of the Opposition is the modern mr. speaker this is big girl people must keep ranting from a sedentary position however long it takes the statement will be heard and the response to it will be heard that is the reality and nothing can gainsay the Prime Minister Mr Speaker Mr Speaker we promised the people we would get Brexit done we promised to respect the result of the referendum oh you must do so now enough is enough the country wants this done and they want the referendum respected we are the negotiating a deal and though I am confident and I am confident and I'm confident of getting a deal we will leave by October the 31st in all circumstances there will be no further pointless delay this house has never before

voted to force the Prime Minister to surrender such a crucial decision to the discretion of our friends and neighbors overseas because what this bill would mean is that unless we agree to the terms of our friends and partners they would be able to keep us in the EU for as long as they want and on their terms so I urge therefore this house to reject this bill tonight so that we can get the right deal for our deliver threats it and take the whole country Ford and I commend this statement mr. speaker order for the avoidance of doubt the reason they vote on a bill tonight there is a vote on a motion and if that motion is successful there would be bill tomorrow order I say this simply because the intelligibility of our proceedings today's observing them is important that I'm sure everybody on all sides of the house would recognize that fundamental truth the leader of the Opposition

Jeremy Corbyn:: thank you Thank You mr. speaker and I thank the prime minister of advance copy of his statements and I join with him in recognizing the great human suffering of World War two the great human bravery that took place during that war in that awful conflict which began 80 years ago but was essential in defeating that is gusting ideology of the Nazis and fascism at that time mr. speaker the Prime Minister met EU leaders over the summer and the EU Council President tusk at the g7 after these meetings the Prime Minister struck an optimistic note saying the chances of a deal were in his words improving his optimism was not shared by those who have been at the same meetings the Prime Minister may claim progress has been made but EU leaders report that the government has so far failed to present any new proposals can the Prime Minister clear this up can he tell us if the UK has put forward any new proposal in relation to the backstop if so will he publish them so that these proposals can be scrutinized by Parliament and by the public it's becoming increasingly clear that this reckless government only has one plan to crash out of the EU without a deal "the reality is exposed today in the in-house Journal of the Conservative Party otherwise known as The Daily Telegraph which reports the Prime Minister's chief of staff calling negotiation a sham reports that the strategy is to quotes run down the clock and that the proposal to alter the backstop is a complete fantasy and those are the words of the Attorney General No Deal mr. speaker will mean food shortages reduced medical supplies and chaos at our ports not me not me saying that the government's own leaked analysis saves and it warns of chaos" all across the board today we had expected the publication of the government's No Deal preparations this government is hiding from scrutiny hiding from the people and trying to hide us from their true intentions this isn't just a government in chaos but a government of cowardice thankfully some in Whitehall are putting these vital documents into the public domain but we shouldn't have to rely on sporadic leaks so will the Prime Minister's set out today when these documents will be published so that the people and Parliament can scrutinize and debate them many on the benches opposite would relish a No Deal they see it as an opportunity to open up Britain to a one sided trade deal which puts us at the mercy of Donald Trump and the United States corporations that would increase the wealth of a few at the expense of the many when it comes to the crunch mr. speaker too many on the government benches who once opposed a No Deal outcome are now putting their own careers before the good of the people of this country just look at all those Tory leaders candidates who said it would be wrong to suspend Parliament in order to make a deal a reality more likely but sit passively as their principles of just a few short weeks ago are cast aside I don't know what they were doing over their summer holidays but something changed and it gets worse not only have they all stood by while the Prime Minister launches his latest attack on democracy some have repeatedly refused to rule out the possibility that the government could ignore any law passed by Parliament which was attempting to stop a No Deal brexit so will the Prime Minister when he responds in a moment take the opportunity to assure the country that his government will abide by any legislation passed this week by this Parliament the attack on our democracy in order to force through a disastrous No Deal brexit is unprecedented anti-democratic and unconstitutional labour will do all we can to protect our industry protect our democracy protect our people against this dangerous and reckless government I condemn the rhetoric the Prime Minister used when he talked about a surrender bill I hope he will reflect on his use of language I really do hope he will reflect on his use of language we're not surrendering because we're at war with Europe they are surely our partners if anything it is a no deal exit that would mean surrendering our industry our jobs surrendering our standards of protections in a trade deal with Donald Trump and the United States mr. speaker the UK should be using its position in the g7 to promote policies to tackle the climate emergency the climate emergency is real but instead of standing up to President Trump to save his blushes this time it was in fact agreed there would be no joint communique on this at the g7 this is not leadership this is fiddling while the Amazon burns the situation across the Amazon should be a wake-up call to this prime minister who once described global warming as primitive fear without foundation as we watch fires rage not only across the Amazon but Angola and the Democratic Republic of Congo does he stand by those sentiments while funds to protect and restore the Amazon rainforests are welcomed the Prime Minister knows this is merely a drop in the ocean so will more money be pledged for the Amazon and our additional funds being made available to tackle fires in sub-saharan Africa and will he be introducing measures to stop UK company from aiding abetting and profiting from the destruction of the Amazon rainforest and indeed the rainforests in West Africa the UK Parliament on May the 1st became the first state Parliament anywhere in the world to declare a climate emergency and I was proud to move that motion we must continue to show global leadership on this issue on Iran mr. speaker it's notable that the Prime Minister fails to condemn president Trump's decision to unilaterally tear up the internationally agreed Iran nuclear deal creating this crisis which now risks a slide into even deeper conflict does the Prime Minister plan to work with European partners to restore the Iran nuclear deal and deescalate tensions in the Gulf we're clear that in government labor would work tirelessly through the UN for a note negotiated reinstatement of the nuclear deal and to defuse the threat of war in the Gulf effective diplomacy not threats and bluster must prevail and will the Prime Minister call on the Iranian authorities to end the unjust detention of NASA names agari rattler and what actions has he taken so far to ensure her release from the terrible situation that she has been plunged into mr. speaker we're all concerned about the situation in Hong Kong no government anywhere should get to shut down rights and freedoms or to pick and choose which laws it adheres to we urge will he urge the Chinese government to stick up sick to the joint declaration of 1984 and stand up for the rights of citizens in Hong Kong mr.

speaker ladies today this house has a last chance to stop this government from riding roughshod over constitutional and democratic rights in this country so that a cabal in Downing Street can crash us out without a deal without any Democratic mandate and against the majority of public opinion he isn't winning friends in Europe he's losing friends at home he's as a government with no mandate no morals and as of today no majority [A p p l a u s e]

Boris::: "the right honourable knows for well that this country has engaged actively with our European friends and partners actively like European friends and partners to make sense of the Iran nuclear deal and to ensure that that deal continues and he will know that the the FCM I my rod over foreign secretary continues to work actively to secure the release not just of Naza name's Gary Ratliff but all the very sad consular cases but we are currently dealing with in Iran I pay tribute to him in to the works of the work of all his officials"""" and mr. speaker I'm glad for what he said about the importance of preserving democracy in Hong Kong and he will observe the strength of the the g7 statement on that matter but quite frankly when it comes to the bill that he has assisted in bringing forward tomorrow with the procedure that is coming forward tonight mr. speaker let us be in no doubt this is a minute a former benign opposite I mean still is a bit I believe against every single piece of EU legislation he voted against Maastricht he voted against Lisbon pile of time and time again he has said that we must uphold the result of the EU referendum timer time again he has said that he's on the side of democracy and vindicating the will of the people and what what do we see now mr. speaker he has been being converted he has been converted with his hordes of momentum activists tried to take over the streets converted into the agent of those who would subvert democracy and overturn [A p p l a u s e]

that is what he wants to do he wants to entrust the decision about how long this country remains in the European Union to our friends and partners in Brussels and

laughter this house is not that is not democracy mr. speaker I'm afraid that the right honourable gentleman opposite inadvertently or not has become the agent of further delay further confusion and further uncertainty for business in this country and abroad that is what he is prescribing that is what he stands for that is the result of his policy and I urge everybody on all sides of the house not to support his approach let us go forward and not back with the Honorable member of is it mr. Kenny Clark::: mr. speaker the primaries extraordinary knockabout performance today medical firms it seems to me his obvious strategy which is to set conditions which make No Deal inevitable to make sure that as much blame as possible is attached to the EU and to this house for that consequence and then as quickly as he can fight a flag-waving general election before the consequences of No Deal become too obvious to the public that's my right honourable friend would let me know whether that clear explanation of his policy is one he timely accepts and was he also accept that if he gets his way and gets no deal we then have to begin years of negotiations with the Europeans and the rest of the world about getting new trade security other arrangements in force and does he seriously think that this approach will obtain from any other country in the world a free trade arrangement which is half as good as the common market which Conservative government's have helped put together [M u s i c]

Speaker::: I would to hear what they thought oh sit down sit down I'm very grateful I want to hear what the Prime Minister has to say in response to the question and that answer that response must be heard the Prime Minister ::: Thank You mr. people "as the father of the house knows I'm alive I'm a long standing and Mara of the or I don't remember brush nib and anything I was there I was the only member of the 2001 intake to vote for my right over offenders as a leader of the Conservative Party I was a fact that I don't think he him he much thank me for it"at the time I said but but I long been a fan of his and indeed in many ways we are at item in our in our views of my agreement here Mr Speaker I don't want an election I they wanted actually read a wall election I don't think he wants an election mr. speaker by the way as far as I can make it out I bet we don't want a nation we want to get the deal done and the best way the best way mr. speaker to get a deal is to support the government in the lobbies tonight [A p p l a u s e]

Ian ::: Thank You mr. speaker can I thank the Prime Minister for Advanced ITV statement my goodness this is the second time the Prime Minister has been at the despatch-box this must be the shortest-lived honeymoon in parliamentary history you simply have to look around the bench is he me see he doesn't want an election his colleagues say they don't want one ball an event our secret we do because we want the people of Scotland to be able to have their say on this shambolic government the leader of the House talks about the strategy of the Prime Minister and I have to say Tim respectfully when we hear use of the word collaborators when we hear the use of the word surrender the Prime Minister really should have some dignity and show some respect to the audience and of course I think one of the most remarkable things that took place during the statement was to see the member for Bracknell crossed the floor Prime Minister you have lost your majority mr. speaker over the weekend we sought commemorations across the world to mark the 80th anniversary of the Second World War when brave citizens came together and stood together against Hillary my thoughts and those of my party and with those who suffered the veterans and their families we should also recognize that the European Union as the legacy of two world wars the had ripped Europe apart the European Union has been an important vehicle for peace and stability in Europe turning to the g7 summit Mr Speaker I wish to express my shared concern that the unrest in Hong Kong I also associate myself with the actions on climate change on protecting the Amazon rainforest but Mr Speaker I do take issue with President Trump's comments in relation to Russia it is not acceptable to condone Russia's military and cyber aggression around the world furthermore while the summit declared its support for progress in the yukine the president of the United States failed to challenge Russia's violation of international law and you cleaning another utterly disgraceful lack of leadership from the president of the United States mr. speaker following the summit the Prime Minister displayed his own lack of leadership by moving to Prague Parliament and strip power away from elected representatives closing down Parliament by sending three privy councillors to instruct the Queen to sanction the closure of Parliament three privy councillors acting on the instructions of the Prime Minister to shut down Parliament

where is the democracy in that and where we can surround and profess to speak for the people Mr Speaker we all know the truth he is in fact doing the opposite by prorogue in Parliament the Prime Minister is robbing the people of power robbing them over a sea over their future in true champion style the Prime Minister is acting more like a tin pot dictator than a Democrat who talks of the will of the people but what about the will of the people of Scotland Prime Minister the Scottish people did not vote for brexit the people of Scotland did not vote for an ordeal for xito they did not vote for the Tory party and they certainly did not vote for this Prime Minister people of Scotland voted to remain in the European Union the Scottish people voted overwhelmingly against the Tory Party and this government the people of Scotland made their choice and they chose that the SNP should be their voice so I asked a Prime Minister are you a Democrat or not do you respect the will of the Scottish people are not and though you Prime Minister if you believe yourself not to be the latter then will you give the people back their same ammo Parliament to have it see respect the will of Parliament and stopping in audio break sent an audio brexit that would be devastating for jobs and

boris::: mr.speaker the gentleman makes a serious point about the US's attitude towards Russia, now just gently remind him that when it came to these people poisonings in Salisbury the United States actually expelled 60 diplomats in support of the UK in solidarity with the UK and to show their emotion at Russian behavior as for as for whether or not it's right to have a Queen's speech and this is because the opposition to be calling for this bill just about every week and finally that they get one and they and they and they protest and on the EU it remains of course the policy of the Scottish Nationalist Party once we have come out of the European Union on October the 31st it is their property very vile policy there inevitably committed to this by logic to go back into the EU that's what they that's what they say they want to do it they were touching achieve independent to submit to the whole panoply of EU law to scrap the pound in favor of some unknown currency here the to unpack the salmon or the sturgeon or whatever it happens to be and above all to hand back control of Scotland's fisheries to the EU just as they've been just as they've been reclaimed by this country

“””””what an extraordinary policy what an extraordinary policy mr. speaker”””””

German word con ::: will the Prime Minister confirmed that from the 1st to November it will be the UK government and authorities in control of our ports like Dover and when he confirm that it will be the government's policy to ensure the smooth transit of food pharmaceuticals and other goods into our country as today and that that will be the policy so there will not be shortages

boris::: I'm grateful to my right honourable friend and I I can confirm that that is exactly what the Chancellor of the Duchy of knights and others have been preparing for months and that those measures that are now well in train

je Swinson lab::: Thank You mr. speaker the Prime Minister has lost his majority with the Honourable member for Bracknell joining the Liberal Democrats doctors like him tell me they want to stop breaks it because it will plunge our NHS into deep crisis hemorrhaging vital staff and threatening access to life-saving medicines when will the Prime Minister stop playing with people's lives and stop breaks it

boris::: “I'm glad that the random lady has given me occasion to remind the house of the nine fact 700 more doctors in the NHS since the vote to leave the EU and actually just in the last six weeks mr. speaker we've been able to nights another 1.8 billion games or 20 new hospital upgrades around the country in addition to the 34 billion extra that the Conservative government is putting into the NHS which I'm grateful to her for I need to point that out””””” mr. Philip Hammond con::: speaker my right honourable friend has assured me that he's very keen to get a deal with the European Union last Friday Chancellor Merkel of Germany observed somewhat acerbic Lee that nine days into the 30 days that the Prime Minister had requested during his visit to Berlin she hadn't yet seen any proposals from the United Kingdom could the Prime Minister now make a commitment to publish this afternoon the UK's proposals so that those of us who are considering what to do later today can have had the benefit of seeing them and will he further commit to transmitting those proposals without delay to the European Union

boris::: actually as I told my rideable friend this morning the the the chouncelour to America was making a an elementary point which is that we we we could easily do a deal within 30 days and we certainly we certainly shall and what she also said what she also said is that there is no point in what what what my friends across the EU have said is that there is no point in having a negotiation as long beginning formal talks as long as there is a risk that Parliament will make that negotiation impossible by taking away the ability of this country to negotiate so every time every time we set out ideas the first thing they ask mr.speaker is what will Parliament do so my friends tonight I urge every body tonight to give us the leeway to get the deal that we need it is very very clear the the deal that can be done the outlines of it are very clear if members have been listening in my statement earlier they would have heard they would have heard the rough shape of what that deal can be both in it took both and getting the alternative arrangements and in solving the problems of the Irish back stop I'm afraid that by their actions they are making the chances I must regretfully say this to the house they're making the chances of that deal less likely we are working flat-out to secure it but the the measures if passed tonight would make our prospects of success much less likely

Hilary Ben:::

[Applause]

mr. speaker it's not just Chancellor Merkel confirmed that no substantive proposals have been put forward last weekend the Irish Deputy Prime Minister said and I quote nothing credible has come from the British government end of quote

on alternatives to the backstop it's also reported that the Attorney General told the prime minister at the beginning of August but if he insisted on the removal of the backstop it would inevitably result in no deal is that true if it's true can the Prime Minister try and persuade the house why it is credible to argue the progress is being made in the negotiations because there's a growing number of members who have come to the conclusion that what he really wants is a no deal that is why many of us will try over the next two days to prevent that from happening

boris:: "the sad truth is there are many members in this - I'm afraid including the right honourable gentleman opposite who simply want to block Brexit" and that's that's the truth and they're using that is the reality and that is the reality and they are using the discussion of 8-node so-called No Deal Rep tick to conceal their real intentions and by and by their measures tonight and tomorrow they would be fatally undermining this government's ability to negotiate a deal that is the reality we can get a deal we can remove the backstop and he knows very well what this country needs to do because it's agreed on all sides of the house the problem with the rural agreement is not just a political declaration it is the backstop that's that makes agreement impossible on both sides of the house but as low as this Hut is proposing motions such as the ones tonight and tomorrow I'm afraid we have no chance of getting progress for my you knew French disgusted my right honourable friend have about the Green Climate Change fund and what progress is being made and can you give us an update

boris:: I'm grateful to my honourable friend and we are indeed as I said at the the g7 if my memory serves me correctly we're making it a good contribution of another

1.4 billion pounds to the Green Climate Fund and it is a high priority of this government mr. Nigel Dobbs:: Thank You mr. speaker can I kind of welcome what the prime minister has said about the backstop because he knows as well as the entire house knows that that is one of the fundamental reasons why the withdrawal agreement could not get through this house not only is an anti-democratic in the sense that laws would be lead for the economy of Northern Ireland and nobody in Belfast or London would have any say at all in the making of them or even ask questions about them but it's also contrary to the principles that people say they believe in in the Belfast agreement and the surround area greement which requires the consent of both communities and the no unionist party in northern are any member of it supports the Baxter can I also welcome his commitment to a deal because we are committed to getting a deal a good deal for Northern Ireland and the United Kingdom and when he meets the Irish Prime Minister on Monday when he meets the Irish Prime Minister on Monday which I welcome can he conveyed to the prime minister as we have tried to convey to him that it would be entirely sensible reasonable for him to sit down with us and other representatives of unionists in Northern Ireland for direct discussions which would be very helpful in the current atmosphere but which the Irish government has consistently amazingly refused to do that at the same time preaching to others about the need for conciliation and movement and progress so I appeal to the Prime Minister teeth on the behalf of everyone in Northern Ireland to try to get some momentum into discussions between the Irish Republic and unionists the Northern Isles on this fight this year yeah

boris:: grateful to the right honourable gentleman for his support and he he perfectly understands the issues and he knows that he and I are at one in seeking to get rid of the backstop but I believe that we can we can make progress but not but not if we take away but not if we take away the possibility of No Deal which is what the Honorable Gentleman is proposing to do and not if we give the power if we give the power infinitely to extend UK membership of the EU to Brussels which is what his bill would do

Patrick McLoughlin:: will the Prime Minister reflect on the fact that when the House of Commons debated the European referendum bill it was passed with a majority of 6 to 1 when the house debated the European notification of withdrawal it was passed 4 to 1 by this house what does he think a further three or six month delay would achieve other than betraying those people and those votes that we've already

boris:: passionately agree with what my right honourable friend has just said I ask I add all those thinking tonight of and tomorrow voting to extend again beyond October the first and 31st exactly what they are seeking to do in that interval what the purpose of that extension would be believe me in feeling this country want to get on with it more come on be from Joe completely inadvertently the Prime Minister failed to answer a question that my right honourable friend cooked to him earlier and that is that if a bill passes which makes it illegal to leave without a deal will him and his government abide by the rule of

boris:: I'm grateful we will of course uphold the Constitution today the law Jonathan generally given the huge amount of political repression going on in Russia at the moment MP: this my right honorable friend agree with President Trump that now is the right time to bring Russia back into the g7

boris:: no I made that point very clearly a bereit Joanna cherry it's a good to hear the prime minister say that he will uphold the Constitution and the rule of law because of course it's essential that the United Kingdom upholds the rule of law for effective working with the g7 in future so will he give this house his word that he and his government will respect legislation passed by this house and decisions made by the two legal jurisdictions in this union the jurisdictions in Scotland and the jurisdictions of England gave us moved again John Whittingdale:: will my rightful friend confirm his determination to keep up the pressure on Russia which continues to illegally occupied Crimea and whose involvement in the occupied territories in East - East Ukraine led to further deaths this weekend can I therefore strongly welcome his statement of the despatch-box just now but he agrees it is not appropriate for Russia to rejoin the g7 and will he continue to give every support to newly elected president C Olinsky and the members of the Ukrainian Parliament

Boris:: the great interests of my right honourable friend has taken in Ukraine and in their and the fortunes of that wonderful country I can I can assure him that president Olinsky Arang me before the g7 particularly to insist on his continued concerns about the Russian activities and I'm sure that those concerns are shared across this house

MP:: ministers answer to the former Chancellor of the Exchequer he referred only to the rough shape of an alternative deal can he tell us whether he has any detailed proposals and can he confirmed that he has not sent any detailed proposals
t o t h e E U w h o

boris:: we have been in extensive talks but as the right honourable lady well extensive tore the throttle never will appreciate it doesn't make sense to negotiate in public but it's been clear from what I have said already that the backstop is unacceptable and so as the political declaration as currently written and we have detailed proposals of how to address both issues and we are making progress and I say respectfully to friends on all sides of the house and that now is the time to allow U K negotiators to get on with their job

::thoroughly in these discussions with the German Chancellor and the French president was there discussion around the need for compromise after all is this issue of the back stock is resolvable with compromise on all sides and there are many people in this house moderate brexit ears and remainders who want to compromise and when it comes to solution if the EU won't change the deal and if this house won't change weren't past the present deal could I ask the prime minister to reflect on the Vienna Convention and the conditional unilateral declaration which would allow us to unilaterally state our determination to exit from the backstop

boris:: I'm grateful to my right honourable friend and he has pursued this line of thinking for many months now I must say that actually I think there is a better and more elegant way of doing this we can excise the the offending bits of the of the treaty we can make a great deal of progress we can't have a new treaty it will be a vast improvement and I think that members opposite should look forward to it and should be encouraging and supportive of the efforts of this government in getting as to the EU in a way that they voted for time and time again this several Roberts:: the Prime Minister insists the UK will be ready for no deal but at the same time duplicity using threat to force the European Union to cave in to his non-existent alternative arrangements when the Prime Minister admits that a No Deal scenario would be catastrophic or will he continue to face both ways deceive the public and use No Deal for his own electoral game

Boris:: I'm afraid I don't agree with the carrot as Mr. Speaker I don't agree with what she has said about about no DEAL as I said on the steps of Downing Street I think there will be there'll be bumps on the road but this is a very great country in a very great economy and we will get it done and I'm afraid the most fatal thing to getting a deal is for this country to show that it is so apprehensive about coming out on other terms as to accept anything that the EU prescribes and that is above I'm afraid the course down which the right honourable gentleman opposite is beckoning us to go I think that would be a disaster

hurry Alton:: Thank You mr. speaker can I warmly welcome the announcement that the Prime Minister made at the g7 to give more money to education cannot wait the leadership has consistently shown on the importance of girls education around the world and can he commit to continuing to champion this cause and to seek that more of our a budget he spent on global education

boris:: I thank the lady Evan everything she has done both in on the development front and in there and in the FCA and in the FCA and in the so2 - champion female education around the world I do believe the twelve years of quality education is the single most effective policy for solving most of the ills of the world and Steven doubt:: unsubstantiated claims about the negotiations can I ask him directly did the UK's chief brexit negotiator Frost in a Tuesday 27th of August EU subcommittee meeting linked the rationale for talks with EU task force 52 and I quote domestic political handling reasons yes or no

boris:: I don't comment on leaks mr. speaker that even if I did I got no idea quite frankly

MP: I think it's frankly unlikely mr. speaker the Prime Minister will be aware that many of us are concerned that we are currently on course to leaving the European Union without a deal the 31st of October that we won't have time to negotiate a legislate for a new new deal those concerns were not allayed by reports in the Daily Telegraph this morning that suggested that in assets in a strategy meeting on the 29th of July it was stated that the government was going to run down the clock nor are w la-la our our our concerns are laid by the suggestion that the Attorney General on the 1st of August said that removing the backstop altogether would mean that we would not be able to reach a deal are those reports accurate

boris:: " Mr Speaker I don't comment on leads even in the pages even in pages as hallowed as as the ones described" but all right well I tend what I can tell my right honourable friends like he he asked me exactly the same question this morning we are we are working for a deal and I believe we will I believe we will get a deal and it should be a deal I think everybody in this house would want to support and which their bubble their constituents would want to support they want we want this business to be over and for us to leave the EU October the 31st and a

Seabury:: further to the question asked by the right honourable Member opposite could the Prime Minister confirm that Dominic Cummins described the real negotiations as a sham and could he also tell this house a simple yes or no will do mr. speaker whether it's true that he rang the editor of The Daily Telegraph and remonstrated with him about those reports of which we have all now heard yes or no Prime Minister did you bring it up yes or no

boris:: well I'm grateful if you're right or on or near but I don't apologize I have to say that I saw as I say I saw the store in front of the two of the Telegraph was morning it seemed to be wholly implausible but I have not seen I have I could have a happy answer her question on that I have not seen fit to ring any journalists today on any matter as you can
i m a g i n e I ' v e b e e n w o r k i n g

MP:: flat-out gravity alternate in part your hands when it comes to alternative arrangements to the backstop the commission that I co-chair we are making real progress we published yesterday a revised withdrawal agreement and a political declaration we are hosting a conference in Dundalk next week bringing together parliamentarians from across these islands can I thank the Prime Minister for the meetings that I've had with his team and can I assure him that our
p r o p o s a l s a r e i n v e r y g o o d s h a p e

boris:: going forward my right honourable friend for the fantastic work that he has done with many colleagues to prepare for the alternative arrangements that really do hold out the prospect of a solution to the problem of the Northern Irish board and if the gentle opposite would care to study the report I think he might elucidate himself on that on that matter there there are a number of proposals that have been made and indeed many others that hold our real hope of progress but those are not the only areas mr. speaker in which we are making progress there are several chat several areas in which we are now discussing how the UK can retire whole and perfect from the front of UK can retarget from the from the EU are whilst in retaining the integrity of the market in Ireland that is that is a a hard thing to achieve but it can be
d o n e

very Sherman:: mr. speaker can I first of all apologize to the Prime Minister because I did make one extra note I did explode a little when he said something about loyalty and I thought about the loyalty that sometimes it was deficient when we had a different Prime Minister at the right honourable lady from Maidenhead so my apologies on that but can I welcome the one thing I really welcome out of the g7 statement that he's made and that is what he says about girls education my daughter was a special adviser to the Foreign Secretary a former foreign secretary could he tell me today is it right that a special advisor could be treated like the young woman was in number 10 to be sacked on the spot to be marched out of number 10 by an armed police officer is that the way to treat women in work or is it not the support he gives to our campaign into the UK cause of trolls you as a quality education for every girl in the world and

boris:: I indeed I thank members of his family what they have done also to support that campaign but on staffing matters he I won't comment as as he would expect

MP:: mr. speaker most of us in this place would prefer a good trade deal to no deal at all but does the Prime Minister reflect on the fact that of the top 10 of the --use trading partners half are traded on WTO No Deal terms with the Prime Minister therefore continue to put to the sword this ludicrous suggestion that Britain would be incapable of trading on such terms we would prosper

boris:: totally right because there is a huge opportunity for the UK to recover its standing which it used to have before 1933 as a great campaign a great individual actor for global free trade and that is what we are going to do not just with a great free trade deal with our EU friends who of course will be the centerpiece of our negotiations but also with free trade deals around

::: 10 million pounds to protect the rainforest is welcome but far more effective will be to stand up to president Bolton who is deliberately accelerating and encouraging these fires to open up more of the Amazon threatening indigenous communities accelerating the climate crisis so will he do the right thing and refuse any future trading arrangements with Brazil unless and until high environment and human rights standards are properly and fully and forth

boris:: Mr Speaker I would be reluctant to encourage on email any measure now that that did anything to reduce trade a free trade around the world and much much better to support the reforestation of Brazil in the way that we are and we have a campaign to plant 1 trillion trees mr. speaker

Steve brine:: thank you very much sir my constituents as the Prime Minister knows are passionately Prodi land and I think the Prime Minister is too if and I know he is he has told me that person and he's told the house many times but can I just bust one of the most dishonest myths of all that you can you can respect the referendum result and be in favor of leaving with a deal and that's where I and I think all of my constituents are now the prime minister said today the chances of deal have increased

things are moving I wonder what evidence therefore can't they care about progress can he put before the house before votes this week because it really could be critical for people like me and where we go

boris:: Mr Speaker I would just make one point which was that before we began our efforts it was common ground with the eu-27 that every dot and comma of the withdrawal agreement was immutable and could not be changed that is no longer the case and we are already shifting them both in Ireland in in Berlin and also in France progress is being made and now is not the time to slacken that work

:::: Ruth Davidson walked last week his majorit of this place has gone this week and he might even expel his hero ChaCha's grandson from his own party I don't care what he does to his own party but I do take exception to the impact of his policy on Scotland so isn't it the case that Scots would be better to vote for independence to maintain our place within the European Union

boris:: the Scots Scots didn't follow "I didn't swallow that argument in 2014" they rejected it by a thumping majority and they could see that they were better off together with the youth with the rest of the UK and cert remains

Richard Rex:: mr.speaker does my right on my friend agree but the last thing we hear about in this place is the Democratic will of seventeen point four million people who voted to leave the EU and make no mistake emotion if passed light on the bill on Wednesday is nothing more than revocation of article 50 because it will bite his hand to the point we will never ever be able to leave

boris:: my older friend is entirely right and I'm afraid that too many people who want to vote for the motions both tonight and tomorrow rarely seek to frustrate the will of the people and to overturn the result of that referendum to cancel the referendum

Jessica modern:: Prime Minister have the opportunity at the g7 to discuss issues in the steel industry and I ask this on behalf of the 390 employees of coat and orb in Newport who yesterday received the devastating news that charter are to close their plant tragic for them and tragic is the only plant in the UK produce electrical steel which could with government encouragement be a part of the supply chain for electric

[Music]

Boris:: I'm grateful mr. speaker and yes a huge amount of work is going on at the moment in respect of the Matata investments that she would have seen what was achieved recently with British steel din in Scunthorpe and skilling Grove where I think my arrival on from the business sector and indeed the previous business secretary for his work in in getting that deal done and we will indeed ensure that British steel UK steel is used in the supply chain for electric vehicles

Ross Thompson:: canada a close friend and Ally on defense to trade so can my right honourable friend update the house on the nature of his discussions with Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau in Biarritz

boris:: my discussions with Prime Minister Trudeau were extremely friendly and we look forward to rolling over the the CETA free-trade deal with Canada and taking a forward our relations to new heights

may hilyar::: from the Prime Minister after a summer where he found a veritable forest of magic money trees can he tell me where he will find the money or has he found a pot of gold

boris:: "advice listen to the Chancellor's spending review statement tomorrow and if she's seriously opposing this spending on schools and on hospitals and all forgets if that's really what the Labour Party is all about now" when that is well within the limits of fiscal prudence but I think I think I think she should touch you should say so

Paterson::: the speaker in his various conversations over the past few weeks could my friend confirm that he's made it absolutely clear to all our neighbors and partners that will be established and complete sovereign control over our EE said from the first November and that we will be negotiating and they put like a perfectly normal independent maritime nation reciprocal arrangements with our neighbors and all that has he already got a negotiations working with our Nordic neighbors now because arrangements with our lauding neighbors are normally settled oh they're coming few weeks whether beams are starting on the 1st of January

boris:: I can certainly confirm that we will be out of the Common Fisheries Policy by 2020 mr. speaker and we will take back control of our fisheries unlike the SNP in a supine invertebrate way who had hand the back to Brussels just for lips here

:: Mr Speaker I would like to beg actually that the Prime Minister actually answered the question that I'm going to ask him not just say no comment anyway in a magazine interview so I have found with others legal cases against the progra Gration of Parliament because I don't want to see the domestic abuse bill which so many people in this house have worked so hard for to fall and so I have filed papers and I signed my witness statements yesterday I had to go to my mother-in-law's to print them I don't have a printer but I think I probabl have one at number 10 so is it true that senior civil servants have refused to sign witness statements for ongoing legal proceedings relating to the prorogation and were the director of legislative affairs and the cabinet secretary asked to and did they agree I signed mine did they

Boris:: as the Honourable lady would imagine the proper processes when were gone through to ensure that we were able to announce a Queen's speech which is something that the opposition benches have been calling for for a week after a week and over the right honorable lady opposite has demanded a Queen's speech and she has and we will we will also make sure that both the domestic violence and our welfare bills and others receive proper consideration and I Robert Pritchard:: mr. speaker of course this is a g7 statement and the Prime Minister is a celebrated internationalist but can I if I may Mr Speaker make a local point that is the people of Shropshire overwhelmingly the five consistency voted for Brett see my friend take a slight departure from great matters of state and reassure the people of Shropshire with your people at rapturethat brexit will be delivered

boris::mr. speaker the surest way to deliver brexit with a deal is to vote with the government both tonight and tomorrow
 Thomas Simmons:: automotive manufacturers in my constituency and beyond the WTO tariffs that would apply in the case of a No Deal browser not only wipe out their profits but often exceed them why should anyone take what the Prime Minister says about jobs and investment seriously when he has been so reckless with people's livelihoods

boris:: we are workin with all sectors including automotive supply chains to protect their interests but of course the best way to ensure that we don't have a No Deal brexit is to support the government and to oppose the measures that the leader of the Opposition is putting forward

Keyboard:: Thank You mr. speaker can I thank my right honorable friend for mentioning Ben Stokes in his speech enough to be there that day and it did remind me that sometimes even the most difficult of challenges can be achieved I do believe it will be possible to achieve an agreed negotiation we you though it is difficult if it is achieved on October the 17th is there sufficient time for this house to approve all the necessary legislation before the end of that month yes

boris:: yes mr. speaker indeed there is time and we have gone thoroughly over the bill and I am delighted by her Coughlin she speaks as as a summon well acquainted with the ways of Brussels and the EU and she will know that the deals are always done as it were on the steps of the court in the final furlong that is where we will get the deal

miss Kendall:: can Li Prime Minister just completely set the record straight on this if Parliament passes legislation requiring him to request anextension of article 50 beyond October the 31st will he abide by the law

boris:: I have answered twice before mr. speaker we want to we will abide by the law but I have to say I think it is a quite incredible thing to propose deleterious to the interests of this country and this government and which will make it impossible for us to get the deal this country needs

David:: when I write on my friend explain in greater detail the steps taken at the g7 to protect endangered species friend

boris:: I can I can indeed explain he will recall that the under the Kyoto Protocol targets were set for the reduction of green of greenhouse gases what the world now wants to see is specific targets quanta for the protection of endangered species where the flora or fauna and it's a tragedy that the number of of elephants is down now to about 300,000 in the wild the number of lions down to perhaps 15,000 we are seeing the tragic reduction of species around the world and the world needs to work together to prevent that loss of habitat and loss of species and that is what we agreed to do a g7 and they're right although they doesn't care about it believe me the people in this country care passionately about what is happening to animals around she's totally indifferent but I believe me the micros issue and certainly are not

::: going to Dublin on Monday to see the t-shirt where no doubt he will be asked as being he's been asked today about his proposals for the backstop so can I ask him if he's seen the comment from former members member of this house Gavin bharwa who says that he's had the same reports reach sham negotiations from multiple government sources and he says that if it's not true the government should publish its proposals to replace the mouse we don't negotiate in public but I think I've given the house quite a lot already about what we want about what we want to do the one thing that will s t o p u s a c h i e v i n g t h i s

boris::: mr. speaker is if our negotiating ability is neutral neutralized by this House of Commons

humana men ::: mr. speaker in order to get the leverage to get this great deal through that the Prime Minister is working on he has said any honourable member right on remember on these benches who doesn't vote tonight and support of the government will lose the weight and indeed not be able to stand again has a Conservative MP working on that basis in the event that a deal is reached which I very much hope that will be will that treatment apply to those MPs who don't v o t e f o r h i s g r e a t d e a l M r

boris::: mr. Speaker I think you could take it that my pregnant and what source of the Guzzi source of the gun

::: u r argument seems to be but you just can't share it with the house or indeed with Chancellor Merkel and that we just have to trust you and the Parliament which has a mandate unlike your government which no longer has a majority should have legislate against a No Deal because that will somehow scope your plans which nobody knows why Prim Minister should we trust you that you have a plan and indeed that you can deliver it

boris::: mr. speaker "I'll tell you why mr. speaker because the alternative is more delay more chaos more confusion and uncertainty for British business and an infinite protraction of UK membership of the EU" at the behest of the EU themselves that is what the right honourable gentleman opposite is proposing

my III::: this my right I'm the friend agree that if the leaders of Europe are willing to give the government time to bring forward new proposals for leaving the EU with a deal ahead of the crucial summit on October 17th so should this house

Boris:: thank you I and I I think that my honourable friend is completely right we we need time to get this deal level up think the crucial summit will be on October the 17th that is generally when it is it the deal is expected to be done and I would kindly ask the house not to fetter the ability of our negotiators to do that deal

:: in response to the suggestion by Chancellor Merkel that a deal could be done in 30 days an alternative Rose Creek board the prime minister said you rightly say the onus is on us to provide the solutions you have set a blistering timetable of 30 days if I've understood you correctly I am more than happy with that given that the Prime Minister accepted the 30-day challenge said that the onus was on this base and this country to come up with solutions why then will he not answer the question set by his honourable friend from Winchester and provide Prime Minister because it's the question we're all asking which is where is the evidence that halfway through his own deadline he's done in a thing at all

boris:: "I think lady should learn to count mr. speaker because 30 days the 30-day timetable may have begun but it is not the least a p s e d " and what our friends and partners want to see is that the House of Commons is not going to block for brexit they are not going to make a concession to this side to our to our country until they know that the House of Commons is not going to block for exit we will be bringing forward our proposals indeed and long before the 30 days are up but what we want to see is that that the UK Parliament stands behind our negotiators and that's what they want to see in Brussels

Stephen Hammond:: Thank You mr. speaker I voted for the withdrawal agreement three times and so I'm pleased to hear the Prime Minister expects to make progress throughout September and October he will know it was the policy of the previous prime minister to keep this house regularly updated for those of us considering how to vote tonight were he to reconsider his decision and make statements throughout the whole of September and October that would be a material fact matter

boris:: grateful to my friend we've battled together on many on many fronts and I I will I can't commit of course to updating the house regularly on this matter I think it's it's highly on "it's highly unlikely that you could keep me away from the key when the house is sitting mr. speaker that is that is what I will do but you can't" butmr. speaker you can expect a you could expect a statement right now right now from the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster so he doesn't have to wait until September

:: the Prime Minister has described the consequences of an ordeal laser eyes a few bumps in the road if that's the case isn't the right time to have a general election after his few bumps in the road have been implemented when he can fully owned the consequences rather than relying on his statements about them before they've actually happened an election

boris:: I want to deliver brexit too on October the 31st I think that's what the people of this country [M u s i c]

:: the United Kingdom already has very close links with India not least because of the valuable contribution made by the 1.6 million British Indian diaspora in his conversations at the g7 with Prime Minister Modi of India what discussions did my right honourable friend have in terms of strengthening those ties pos brexit

boris:: mr. speaker we didn't I did indeed have an extremely good conversation with Prime Minister Modi and we agreed to strengthen our cooperation not just on the security side where clearly the UK and India to stand shoulder to shoulder in the fight against terror but also on in military cooperation in the Asia Pacific region where we share many interests and of course in in free trade as well and doing a big free trade deal with India but I think my rifle will fend for everything that he does to promote that incredibly important relationship

:: I thank the Prime Minister for his statement the g7 has delivered great things for the global healthcare forum to combat AIDS and saving an estimated some 27 million lives worldwide but does the Prime Minister not agree the g7 primary function is to see companies come together for mutual benefit so what benefit did the Prime Minister believe that g7 summit 2019 bought the air the king of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

boris:: I thank you mr. speaker Zeiss as I said in my opening statement the UK depends on a global trading system that is open and one of the most important things we agreed at the g7 in the face of rising tensions between China and America was to support the WTO to support the rules-based international system and I was delighted that Washington actually made a commitment which I hope will be followed through to return their member to the appellate board of the WTO in Geneva which is very very important for global free trade

jeremy Lefroy:: Thank You mr. speaker further to the question from our honourable friend from Chelmsford could the Prime Minister explain that when he brings this deal to us next month as I very much hope and I'm sure he will whether there are plans to put in place all the legislation between October the 19th and October the 31st because that seems an awful lot to do in that time but it's vital that we get that assurance

boris:: of course and other other honourable members have asked exactly the same question today and if I can make I can certainly make this offer that would be very happy to brief him on exactly how that can be done and we're sure it can

::Prime Minister when there is a conflict between what the people of this country voted for after being given and asked the question by this Parliament and many members in this Parliament who seem to want to stop those people's decisions
b e i n g i m p l e m e n t e d w h o s e s i d e i s h e o n

boris:: I'm very fond and she and the right honourable lady has been very very valiant on this issue for many many years nice of I support and and agree with her because it was entirely right to after 45 years of EU membership it was right when that institution had changed very radically from when the British people will ask consulted it was right to ask the people about whether they thought that their future belonged in that federalizing tightly integrating body and they did return it because it went to the questions of their identity and their future and what they thought of their country when they return their verdict it was absolutely right for us to agree and to implement that budget and this House of Commons has promised many many times to do so I hope we now get on and do it

:: Thank You mr. speaker my constituent Apollo who go to 68% to leave are incredibly dismayed about what they see as shenanigans in Westminster to try and stop brexit does my honourable white honourable friend not agree that if we do not deliver grexit by the 31st of October constituents in harlan across the country incredible mistrust in our parliament
i n o u r d e m o c r a c y

boris::: my my random friend puts his finger on the issue if we fail to deliver brexit we risk incurring a fatal lack of trust in not just in the major parties in all parties but you know in our democracy itself

::: I think the Prime Minister owes the people of Northland some explanation as to why he and his government have treated the big Friday Agreement the Belfast agreement and such a careless and Cavalier mind that agreement has kept stability and peace in North non-sensitive was signed 21 years ago it is reported that the crime solicitor's office in Belfast has advised the government that a new deal brexit would be in contravention of the Good Friday Agreement so I am calling upon the Prime Minister to publish to publish today in full and he owes that to the people of Northland and certainly to this house any legal advice he is received from the Tri solicitor's office about a new day of exit of contra
b e i n g t h e a g r e e m e n t

boris::: I thank the right honourable lady and I know that she has been a long-standing campaigner for peace in in
N o r t h e r n

Ireland however "I must respectfully say to her that actually it is the backstop and the withdrawal agreement itself that undermines the balance undermines the balance of the Good Friday Agreement" because after all after all in important and important matters it gives a greater preponderance to the voice of Dublin in the affairs of Northern Ireland than it does to the UK the UK having left the E "that is a simple that is a simple fact that I don't think it is widely enough understood so that is one of the reasons why the withdrawal agreement itself is in conflict with the with the withdrawal limit and with the back with an on with the Good Friday Agreement and as for the advice that she asks about I have not
s e e n a n y s u c h "

::: I once took a train to Manchester to negotiate the price and purchase of a Morris Minor having only purchased a one-way ticket it wasn't a sensible negotiating strategy was it

boris::: no mr. speaker it wasn't and I don't know I don't know what happened to my right honourable friend and and his his Morris Minor but we intend to do a much better deal in Brussels the next few weeks the

Kyle::: he admonishes this house that the EU is looking to see whether we will block Briggs it but he's almost oblivious to the fact that the deal that they have signed off he voted against twice why is it okay for him to vote against it but not
u s

boris::: Mr Speaker I think I think what everybody in this house wants to do is bring normal I hope they all do is bring this matter bring brexit to a conclusion get this thing get this thing done and I urge him I urge him if he wants to deliver if he wants to deliver brexit with a deal then the best thing he can do is support the government tonight and tomorrow

Rachel McLane:::: Thank You mr. speaker can I warmly welcome my right honourable friends commitment to get us out of the EU on the 31st of October at 62 percent of my constituents in Redditch voted for does he agree that the greatest damage to our democracy in the eyes of the sign of majority about the situation in the country is to fail to honor that promise they say speaker I could not have put it better myself I'm very grateful to biographer Chris Brown a police officer in Tana Pandey omadi arrests a suspect he or she can immediately and in real-time consult all the EU databases of criminality that is essential to being able to and send people criminals to prison it also means that border police and border officers can also consult that when you put your plea when you hand over your passport if we leave without a deal as the former Prime Minister quite rightly said there will be no deal on security as well how will we make sure that the people are safe if we leave without a deal on the 31st because I've no doubt that we will continue bilateral arrangements with our you friends there to ensure that ensure that both of our population are political but I'm glad he is give you opportunity to remind that has mr. speaker that we are recruiting another 20,000 police officers to eat this country safer at one of the safest in the world order statement the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster we've hurt well I'm sorry we've heard 53 backbenchers we must move on to the next statement
s t a t e m e n t t h e C h a n c e l l o r m r . M i c h a e l g o

الخلاصة

الرسالة التي بين أيديكم تحلل مفهوم التهكم بصورة براغماتية (تداولية) وقد ظهر جلياً في مناقشات "البريكسيت" التي أجراها رئيس الوزراء البريطاني بوريس جونسون. ويعود سبب اختيار هذا الموضوع بصورة خاصة والتركيز عليه لأنه حيوي ومهم في تحليل الخطاب السياسي الحديث. يتمركز توجه البحث لحل مشكلة فهم المنطوق التهكم و الغرض من استخدامه و بالاعتماد على أجابة الأسئلة التالية (1) ما هي النظريات التداولية الملائمة لتحليل التهكم لغويا؟ (2) ما هي الاستراتيجيات التداولية اللغوية التي يستخدمها بوريس جونسون لإظهار التهكم في حديثه؟ (3) ما هي الوظائف التداولية اللغوية التي يبتغيها بوريس جونسون من السخرية اللفظية؟ (4) هل ينتهك بوريس جونسون مبادئ الحديث للعالم غرايس عند طرحه للعبارة التهكمية؟ و لايجاد إجابات لغوية علمية مناسبة لها. الأسئلة وضعت الأهداف التالية: (1) تأسيس المنهج التداولي المناسب لتحليل التهكم؛ (2) تحديد أكثر أفعال الكلام استخداماً لإصدار التهكم في المناقشات السياسية؛ (3) توضيح العلاقة بين التهكم ومبادئ الحديث للعالم غرايس؛ (4) إظهار الأنماط التداولية المتكررة والمتميزة المستخدمة لإنتاج التهكم؛ و (5) توضيح الأغراض الكامنة وراء استخدام التهكم في المناقشات السياسية.

وفي ضوء الأهداف المذكورة أعلاه، فإن الفرضيات التالية قد وضعت: (1) التهكم هي عملية يمكن تحليلها تداولياً كما تحدث في مناقشات بريكسيت؛ (2) يمكن استخدام أفعال مختلفة للكلام لأداء التهكم؛ (3) التهكم ينتجها المتكلم عمداً بانتهاك مبادئ الحديث لغرايس؛ (4) تستخدم تراكيب تداولية معينة لإنتاج التهكم أكثر من غيرها في مناقشات بريكسيت؛ (5) التهكم سلاح لفظي حاد يستخدم للتعبير عن موقف سلبي باتجاه الشخص المقصود. وبناء على ذلك، هناك خطوات متبعة لتحقيق الأهداف و قياس صحة هذه الفرضيات، بما في ذلك ما يأتي: (1) معلومات أساسية نظرية تقدم

الجوانب الرئيسية المتصلة بالدراسة مثل: تعاريف التهكم وأنواعه وغيرها من النظريات التداولية المرتبطة بها مثل أفعال الكلام و مبادئ الحديث للعالم غرايس ، من أجل الحصول على فهم شامل للظواهر المذكورة ؛ (2) جمع البيانات من مناقشات بريكسيت التي أجراها رئيس الوزراء البريطاني بوريس جونسون ؛ وتحليل النصوص التهكمية التي تحدث طوال هذه المناقشات ؛ (3) استخدام نموذج تداولي لغوي لتحليل التهكم أنشئ ملاءماً لهذا الغرض ؛ (4) حساب نتائج التحليل والتحقق إحصائياً من نتائج التحليل باستخدام نهج إحصائي تمثله معادلة النسبة المئوية ؛ (5) التوصل إلى استنتاجات تتوافق مع نتائج الدراسة. وأكدت نتائج الدراسة الفرضيات الأولى والثانية والرابعة ولكنها ترفض جزئياً الفرضيتين الثالثة والخامسة. وتشتمل الدراسة على خمسة فصول.

وتخلص الدراسة إلى عدد من الاستنتاجات؛ والأهم من بينها هو أن بعض التراكيب اللغوية التداولية تستخدم عادة في إنتاج السخرية أكثر من غيرها لنقل نوايا المتكلم مثل: فعل الكلام الحازم، وتركيب التهكم التداولي غير القانونية (illocutionary)، و قد وجد ان للتهكم مجموعة متنوعة من الأدوار تخدم نوايا المتكلم، و أكثرها هو التقييم السلبي للأخر. فضلا عن ذلك تقدم الدراسة عدد من الاقتراحات لبحوث مستقبلية متعلقة بالبحث الحالي قد وجد انه من الأفضل التحقق حولها.



جمهورية العراق

وزارة التعليم العالي و البحث العلمي

جامعة كربلاء

كلية التربية للعلوم الإنسانية

قسم اللغة الانجليزية

دراسة تداولية للتهكم في المناظرات السياسية-مناظرات "البريكست" للرئيس بوريس جونسون نموذجاً

رسالة تَقَدَّمَتْ بِهَا

سارة ياسر عبد السجاد الموسوي

إلى

مجلس كلية التربية للعلوم الإنسانية جامعة كربلاء جزءاً من متطلبات نيل شهادة
الماجستير في اللغة الإنكليزية و علم اللغة

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