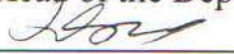


Ministry of Science and Higher Education of the Russian Federation
Federal State Budgetary Educational Institution of Higher Education
AMUR STATE UNIVERSITY
(FSBEI HE "AmSU")


Faculty of International Relations
Department of Translation and Intercultural Communication
Field of Study: 45.04.02 Linguistics
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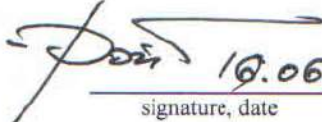
MASTER'S THESIS

on the topic: Language Markers of Manipulation in Political Discourse: Analysis of
Feminine Politicians' Public Speeches

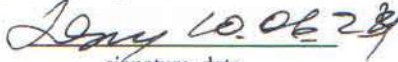
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The head of the department
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« » _____ 2024

Assignment

To the master's thesis of the student **A. I. Vorsina**

1. The topic of the thesis: **Language Markers of Manipulation in Political Discourse: Analysis of Feminine Politicians' Public Speeches**

(Approved by the order from _____ № _____)

2. The date of the thesis final version submission: _____ 10th June 2024 _____
3. The thesis baseline information: discourse, feminine speech, gender, language markers, manipulation, political discourse, politics, public speech, pragmatic strategies and tactics.
4. The contents of the thesis (the objectives necessary to achieve):
- 1) Political discourse and gender;
 - 2) Language and speech manipulation;
 - 3) Language Markers of Manipulation in feminine political discourse.
5. Appendix list (schemes, graphics, tables and other illustrative material): 3 table, 13 diagram.
6. Thesis advisors (by chapters): _____
7. The date of assignment issue: _____ the 1th of September 2023 _____
- Academic advisor: N. V. Royba, Associate Professor, candidate of Science, in Philology

(last name, first name, patronymic name, post, advanced degree, academic title)

The assignment is subject to execution (date): A. I. Vorsina

(student's signature)

ABSTRACT

The thesis is comprised of 85 p., 99 items in the list of references. It contains an introduction, three chapters and a conclusion, 13 diagrams and 3 tables.

DISCOURSE, FEMININE SPEECH, GENDER, LANGUAGE MARKERS, MANIPULATION, POLITICAL DISCOURSE, POLITICS, PUBLIC SPEECH, PRAGMATIC STRATEGIES AND TACTICS

This research examines the main tactics and strategies of speech manipulation by female politicians in the United States in order to influence the mass recipient.

The object of the study is the political discourse of the USA female politicians.

The language markers of manipulation used in feminine politicians' public speeches constitute **the subject of the study**.

The aim of the research work is to study language markers of manipulation in the American political discourse of female speakers. In particular, we focus on those the language means and pragmatic strategies and tactics used in feminine politicians' public speeches that have manipulative potential.

The data of the study includes video recordings and transcripts of three American politician's public speeches of Kamala Harris, Nancy Pelosi and Hillary Clinton.

The objectives of this work are facilitated by the use of **general scientific methods** of observation and generalization, analysis, synthesis and classification, together with the **linguistic methods** of component analysis, semantic interpretation analysis, comparative analysis, pragmatic analyses, discourse analysis, and quantitative estimation method.

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INTRODUCTION

A significant number of linguistic works have been devoted to the problem of studying speech manipulation in political discourse. Scholars pay special attention to the role of politicians as soon as they implement a strongly expressed manipulative intention in their speeches and may affect the minds of global public. This research work is devoted to the problem of speech manipulation in public presentations of female politicians of the United States.

The relevance of the work is determined by the fact that any political communication act is a source of information for the global public due to the mass media work. The spread of information contributes to the reality estimation, influencing public consciousness in a certain way and modeling the corresponding worldview and values. From this point of view, it is vital to identify tactics and strategies for manipulating public awareness used by politicians. Public speeches of female politicians are of particular interest in this regard, since there are certain patterns inherent only in women's political discourse. The role of women in various spheres of life has become undisputable and more and more women are engaged into politics today.

Political activity is not a typical social sphere where women realize their potential. As soon as the major goal of politics is connected with the struggle for power and resources, it requires skills naturally associated as masculine. Together with this, the women's social roles have changed dramatically since the beginning of 20-th century. Currently, we see women holding key positions in national and international political institutions and they are successful in the power race with men. Though there is a difference in male and female communicative styles and the female language is a reflection of «a culturally conditioned powerless language in a male-dominated society», politics and its discourse dictate certain rules for gaining power. This fact involves all agents of political discourse into «manipulative game» and forces them use certain strategies.

Hypothesis. Successful female politicians use means and strategies of language manipulation with no respect to gender aspect, although on the linguistic level their speeches manifest both female and male features. The use of language markers of manipulation depends on the pragmatic aspects of their political presentations for the public.

The object of the study is the political discourse of the USA female politicians.

The language markers of manipulation used in feminine politicians' public speeches constitute **the subject of the study**.

The aim of the research work is to study language markers of manipulation in the American political discourse of female speakers. In particular, we focus on those the language means and pragmatic strategies and tactics used in feminine politicians' public speeches that have manipulative potential.

The formulated aim involves solving the following **objectives**:

- 1) to study the concept of discourse as an object of research in modern linguistics and approaches to its classification;
- 2) to consider the concept of «political discourse» and reveal its major features;
- 3) to provide an overview of the gender and politics relation in literature and expose the peculiar features of feminine political discourse;
- 4) to define the concepts «manipulation» and «language manipulation»;
- 5) to explore language means of manipulation;
- 6) to study the pragmatic strategies and tactics of manipulation;
- 7) to collect relevant data and transcribe speeches of American female politicians;
- 8) to identify and describe the language markers of manipulation used in the collected feminine political speeches;
- 9) to analyze the collected markers in accordance with their manipulative potential.

The data of the study includes video recordings and transcripts of three American politician's public speeches of Kamala Harris, Nancy Pelosi and Hillary Clinton. The general volume of the collected data is 16581 symbols.

The objectives of this work are facilitated by the use of **general scientific methods** of observation and generalization, analysis, synthesis and classification, together with the **linguistic methods** of component analysis, semantic interpretation analysis, comparative analysis, pragmatic analyses, discourse analysis, and quantitative estimation method.

The novelty of the research is in the insight into the nature of language manipulation through the looking glass of gender and politics. The research presents the complex analysis of the language markers of manipulation on lexical, grammatical and syntactical levels together with the strategies and tactics used in the selected feminine speeches.

This study is based on the research works discovering the essence of political discourse (Andreev A. A., Demyankov V. Z., Dijk T.A., Fairclough N., Karasik V. I. , Chudinov A. P., Kozhemyakin E. A., Pereverzev E. V., Sheigal E. I.), feminine speech (Coats J., Eckert P., Jackson S., Kovtunova N. E., Lakoff R., Tannaen D.) and language manipulation (Blakar R. M., Bykova O. N., Chernyavskaya V. E., Chilton P.A., Dotsenko E. L., Litunov S. N., Parshin P. B.).

Propositions for the defense are as follows.

1. Political discourse is as a certain kind of institutional discourse that features manipulative specificity and the struggle for power with language tools to affect the mass recipient. Major features of political discourse demonstrate its main objective realized in political discourse with specific language markers.

2. The speech behavior of female politicians corresponds to the description of feminine speech behavior (use of epithets, particles, dividing questions, hedges, addressings and emotionally colored vocabulary) while there is a large number of markers characteristic of political speech as a whole.

3. The predominant use of grammatical means of manipulation and the strategy of theatricality reflect the rhetorical traditions and the essence of political discourse in American English.

4. The use of means and strategies of language manipulation in political discourse does not depend on gender aspect; it is rather affected by the features of political discourse.

The main results of this thesis were presented at the conference «The Day of Science -2024» (AmSU, Blagoveshchensk) and published a research article «Politics is a woman's business: gender characteristics of feminine political discourse».

This research paper contains an introduction, three chapters, a conclusion and a list of references with research literature, dictionaries and data resources used in this work.

1 POLITICAL DISCOURSE AND GENDER

1.1 Discourse, its definition and classification

Interdisciplinary and linguistic research of discourse is one of the most relevant areas of scientific thought development. The phenomenon of discourse (from Latin. *discursus* – running forward, movement, conversation, talk) has spread in modern linguistics, semiotics, and philosophy as well as in English- and French-speaking cultures.

The concept of «discourse» refers to the most relevant and at the same time the most controversial concepts of modern science. The inconsistency of this concept is caused, first, by the multiplicity of approaches to its definition, to the allocation of criteria for scientific interpretation, and the ranking of its primary characteristics.

An important characteristic of this term is the high valence of its use in various fields of study. There is a wide range of definitions of the term «discourse» in dictionaries related to various fields of humanities. According to the Linguistic Encyclopedic Dictionary, discourse is defined as a text analyzed based on its case aspect; speech, considered as a purposeful social action, as a component involved in the interaction of people and the mechanisms of their consciousness (cognitive processes)¹. This definition is based on the notion of the text as a speech unit of discourse.

In classical philosophy, the term «discourse» described the process of thinking expressed in concepts and judgments². Discourse is considered in the hierarchy of socio- and cultural-historical paradigms.

The latest philosophical dictionary chooses epistemological criteria for defining discourse. So, discourse is «... a verbally articulated form of objectification of the content of consciousness, regulated by the type of rationality dominating in a particular socio-cultural tradition»³.

¹Yarceva V. N. Lingvisticheskij enciklopedicheskij slovar. M.: Sov. enciklopedija, 1990. P. 121.

²Bart R. Diskurs istorii. URL: <http://filosof.historic.ru/books/item/f00/s00/z0000634/index.shtml> (Access date: 06.12.2023)

³Gricanov A. A. Novejšij filosofskij slovar'. Mn: Knizhnyj dom, 2003. P. 1280.

In cultural and art-historical definitions, greater emphasis is placed on the interpretative nature and semiotic characteristics of discourse. The dictionary of postmodernism defines discourse as «a semiotic process implemented in various types of discursive practices, a specific method or specific rules for organizing speech activity»⁴. In the dictionary of gender terms, discourse is defined as a commonly used term with multiple meanings, encompassing verbal manifestations that reflect the mindset and ideology of a specific era⁵.

Despite the differences in the above definitions, they all mention the invariable correlation of the term «discourse» with the reality of «speech production», or «speech activity», enriched with situational variables in the socio-cultural or communicative scale of understanding.

Considered the “father” of linguistics in the 20th century, F. de Saussure was one of the founders of the Geneva Linguistic School and Structural Linguistics. He preferred the study of language as the only subject of linguistics, contrasting it to speech. He saw speech as a unique and unpredictable way to convey thoughts and engage in verbal interactions⁶.

In 1943, a Belgian linguist E. Buisance in his research «Language and Discourse» introduced a third component into the opposition of language / speech – discourse. It meant the mechanism of translating language as a sign system into live speech. At the same time, speech was a process of speech activity, and language remained an abstract system of signs⁷.

Z. Harris first used the term «discourse». He considered discourse to be the next level in the hierarchy of morphemes, phrases, and clauses. Functionalists have criticized this view, arguing that the units that people use in their speech have a semantic and prosodic design, but not necessarily a syntactic one and therefore cannot

⁴ Ilin I. P. Postmodernizm. Slovar' terminov – M.: INION RAN (otdel literaturovedeniya) – STKAOA, 2001. P. 384.

⁵ Slovar' gendernyh terminov / Pod red. A. A. Denisovoj / Regional'naja obshhestvennaja organizacija «Vostok-Zapad»: «Zhenskije Innovacionnye Proekty». – M.: Informacija XXI vek, 2002. P. 256.

⁶ Saussure, F. de. Kurs obshhej lingvistiki / Pod obsh. red. M. Je. Rut, – Ekaterinburg : Izd-voUral.un-ta, 1999. P. 49, 52, 53.

⁷ Ponomarev N. F. Svjazi s obshhestvennost'ju: social'no- psihologicheskie aspekty. – SPb.: Piter, 2008. P. 5.

always classified as sentences(see, for example, Chafe, 1994⁸). A According to the postulates of functional linguistics, language and society are not independent of each other; Therefore, when studying discourse, we should not only pay attention to semantic content but also pay attention to cognitive, cultural, and social aspects.

Therefore, the term discourse is also used as an approach to the study of social interaction and is understood as a complex communication event that includes communication participants (the author of the discourse, the referent), communication parameters (time, place, circumstances) and contextual features. Discourse can also refer to the actual or realized «product» of a communicative act, that is, the written or oral result.⁹.

N. N. Mironova defines discourse as a flow of speech or language in its constant movement, absorbing all the diversity of historical times, personal and social characteristics of both the communicator, communication and the communication situation where communication takes place¹⁰. The discourse reflects the mentality and culture of both national and individual, private.

According to B. Johnstone¹¹, discourse is a specific set of linguistic units that are contextualized to fulfill the purpose and function of language in actual communication. However, the construction of a discourse depends on many aspects of language usage, such as social context, the user and the circumstances.

The representative of the European School of Literary Linguistics, T.S. A. van Dijk studies the discursive phenomenon from a functional perspective, viewing discourse as an act of communication between speaker and hearer, a situation conditioned by a particular time and place and by a particular situation. This act of communication can be both spoken and written and can include both verbal and nonverbal elements.

⁸ Chafe W. *Discourse, Consciousness and Time: The Flow and Displacement of Conscious Experience in Speaking and Writing*. Chicago and London, Publ. University of Chicago Press, 1994. P. 327.

⁹ Malahova V. L. *Specifika diskursa v perspektive lingvisticheskikh issledovanij // Voprosy zhurnalistiki, pedagogiki, jazykoznanija*. 2022. №1. URL: <https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/spetsifika-diskursa-v-perspektive-lingvisticheskikh-issledovanij> (Access date: 02.12.2023).

¹⁰ Mironova N. N. *Diskurs - analiz ocenочноj semantiki*. – M. : NVI-Tezaurus, 1997. P. (9) 158.

¹¹ Johnstone B. *Discourse Analysis (Introducing Linguistics)*. Publ. Wiley-Blackwell, 2018. P.304.

The shape of the discourse is based on the personal and social experience of the participants in the interaction. Their life experiences and knowledge, as well as mutual understanding, can be viewed as factors in effective discourse construction and effective communication¹², so the basis for effective communication is the commonality of negotiators' perspectives, knowledge, and beliefs. This view reinforces the idea that speech is not a message between sender and receiver.

D. Kristall's view of speech as a coherent phenomenon of language beyond discourse deserves special attention. He also draws a distinction between discourse and writing, and raises the fact that discourse analysis focuses on the structure of natural spoken language (e.g., conversations, interviews, texts), whereas textual analysis does how to write written language (works of art and science, essays, . essays)¹³. However, this distinction is not entirely clear.

In 1979, the work of A. Greimas and J. Courtet «Semiotics. Explanatory Dictionary of Language Theory», in which eleven definitions of discourse have been identified by scholars. The authors contrasted text and discourse. They presenting the text as a statement actualized in discourse, and discourse as a process of actualization of the text¹⁴.

P. Sharaudeau 's perspective also reflects the idea that text and discourse are effective structural aspects of speech activities. In his work he wrote that text is «a new syntax, a visual representation»; «a unique, singular outcome of a process depending on the speaker and the circumstances of speech production». According to Sharaudeau, «the text intersects with several discourses, each of which also belongs to a particular genre and is associated with a particular situation». Therefore, P. Sharaudeau understands a combination of terms such as «language» and «communication level» as discourse¹⁵.

¹² Renkema J., Schubert Ch. Introduction to Discourse Studies. Publ. John Benjamins, 2018. P.453.

¹³ Crystal D. A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics. Oxford, Publ. Wiley-Blackwell, 2008. 529 p.

¹⁴ Grejmas A. Zh., Kurte Zh. Semiotika. Objasnitel'nyj slovar' teorii jazyka // Semiotika / sost., vstup. stat'ja i obshh. red. Ju.S. Stepanova. – M.: Raduga, 1983. P. 483-550.

¹⁵ Charaudeau P. Langage et discours. – Paris: Hachette, 1983. 176 p.

In general, the question of the separation the concepts of «discourse» and «text» is extremely important from the scientific point of view.

The most common dichotomies in approaching the differentiation of discourse and text are the following.

1. The discourse category belongs to the sociolinguistic sphere, while the text belongs to the linguistic sphere. Text is defined as a term for the «verbal record» of a communicative moment, and the speaker defines discourse as «text in an occasion aspect», «speech immersed in life», «functioning of language in live communication», «language assigned by the speaker»¹⁶.

2. Speech and writing are mutually exclusive as processes and outcomes. Speech is seen as an activity-based process of actual speech production, and writing is the outcome of speech production, which has a finished and fixed form¹⁷.

Text and speech are connected by a face-to-face relationship, where speech finds its expression in writing; They are produced and published through texts. At the same time, this relationship is not ambiguous: any text can be the expression and discovery of multiple, sometimes contradictory and competing discourses Each particular text contains a discourse many different things as a rule.

3. Speech and writing are contrary to «relevance – virtuality». Speech is regarded as a literal act of speech, whereas writing lacks rigid associations in real time and is an abstract process.

4. Time limits. Written text, unlike speech, has a well-defined and logical beginning and end, whereas speech has no such assurance.

D. Y. Dymarsky also helps to clarify the term «discourse», proposing to distinguish between the concepts of «text» and «discourse» as follows: «... discourse, unlike the text, cannot do not hide information. Essentially, discourse is a means of

¹⁶ Shejgal E. I. Semiotika politicheskogo diskursa / In-t jazykoznanija RAN; Volgogr. Gos. Ped. Un-t. Volgograd: Peremena, 2000. P. 9-10.

¹⁷ Ibid.

communicating information, but not a means of gathering and multiplying it; speech is not a passage of information»¹⁸.

In order to draw a parallel between the concepts of discourse and speech, it is necessary to elaborate on the definition of «speech».

In linguistics, they widely use a metaphorical formula, a characteristic once given by the French scholar E. Benveniste (1902-1976): «Speech is a language in action». Following this idea, we suggest that speech is a peculiar function of language, more precisely, that language functions in speech and only in speech, oral or written. Speech as a function of language is socially significant, because human communication with other members of society is carried out only with its help¹⁹.

Speech is the process of speaking organized in space and time (expressed in sound form – oral speech, expressed with the help of letter signs – written speech); the skill of expressing mental constructs, implementing the communicative intention of communication participants using systemically fixed units of language²⁰.

F. de Saussure, introducing the «language–speech» dichotomy, either identifies discourse with speech, or characterizes it as a substitute for speech, or considers discourse as a new member of the opposition, turning the dichotomy into a «language -discourse - speech» trichotomy. E. Buissance also gives preference for trichotomy and understands discourse as combinations through which the subject of speech uses the language code.

According to A. van Dijk, text is the abstract grammatical structure of what is said. Speech is the concept of discourse, the act of speaking itself, while «text» is the concept of formal linguistic structure or linguistic knowledge, linguistic knowledge.²¹

¹⁸ Dymarskiy M. Ya. Tekst – diskurs – hudozhestvennyj tekst // Tekst kak obekt mnogoaspektnogo issledovanija: sb. st. nauchno-metodicheskogo seminaru «Textus». – Stavropol': Izd-vo SGU, 1998. Vyp. 3. P.19–25.

¹⁹ Kul'tura rechi i delovoe obshhenie. Kurs lekcij. URL: <https://studfile.net/preview/1633360/page:6/> (Access date: 02.11.2023).

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Dijk T.A.van. Yazyk. Poznanie. Kommunikacija. – M., 1989. P. 73.

From this statement, L. Y. Ivanov makes a fair conclusion that T. A. van Dijk rather does not identify discourse and speech, but considers them as closely interrelated phenomena²².

In this context, the position of A. A. Kibrik seems interesting. He sees discourse as a unity of two elements: the process of communication and its product – the text. This makes it possible to analyze discourse as a temporal phenomenon and as a structural factor. «Discourse» is the broadest term that includes all languages used²³.

Overall, different authors see discourse either as a coherent text, an oral-colloquial form of the text, a dialogue, a group of statements related in meaning, or as a speech work – written or oral.

A comparative analysis of the studied terminological units demonstrates that the consideration of the concepts of «discourse», «speech» and «text» in modern language science is mainly due to traditional cultural, ontological and methodological factors, associated with a variety of approaches, analysis tools and categorical conceptual machine. In turn, discourse, as an integrative interdisciplinary phenomenon, requires critical reflection in unity with the differentiating parameters of the text and the processes of generation-perception of speech, as well as taking into account ethno-psychological, cultural, linguo-cognitive and structural-logical factors of communication²⁴.

Summing up the above analysis of approaches to the concept of «discourse» allows us to identify the most successful, from the author's point of view, definition of discourse. Discourse is a certain communicative event, that can be recorded in oral speech or written texts, which occurs in a specific communicative environment, and affected by both linguistic and extralinguistic factors.

Classification of types of discourse. It is known that currently there is no

²² Kul'tura rechi i delovoe obshhenie. Kurs lekcij. URL: <https://studfile.net/preview/1633360/page:6/> (Access date: 02.11.2023).

²³ Kibrik A. A. Modus, zhanr i drugie parametry klassifikacii diskursov. URL: http://iling-ran.ru/kibrik/Discourse_classification@VJa_2009.pdf (Access date: 06.01.2024).

²⁴ Habarov A. A. Delimitacija ponjatij «rech'», «diskurs» i «tekst» v svete sovremennyh lingvisticheskikh koncepcij// Litera. 2022. № 1. DOI: 10.25136/2409-8698.2022.1.35281 URL: https://nbpublish.com/library_read_article.php?id=35281 (Access date: 08.01.2024).

generally accepted classification of discourses, just as there is no consensus on the aspect of discourse that should be taken as the basis for classification. The ambiguity of the term «discourse» makes the discourse typology ambiguous too.

Russian scholars G. G. Pocheptsov, G. M. Yavorskaya, F. S. Batsevich, V. I. Karasik present different variants of the typology of discourse.

G. G. Pocheptsov distinguishes: distinguishes: television and radio discourse, newspaper, theater discourse, film discourse, literature, discourse of «public relations», advertising, politics, cover, unofficial, religion, ritual, behavior, customs, myths, cross-cultural and other²⁵.

V. I. Karasik proposed to distinguish between two main types of discourse, personal and institutional.

Personal representation occurs through domestic daily interactions, institutional discourses include politics, diplomacy, government, law, military, doctrine, religion, mysticism, medicine, business, advertising, sport, science, the eye, and public affairs²⁶.

According to the scholar, institutional discourse has two system-forming features: the purpose of communication and its participants.

According to V. I. Karasik under an institutional discourse we understand «a specialized kind of communication between people who may not know each other, but must communicate in accordance with the norms of this society».²⁷ Participants in this discourse are representatives of the institute (agents) and people who contact them (clients). For example, a teacher and a student, a doctor and a patient, a politician and a voter, a priest and a parishioner.

Some authors suggest considering discourse in pragmalinguistics, which identifies ways and channels of communication.

According to the method of communication, there are informative vs. fascinative, meaningful vs. factual, frivolous vs. serious, ritual vs. everyday, recorded vs. unrecorded types of discourse. According to the communication channel – contact

²⁵Pocheptsov G. G. Teorija komunikacii. M.-K.: Refl-buk-Vakler, 2001. P. 75-100.

²⁶Karasik V. I. O tipah diskursa // Jazykovaja lichnost': institucional'nyj i personal'nyj diskurs: Sbornik nauchnyh trudov. Volgograd: Peremena, 2000. P. 5-20.

²⁷Ibid.

and distant, virtual and real, oral or written types of discourse.

In linguaphilosophy, discourse is the specification of speech in different modes of human life. Therefore, the gaming and business level of discourse stands out here²⁸.

The most classifications of discourse types are based on the following features: communicative context (subject); context (place and conditions); purpose; chronotope; participants; and the system of linguistic means (characteristic concepts and terms).

The duo of O. F. Rusakova and V. M. Rusakov have resulted in twelve types of discourse with their further specification²⁹. This categorization is determined by various factors including speech type, professional attitude, worldview characteristics, and display of national traits in communication, political beliefs, media type, cultural genre, body language, ceremonial and ritual elements, and more. It accurately represents the different areas of discourse operations, each with specific linguistic tools that align with the mentioned criteria.

This classification is clearly flexible, as the variety of discourse types continues to grow, allowing for the discovery of new categories based on various aspects of human social interactions.

According to the semantic content, it is customary to distinguish such types of discourse as: descriptive, narrative (narrative), contaminated, and reasoning³⁰.

According to the sphere and environment of communication, they consider the following discourses: everyday, scientific, political, business, confessional³¹; bookish, conversational, mass communication³².

E. E. Anisimova³³ suggests distinguishing discourse according to the method of expression: verbally expressed, without the use of paralinguistic means; including, in addition to linguistic, paralinguistic means, including creolized texts (semiotically

²⁸ Karasik V. I. *Yazyk social'nogo statusa*. – M.: In-t jazykoznanija RAN; VGPU, 1992. 330 p.

²⁹ Rusakova O. F., Rusakov V. M. *PR-Diskurs: Teoretiko-metodologicheskij analiz*. – Ekaterinburg: UrO RAN, Institut mezhdunarodnyh svjazej, 2008. P. 104.

³⁰ Grigoreva V. S. *Problemy teorii i interpretacii teksta*. Tambov: TGPI, 1987. P.11.

³¹ Valgina N. S. *Teorija teksta*. M.: Logos, 2003. P.6.

³² Kostomarov V. G. *Nash jazyk v dejstvii: Oчерki sovremennoj russkoj stilistiki*. M.: Garderiki, 2005. P. 45.

³³ Anisimova E. E. *Lingvistika teksta i mezhkul'turnaja kommunikacija (na materiale kreolizovannyh tekstov)*. M.: Akademija, 2003. P.8.

complicated, with an iconic component).

According to the style (speech portrait) of the subject, one can distinguish the style of a manager, a political leader³⁴, and intelligentsia³⁵.

O. G. Revzina differentiates discourses taking into account the national linguistic and cultural parameter and identifies Russian national discourse, English discourse, Spanish discourse, etc.³⁶.

We can find the division of discourses according to the way of viewing the world and ordering reality into the discourse of the subject and the discourse of the object (for example, political discourse)³⁷.

A. G. Gurochkina³⁸ classifies discourses according to the expressed intention into: informational (dialogue-interview, extortion), interpretative (discourse of self-presentation), instrumental (directive, argumentative, invasive), affiliative (emotional-affective nature of the interaction of communicants), etc.; complementary (characterized by a lack of information in one of the communicants), competitive (associated with the competition of opinions, knowledge, aspirations of communication partners), coordinate (associated with the coordination of actions of communicants to achieve a perlocutionary effect).

A. A. Karamova proposed her own unified classification of discourse, which seems to us justified. In particular, she suggests dividing the discourse according to the following criteria:

1. Topic.
2. Genre:
 - a) illocutionary characteristics: informative, etiquette, imperative, evaluative

³⁴ Fairclough N. Dialektika diskursa // *Sovremennyj diskurs-analiz. Metodologija: konceptual'nye obosnovanija*. 2009. Vyp. 1. T. 1. URL: http://discourseanalysis.org/ada1_1.pdf (Access date: 08.01.2024).

³⁵ Krysin L. P. *Sovremennyj russkij intelligent: popytka rechevogo portreta // Russkij jazyk v nauchnom osveshhenii*. 2001. № 1. P. 90-106.

³⁶ Revzina O. G. *Diskurs i diskursivnye formacii // Kritika semiotiki*. Vyp. 8. Novosibirsk, 2005. P. 66-78.

³⁷ Mikhaleva O. L. *Diskurs obekta vs diskurs subekta: sistemoobrazujushhie priznaki // Sistemnoe i asistemnoe v jazyke i rechi*. Irkutsk: Irkutskij gos. un-t, 2007. P. 17-33.

³⁸ Gurochkina A. G. *Ponjatie diskursa v sovremennom jazykoznanii // Nominacija i diskurs*. Rjazan': RGPU, 1999. P. 12-15.

genres;

- b) form of information transmission: written and oral genres;
- c) external form: monologue, dialogic genres;
- d) place in the field structure: prototypical and marginal genres;
- e) method of expression: verbal and paralinguistic complicated genres.

3. Nature of the subject: institutional discourse and individual (personal discourse).

4. Time plan.

5. National cultural parameter: Russian discourse, American discourse, etc³⁹.

Having considered the types of discourse, we can conclude that the general typology of discourse should be built from the point of view of different bases (such as: topics determined by the sphere of communicative activity, genre features, the nature of the subject, time characteristics, etc.) due to the versatile nature of discourse.

At the same time, the creation of universal classification for all types of discourse will make it possible to fully and most accurately detect the features of each such type.

From our point of view, the classification proposed by A. A. Karamova is the most appropriate and relevant for this study, since it is both complete and informative. In addition, this classification shows the discourse in all its diversity, which is also highlighted in this study.

The next section of the chapter discusses the specifics of political discourse, which, being a kind of discourse, has its own unique features.

1.2 Institutional features of political discourse

From the overall idea of discourse, it is evident that the examination of political discourse involves various fields and includes analyzing the structure, purpose, and content of discourse in specific «political» situations⁴⁰.

Political Linguistics explores the relationship of discourse with such concepts as: «power», «influence» and «authority» in language practice. On the macro level it

³⁹ Karamova A. A. Tipologicheskii aspekt diskursa // Kultura i tsivilizatsiya, 2017. 7 (1A). P.365-366.

⁴⁰ Bell V. Negotiation in the workplace: The view from a political linguist // The discourse of negotiation: Studies of language in the workplace. – Oxford, 1995. P.46

explores the macrostructures of political discourse – the change and motivation of plots, motives, genres, etc. On the micro level it deals with: a) syntactics, semantics and pragmatics of political discourses, b) staging and models of interpretation of these discourses⁴¹.

Political discourse was one of the first forms of discourse that linguists began to examine, so a number of authors have developed the concept of «political discourse».

V. A. Maslova considers politics as verbal communication in a specific social context. In such a context the producer and the consumer have their own social activities corresponding to their participation in political life⁴².

According to A. P. Chudinov, political discourse is one of the main topics of the study of Political Linguistics. An important task of political discourse is to study the diverse relationships between thinking, communication, language and the political state of society in specific historical periods⁴³.

A linguo-cultural approach to the study of political discourse is proposed by S. V. Ivanova. She believes that a political discourse of the media belongs to a certain culture, that's why it is influenced by the cultural and national specifics of the attitudes and requirements of a particular culture⁴⁴.

E. V. Pereverzev and E. A. Kozhemyakin consider political discourse from the concept of power, defining this type of discourse as an institutionally organized and thematically focused sequence of statements produced within a certain historical and social framework. The reception of political discourse maintains and changes the relations of dominance and subordination in the society⁴⁵.

Akopova suggested considering how political discourse depends on factors

⁴¹Gavrilova M. V. Politicheskij diskurs kak obekt lingvisticheskogo analiza. URL: http://www.politstudies.ru/index.php?page_id=453&id=3401&jid=2620&jj= (Access date: 20.01.2024).

⁴²Maslova V. A. Politicheskij diskurs: jazykovye igry ili igry v slova? // Politicheskaja lingvistika. Vyp. 1 (24). – Ekaterinburg, 2008. P. 45.

⁴³Chudinov A. P. Metaforicheskaja mozaika v sovremennoj politicheskoi kommunikacii: monografija / Ural. gos. ped. un-t. – Ekaterinburg, 2003. P.4.

⁴⁴Ivanova S. V. Politicheskij media-diskurs v fokuse lingvokul'turologii. URL: <http://philology.ru/linguistics1/ivanova-08.htm> (Access date: 21.01.2024).

⁴⁵Pereverzev E. V., Kozhemyakin, E. A., Politicheskij diskurs: mnogoparametral'naja model' / Vestnik vgu, serija: lingvistika i mezhkul'turnaja komunikacija, 2008, № 2. P. 76.

beyond language. Analyzing political texts as a complex communicative phenomenon involves studying not only the linguistic elements in the structure of a political text, but also the extralinguistic factors that have a direct impact on the variation of political texts in the time aspect.

The narrator argues that the development of society at a point in history determines the dominance of certain areas of the story. Those plot areas for American discourse in the 1960s were «communism» and «equality». The idea that the United States was elected as a country that would respect democratic freedoms, and the guarantee of Western superiority in a totalitarian communist world, was the dominant political discourse of the Cold War era⁴⁶.

M. G. Tsutsieva refers to the fact that political discourse is based on a set of certain ideological views that are realized in texts circulating in discourse and connected by the unity of purpose of a specific ideological space⁴⁷.

In this research paper, the object of analysis is the public speeches of American female politicians. According to A. A. Andreev⁴⁸, American political discourse differs, firstly, in the use of vocabulary denoting traditional ideological values and national mental characteristics of the American society; secondly, in the linguistic tendency towards political correctness; thirdly, in the intentionality of speeches, and thus, divided on this basis into conflict, justifiable, reasonable, persuasive and other types.

A detailed definition of political discourse is proposed by E. I. Sheigal. The scholar defines it as a symbolic system in which the meanings and functions of discourse categories and standard speech acts are changed. Prof. Sheigal proposes that political discourse represents a fixed system of bureaucratic signifiers and constitutes its own language (words, syntax). The essence of political discourse can be expressed with the formula «discourse = sublanguage + text + context»⁴⁹.

⁴⁶ Akopova D. R. Dinamika variativnosti politicheskogo diskursa USA (na materiale vystuplenij amerikanskih politikov)/Filologicheskie nauki. Voprosy teorii i praktiki, № 1 (31). 2014. P. 23.

⁴⁷ Tsutsieva M. G. Politicheskij diskurs kak integrativnyj fenomen // Vestnik Leningradskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta im. A.S. Pushkina, 2012. № 2. P. 175.

⁴⁸ Andreev A. A. Pragmalingvisticheskie harakteristiki amerikanskogo politicheskogo diskursa. URL: www.portal.samara.org/politdiscourse.html (Access date: 15.01.2024).

⁴⁹ Sheigal E. I. Semiotika politicheskogo diskursa / In-t jazykoznanija RAN; Volgogr. Gos. Ped. Un-t. Volgograd: Peremena, 2000. P.15

The author V. Z. Demyankov in the work «Discourse analysis versus political linguistics» considers that the social purpose of political discourse is to inspire the recipients (citizens of the community) with the need for «politically correct» actions and / or assessments. In other words, the purpose of political discourse is not to explain but to persuade, to provide a catalyst, and to arouse in the receiver to encourage action⁵⁰.

In political speeches, emphasis is constantly placed on the justification and defense of the right for power. This fact is reflected in characteristics of political discourse. According to V. Z. Demyankov⁵¹ these features are the following:

1) Evaluativeness and aggressiveness of political discourse.

Referring to «totalitarian» discourse as a distinct sub-category of political discourse, V.S. Z. Demyankov defines it as a special kind of discourse, characterized by the attraction of certain ideas, the encouragement of success, the obsession, the harsh criticism, the authority of the «supergo», the desire to hear truth completely under.

2) The effectiveness of political discourse.

According to the politicians, the social purpose of political discourse is expressed through correct actions that flow to the public. We agree with the author who associates the method of watering down with the method of manipulating the minds of the masses in the manner established by the politicians.

3) Defending a point of view in political discourse.

The primary purpose of political speech, as noted above, is to influence the addressee or receiver. Such a discourse must therefore be based on a rational understanding of the positions, analyzes and opinions expressed therein, with precision according to certain requirements

At the same time, the creator of the text aims not only to defend his position, but

⁵⁰ Karasik V. I. O tipah diskursa // Jazykovaja lichnost': institucional'nyj i personal'nyj diskurs: Sbornik nauchnyh trudov. Volgograd: Peremena, 2000. P. 5-20.

⁵¹ Demyankov V. Z. Politicheskij diskurs kak predmet politologicheskij filologii // Politicheskaja nauka. Politicheskij diskurs: istorija i sovremennye issledovanija. – M.: INION RAN, 2002. № 3. P. 32-43.

also to criticize or «conquer» the opponent and his possible actions aggressively

Analysis of the main characteristics of political discourse suggests that they are directly related to its actions.

The classification of P. Chilton and K. Schefner⁵² includes the following functions of political discourse:

1. The function of enforcement, implemented through decrees or laws, censorship or control of access to information.

2. The function of the opposition, implemented in opposition to the official government through samizdat, petitions.

3. Simulation function related to information control.

4. The function of legitimization aimed at the implementation of the mechanism of obedience.

5. Delegitimization, a function represented by the opposition to the ideology of power.

The discussion of approaches to the definition of political discourse, its properties and criteria for the classification of functions allows us to summarize the major *features* of political discourse:

1. The struggle for power, its legitimization and strengthening.

2. The mandatory existence of a certain social context and the social roles of the discourse subject and object.

3. The use of political terms.

4. A special «sublanguage», including specific vocabulary, phraseology.

5. Special syntactic structures.

6. The presence of lexical and grammatical markers.

7. The influence of national, cultural characteristics and ideological attitudes of the state on the political discourse that form its national variants.

8. The impact on the mass recipient (manipulative specific feature).

⁵² Chilton P. A., Schaeffner C. Discourse and politics // Discourse Studies: A multidisciplinary introduction. T.A. van Dijk (Ed.). – London, 1997. Vol. 2: Discourse as Social Interaction. – P. 206-230.

Thus, analyzing the main features and functions of political discourse, we conclude that they demonstrate the main aim of this discourse type – the struggle for power, that is realized at the linguistic level with the help of language markers inherent in political discourse. In addition, the main function of political discourse is to influence the consciousness of the mass recipient. Obviously, the identified features of political discourse determine its specificity, indicating its system-forming features.

Summing up, political discourse should be viewed as a special kind of institutional discourse, which is characterized by manipulative specificity and the struggle for power using language as an instrument to influence the mind of the global public.

1.3 Gender and politics: social factors in female politicians' speech

Politics is not a typical sphere of life where women realize their potential. This fact can be explained by the major goal of political activity – the struggle for power and resources, which is masculine in nature. The social role of women has changed dramatically since the beginning of 20-th century. Currently, we see women holding key positions in national and international political institutions.

The main question in this context is whether the signs of traditional female speech are manifested in political discourse and by what linguistic means this labeling occurs.

One of the components of political discourse is the appeal to a person's gender identity in order to achieve some desirable type of political behavior. At the same time, according to T. B. Ryabova⁵³, the relationship between the forms of political behavior of an individual and certain models of masculinity or femininity is emphasized.

Research in the field of oral discourse analysis pays special attention to the gender component of communication practices, pointing to certain differences in the content of men's and women's speech with lexical means.

⁵³ Ryabova T. B. Maskulinnost' v politicheskom diskurse rossijskogo obshhestva: istorija i sovremennost' // Zhenshhina v rossijskom obshhestve. URL: <https://riabova.wordpress.com/2012/08/29/maskulinnost-v-politicheskom-diskurse-rossijskogo-obshhestva/> (Access date: 15.03.2024).

Linguistic markers of male and female communicative styles indicate the roles of men and women in the activities of language collectives. A language collective should be determined as a group of individuals united by common interests and using a special language, which was formed under the influence of a joint field of activity⁵⁴.

One of the early attempts to distinguish the communicative styles of men and women through the prism of gender in the English language was taken by R. Lakoff. R. Lakoff has assumed the existence of a special feminine language.

According to R. Lakoff⁵⁵, typical features of women's speech include: the use of means to soften the categorical and imperative statements – hedges («*perhaps*», «*sort of*», «*maybe*»), polite clichés («*would you mind closing the window*»), «empty» evaluative adjectives, («*awesome*», «*charming*», «*divine*», «*cute*»), super-correct grammar and pronunciation, amplifying particles («*so*»), dividing questions, titlings.

In R. Lakoff's opinion, the female language is a reflection of a culturally conditioned powerless language in a male-dominated society.

According to the theory of cultural differences, women are usually focused on people and relationships, meanwhile men focus on objects and information⁵⁶. These differences affect various aspects of the speech representation of men and women in discourse: addressing other people, degree and variety (positive or negative) of politeness, preference in choosing topics, frequency of questions, switching tactics in conversation, forms of imperative mood, minimal responses.

Hedges are linguistic forms that are used to soften the flatness of a statement and reveal the confidence or uncertainty of the speaker. Hedges can be expressed in almost any part of speech and they are important elements of successful communication. Examples of hedges in English are numerous: *as far as I know, I think, I guess, in my opinion, maybe, fortunately, unfortunately, by the way, in short, I'm not sure, but, approximately, almost, etc*⁵⁷.

⁵⁴ Eckert P. Gender and sociolinguistic variation. – Oxford : Blackwell, 1997. P. 64-75.

⁵⁵ Lakoff R. Language and Women's Place. – New York : Harper and Row, 1975. P. 328.

⁵⁶ Tannen D. Gender and Discourse. – Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1994. P. 240.

⁵⁷ Yankovskaya I. V. Otlichitel'nye cherty zhenskogo politicheskogo diskursa. URL: <https://www.elibrary.ru/item.asp?edn=pbdyxd> (Access date: 15.03.2024).

R. Lakoff believes that a greater number of hedges can be found in women's discourse, since women try to protect themselves from excessive imperativeness, and openly imposing their opinions. The latter are typical for aggressive male speech with elements of rivalry whereas the style of women is a style of cooperation and collaboration⁵⁸.

However, the statement about the reasons for the use of more hedges by women has been questioned. J. Coates considers that hedges and dividing questions are used by women to express solidarity, and their use is fully justified in the desire of women to save their face and not offend the interlocutor⁵⁹. Resorting to a communicative hedging strategy, the speaker consciously (or unconsciously) tries to protect himself from excessive frankness, openly imposing your opinion or categorical excessiveness. For example, the «*you know*» hedge is used to involve interlocutors in a conversation, as a means of accentuating attention, instead of pause markers «*oh, well*»), in order to gain time to think about the subsequent answer, to provide additional information about something previously said⁶⁰.

Another marker most typical for female speech is the dividing questions. Dividing questions are a kind of middle link between a direct statement and a general question. Moreover, dividing questions are less categorical than statements and more insistent than general and special questions.

There are modal and emotional dividing questions. Modal dividing questions are used to obtain or confirm information in which the speaker is not sure. They are focused on the speaker and ones need for information (for example, «*you were missing last week, weren't you?*»). On the contrary, emotional dividing questions, being an example of negative politeness, are focused on the recipient of information. And they are also used to soften statements in order to avoid harming the interlocutor («*Open the door for me, could you?*»). Emotional dividing questions prevail in women's speech. Since

⁵⁸ Gricenko E. S. Yazyk, gender, diskurs. URL: <https://www.elibrary.ru/item.asp?id=21123216> (Access date:16.03.2024).

⁵⁹ Coates J., Cameron D. *Women in their Speech Communities*. – Harlow : Longman, 1987. 200 p.

⁶⁰ Macmillan Dictionary and Thesaurus: Free English Dictionary Online. URL: <http://www.macmillandictionary.co> (Access date: 16.03.2024).

women often take on the role of a mediator in a conversation to create a comfortable atmosphere of communication⁶¹.

The next distinctive evidence of politeness in female speech is the addressing. In languages that have a «you» distinction, speakers are required to use linguistic means to signal either respect or a friendly attitude towards the interlocutor. There is no differentiation in the addressing of «you» in modern English grammar (the fusion of these forms occurred about three to four centuries ago). However, this fact does not mean that the English language lacks ways to show respect. The use of the forms of address «Madam» or «Sir» and honor titles (Professor, Doctor, etc.) could be indicators of the relative status of the interlocutors. For example, proper names (Catherine) or diminutive names (Katie) can be used in speech with a friendly attitude of the interlocutor and do not indicate a difference in hierarchy⁶². Accordingly, the deliberate use of personal names is a meaningful technique in changing social attitudes, in reducing the distance between interlocutors and in self-esteem. Thus, addressing by name can also find a place when questions pose a threat to the interlocutor's face.

N. E. Kovtunova and G. A. Shusharina consider emotionally colored vocabulary as a specific feature of women's speech⁶³. In their research they note that such personalities as Hillary Clinton, Condoleezza Rice, Sarah Pauline, Madeleine Albright tend to use words denoting various emotional states: positive – hope, love and happiness, pleasant surprise («*impressed*», «*thrilled*»), desire («*want*»); negative – frustration and despair («*despaired*», «*frustrated*»), doubt («*worry*», «*concerned*»), fatigue («*exhausting*») fear («*scared*»). As well as the use of words expressing doubt, uncertainty, probability, inaccuracy. Introductory words such as «*maybe*», «*probably*», the verb «*to seem*», modal verbs «*may*», «*might*», indefinite designations «*some*», «*several*», «*somehow*», «*somewhere*», phrases «*a kind of*», «*a sort of*» and the phrases «*some kind of*», «*some sort of*».

⁶¹ Jackson S. (ed.) Women Studies. Essential readings. – NY : New York University press, 1993. 525 p.

⁶² Thomas, J. Meaning in Interaction: Introduction to Pragmatics. – London : Longman Pearson, 1995. 224 p.

⁶³ Kovtunova N. E., Shusharina G. A. Stilisticheskie osobennosti zhenskogo politicheskogo diskursa. URL: <https://www.elibrary.ru/item.asp?id=20215344> (Access date: 18.03.2024).

The results of the study show that the features inherent in women's speech are reflected in political discourse. This confirms the provisions on the femininity of the speech of a female politician. A female politician needs, on the one hand, to confirm the ideas of a strong leader, and on the other hand, to avoid reproaches for being less feminine. This effect is achieved with the help of such lexical means as: hedges, addressing, dividing questions, emotionally colored vocabulary.

Accordingly, women's speech, which finds its expression in political discourse, has some specific features that are designed to soften statements, color speech, rid it of excessive categoricalness and directness, express their respect and affection, emphasize politeness, while maintaining a distance between people.

Thus, we assume that the impact of a female political speech on the audience occurs more with the help of soft rather than strong force.

Conclusion to chapter 1. Literature overview on the issues of political discourse and gender allowed us to draw specific conclusions:

1. Discourse is a certain communicative event that can be recorded or transcribed. It occurs in a specific communicative space, and should be considered together with linguistic and extralinguistic factors. It is also important to contrast discourse with text and speech, since the definition of discourse is a broader concept.

The classification of discourses proposed by A. A. Karamova corresponds with the focus of this research work and is the most relevant one for its study.

2. Political discourse is viewed as a certain kind of institutional discourse that features manipulative specificity and the struggle for power with language tools to affect the public consciousness. Major features and functions of political discourse demonstrate its main objective – the struggle for power, which are realized at the linguistic level with language markers typical in political discourse. The main function of political discourse is to influence the consciousness of the mass recipient.

3. Women's speech for political purposes has some specific features in its expression. Feminine political speech is designed to soften statements, color speech, and rid it of excessive categoricalness and directness, express respect and affection, emphasize politeness, while maintaining a distance between people.

2 LANGUAGE AND SPEECH MANIPULATION

2.1 The concept of manipulation in linguistics

This is well known fact, that a person always speaks with a specific purpose or intention. As a rule, the speech addresser seeks to provide some kind of influence on the speech addressee. So that the interlocutor acts the way necessary for the addresser or accepts his position at the initial stage of communication. The problems of intention and speech influence put the issues of speech manipulation on the agenda, since it is generally believed that speech influence is the result of manipulating an interlocutor's consciousness.

The term «manipulation» (from Latin «*manus*» – *hand* and «*plere*» – *to fill*) refers in a broad sense to the skillful handling of various objects with specific intentions and goals. Manipulators are also used in engineering to control various mechanisms using levers. In a figurative sense, manipulation is understood as a hidden effect on the addressee in the interests of the addresser, and manipulation techniques remain unnoticed by the addressee⁶⁴.

Analyzing the structure of manipulation, four main components can be distinguished in it, namely:

- the subject of manipulation, i.e. a person who produces a speech effect used to achieve a positive result for him;
- the object of manipulation, i.e. the person who is exposed to this effect by the subject;
- the theme of manipulation, including goals, attitudes, opinions and desires, which are partially or completely changed in the process of influence;
- the result of manipulation, i.e. the effect that is achieved in the process of such an impact, it can be either successful or unsuccessful.

Many authors have proposed a large number of definitions for the concept

⁶⁴ Yazykoznanie. Bol'shoj jenciklopedicheskiy slovar' / pod red. V.N. Yarcevoj. – 2-e izd. – M.: Bol'shaja Rossijskaja enciklopedija, 2000. 683 p.

«manipulation»⁶⁵, focusing on different aspects of this phenomenon:

1. A form of spiritual influence of hidden domination, carried out by force (definition by B.N. Bessonov);
2. Domination over the spiritual state, management of changes in the inner world (definition by D.A. Volkogonov);
3. The hidden use of power (force) contrary to the supposed will of another (definition by R. Gudin);
4. False indirect influence in the interests of the manipulator (definition by O.T. Yokoyama);
5. The hidden influence on making a choice (definition by L. Proto);
6. A structuring of the world that allows you to win (definition by W. Riker);
7. Inducing behavior through trick or by playing on the supposed weaknesses of another (definition of J. Rudinova);
8. The relation to the other as an instrument, object, or tool (definition by V.N. Sagatovsky);
9. Hidden enforcement, programming of thoughts, intentions, feelings, attitudes, behavior (definition by G. Schiller);
10. Management and control, exploitation of another, use as objects, things (definition by E. Shostrom);
11. Skillful management or use (definition by P.W. Robinson).

There are two main ways of describing the use of the cognitive-discursive model of modern linguistics. The first approach comes from a critical approach to discourse analysis, the second – from pragmatics. The main differences between these methods can be formulated as follows. In discourse analysis, reform is viewed as a form of argumentative discourse that reinforces the power of a political movement, emphasizing the active role of reformers influenced through the manipulation of language⁶⁶. Representatives of pragmatic thinking believe that craft is first and

⁶⁵ Docenko E. L. Psihologiya manipuljicii: fenomeny, mehanizmy i zashhita. URL: http://www.koob.ru/docenko_e/psihologia_manipuljicii (Access date: 28.04.2024).

⁶⁶ Dijk T. A. van. Discourse and manipulation // Discourse and Society. 2006. № 17. (2). P. 359-383.

foremost a state of art in which some information is presented in such a way that, among many possible concepts, only that which is useful to the user and what the recipient does itself, the rest of its context merely obscures or blocks⁶⁷.

The latter approach is in tune with the opinion of the linguist E. L. Dotsenko⁶⁸, who justly believes that a characteristic feature of manipulation is the desire to get a one-sided gain from communication, while having a hidden nature of influence. The author concludes that in order to achieve the success of the addresser, the language tools that they use become fundamentally important. Based on the analysis of different definitions by E. L. Dotsenko, the leading signs of manipulation were identified. They are the following:

- 1) generic sign – psychological impact;
- 2) the attitude of the manipulator to the manipulated as a tool of achieving their own goals;
- 3) the desire to get a one-sided win;
- 4) the hidden nature of the impact (both the fact of the impact and its direction);
- 5) the use of (psychological) strength, playing on weaknesses;
- 6) stimulus, motivational introduction;
- 7) skill and smartness in carrying out manipulative actions.

Based on these criteria, E. L. Dotsenko proposed several definitions of manipulation, one of which most fully reflects the established criteria: «Manipulation is a type of psychological influence, the skillful execution of which leads to the latent excitement of intentions in another person that do not correspond with his actual desires»⁶⁹.

P. B. Parshin understands manipulation as «a type of interaction between people in which one of them (manipulating) consciously tries to carry out control over the behavior of another (manipulated), encouraging him to behave in a way pleasing to the

⁶⁷ Maillat D. Constraining context selection: On the pragmatic inevitability of manipulation // Journal of Pragmatics. 2013. № 59. P. 190-199.

⁶⁸ Dotsenko E. L. Psihologiya manipulacii: fenomeny, mehanizmy i zashhita. URL: http://www.koob.ru/docenko_e/psihologia_manipulacii (Access date: 28.04.2024).

⁶⁹ Ibid.

manipulator ... And this is done in such a way that the manipulated does not realize oneself as an object of control»⁷⁰.

O. N. Parshina's separation of change and pluralism seems less meaningful, where according to the scholars, the act of exploitation is a beneficial effect on a person, and influence achieved by exploitative populations is evidenced by lofty arguments, promises, and abstract facts⁷¹. Acceptance of symbol-based opposition is virtually impossible because the above demographic ideology can be used to influence and convince the addressee, which can ultimately lead to change the user has done something useful.

Manipulation initially has a psychological dimension when the practitioner tries to influence the individual's thinking, intentions and actions through the technique not unreasonably used the word «influence» in many definitions of change.

Finally, in the studies of linguists, we can also notice the distinction between the concepts of «manipulation» and «persuasion». The main difference is that in persuasion, the final goal is achieved «willingly» on the basis of the information heard, and manipulation is a kind of «intellectual violence» that is committed using certain selected techniques⁷².

Many of linguists are increasingly interested in speech manipulation, which is studied through the prism of language.

O. N. Bykova⁷³ understands speech manipulation as a type of linguistic influence used to covertly introduce desires, intentions, goals or attitudes into the addressee's psyche that do not correspond with those that the addressee currently has.

Speech manipulation can also be defined as the use of device features and language tools for manipulative purposes.

⁷⁰ Parshin P. B. Rechevoe vozdejstvie// Virtual'naja enciklopedija Krugosvet. URL: <http://www.krugosvet.ru/articles/96/1009689/1009689a1.htm> (Access date: 20.04.2024).

⁷¹ Parshina O. N. Stepen' ritoricheskoy gramotnosti politika kak odin iz faktorov ego avtoritetnosti // Problemy rechevoj kommunikacii: mezhvuzovskij sbornik nauchnyh trudov. – Saratov, 2004. P. 291-296.

⁷² Kara-Murza S. G. Manipuljacija soznaniem. – M.: Eksmo, 2006. 832 p.

⁷³ Bykova O. N. Yazykovoe manipulirovanie. URL: krasu.ru/ft/ft/_articles/0070503.pdf (Access date: 28.04.2024).

R. M. Blakar in his article «Language as an instrument of social power»⁷⁴ highlights the potential of all language elements to act as manipulation tools, since each language element is a very sensitive and complex instrument which the one who uses the language plays, and the choice of words and expressions is an extremely important tool of power for structuring the reality.

The author of the book «The discourse of power and the power of discourse: problems of speech influence» V. E. Chernyavskaya considers speech manipulation as a type of speech influence and defines it as «hidden from the addressee and aimed at performing certain actions beneficial to the addresser of the message, which may also not coincide with the interests of the addressee»⁷⁵.

In this research, we use the definition presented in the work of S. N. Litunov, as an operational one since it mostly corresponds to the goals and objectives of the current study. The linguist considers manipulation as «the selection and use of such means of language which it is possible to influence the addressee of speech with »⁷⁶. Such an impact is not realized by the addressee, but is perceived as part of objective information.

To point out the above, it is important to keep in mind manipulation in the process of analyzing political discourse, which is characterized by the agent with a certain intention and a client (recipient) of speech influence. The successful realization of the intention of the speech producer and the achievement of the goal to have a hidden impact on the recipient depend on the choice of manipulation targets that affect the most vulnerable points of modern society.

2.2 Classification of language manipulation means and techniques

The linguistic approach to the study of manipulation involves the study of available linguistic techniques. First, it is necessary to pay attention to such concepts as «persuasiveness» and «suggestiveness», which represent special directions in the

⁷⁴ Blakar R. M. Yazyk kak instrument social'noj vlasti // Yazyk i modelirovanie social'nogo vzaimodejstviya. – M., 1987. P. 97.

⁷⁵ Chernyavskaya V. E. Diskurs vlasti i vlast' diskursa: problemy rechevogo vozdejstviya: ucheb. posobie. – 2-e izd., ster. – M.: FLINTA: Nauka, 2012. P. 19.

⁷⁶ Litunov S. N. Rechevoe vozdejstvie v reklamnyh tekstah. URL: <https://nauchforum.ru/studconf/social/xxix/8972> (Access date: 28.04.2024).

study of speech influence.

We understand persuasiveness (from Latin. *persuadere* – to persuade) as oral or written influence of the speaker on the consciousness of the addressee using the language, aimed at encouraging him to commit or not to commit certain actions. In this case, communications should include situations where the agent willingly produces messages aimed at forwarding his point of view⁷⁷.

Suggestiveness (from Latin. *suggesere* – to suggest), in turn, is a hidden suggestion implemented into transmitted message and characterized by unconsciousness, involuntariness and obscurity of assimilation⁷⁸.

Linguistic means of manipulation should be viewed as certain techniques for constructing a text or a separate utterance using certain lexical means and syntactic constructions.

Analyzing the works of researchers devoted to the means of manipulation, it is possible to distinguish two groups of them. According to A. V. Safina⁷⁹, we can stand out:

- psychological methods of influence, which are based on logical reasoning;
- methods and techniques based on the use of language markers.

In this part of the study, we reckon the second group, since it is the group that attention is paid to. Operating the term «language marker» we have to specify its meaning in Linguistic, which can be used in both a narrow and a broad sense.

In a narrow sense, a language marker means a free or bound morpheme that indicates the grammatical function of the marked word, phrase, or sentence or lexical item that signals a morphosyntactic operation.

In this research, we use the term «language marker» to describe a linguistic feature that signals something specific about the speaker, their identity, or the context of their communication. We consider language markers as linguistic fingerprints,

⁷⁷Koveshnikova M .N. Rechevaja manipuljacija i prijomy rechevogo manipulirovanija // Carskosel'skie chtenija, 2014. P. 389.

⁷⁸Ibid.

⁷⁹Safina, A. V. Sposoby vyrazhenija yazykovoy manipuljaciji na sintaksicheskom urovne // Filologicheskie nauki, voprosy teorii i praktiki, 2017. № 6-2 (72). P. 147.

leaving clues about the speaker's social status and identity, gender and emotional state and context. Such linguists as W. Labov, J. Gamperz, and P. Ekert use the term for various studies of social interaction. For instance, the markers of formal language, complex sentence structures, and specialized vocabulary often signal higher social standing or education. Regional accent or the use band-specific slang reveal one's social background and belonging. Certain linguistic features, such as specific intonation patterns or vocabulary choices, may be associated with specific genders. Tone of voice, word choice, and even speed of speech can convey emotions such as anger, excitement, or sadness. The use of different language in a formal meeting versus casual conversation with friends is another example of language markers signaling the context and purpose of the interaction.

Linguists study these markers to uncover the hidden layers of meaning in language, offering a richer understanding of how people use language to express, connect, create meanings and manipulate minds.

As S. A. Vinogradova notes, the tools of speech manipulation include «any verbal sign which, in a certain context and sense, can have the necessary effect on the addressee»⁸⁰. In linguistics, language manipulation means are distinguished depending on the levels of speech influence realization. These levels include phonetic, lexical-semantic, syntactic and stylistic. Next, we will present the main linguistic manipulation techniques highlighted in different linguistic researches.

1. Phonetic level. The analysis of manipulation techniques at this linguistic level is presented in the study of A.P. Zhuravlev. The linguist provides evidence that each speech sound is characterized by its own «color». The researcher experimentally proves that people have similar associations when mentioning specific sounds, colors and their contents⁸¹. Based on this, it can be testified that words and expressions have an impact on human consciousness due to sound-color images. However, in this case, there is no direct manipulative linguistic influence, but on the contrary, the influence

⁸⁰ Vinogradova, S.A. Instrumenty rechevoj manipuljicii v politicheskom mediadiskurse // Voprosy kognitivnoj lingvistiki. 2010. Vyp. 2. P. 97.

⁸¹ Zhuravlev, A.P. Zvuk i smysl. – M.: Prosveshhenie, 1991. P.123.

occurs unintentionally. That is why this language level will not be studied in the practical part of the study.

2. Lexical-semantic level. A. G. Gurochkina's research is devoted to this level of language manipulation. The linguist identifies the following techniques:

- acquisition of indirect meaning by a lexical unit in a particular context;
- the use of polysemantic lexical units;
- the presence of an indirect meaning in the word;
- the presence of fuzzy or blurred boundaries for a certain notion;
- the ability to rearrange the sem composition of a word when it is used in a figurative sense;
- a specific nominative act;
- specific connotative semantic components⁸².

3. The syntactic level. A detailed study of linguistic techniques of manipulation at this level is given in the work of Yu. V. Privalova, M. Yu. Nechepurenko and K. A. Irshkova. Linguists apply to the following:

- expressions with a passive voice, which are aimed to transmit information that is perceived by the addressee as generally accepted truth. In this case, the presence of «pressure» can also be formed;
- motivational constructions that are used by the speaker to indicate a «command» to perform an action. These constructions are used when the addresser has already imposed the basic form of behavior;
- expressions with modal verbs that are aimed at convincing the recipient of something, they form the boundaries of the world model, as well as a special behavior;
- the use of conjunctions «and» and «but» between independent sentences allows to give value to the statement;
- attributive constructions that allow to affect the recipient with an expressed assessment;
- the use of rhetorical questions that allow the recipient to be included in the

⁸² Gurochkina A. G. Manipulirovanie v lingvistike // Izvestija Rossijskogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta im. A. I. Gercena. 2003. № 5 (3). P.136-141.

«dialogue» and, due to this, form a false sense of the right to choose;

- appeals that also create the feeling that the addressee is taking part in communication, thanks to this, a trusting relationship is formed between him and the speaker;

- the repetitions, which allows you to escalate the situation, make the statement dynamic and focused on the addressee's attention to a particular action;

- the use of homogeneous terms of the sentence, which creates tension when discussing a particular problem. In case of using gradation when listing homogeneous terms, the impact on the addressee increases;

- deixis, which allows the addressee to emphasize his figure against the background of the problems being discussed. This technique allows a politician to unite himself with the audience⁸³.

4. The stylistic level. Language techniques at this level are also described in the study of Y. V. Privalova, M. Y. Nechepurenko and K. A. Irshkova. Among such techniques, linguists distinguish the following:

- a metaphor that adds imagery to the statement. The recipient interprets its meaning in his mind and, due to this, does not feel violent pressure from the speaker;

- nominalization, which creates a procedural nature, due to which a large amount of information is hidden from the addressee;

- metonymy, which distorts the meaning of the statement, and different aspects of the described problem fall into the same category;

- the antithesis with which the agent focuses the addressee's attention on one or another aspect and distinguishes it from the others;

- clichés that form associations;

- ideologems that shape the concept of the speaker's speech. By focusing on values, the speaker operates on the recipient's beliefs;

- modal predicates, i.e. words that refer the addressee to one of the five sensor

⁸³ Privalova, Yu.V., Nechepurenko, M.Yu., Irshkova, K.A. Analiz sredstv manipulirovanija v politicheskom tekste v pragmalingvisticheskom aspekte // Filologicheskie nauki, 2016. № 5 (59). P. 130-133.

systems. Hearing such lexical units, the brain activates the existing experience and forms a certain behavior. Such units are used to establish contact with the recipient;

– words with vague semantics that allow you to hyperbolize the problem⁸⁴.

Accordingly, it should be noted that the speech manipulative effect on the recipient can be created through a wide range of means and markers related to different language levels. In this research, we will use the classification of linguistic means by N. S. Adyshkina and T. M. Sofronova that appeals to speech manipulation at the phonographic, lexical, syntactic and grammatical levels.

In the practical part of this study, the phonographic level is not considered; we focus on the linguistic means of lexical, syntactic and grammatical levels.

2.3 Mass recipient manipulation in political discourse

The specific nature of politics, unlike a number of other spheres of human activity, lies in its predominantly discursive nature: many political actions by their nature are speech actions. A number of scholars believe that political activity in general is predominantly a linguistic activity, and there is a tendency in modern political science, to consider language not so much as a means of reflecting political reality, but as a component of the field of politics.

In part 1 of this research paper, it was emphasized that one of the main features or main functional purposes of political discourse is the impact on the consciousness of the mass recipient. In turn, the function of influence is recognized as the main function of political speeches by many linguistic disciplines: rhetoric, functional stylistics, linguopragmatics, psycholinguistics, social linguistics, and etc. Political speech is aimed at exerting ideological influence, at forming a certain attitude to certain realities of political life.

According to T. S. Komisarova, speech influence should be understood as a form of purposeful management, due to which policy is implemented and competitive impact is eliminated through appropriate channels, mechanisms, forms and methods⁸⁵.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Komisarova T. S. *Mehanizmy rechevogo vozdejstvija i ih realizacija v politicheskom diskurse* (na materiale rechej G. Shrjodera): avtoref. dissertacii. 2008. P.7.

The mechanisms of speech influence that a political leader uses, when interacting with other agents and clients of politics, are determined by specific tasks and resources that the leader possesses, his general political and ideological positions and those technologies and models of influence that he chooses basing on the conditions of communication.

The impact or influence is multifaceted and can be either rational or emotional. The most effective is considered to be an impact that combines elements of rational and emotional. However, an emotional performance that can «kindle a flame» in the souls of listeners, captivate and lead them becomes more important for a mass audience.

The expression of emotions in language is associated with the representation of the linguistic categories of emotivity and expressiveness. In this work, emotivity is understood as a part of an utterance that corresponds to the speaker's self-expression and reflects his impressions, feelings, and assessments. Expressiveness focuses on enhancing the impressive power of utterance in accordance with the planned targeted impact on the addressee⁸⁶.

It is important to understand that political speech, written or oral, consists of so-called dictums. The functions of the dictums include nomination, predication, topicalization and stylization⁸⁷.

From the linguistic point of view, the impact of oral speech and its success is determined by its stylistic characteristics. This stylistic characteristic, in turn, consists of the stylistic aspect of the dictums that make up speech.

In political eloquence, expressiveness and emotiveness of information presentation are brought to the fore, created through emotives and expressions of different levels of language.

In most cases, one dictum of political discourse simultaneously contains the emotive and expressive possibilities of vocabulary, and a number of expressive means

⁸⁶ Bloh, M.Ya., Reznikova, N.A. Sredstva emocional'nogo vozdejstviya politicheskikh vystuplenij // Vestnik TGPU. 2006. №9. URL: <https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/sredstva-emotsionalnogo-vozdeystviya-politicheskikh-vystupleniy> (Access date: 06.04.2024).

⁸⁷ Bloh M. Ya. Teoreticheskie osnovy grammatiki: Ucheb. 3-e izd., ispr. M., 2002. P.123.

that mutually influence each other. Thus, the stylization of the dictum of political speech becomes highly expressive and emotive. This, in turn, allows politicians to have a powerful emotional impact, to command the minds and hearts of their clients.

V. A. Maslova suggests that when studying the functioning of language in political discourse, two problems arise inevitably – the language of power and the power of language.

In this case, it seems necessary to draw a parallel between these concepts. Therefore, the language of power is the linguistic means and techniques used by the ruling strata, and this is the subject of linguistics research in its purest form. But the power of language – the ability of these linguistic means and techniques to influence mass consciousness – is studied, as a rule, by political linguistics⁸⁸.

The politician's speech must be able to strike the right chord in the public mind, and his words must be relevant to those who speak of political discourse in the «universe» (i.e. the many worlds within) of different perspectives and analyses around. A skilled politician thus uses symbols, archetypes, and rituals that appeal to the public mind.

By defending certain political views, you can influence emotions, play on a sense of duty, based on the moral principles accepted in society. One of the common techniques of speakers is to make arguments when there is an audience. Hence, the politician seems to be just thinking out loud. In front of other listeners, he puts forward arguments in favor of a thesis, sometimes uses the «method from the opposite», i.e. tries to convince listeners that contradict what was said.

It is advisable for a politician to establish contact with the audience from the very beginning of a speech. It is necessary to gain the trust and even respect of the audience, which should be further reinforced throughout the performance. An important role is played here by the speaker's internal impulses, his psychological

⁸⁸ Maslova V. A. Politicheskij diskurs: jazykovye igry ili igry v slova? // Politicheskaja lingvistika. 2008. №24. URL: <https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/politicheskij-diskurs-yazykovye-igry-ili-igry-v-slova> (Access date: 06.04.2024).

impact (and sometimes pressure) on the audience⁸⁹. Examples can be found in the election speeches of politicians.

Considering the specificity of political communication, an important issue in our framework for thinking about language outcomes is the mechanisms of influence and environment created by information technologies, changes and political struggles have this effect

The power of the latest technologies makes it possible to qualify for contemporary political communication in the context of the early «Information Age». Politics is expressed through actions and words today in very different contexts. There is an underlying critique of this dominant force shaping the social landscape, outside of, and therefore, the more objective analyzes through which government actions are measured.

Communication determines the nature of political relations. The former has moved from an indispensable and technical position to a politically constructive structure, upon which the relations between state and society depend. The exercise of power by all media becomes a specific form of public influence. Information technology shapes a world that then becomes reality for the receiver.

A. Fetzer, E. Weizman believe, that in the domain of political discourse, the audience does not have a direct impact on the process of negotiating meaning. Its constitutive members cannot directly respond to a political text as such but only react in an indirect manner through commenting on the political discourse and exchanging their opinions with other members of the audience⁹⁰.

When we describe the mechanisms of influence, two sides should be taken into account: the dependence of the use of linguistic units on the goals of the addresser of the text (N. A. Konrad). As well as the nature and extent of the impact of language on

⁸⁹ Popova, A.A. K probleme argumentativno-politicheskogo diskursa // *Sovremennye nauchnye issledovaniya i innovacii*. 2017. № 6. URL: <https://web.snauka.ru/issues/2017/06/83266> (Access date: 28.01.2024).

⁹⁰Fetzer A., Weizman E. Political discourse as mediated and public discourse // *Journal of Pragmatics*. 2006. № 38. P.144.

the recipient of the text (S. J. Hayakawa)⁹¹.

Thus, the mechanisms of speech influence are understood as linguistic techniques of influencing consciousness, the process of human making-decision, implemented on the lexical, grammatical and stylistic levels of the language and having a strong persistent effect. They are able to put certain meanings related to them at the center of public interest.

According to A. V. Lyulina we distinguish between three levels of speech manipulation with mass recipients in the political discourse:

- ethological and physiological level of manipulation targets (instincts and genetically conditioned reactions of mass recipients);
- social and evolutionary level of manipulation targets (the degree of the development of mass recipients' consciousness);
- discourse conditioned level of manipulation targets (actions and relations of some definite discourse)⁹².

To summarize, it should be said that the success of manipulating the consciousness of a mass recipient lies not only in the successful selection of linguistic techniques and manipulation mechanisms, but also in taking into account the specifics of the objects of manipulation (that is the audience and the level of speech manipulation of the audience).

2.4 Manipulation strategies and tactics in political discourse

From the pragmatic point of view, in political discourse the mass client - addressee is manipulated with certain strategies and tactics. In this regard, it is necessary to study these phenomena and their classifications typical for political discourse.

The terms «strategy» and «tactics» are found in the studies of such linguists as V. Z. Demyankov, I. N. Borisov, A. G. Salakhov, E. S. Arkhipov, E. S. Popov, etc.

First, it is necessary to turn to the concept «strategy». This term is used in various

⁹¹Komisarova T. S. *Mehanizmy rechevogo vozdejstvija i ih realizacija v politicheskom diskurse (na materiale rechej G. Shrijodera): avtoref. dissertacii*. 2008. P.7.

⁹²Lyulina A. V. *Direct nomination as means to actualize manipulation targets of mass recipients in the political discourse //Sovremenniy ucheniy [Modern Scientist], 2017.№ 1. P. 70-72.*

research fields. For example, D. N. Ushakov presents the direct meaning of this term in the dictionary of the Russian language, where strategy is defined as the art of establishing military operations. This dictionary also presents a second, indirect meaning: the art of controlling the actions of a particular audience in order to achieve certain goals⁹³. The theory of economics considers strategy as the long-term, most important plans, intentions and attitudes of the government, administration, management at companies regarding income, expenses, price aspects, budget, etc.⁹⁴ In psychology, this term represents the formation of such a model of behavior and thinking that allows one to achieve a certain result or gain some experience. From a psychological point of view, strategy is considered as a general plan, the process of conducting research, therapy, or the art of conducting them⁹⁵.

There is some similarity in the definitions presented above. A strategy is a specific plan or sequence of actions, or their prediction in order to achieve some result.

In Linguistics, the term strategy was first mentioned in the works of the late XX century. T. A. van Dijk and W. Kinch gave the following definition of it – «a general cognitive idea of the most effective means of achieving a communicative goal»⁹⁶.

In Russian linguistics, the term was studied by V. Z. Demyankov⁹⁷, who believed that the essence of strategies is in the use of a certain rule. In his research, the linguist pointed out two types of strategies that speakers can use: conscious and subconscious.

Linguists use the term strategy referring to either communication («communicative strategy») or to speech («speech strategy»). As A. G. Salakhova⁹⁸ notes, the speech strategy, unlike the communicative one, does not include extralinguistic components of communicative interaction. This suggests that the speech

⁹³ Ushakov D. N. Bol'shoj tolkovyj slovar' sovremennogo russkogo jazyka. – M.: Al'ta-print, 2005. P. 547.

⁹⁴ Lebedev D. S. Strategiya mezhdunarodnogo biznesa kompanii: ucheb. posobie – Yarosl. gos. un-t im. P. G. Demidova. – Yaroslavl': YarGU, 2012. P. 9.

⁹⁵ Golovin S. Yu. Slovar' prakticheskogo psihologa. – Minsk: AST, Harvest, 1998. P. 238.

⁹⁶ Dijk T. A. van. Diskurs i vlast'. – M.: Librokom, 2013. P. 49.

⁹⁷ Demyankov V. Z. Argumentirujushhij diskurs v obshhenii // Rechevoe obshhenie: Problemy i perspektivy. – M.: INION, 1983. P. 114-131.

⁹⁸ Salakhova A. G. Diskurs: funkcional'no-pragmaticheskij i funkcional'nye aspekty: kollektivnaja monografija / otv. red. E. V. Aznacheeva. Cheljabinsk: Cheljab. gos. un-t, 2008. P.71.

strategy is a narrower concept compared to the communication strategy.

I. N. Borisova considers the communicative strategy as «the result of the organization of speech behavior (speaking / writing) in accordance with a pragmatic goal setting, intention»⁹⁹. According to E. S. Arkhipova¹⁰⁰, a communicative strategy is a complex of speech strategy and extralinguistic factors. Due to the fact that in this research it is necessary to present a linguistic and pragmatic characteristic of the methods of manipulation, we focus on the communicative strategy.

Concerning the concept of tactics, it should be understood as a certain speech action necessary for the implementation of a speech strategy. This term also represents a speech action (one or more speech acts), correlated with a certain stage in the implementation of a speech strategy and aimed at fulfilling particular communicative tasks of this stage. A communicative goal can be achieved in the process of implementing several speech tactics. Thus, tactics in communication are used in order to divide the process of speech influence into certain moves and stages, which are also independent processes and elements of a single whole. Swedish researcher Marie Nordlund¹⁰¹ pays special attention to the use of active and passive voices, transitive verbs in her classification of syntactic impact tactics, substantiation, modality, the use of hints.

The analysis of the presented definitions shows that strategies and tactics are similar in content, but at the same time they are characterized by distinctive features. In general, they represent a single whole, divided into components.

In this study, the E. S. Popova definitions will be used as working definitions, since they most reflect the essence of the concepts under consideration. According to the linguist, the strategy represents some kind of super issue set by the addresser of the message, which consists in influencing the recipient and achieving a perlocutionary

⁹⁹ Borisova I. N. *Diskursivnye strategii v razgovornom dialoge // Russkaja razgovornaja rech' kak javlenie gorodskoj kul'tury*. Ekaterinburg, 1996. P. 22.

¹⁰⁰ Arkhipova E. S. *Realizacija kommunikativnyh strategij i taktik v reklamnom diskurse (na materiale reklamnyh tekstov avtomobilej) // Lingua mobilis*, 2013. № 7 (46). P.18.

¹⁰¹ Nordlund M. *An analysis of how attitudes are displayed in news reporting. Linguistic Manipulation*, 27 (1402-1552). URL: <http://www.diva.portal.org/smash/record.jsf?pid=diva2%3A1026715&dswid=-5041> (Access date: 30.04.2024).

effect (communicative success). Tactic, in turn, is a speech action that is used to solve one of the issues within a certain strategy¹⁰².

To achieve a strategic goal, the speaker needs not only to select specific facts, but also to highlight them properly. For this, it is necessary to monitor the organization of speech, its composition and the nature of the language used means. Therefore, from a pragmatic point of view, in order to implement the impact on the addressee, it is necessary to use various strategies and tactics, which, in turn, are formed at the expense of certain means of language, i.e. linguistic and pragmatic means of manipulation are closely interrelated.

Classifications of strategies and tactics used in political discourse are in the focus of this research. Thus, according to O. P. Shevchenko, there are three types of participants in a political speech:

- «we», i.e. the speaker, as well as employees who are engaged in preparing for the speech, as well as creating the image of a politician;
- «friends», i.e. the recipient of the message, who should be convinced of what the political leader is reporting;
- «outsiders», i.e. opponents determined to discredit the political leader¹⁰³.

Based on the above provisions, the linguist identifies three main strategies, each achieved by certain tactics:

1. A positioning strategy, for the realization of which the following tactics are used:

A. Tactics of reaction (evaluation, affectation), consisting in the use of various repetitions, axiological and expressive lexical units;

B. Tactics of apologization (regret, remorse), which is also expressed using various reinforcing units, expressive vocabulary and repetitions;

C. Tactics of establishing authority (threats, warnings), implemented with the

¹⁰²Popova E. S. Struktura manipuljativnogo vozdejstvija v reklamnom tekste // Yazykoznanie. № 24, 2002. P. 16.

¹⁰³ Shevchenko O. P. Lingvodiskursivnye osobennosti publicnyh vystuplenij (na materiale rechej politicheskikh liderov SShA i Velikobritanii XX-XXI vekov): dis. ...kand. filol. nauk. – Volgograd, 2010. P. 185.

help of the imperative mood and modal verbs with the meaning of ought. These tools allow you to reflect a strong position of the speaker and «friend»;

D. The tactics of establishing responsibility, which consists in the use of participial constructions, Present Perfect verbs as well as lexical and syntactic repetitions.

2. A conflict strategy, for the realization of which the following tactics are used:

A. Discrediting tactics (insults and exposures), which is expressed using oppositions, negative evaluative vocabulary, metaphors, amplifiers and periphrases when describing an opponent.

B. Oppositional tactics, for which metaphors, evaluative vocabulary, repetitions, amplifiers and oppositions are also used, but in this case, they are used when describing both sides. Due to these linguistic means, the speaker raises the attention of the addressee.

3. A cooperation strategy, for the realization of which the following tactics are used (includes speech acts of motivation):

A. Integration tactics, which contain emotional lexical units, lexical and syntactic repetitions, gradation, oppositions, rhetorical questions, non-union connection, pronouns «we», «you», «us», «your», «our»;

B. Tactics of creating an emotional state of the addressee, modeled with rhetorical questions, emotional vocabulary, a variety of repetitions, euphemisms and gradations. This tactic allows setting the pumping effect of the transmitted message¹⁰⁴.

O. N. Parshina provides the following classification of strategies and tactics.

1. Self-presentation strategy, which allows forming the image of a political leader or his party. The more accurately one reflects the political image, the more loyal the audience will be to him / her. From a communicative point of view, this strategy is an emotional self-representation of a politician, an indirect representation of his psychological properties, which make it possible to form a certain impression about the personality of the leader and his goals. The following tactics are used to implement this strategy:

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

A. An identification tactic that indicates which political group a politician belongs to.

B. Solidarity tactics, manifested in the presence of solidarity with the audience and an identical point of view. This tactic is close to the previous one.

C. The tactic of opposition, which consists in contrasting «friends» and «outsiders». The presented tactic is also used when referring to a particular group (students, the elderly, scientists, etc.).

2. A strategy of discreditation and attack aimed at undermining the authority of the opposition party and blackening it in the eyes of the recipient. This strategy is expressed using one tactic – the tactic of the allegation, which is popular among politicians.

3. The self-protection strategy used by those political leaders who became the object of the previous strategy. It is implemented with the help of:

A. The tactic of justification, which consists in stating the reasons why a politician considers himself right;

B. The tactic of questioning, using, which a politician expresses, ones's disagreement with the accusations made by his opponent and refutes them.

4. Information and interpretation strategy aimed at conveying certain information to the audience, but at the same time in its own interpretation, as well as to assess one or another problem. To implement it, the following tactics are used:

A. The tactic of recognizing the existence of a problem, used, as a rule, in the responses of a communicative act;

B. The tactic of highlighting positive information, which uses positively colored vocabulary to express it.

5. The strategy of forming the emotional mood of the recipient, which is most frequently used by government leaders during important appeals to the people. Among the tactics implementing the strategy, the following stand out:

A. The tactic of unity, which allows uniting the speaker and the people.

B. The tactic of appealing to the emotional sphere of the recipient, which allows

creating an inspired pathos¹⁰⁵.

O. L. Mikhaleva holds the opinion that political discourse is a sphere of expression of struggle and competition. In this regard, she proposes to distinguish three pragmatic strategies used in political discourse: 1. The strategy for «lowering»; 2. The strategy for «increasing»; 3. The strategy of theatricality.

In this research, we use the classification of strategies and tactics of political discourse proposed by O. L. Mikhaleva, which is considered in a more detailed way in the practical part of the study.

Consequently, the pragmatic means of expressing manipulation include communicative strategies and tactics, which, in turn, are expressed using various linguistic means. In political discourse, there are various classifications of similar strategies and tactics.

Conclusion to chapter 2. The analysis of the literature on the research topic allows us to draw specific conclusions:

1. Manipulation is the choice and use of language tools that allows having a hidden effect on the recipient. The structure of manipulation includes the object, the subject, the topic and the result. The main features include a hidden nature, a specific goal, specialization of knowledge, interdisciplinarity, nonviolent nature, selfish intent, unequal result, legality and impunity, imaginary independence of the recipient.

4. The mechanisms of speech influence in political discourse refer to the linguistic techniques employed to shape consciousness and decision-making. These techniques operate at the lexical, grammatical, and stylistic levels of language and have a significant and enduring effect. Their beauty lies in drawing public attention towards specific meanings connected to them. To effectively manipulate the consciousness of a mass recipient, one must consider both the linguistic techniques and manipulation mechanisms, as well as the unique characteristics of the audience and their level of receptivity to speech manipulation.

¹⁰⁵ Parshina O. N. Rossijskaja političeskaja rech': teorija i praktika / pod red. O. B. Sirotininoj. – Izd. 3-e, ispr. i dop. – M.: Librokom, 2012. P. 132-137.

2. Linguistic manipulation techniques can occur on the phonetic (correlation of sounds, colors and content), lexical-semantic (polysemantic words, indirect meaning, blurred boundaries, specific nominative act, specific connotative semantic components), syntactic (passive voice, motivational constructions, modal verbs, conjunctions «an» and «but», attributive constructions, rhetorical questions, appeals, repetitions, homogeneous members of a sentence, deixis) and stylistic (metaphor, metonymy, antithesis, nominalization, clichés, ideologems, modal predicates, words with vague semantics) levels. As part of this study, all levels will be studied, with the exception of phonetic.

3. From a pragmatic point of view, manipulation of public opinion occurs through strategies and tactics, which, in turn, are expressed by linguistic means. A strategy is understood as a super issue set by the addresser of the message, which consists in influencing the recipient and achieving a perlocutionary effect (communicative success). Tactic, in turn, is a speech action that is used to solve one of the issues within a certain strategy.

3 LANGUAGE MARKERS OF MANIPULATION IN FEMININE POLITICAL DISCOURSE

The practical part of this study is devoted to the analysis of language markers of manipulating public opinion at different linguistic levels: lexical, grammatical, and syntactical exposed in the collected data. Together with this, we will consider the manipulation tactics and strategies in feminine political discourse for their pragmatic potential.

The collected data contains the transcripts of public speeches of three female politicians – active agents of American political discourse, namely: Nancy Pelosi, Kamala Harris and Hillary Clinton:

- «House Speaker Nancy Pelosi’s 2020 Democratic National Convention (DNC) speech» published on August 19, 2020;
- «Kamala Harris 2020 DNC speech transcript» published on August 20, 2020;
- «Hillary Clinton 2020 DNC speech transcript» published on August 19, 2020.

Nancy Patricia D'Alesandro Pelosi – the first female speaker in U.S. history to lead the Democrats for two decades. On January 4, 2007, N. Pelosi was elected the Speaker of the lower house of Congress, becoming the first woman in that position in U.S. history. After the Democrats' defeat in the midterm elections in 2022, N. Pelosi resigned as leader of the Democratic Party in the House of Representatives and handed over the leadership to Hakim Jeffries, the first black leader of the Democrats.

Kamala Devi Harris – The American statesman and politician, lawyer, member of the Democratic Party of the United States. The 49-th Vice President of the United States since January 20, 2021. The first woman, the first black politician and the first politician of Asian descent to serve as a Vice President of a country in the history of the United States.

Hillary Diane Rodham Clinton – American political and government activist, First Lady of the United States (1993-2001), State Secretary of the United States (2009-2013). The candidate for President of the United States in the 2016 elections from the Democratic Party (collected the majority of votes of the electorate, but as a result lost

to Donald Trump in terms of the number of electoral votes). Senator from New York (2001-2009). Rector of Queens University, Belfast, Northern Ireland (since January 2020). The wife of the 42-nd President of the United States Bill Clinton.

3.1 Lexical means of manipulation

One of the groups of effective means of speech manipulation are lexical means. It is connected with the fact that words themselves often carry a connotative meaning and consequently represent one of the means that can cause an emotional reaction in a person. Manipulation at this level involves influencing the recipient with the help of the meanings of individual lexical units and expressions. The analysis of speeches shows that in the speech of political figures there are such markers as: metaphors, epithets, ideologemes, antithesis, lexemes with the meaning of compatibility, nominalization.

In order to manipulate the public consciousness, political figures use lexical units reflecting the values of American society, i.e. **ideologemes**. These include words such as *unity, freedom, protect, wealth, patriotism, democracy* etc.:

*The science-based action and the Heroes Act we enacted three months ago is essential to safeguard lives, livelihood, and the life of **our democracy** (N. Pelosi).*

*As Michelle Obama and Bernie Sanders warned us, if Trump is reelected, things will get even worse. That's why we need **unity** (H. Clinton).*

*That I am here tonight is a testament to the dedication of generations before me, women and men who believed so fiercely in the promise of **equality, liberty, and justice for all** (K. Harris).*

The use of metaphors contributes to a deeper disclosure of the ideas of political figures. **Metaphors** are often used for manipulative influence, they allow to enhance the impression of a statement, giving it imagery.

*Right now, we have a president who **turns our tragedies into political weapons** (K. Harris).*

In this example, the use of the metaphor «political weapon» is intended to present Joe Biden not only as a politician, but as a defender of the nation militarily. Politics is conceptualized as a «war».

*So we're at an inflection point. **The constant chaos leaves us adrift.** The incompetence makes us feel afraid (K. Harris).*

With this metaphor, K. Harris emphasizes the state of insecurity and instability, uncertainty about the future.

*And while they **endured an unspeakable loss**, those two little boys always knew that they were deeply, unconditionally loved (K. Harris).*

The metaphor is intended to emphasize the depth and pain of the loss of a loved one.

*But as the saying goes, **the world breaks everyone** and afterward **many are strong at the broken places**. That's Joe Biden (H. Clinton).*

In this case, H. Clinton used Ernest Hemingway's statement from «A Farewell to Arms», which is very metaphorical in its essence. This metaphor explores resilience and personal growth following adversity.

*...we gather here, we stand on sacred ground: the chamber of the United States House of Representatives, **the heart of American democracy** (N. Pelosi).*

In this example, it is clear that the politician compares the US House of Representatives to a living organism, which is “the heart of American democracy”.

N. Pelosi in her speech metaphorically describes Joe Biden as having a «*heart full of love for America*» and Donald Trump as having a «*heartless disregard for America's goodness*».

This contrast highlights the opposite values and intentions of the two presidential candidates.

The other stylistic means of manipulating public opinion are **epithets**, which are most often used in the speech of American politicians in order to give expressiveness, for example: *sacred ground: beloved hometown, stunning white building, magnificent dome, extraordinary progress etc.*

*...Trump's **heartless disregard for America's goodness** (N. Pelosi).*

Manipulation can also be manifested with the help of **hyperbole**, which allows you to focus attention on any action or phenomenon, to give it a special meaning:

*Our nation faces **the worst health and economic catastrophe** in our history (N. Pelosi).*

In this case, hyperbole «the worst catastrophe» is used to show in what a ruined and deplorable state D. Trump left the country after his presidency.

E. I. Sheigal refers to the markers of «friends» **lexemes with the meaning of compatibility** the words «*together, all, one, union, consolidation*» as well as lexical units with the function of vocative (address): «*friends, dear fellow citizens, comrades, fellow countrymen, Americans*»¹⁰⁶.

Such lexemes as «together» and «all» are widely used in the studied American political speeches.

*In that spirit, **we come together** now, not to decry the darkness, but to light away forward for **our** country (N. Pelosi).*

*We're not often taught their stories, but as **Americans**, **we all** stand on their own shoulders (K. Harris).*

*...to achieve the future **we collectively** want (K. Harris).*

*So come November, if **we're strong together**, **we'll heal together** (H. Clinton).*

Such examples confirm that these lexemes have an integration value. The speaker seeks to get closer to the public, introduce it into the circle of «friends» and influence it.

The next means of influence is the **antithesis**, which, as in the previous case, focuses on a certain aspect and being compared with others, becomes the most distinct:

*And don't forget, Joe and Kamala can **win** by three million votes and still **lose** (H. Clinton).*

*In that spirit, we come together now, **not to decry the darkness, but to light away forward** for our country (N. Pelosi).*

In addition to metaphorical speech, N. Pelosi frequently appeals to opposing concepts in her speech «good – bad» or «light – dark».

¹⁰⁶ Mikhaliyova O. L. Teorija komunikacii: specifika manipuljativnogo vozdejstvija v politicheskom diskurse: ucheb. posobie/O.L. Mihaljova. -Irkutsk: Izd-vo Irkut.gos. un-ta. 2009. P. 97.

*Joe, he believes we **stand with** our **allies** and **stand up** to our **adversaries***
(K. Harris).

In this case, «stand with» and «stand up to» are contrasted, as well as «allies» with «adversaries». The emphasis here is on values and a model of behavior, which, as K. Harris is sure, J. Biden implicitly follows.

*Joe will bring us together to build an economy that doesn't leave anyone behind, where a good paying job **is the floor, not the ceiling*** (K. Harris).

*In that spirit, we come together now, **not to decry the darkness, but to light away forward** for our country* (N. Pelosi).

Using the antithesis, the politician says that if Joe Biden becomes a president, he will solve all economic problems, and then a well-paid job will be absolutely real, and not something inaccessible.

On the lexical level, female politicians appeal to ideologemes, metaphors, epithets, antitheses and lexemes with the meaning of compatibility.

Analysis of lexical means of manipulating resulted in the following quantitative data.

N. Pelosi's public speech contains: ideologemes – 30%, epithets – 26%, metaphors – 17%, antitheses – 13% and lexemes with meaning of compatibility - 13% (see Diagram 1).

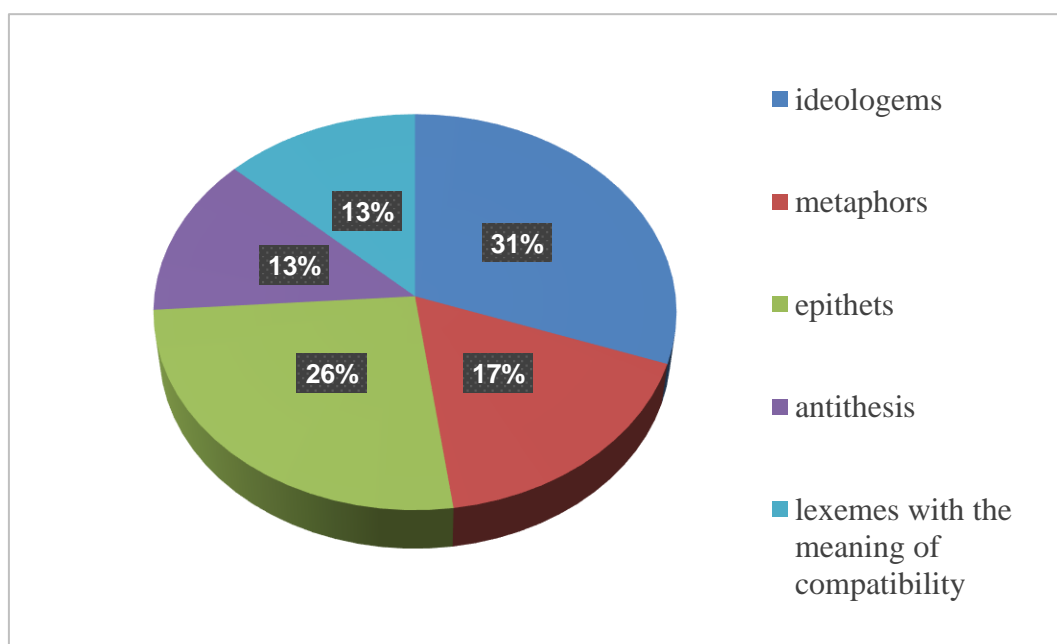


Diagram 1 – Lexical means in N. Pelosi's public speech

H. Clinton's public speech contains: ideologemes – 41%, epithets – 14%, metaphors – 28%, antitheses – 3% and lexemes with meaning of compatibility – 14% (see Diagram 2).

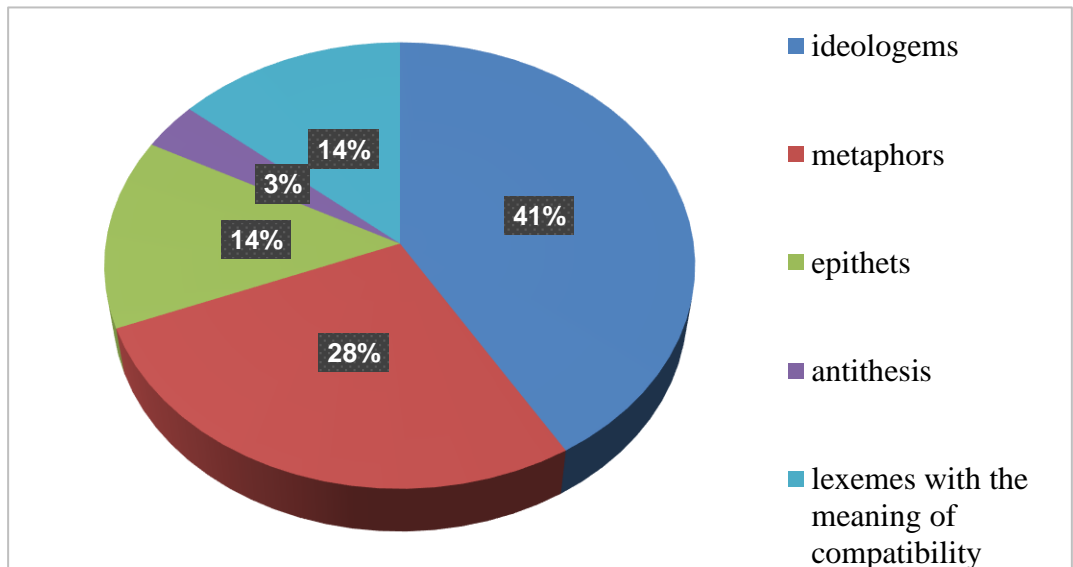


Diagram 2– Lexical means in H. Clinton's public speech

K. Harris's public speech includes: ideologemes – 13%, epithets – 20%, metaphors – 25%, antitheses – 10% and lexemes with meaning of compatibility – 32% (see Diagram 3).

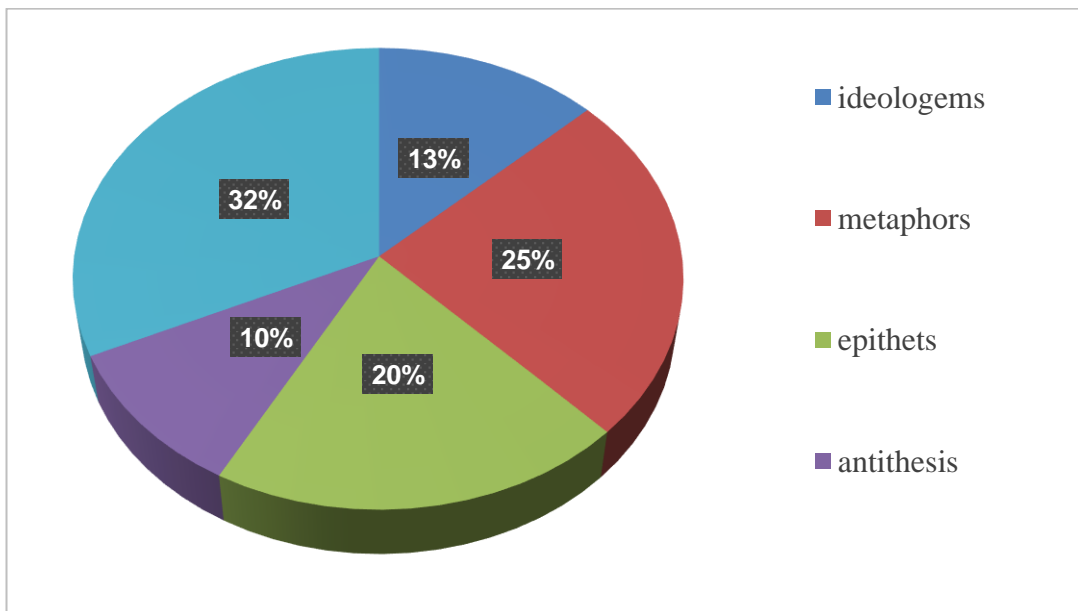


Diagram 3 – Lexical means in K. Harris's public speech

The comparative analysis of the individual features of speakers in their preferences for certain lexical means usage shows that H. Clinton and N. Pelosi appeal to the use of ideologemes, while K. Harris's speech abandons lexemes with meaning of compatibility (see Table 1).

| Lexical Means | N. Pelosi | H. Clinton | K. Harris |
|---|-----------|------------|-----------|
| Metaphors | 17% | 28% | 25% |
| Epithets | 26% | 14% | 20% |
| Antithesis | 13% | 3% | 10% |
| Ideologemes | 30% | 41% | 13% |
| Lexemes with the meaning of compatibility | 13% | 14% | 32% |

Table 1 – Comparative Use of Lexical Means

3.2 Grammatical means of manipulation

Grammatical means of manipulating public opinion include the use of certain parts of speech, word forms, and grammatical constructions.

One of the most obvious means of manipulation at this level is the use of **personal pronouns**. Pronouns are considered to represent a special role in political discourse in general. Pronouns allow to classify the clients of political discourse into groups of inner and outer circle (friends and enemies), thus, help to create a sense of community and unity of politicians with the people, emphasize their own positive qualities, contrast the negative qualities of their opponents.

In the course of the study, we analyzed and calculated the number of personal pronouns used in the speech of each of the female politicians.

H. Clinton's most frequently uses the pronoun «we»; it appears 14 times, followed by «I» (6), «you» (3) times, and «they» (1) (see Diagram 4).

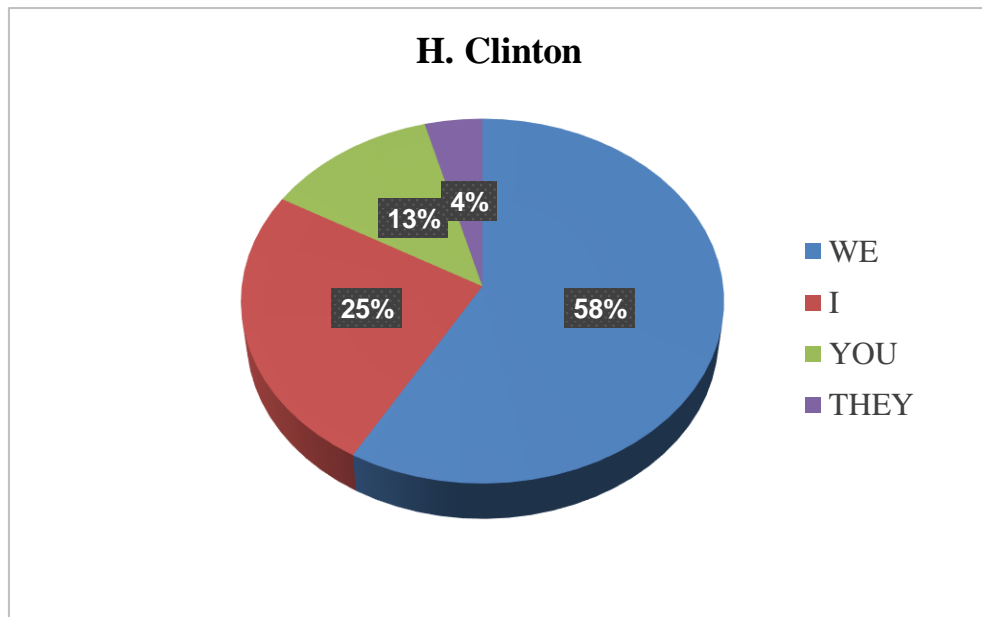


Diagram 4 – Use of personal pronouns in H. Clinton's speech

N. Pelosi uses the pronoun «we» 16 times, followed by «you» (2 times), «they» (2 times), and «I» (1) (see Diagram 5).

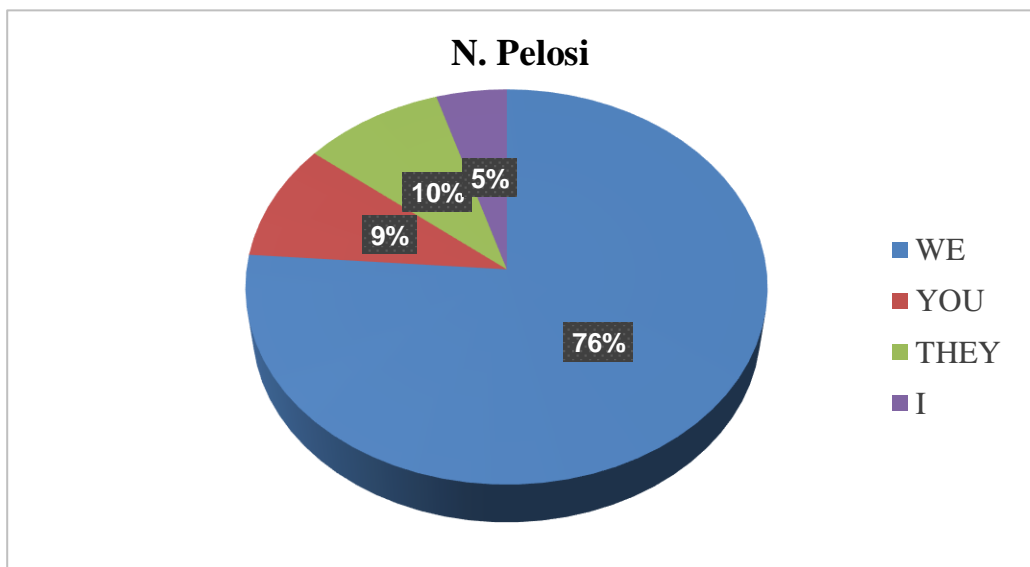


Diagram 5 – Use of personal pronouns in N. Pelosi's speech

K. Harris also utilizes the pronoun «we» more frequently than any other pronoun, with a total of 50 occurrences, followed by «we» and «I» pronouns used 28 times, «you» (19), and «they» (10) (see Diagram 6).

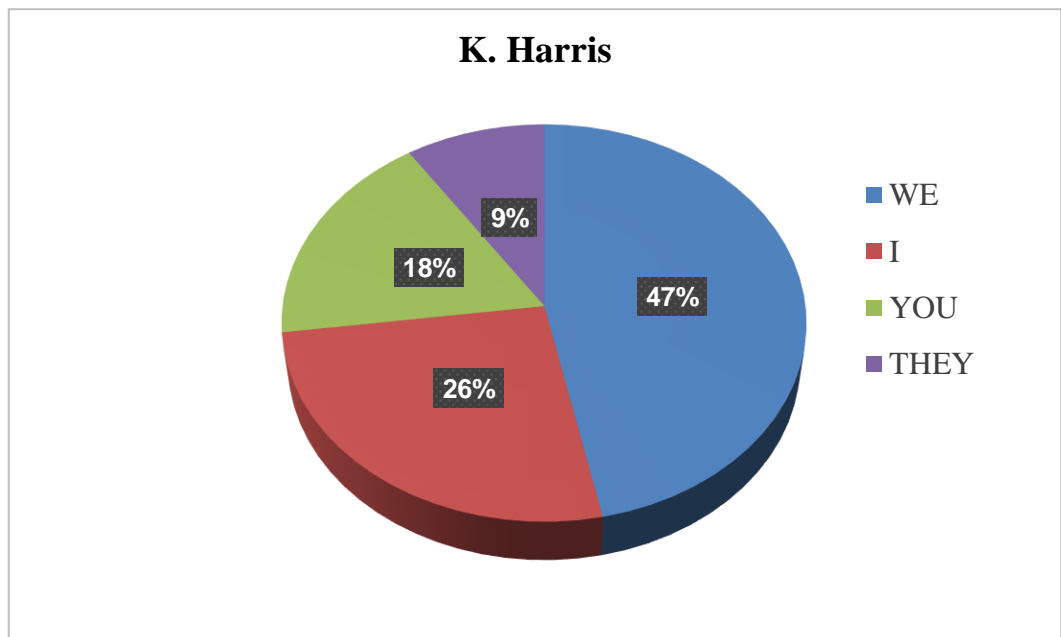


Diagram 6 – Use of personal pronouns in K. Harris’s speech

The pronoun «I» is mainly used to highlight the personality of a politician. The pronoun «you» allows politicians to address their clients directly. With high-frequency, the pronoun «they» is used in a negative way to refer to the enemy, people who are not allies of the United States.

Politicians undoubtedly unite themselves with their clients with the help of the pronoun «we». Using this tool, the speakers intend to evoke a sense of security, strength and national unity.

Pronouns in political speeches introduce the technique of generalization, which has a great impact on the public. Because, in each of their appeals to the electorate, they actively use the pronouns «we, us, our» and generally build speech in such a way that the recipient has a certain sense of unity with other representatives of their nation:

*Joe Biden is the president **we** need right now... And Kamala Harris is the vice president **we** need right now (N. Pelosi).*

*A vision of **our** nation as a beloved community, where all are welcome, no matter what **we** look like, no matter where **we** come from, or who **we** love (K. Harris).*

*It took seven decades of suffragists marching, picketing, and going to jail to push **us** closer to a more perfect union (H. Clinton).*

Often, the pronoun «we» is opposed to the pronoun «they» in order to create a contrasting effect. In this case, ideas of antagonism can be traced, i.e. the pronoun «they» is used to mean «strangers», «not ours», «not us». People referred to the aliens, as a rule, are part of another society, unworthy and immoral.

*The science-based action and the Heroes Act **we** enacted three months ago is essential to safeguard lives, livelihood, and the life of our democracy. And who was standing in the way? Mitch McConnell and Donald Trump. Instead of crushing the virus, **they**'re trying to crush the Affordable Care Act and its preexisting conditions benefit (N. Pelosi).*

This opposition is based on the fight between the Democratic Party (N. Pelosi) and the Republican Party (D. Trump, M. McConnell) in the United States. Thus, there is an imposition of parties, where «we» are the party of the good, and «they» are the party of the bad.

The next grammatical means that allows to manipulate public consciousness is **modal verbs**, which create a subjective modality in speech. Among the most frequently used modals are «can», «have to», «must», «need». The modal verb «can» is most often used in the speech of all women speakers under study.

*We **can** still be a more just, equal country with opportunities previous generations **could** never have imagined (H. Clinton).*

In this case, she encourages the youth of America not to be disappointed in the country, and not to give up for the sake of a bright future.

*We **can** do better, and deserve so much more. We **must** elect a president who will bring something different, something better, and do the important work (K. Harris).*

In this case, the politician starts with a soft «can», and continues with a stricter «must», in order to emphasize the actions that should be applied now.

Most often, as a means of indicating modality in the speech of politicians, **the future tense of the verb «to be»** is used to indicate obligations.

*As Michelle Obama and Bernie Sanders warned us, if Trump is reelected, things **will** get even worse (H. Clinton).*

In this case, Clinton warns of negative consequences, which, in her opinion, will definitely come in the future if D. Trump is elected as president of the United States.

*We **will** win a Democratic majority in the Senate. We **will** elect Kamala Harris vice-president and we **will** elect Joe Biden president of the United States of America (N. Pelosi).*

Here, an American politician uses the future tense to give confidence to her words and convince the audience of the inevitability of the future.

*And years from now, this moment **will** have passed, and our children and our grandchildren **will** look in our eyes. And they're going to ask us, "Where were you when the stakes were so high?" They **will** ask us, "What was it like?" And we **will** tell them. We **will** tell them not just how we felt. We **will** tell them what we did (K. Harris).*

This illustration of the future is designed to set people up for the right choice, conditionally predicting the good future that depends on the decision now.

The significance of modality can also be traced in the examples with **modal particles**. These include «only», «even», «just».

*As Speaker of the House, I've seen firsthand Donald Trump's disrespect for facts, for working families and for women in particular, disrespect written into his policies toward our health and our rights, not **just** his conduct (N. Pelosi).*

In this case, the politician emphasizes the immorality of D. Trump's actions and decisions.

*As Michelle Obama and Bernie Sanders warned us, if Trump is reelected, things will get **even** worse (H. Clinton).*

The modal particle «even» has an amplifying character in the speech of politicians, which increases expressiveness. «Even» is used to highlight the magnitude of future events.

Thus, the main grammatical means in women's political discourse include personal pronouns («we», «they», «I», «you») and also means of expression modalities, namely modal verbs («can», «could», «should», «must»), modal particles («only», «even», «just») and the verb «will».

On the grammatical level, female politicians refer to the personal and possessive pronouns, modal verbs, modal particles and the future tense of the verb «to be».

N. Pelosi's public speech contains: possessive pronouns – 47%, personal pronouns – 33%, modal verbs – 3%, modal particles – 6% and the use of verb «will» for future – 11% (see Diagram 7).

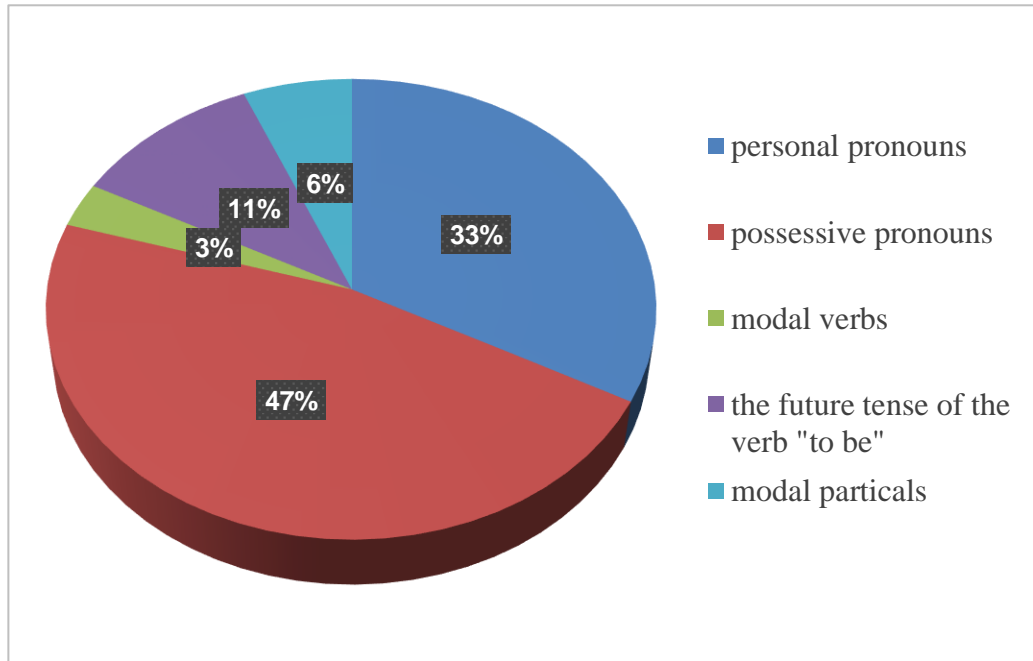


Diagram 7 – Grammatical means in N. Pelosi's public speech

H. Clinton's public speech contains possessive pronouns – 27%, personal pronouns – 38%, modal verbs – 22%, modal particles – 6% and the verb «will» - 8% (see Diagram 8).

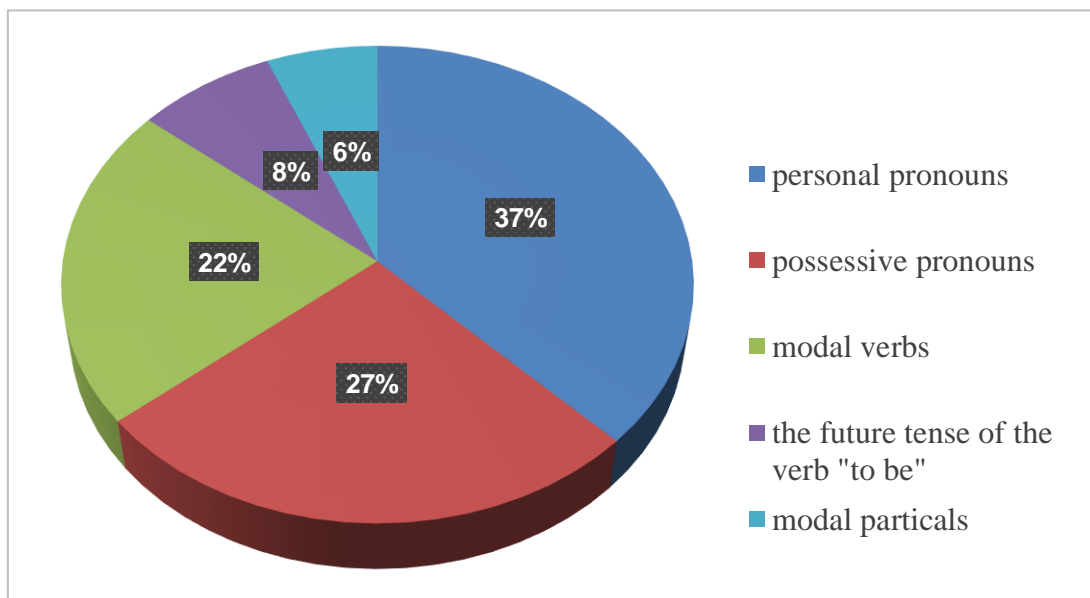


Diagram 8 – Grammatical means in H. Clinton's public speech

K. Harris's public speech contains possessive pronouns – 32%, personal pronouns – 53%, modal verbs – 3%, modal particles – 4% and the verb «will» – 8% (see Diagram 9).

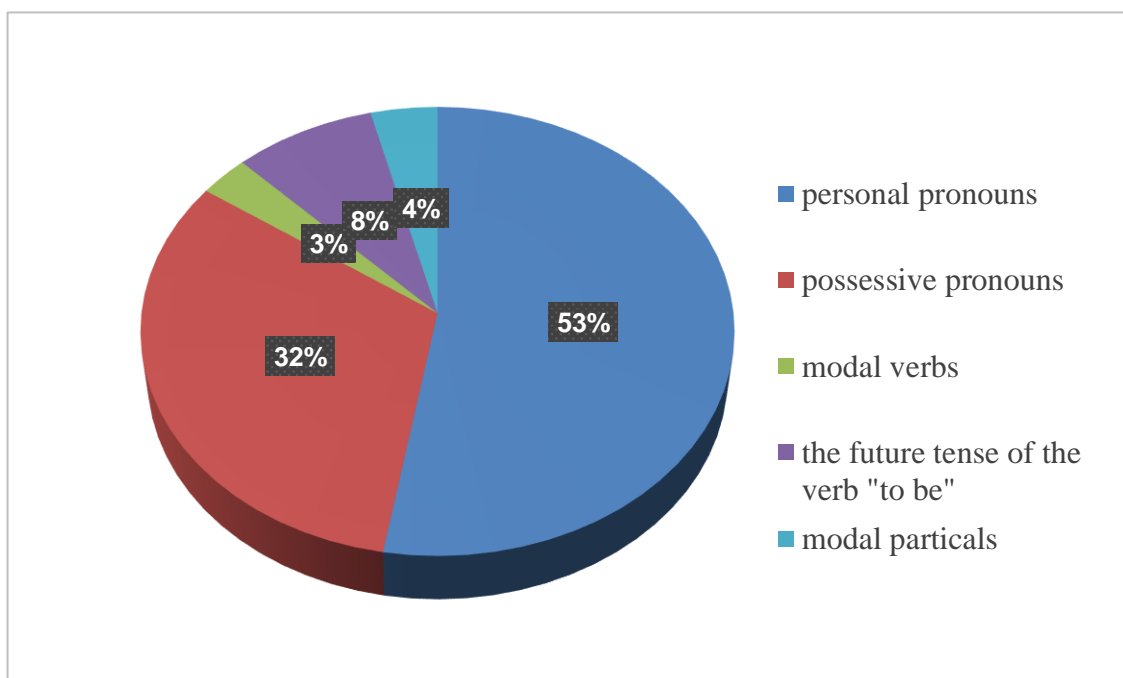


Diagram 9 – Grammatical means in K. Harris's public speech

The comparative analysis of the individual features of speakers in their preferences for certain grammatical means usage shows that H. Clinton and K. Harris appeal to the use of personal pronouns, while N. Pelosi 's speech abandons possessive pronouns (see Table 2).

| Grammatical Means | N. Pelosi | H. Clinton | K. Harris |
|--------------------------------------|-----------|------------|-----------|
| Personal Pronouns | 33% | 38% | 53% |
| Possessive Pronouns | 47% | 27% | 32% |
| Modal verbs | 3% | 22% | 3% |
| The future tense of the verb «to be» | 11% | 8% | 8% |
| Modal particles | 6% | 6% | 4% |

Table 2 – Comparative Use of Grammatical Means

3.3 Syntactic means of manipulation

Syntactic features reflected in the political speeches of K. Harris, N. Pelosi and H. Clinton can be conditionally divided into three groups:

- syntactic features that determine the composition of a sentence (indirect word order, use of the syntax of oral discourse, etc.);
- syntactic features that determine the composition of homogeneous parts of the sentence;
- syntactic use of different types and forms of communication.

The first group of syntactic means is responsible for the composition of a sentence. One of syntactic tool in this group is **elliptical constructions**. Ellipsis, as a rule, is characteristic of colloquial speech. In political speeches, it is used to focus listeners' attention on the semantic part of the statement.

*If you vote in person, do it early. Become a poll worker. **Most of all, no matter what, vote** (H. Clinton).*

*You, you are pushing us to realize the ideals of our nation, pushing us to live the values we share. **Decency and fairness, justice, and love** (K. Harris).*

*We believe that our country, all of us, will stand together for a better future. **And we already are** (K. Harris).*

Using this syntactic tool, often along with repetition, politicians make a deliberate pause in speech and, thus, focus the audience's attention on the most important part of their utterance.

The first group also includes sentences containing various kinds of **separations** that perform emotional and evaluative functions in these speeches.

*Without fanfare or recognition, they organized and testified and rallied and marched and fought, **not just for their vote, but for a seat at the table** (K. Harris).*

*Vote for honest elections, so we, **not a foreign adversary**, choose our president (H. Clinton).*

*And we see it in so many of you who are working, **not just to get us through our current crisis, but to some to somewhere better** (K.Harris).*

The examples presented include separation, which gives a crucial connotation to the statement.

The next syntactic mean in this group are homogeneous parts of the sentence: their use allows you to create tension and concretize the problem under discussion. Most often they are represented by **gradation**, which allows to increase the impact on the addressee:

*We must elect a president who will bring **something different, something better**, and do the important work (K. Harris).*

In this case, a gradation is used with an amplification of the preceding word, thereby increasing the emotional tension of the audience.

Nancy Pelosi uses gradation to emphasize the importance of women in the House Democratic majority, stating that they are:

*...**the most diverse majority in history, more than 60% women, people of color and LGBTQ** (N. Pelosi).*

This highlights the increasing level of diversity within the Democratic Party.

*A **hundred years ago**, the 19th Amendment to the constitution was ratified. **It took seven decades** of suffragists marching... **55 years ago**, John Lewis marched and ... **Tonight**, I'm thinking of the girls and boys who...(H. Clinton).*

In this example, gradation is used to show the historical path of elections, from a century ago and ending with today.

The second group of syntactic means under consideration included examples with syntactic changes to parts of a sentence. In this case, special attention should be paid to **parallel constructions**, since they are very common in the speech of all political figures.

***Vote for** the parents and teachers struggling to balance children's education and safety. **Vote for** paid family leave and healthcare for everyone. **Vote for** law enforcement purged of racial bias that keeps all our streets safe. **Vote for** honest elections, so we, not a foreign adversary, choose our president. **Vote for** the diverse, hopeful America we saw in last night's roll call (H. Clinton).*

In this case, the emphasis is on the need to vote as the only possible way to achieve a bright future for American citizens.

*Joe Biden's faith in God **gives him** the courage to lead. Jill Biden's love **gives him** the strength to persevere (N. Pelosi).*

Using parallelism, N. Pelosi focuses on the personality and advantages of Joe Biden, his strengths, which have unshakable foundations in the form of faith in God and the love of his wife.

***What an** awesome responsibility. **What an** awesome privilege. So **let's** fight with conviction. **Let's** fight with hope. **Let's** fight with confidence in ourselves, and a commitment to each other, to the America we know is possible, the America we love (K. Harris).*

The parallelism is chosen to emphasize the scale of the event (elections) and the need to take actions.

Utterly often, other types of **repetitions** are used in American political discourse:

***You, you** are pushing us to realize the ideals of our nation, pushing us to live the values we share (K. Harris).*

In this example, by repeating the word «you» twice, K. Harris seems to focus on the voters, placing responsibility for the future of the country on them. The parallel construction of «pushing us» also adds to the expressiveness of speech.

The last group of syntactic means includes **polysyndeton**.

*...but if he had put his own interests and ego aside, seeing the humanity in a child ripped from her parents at the border, **or** a protestor calling for justice **or** a family wiped out by natural disaster, that would have been a good thing for America and the world (H. Clinton).*

In this case, the polysyndeton is used primarily to put pressure on pity and discredit D. Trump in the eyes of the public.

The next syntactic mean in this group are **rhetorical questions** – they allow the recipient to be included in the «dialogue» and, due to this, form a false sense of the right to choose:

***Who was standing in the way?** Mitch McConnell and Donald Trump (N. Pelosi).*

With this rhetorical question, N. Pelosi tries, firstly, to unite people, and secondly, to direct them against her opponents.

The analysis of syntactic means in the selected data resulted in identifying the following means used by female speakers: parallel constructions, other repetitions, separations, elliptical constructions, polysyndeton, and rhetorical questions.

N. Pelosi's public speech contains parallel constructions – 20%, repetitions – 28%, separations – 8%, elliptical constructions – 20%, polysyndeton – 8% and rhetorical questions – 16% (see Diagram 10).

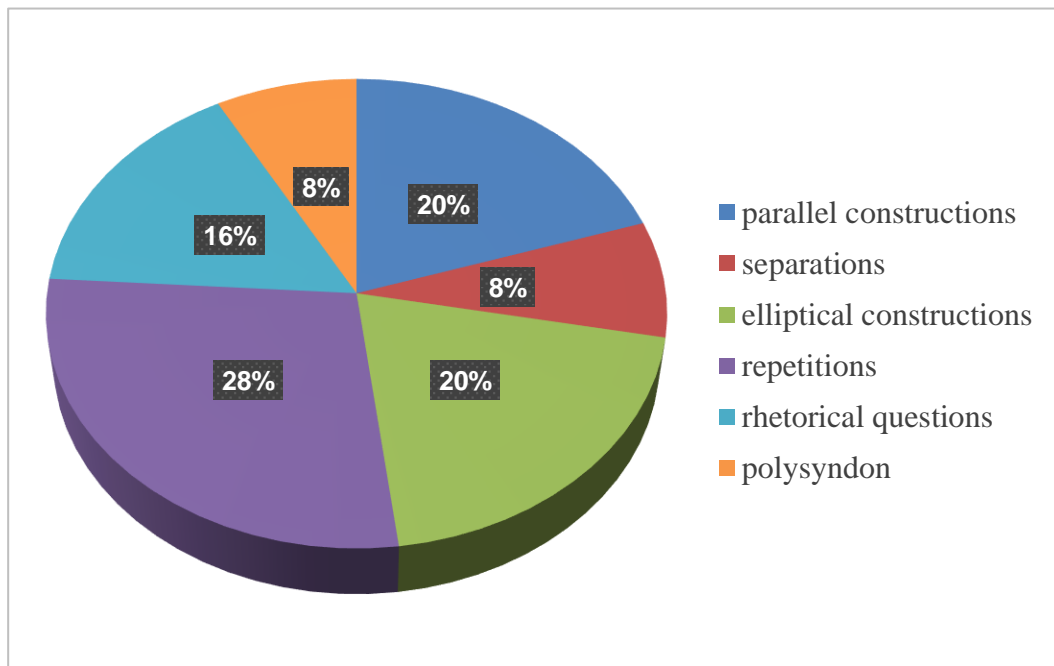


Diagram 10 – Syntactic means in N. Pelosi's public speech

H. Clinton's public speech contains parallel constructions – 14%, repetitions – 32%, separations – 9%, elliptical constructions – 9%, polysyndeton – 27% and rhetorical questions – 9% (see Diagram 11).

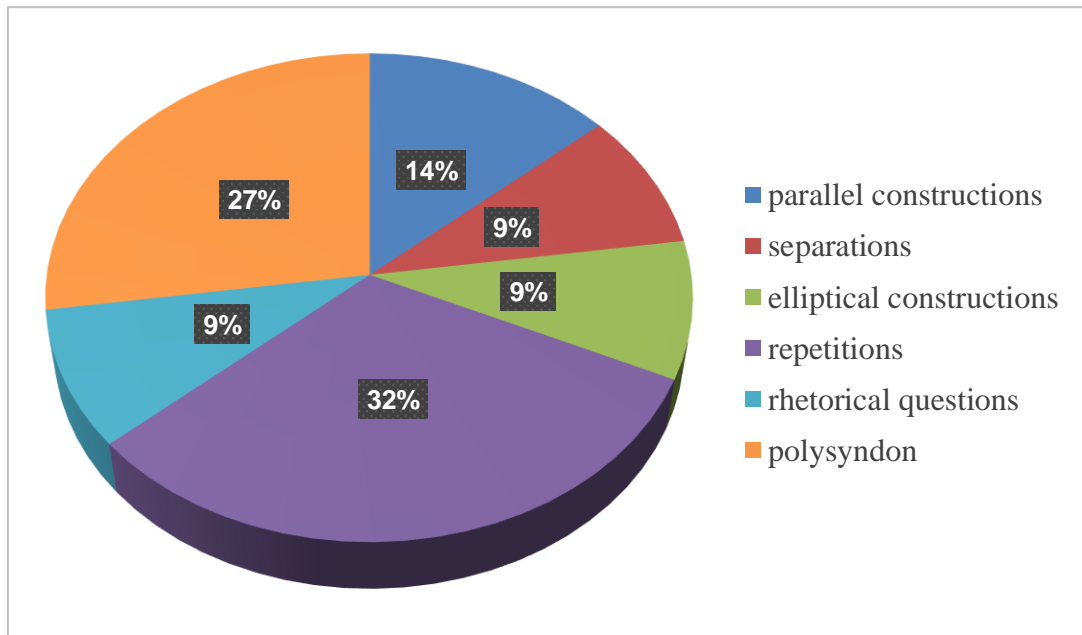


Diagram 11 – Syntactic means in H. Clinton's public speech

K. Harris's public speech contains parallel constructions – 49%, repetitions – 22%, separations – 5%, elliptical constructions – 13%, polysyndeton – 7% and rhetorical questions – 4% (see Diagram 12).

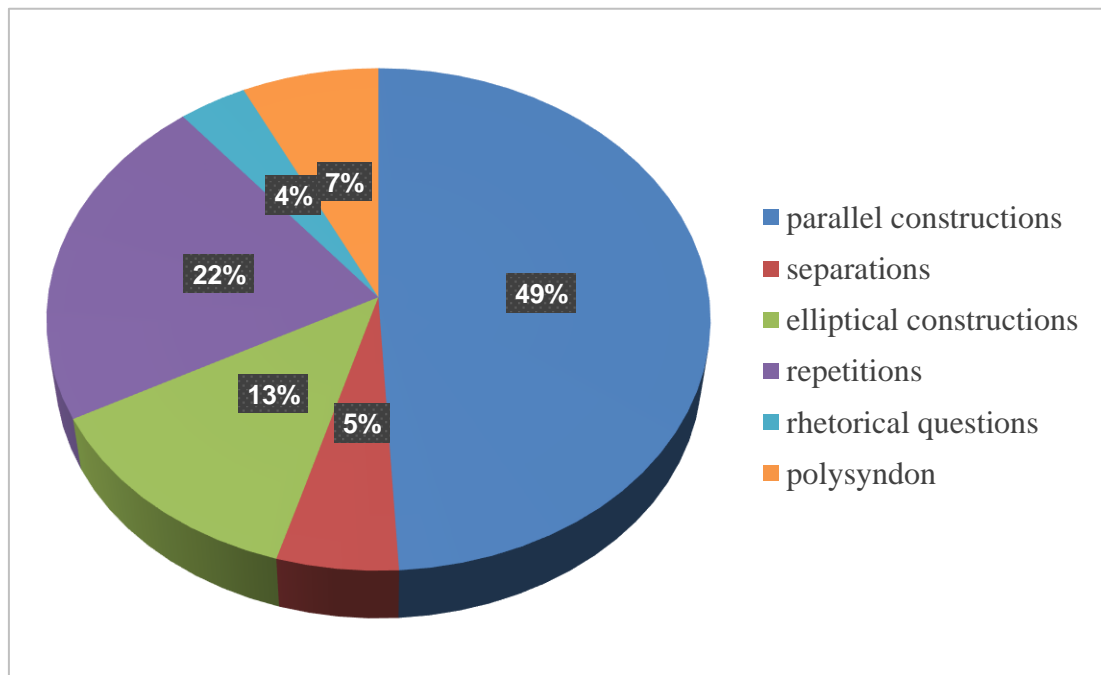


Diagram 12 – Syntactic means K. Harris's in public speech

The comparative analysis of the individual features of speakers in their preferences for certain syntactic means usage shows that H. Clinton and N. Pelosi

appeal to the use of repetitions, while K. Harris’s speech abandons parallel constructions (see Table 3).

| Syntactic Means | N. Pelosi | H. Clinton | K. Harris |
|--------------------------|-----------|------------|-----------|
| Elliptical constructions | 20% | 9% | 13% |
| Separations | 8% | 9% | 5% |
| Parallel constructions | 20% | 14% | 49% |
| Repetitions | 28% | 32% | 22% |
| Rhetorical questions | 16% | 9% | 4% |
| Polysyndeton | 8% | 27% | 7% |

Table 3 – Comparative Use of Syntactic Means

The results of the use of language markers of manipulation means at the lexical, grammatical and syntactic levels are expressed in the following diagram (See Diagram 13).

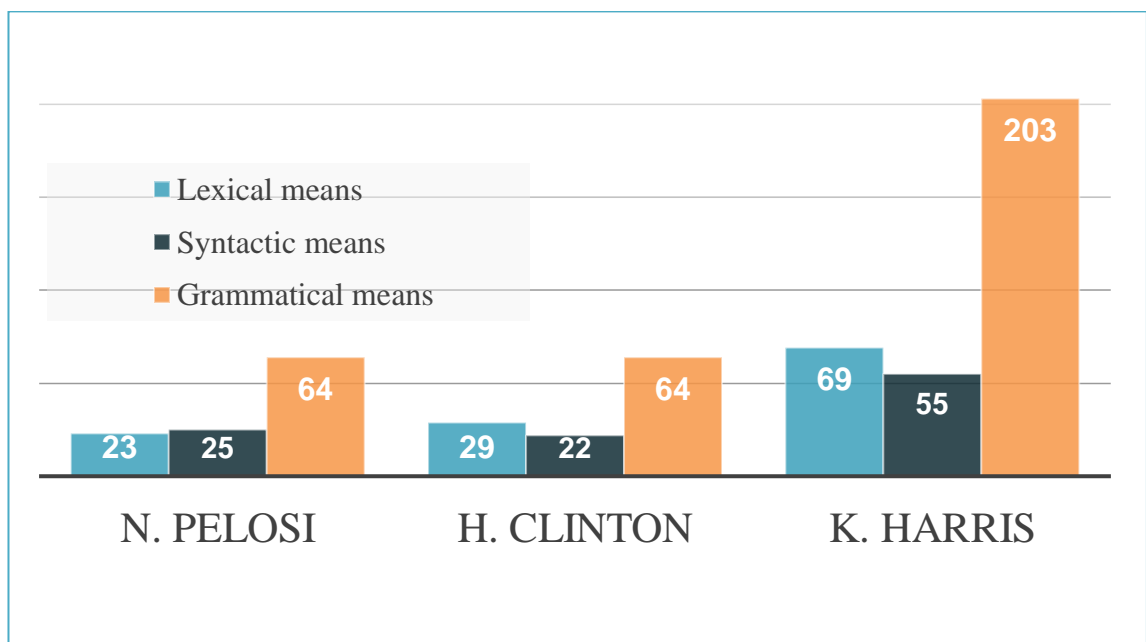


Diagram 13 – The use language markers of manipulation means at the lexical, grammatical and syntactic levels

A comparative analysis of the means of manipulation shows that the use of grammatical means prevails in the speeches of all three politicians. In N. Pelosi's discourse, the use of syntactic means slightly exceeds the use of lexical ones. In the H.

Clinton and K. Harris's discourses, on the contrary, the use of lexical means of manipulation prevails.

3.4 Manipulation strategies and tactics

The analyzed data includes the main DNC public speeches of K. Harris, N. Pelosi and H. Clinton. The DNC is a code for the National Democratic Committee, which is the principal committee of the United States Democratic Party. The selected speakers belong to the Democratic Party and their speeches include opposing rhetoric with the Republican Party.

In this part of the study, the analysis is based on the classification of manipulation strategies and tactics of political discourse proposed by O. L. Mikhaleva. This classification includes strategies for lowering, increasing and theatricality. The main tactics that activate these strategies are presented below.

I. *The lowering strategy* is used for analytical purposes to describe the current economic and political situation in the country after the previous president or when describing the actions of a political opponent.

This strategy is implemented with the help of such tactics as:

1. Tactic analysis of «minus»:

Donald Trump's failure of leadership has cost lives and livelihoods (K. Harris).

This tactic is used to describe the wrong decisions made by the previous president, which led to a reduction in the economic and political life of the country.

2. The tactic of denunciation consists in mentioning shortcomings of a political opponent, often in a veiled manner, in some cases directly:

I wish Donald Trump knew how to be a president because America needs a president right now (N. Pelosi).

In this case, Pelosi openly says that D. Trump did not know how to be a president, did not know how to do it.

The presented tactics, which implement a «lowering» strategy, allow to describe the situation with the previous president or political opponent in dark tones and create the necessary background for voters. They discredit the one they describe in their speech.

II. The next strategy – *the increasing strategy* – is implemented using one basic tactic. The «plus» analysis tactic is used to distinguish oneself from one's opponent, to describe the measures that will be taken if he (she) is elected by the people:

But let's set our sights higher than getting one man out of the White House. Joe Biden and Kamala Harris are going to give us so much to vote for, let's vote for the jobs that Joe's plan will create (H. Clinton).

This tactic is used to present the election campaign from the best side, as well as to present the merits of a particular candidate in front of another candidate.

III. *The strategy of theatricality*, which is represented by the following tactics:

1. The tactic of cooperation, which allows to unite a politician with people:

And Kamala Harris is the vice president we need right now, committed to our constitution, brilliant in defending it, and a witness to the women of this nation that our voices will be heard (N. Pelosi).

Using this tactic, politicians not only point to the unity of the nation, but also emphasize that they and the people are united. To express the tactics of cooperation, the pronoun «we» is most often used.

2. Incentive tactic:

We will remember in November, when we will elect Joe Biden president, whose heart is full of love for America, and rid the country of Trump's heartless disregard for America's goodness (N. Pelosi).

In this example, not only the incentive tactic (to vote for J. Biden) is used, but also the opposition with the «unfavorable candidate» D. Trump, as well as the use of metaphors and the use of the future tense to give confidence to one's own words.

This tactic is used openly by politicians to invite voters to follow them, as well as to assure them that their election campaign is the most attractive for voters.

3. Warning tactic is designed for political opponents:

As Michelle Obama and Bernie Sanders warned us, if Trump is reelected, things will get even worse (H. Clinton).

This tactic is used by Hillary Clinton in order to warn the audience against choosing D. Trump for president and prevent a «worse» outcome.

4. Direct promise tactic:

We may fall short, but I pledge to you that we will act boldly and deal with our challenges honestly (K. Harris).

This tactic is used to ensure that voters do not have the opinion that political figures are unfounded. By making promises to all the people, they commit them to fulfill it.

In the long run, we can say that pragmatic means include certain strategies and tactics that are aimed at achieving the main goal – struggle for power with manipulating public attention and mind. To achieve this goal politicians focus on the values of the people, put pressure on their pain, discredit political opponents.

Conclusion to chapter 3. Practical analysis of linguistic and pragmatic means used by K. Harris, N. Pelosi and H. Clinton in political discourse, allows drawing the following conclusions:

1. The main lexical means of manipulation include metaphors, epithets, ideologemes, antitheses and lexemes with the meaning of compatibility. Such features allow them to emotionally influence the consciousness of the audience.

2. Grammatical means in political speeches make it possible to form a subjective modality. It is most often expressed by using personal and possessive pronouns. Modal verbs (can, could, should, must), modal particles and the verb «will» also become important, since they assist in put emphasis in speech: limit, clarify or enhance the significance of certain lexical units.

3. The main syntactic means of influencing the audience include ellipses, repetitions, including parallel constructions, polysyndeton, separations and rhetorical questions. Such syntactic features make it possible to distinguish politicians and their political course favorably.

4. A comparative analysis of the means of manipulation shows that the use of grammatical means prevails in the speeches of all three politicians. In N. Pelosi's discourse, the use of syntactic means slightly exceeds the use of lexical ones. In the H. Clinton and K. Harris's discourses, on the contrary, the use of lexical means of manipulation prevails.

K. Harris's speech behavior has a distinctive feature, since she uses a large variety of manipulation means, predominantly on the grammatical level. Her speech is expressive, forceful, confident and ambitious. A bright example of combination of masculine and feminine speech behavior that corresponds with her current political status and ambitions. However, to talk about K. Harris's speech style one needs a more representative data of her speeches.

5. On the pragmatic level all linguistic means of manipulation (lexical, grammatical, syntactic) are realized with strategies and tactics. The main strategies in the selected examples include the strategy of theatricality, which is implemented by the tactics of cooperation, incentive tactics, warnings and direct promises. The strategy for lowering (tactics analysis-«minus», denunciation) and a strategy for increasing (tactics analysis-«plus»).

6. Among the most popular language markers of manipulation found in the selected data we can distinguish on a lexical level – ideologems and lexemes with the meaning of compatibility, that account 26% of the use of all lexical means, on the grammatical level – personal and possessive pronouns, that account 32% of the use of all grammatical means, on the syntactic level – parallel constructions and other repetitions, that account 27% of the use of all syntactic means, on the pragmatic level – the strategy of theatricality prevails.

Syntactic means focus the listeners' attention on the semantic part of the statement, perform emotional and evaluative functions in these speeches and enhance the impact on the addressee.

The main lexical means of influence include ideologems and positively colored vocabulary that allow politician to emotionally influence the consciousness of the audience.

7. The speech behavior of the selected American politicians corresponds to the description of feminine speech behavior (use of epithets, particles, dividing questions, hedges, addressings and emotionally colored vocabulary) while there is a large number of markers characteristic of American political speech as a whole.

The use of means and strategies of language manipulation in political discourse does not depend on gender aspect; it is rather affected by the features of political discourse, its goal, mass recipient, and basic values. The selected speakers demonstrated language markers typical for both females and males.

CONCLUSION

Manipulation represents the selection and application of such linguistic tools by which it is possible to exert a hidden impact on the recipient of speech. The main purpose of politicians' using the language manipulation is to sway the audience in their direction.

Political discourse is as a certain kind of institutional discourse that features manipulative specificity and the struggle for power with language tools to affect the mass recipient. Major features of political discourse demonstrate its main objective – the struggle for power; they are realized at the linguistic level with language markers typical for political discourse.

Speech influence in political discourse refers to the linguistic markers, which operate at the lexical, grammatical, and syntactic levels of language and include pragmatic strategies and tactics.

A comparative analysis of the language markers of manipulation shows that the use of grammatical means prevails in the speeches. These means emphasize the involvement of politicians in public life, create a sense of community and unity of politicians with the people.

The main pragmatic strategy explored by in the selected data is the strategy of theatricality, which is one of the most popular for political gaming and features political discourse in general.

Linguistic and pragmatic means of manipulation allow female political leaders manage the mass recipient, influence and form values and beliefs that are useful to them from the intended audience.

The selected speeches of the American female politicians correspond to the description of feminine speech behavior while there is a number of markers characteristic of American political speech as a whole. This fact proves the initial hypothesis. The use of means and strategies of language manipulation in political discourse does not depend on gender aspect; it is rather affected by the features of political discourse.

Political discourse analysis effectively deciphers the manipulative strategies, and social implications embedded in speeches of its agents. This study traced the relations between power and ideology and power and gender.

Future research can benefit from integrating quantitative and qualitative approaches in discourse analysis, conducting comparative analysis across different political contexts and cultural settings.

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