

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE OF UKRAINE
Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv
Institute of Philology
Department of English Philology and Intercultural Communication

GENDER FACTOR IN POLITICS

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Konopatska Kateryna

Supervised by:
Karaban A.V., PhD.

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INTRODUCTION

Politics as a real-world phenomenon and political science as an academic discipline are gendered. Gender linguistics is a field of interdisciplinary study devoted to gender, gender identity and gendered representation as central categories of analysis. This field includes, firstly, Women's studies represented in concept of femininity, stating the gender roles and expressing feminism as a progressive struggle for ideas. Secondly, considerations about man's position in politics, masculinity are expressed in Men's studies. In the past decades the research on gender issues increased dramatically, due to the shift in progressing spheres of industries, but contrasting to it women in some countries have restrictions in elections and male legislation rules [5].

A great variety of disciplines study gender in the fields of literature and language, history, political science, sociology, anthropology, cinema and media studies, human development, law, and medicine. Bright highlight is given to analysis of race, ethnicity, location, nationality, and disability of men and women. In the discipline of political science a few crucial factors have shaped the field of gender and politics. The concept was formed on the basis of factors that influenced our study: the changes on the governmental basis and the emergence of women's movements globally during the 20th and 21st centuries.

In modern linguistics, the study of gender is carried out in various directions: *constructing gender in the linguistic consciousness* (E. I. Goroshko, T. B. Ryabova, I. I. Khaleeva), *in vocabulary and phraseology* (A. V. Artemova, A. A. Grigoryan, V. N. Telia), *in fiction* (T. V. Grechushnikova, I. L. Savkina, M. Yu. Timofeev, N. A. Fateeva, M. E. Fedotova), *in speech* (M. D. Gorodnikova, E. I. Goroshko, J. Coats, J. Holmes, D. Tannen, D. Zimmerman), *in political discourse* (E. S. Gritsenko, S. K. Taburova, R. Lakoff), *in mass communication* (A. V. Kirilina, S. Eggins, R. Iedema, M. Talbot), *in advertising* (M. Krotov, E. V. Miloserdova, V. N. Stepanov,). Many scholars consider the functioning of *gender stereotypes in a language* (L. I.

Grishaeva, V. A. Yefremov, A. V. Kirilina, V. V. Krasnykh, M. A. Shumkova), a *description of gender cognitive phenomenon* (L. V. Adonina, N. F. Alefirenko, S. A. Askoldov, A. P. Babushkin, K. S. Voloshina, T. A. Denisova, etc.).

Gender factor in politics is how people use the various characteristics that pertain to people while making a difference between the peoples' masculinity and feminism. In this scenario, we see how the females are not given much preference in politics just like the way men are given because they are considered to be politically weaker than men.

The **relevance** of this research lies in the fact that political images hold not only informative but also persuasive function, representing a sufficiently large layer of linguistic features scrutinized in research, this thesis may become a contribution to sociolinguistic research, stating gender strategies that are present in a politician's language.

The **aim** of the present work is a comparative study of the male and female linguistic features based on the thorough research of the gender peculiarities in political discourse.

General theoretical and specific **tasks** of the study are:

- to analyze the interdisciplinary perspective of gender from the point of view of gender linguistics;
- to represent the types and functions of political discourse, as well as the main linguistic features;
- to define the gender stereotypes in political discourse;
- to identify the main male and female linguistic styles and features in politicians' speeches;
- to outline the linguistic images of modern American politicians.

The **object** of the study is the speeches of modern American politicians.

The **subject** of the study is gender factor in politics.

The **material** for the study were research works, international scientific journals and encyclopedias, political editions and publications, speech scripts,

statements and videos of famous politicians who are prominent figures on the world political arena.

In work process qualitative **methods** such as content, thematic and discourse analyses took place using the existing data. Before analysis the gathered data was prepared and examined to identify common patterns and differences in political scripts. This involved reviewing the main key points of the topic. Each item was examined to gain a closer understanding of specificity of 5roblematic.

The **scientific novelty** of the study is the following: the linguistic image, as well as linguistic styles and features of such American modern politicians as Bernie Sanders and Elizabeth Warren have been defined.

The **structure** of the study is determined by its aim and objectives, consists of an introduction, three chapters with conclusions to each of them, conclusions to the whole work, list of used literature.

CHAPTER I. THE NOTION OF GENDER IN LINGUISTICS

1.1. Interdisciplinary perspective of gender. Gender linguistics

Psychology is one of the humanities in which gender studies have developed. Philosophers, sociologists, philologists also turn to psychological research, because they contain information relevant to other sciences. Gender psychology studies the differences between men and women, i.e. how gender representatives say how they relate to each other, how they behave, as well as the characteristics of their psyche. [6].

The methodological basis of many psychological studies of gender is the gender-role concept of T. Parsons, the American sociologist. The essence of this concept is the need for a functional separation of fields of activity or differentiation of male and female social functions: instrumental function refers to men, expressive function – to women. The relations with the outside world, providing livelihoods, refer to **the instrumental function**. By the way, this function requires some authority and rigidity. **The expressive function**, on the contrary, is aimed at maintaining the integration of system members, establishes certain models of relations, regulates the level of tension of family members and, in contrast to the instrumental function, suggests softness, the ability to resolve differences and resolve the conflict. According to T. Parsons, “such a separation of male and female roles is a mechanism that ensures the stable functioning of the family, like any other social system” [67].

However, the social role is understood as the behavior expected from a person who has a certain status in the social system or in interpersonal relations [37]. In other words, the social role is a function of the social status of the individual, which is realized in social expectations, norms and rules, as well as in social and individual representations. Nevertheless, in modern society man is characterized by autonomy, but he is able to fulfill different social roles at the same time, depending on the situation.

The gender-role concept also fits into the original interpretation of the term “gender” that was proposed by R. Stoller, the American professor of psychiatry. In

fact, sociocultural ideas about the personality of men and women were identified, which linked psychological characteristics with the gender of a person [68].

If we talk about gender only as a system of ideas about the biological field, then “gender research in social psychology will be included in the methodological framework of the theory of the gender scheme, which was most formulated by S. Boehm, the American psychologist (1993)” [cit. in: 13].

The theory of the gender scheme suggests that the characteristics of a person’s gender are “the basis of their way of organizing information about the world around them”. According to S. Boehm, in addition to teaching the characteristic concepts and behaviors that are associated in a particular culture with the specific features of men or women, the child will be trained to perceive and organize information in accordance with gender patterns.

Conducting an experiment to identify a person with a characteristic sexual typification, S. Boehm asked participants to describe themselves in relation to some stereotypical character traits. “Those who described themselves highly on the basis of masculine traits, but low on feminine traits were defined as masculine; participants who gave the opposite characterization were defined as feminine; and those who characterized themselves as masculine and feminine traits were defined as androgynous” [cit. in: 4].

At the end of the XIXth and the beginning of the XXth centuries, **gender psychology** began to be developed as an independent and relevant trend and already had natural-science foundations. It was during this period that people began to change their attitude towards each other, in particular, towards women. Consequently, scientists began to pay attention to problems that were not previously considered by psychology.

Thus, in psychology, **gender** is understood as social sex, sex as a product of culture. In psychology, the term “**gender**” is used in four meanings: a) gender as a contrast to biological sex; b) gender as a synonym for sex; c) gender as an expansion term for the biological and social manifestations of gender; d) gender as a symbol of

gender inequality, their hierarchical organization: dominant male and subordinate – female (the latter is used mainly in feminist literature) [6].

Due to the fact that gender is closely related to language, one of the most important subjects of research within the framework of genderology is **gender concepts** in various language systems, i.e. their similarities and differences. The problem of intercultural communication, which arises due to the characteristics of these gender concepts, is also investigated [36]. In connection with the change of the scientific paradigm in the humanities at the end of the XXth century, the priority of language was recognized. This led to a “linguistic turn”. Language with this approach is considered as a means of access to knowledge about non-linguistic phenomena. Thus, the concept of gender was introduced. The term “gender” indicates the social status and socio-psychological characteristics of the personality, which are associated with gender and sexuality, but arise in interaction with other people [30].

Many aspects of gender research have been facilitated by the emergence of a phenomenon such as feminism, which plays an important role not only in gender studies, but also in people’s lives. Feminism originated in France during the Great Revolution – at the end of the XVIII century. During this period, the French writer Olympia de Gau made the “Declaration of Women’s Rights”, the purpose of which was to provide women with voting rights, the right to participate in all public events, and the right to hold any position. As a result of this movement, women were allowed to participate in political discussions and publish written works on their own behalf, but still they were not given voting rights [6]. During this period, the first women’s political organization, *the Society of Women of Revolutionary Republicans*, appear. It advocated the revision of the De Gouges declaration. This organization has caused a ban on the creation of any women’s clubs or organizations [23].

Almost simultaneously in England and the United States in 1792, Mary Wollstonecraft, the English writer and translator, published her work “In Defense of Women’s Rights”, in which she did not demand equality of men and women before the law, but the use of political means in the form of legislation [23].

Thanks to the new and actively developing in the middle of the XIX century suffrage movement (from English *suffrage* – to vote), in England women won the right to vote [6].

The “New Women’s Movement” in the United States, which entered the struggle against patriarchy, stimulated the scientific understanding of the gender concept and greatly facilitated its dissemination for the purposes of political struggle. Since the late 60s of the XXth century, a direction has emerged in linguistics (in particular in the USA and Germany), which has become known as feminist criticism of the language, or feminist linguistics, whose purpose was to identify patriarchy, i.e. male dominance in all spheres of human life. In the book R. Lakoff reinforced the arguments with the androcentricity of the language and the negative image of the woman in the picture of the world, which manifested itself in the language. The scientist conducted research to indicate sexism in the language, that is, linguistic discrimination against women [18].

According to R. Lakoff, a woman’s speech is characterized by such signs as uncertainty, humanity and calm. She suggested that the woman is targeted more carefully during a conversation with the interlocutor and also does not try to control the course of the conversation. Men are characterized by contrasting speech behavior: they are distinguished by aggression, dominate during the conversation. In the case when a woman decides to use masculine speech tactics, she is treated as an ill-mannered, arrogant feminist, which often leads to communicative failures [62; 51].

In order to detect linguistic differences, scientists resorted to sociolinguistic experiments, to methods of questioning and surveys. They developed the ideas of R. Lakoff and analyzed communicative acts in different pairs: man and woman, man and man, woman and woman. In order to confirm the hypothesis of R. Lakoff, it was necessary to conduct a lot of research, one of which was a record of conversations of spouses studied by P. Fishman, as well as conversations of older people studied by M. Hartman, the German orientalist. The results of most of the experiments indicated that R. Lakoff’s assumptions were only half true. As a result of this, subsequent

sociolinguistic studies were aimed at studying the methods of communication only among female groups [51; 57; 60].

In Spain, feminist movements, as well as socio-political transformations in the post-Frankish period, influenced the change in women's identity. This caused the old ideas about the role of women in the family and society to become obsolete, as a result of which the attention of Spanish linguists and sociologists to the study of gender in language increased [46].

Thus, women's movements and organizations that advocate for the equal rights of women and men have contributed to the achievement of rights that women did not previously have.

Two books of P. Ye. Astafyev, the Russian philologist, were devoted to the problem of gender inequality – “The concept of mental rhythm as the scientific basis of the psychology of sexes” and “The mental world of a woman, its features, advantages and disadvantages”. P. Ye. Astafyev believed that the psycho-types of men and women are separated by the time factor, i.e. how quickly the change of mental acts and events takes place. As a result, he concluded that “the female psychotype is fast-paced, but the male psycho-slow, which determines gender differences” [3].

One of the reasons for the increased interest in the interaction of language and gender is the formation and development of such a direction of linguistics as **sociolinguistics**. **Sociolinguistics** (social linguistics) is “a branch of linguistics that studies language in connection with the social conditions of its existence. By social conditions we mean a set of external circumstances in which the language actually functions and develops: the society of people using this language, the social structure of this society, the differences between native speakers in age, social status, level of culture and education, place of residence, and differences in their speech behavior depending on the communication situation” [50].

Consequently, sociolinguists study language in its social context, paying attention to its linguistic variability, i.e. to the ability of the interlocutor to switch

from one language means to another in case of changing certain conditions of a communicative act [8].

V. Kirillina is one of the linguists famous for studying gender. She formulated general theoretical questions. It was she who raised the question of the separation of feminist and scientific approaches to the study of gender. Moreover, she proposed a two-tiered model, which consists of metagender (universal) and gender (gender-sensitive) levels.

Gender differences relate to the vocabulary of people, their associative series and semantic fields. Since it is believed that a woman is more focused on the inner world, then there is a greater number of words in her vocabulary that are typical for describing emotions and feelings. According to A. V. Kirillina, **the female associative field** is more generalized and “humanistic” (i.e. it contains more tokens characterizing nature, animals, everyday life), while men tend to associate themselves with sports, hunting, professional and military spheres.

In modern linguistics, the number of works by scholars of different directions in the field of gender studies has recently increased significantly. So, *gender markers in the language of fiction* were studied by I. V. Denisov and L. A. Ermakov on the basis of Russian and English languages. I. V. Polevaya was engaged in *gender marking of advertising and television discourse* on the basis of the Russian language. Today, gender studies are intensively carried out in many other areas, such as: *gender in lexicography* (O. V. Vishnyakova); *gender in forensics* (L. Yu. Kiryushina); gender in the media (E. A. Sokolova); gender on the Internet (I. A. Jacobin).

Previously used in linguistics to denote the grammatical category “gender”, the term “gender” has acquired a clearer meaning. Today, **gender in linguistics** is commonly understood as “the sociocultural, symbolic gender structure, which is designed to determine a specific associative connection, ensure full communication and maintain social order” [15].

Thus, gender issues in recent years has been the focus of attention of many scientists. One of the best ways to trace the manifestation of gender in a particular

linguistic culture is the analysis of gender stereotypes that allow you to explore the characteristic picture of the world of this linguistic culture.

Initially, the term “stereotype” was used in the printing industry to refer to copies of a printed form, but soon, approximately from the middle of the XIXth century, the word began to be used in a figurative meaning, for example, as a template, stencil or unchanging standard.

Typical stereotypical ideas about men and women developed among people even before the start of research on gender stereotypes. However, even in the modern world, people continue to think with these stereotypes, regardless of the characteristics and age of a person.

At the beginning of the XXth century, Walter Lippman, the American sociologist and journalist, first used the term “stereotype”, borrowing it from typography, and then he defined its socio-psychological position. Thus, W. Lippman compared the process of the emergence of stereotypes with the manufacture of printing plates, which allow mass replication of the text without the need for its re-typing. This metaphorical transfer from the world of technology to the world of human thinking and perception allowed the scientist to imagine the patterns of stereotypical thinking, which subsequently influenced the study of this phenomenon.

U. Lippman described the “**stereotype**” as “a model of perception, filtering, interpretation of information in recognition of the world around us, adopted in historical community, based on previous social experience” [65].

One of the significant works related to the essence of gender stereotypes was the study of I. Broverman, the psychologist, and his colleagues. They interviewed young men and women about the standard traits that characterize men and women [54].

At first the gender stereotypes were carried out only by psychologists. In the 1980s, the work began to appear, focusing on typed representations of people about feminine and masculine traits. So, V. S. Ageev considered the functions of gender-role stereotypes in his work “Psychological and social functions of gender-role

stereotypes”. He summarized all the existing foreign research areas, which allowed him to highlight the main trends in research on gender issues [1].

Despite the fact that gender stereotypes are a variation of social stereotypes, they have their own distinctive features [27].

Firstly, they provide an example of gender patterns. Gender schemes are cognitive projections of gender. The specificity of gender schemes is that “they manage the processing of incoming information in such a way that people begin to perceive, remember and interpret it in accordance with their expectations and their ideas about gender” [7].

Secondly, people pay more attention to gender if both men and women play one role. For example, if a woman occupies a leadership position, then she is expected to display qualities characteristic of men. In this case, one can also see the manifestation of gender patterns [27]. S. T. Fiske and S. E. Taylor, the American psychologists, found that the more often gender schemes are activated, the more accessible they will stop for people and the more often they will be used [58].

N. L. Pushkareva, the historian and founder of historical feminology and gender history, identifies three groups of gender stereotypes. **The first group** is the stereotypes of “masculinity” and “femininity”. In other words, these are ideas about what psychological and behavioral characteristics men and women should have. **The second group** involves the distinction between family and professional roles according to gender, i.e. these are stereotypes characterizing what roles a woman and a man should play. **The third group** of gender stereotypes is the division of labor. The field of activity of men is mainly creative, constructive and leading work. It is typical for women to do extra work, often in the service sector [39].

At the end of the 20th century, linguistic and cultural studies of gender began to be carried out. These studies allow scientists to describe the concepts of masculinity and femininity in different cultures and certain traits inherent in men and women that are considered important in their culture [38]. The linguistic-cultural direction considers the study of the peculiarities of the stereotypes of femininity and

masculinity and their reflection in the language; the features of speech transmission of cultural concepts “masculinity” and “femininity” and “gender metaphor” (a situation where all masculine and feminine traits are transferred to objects and phenomena that are not related to gender), intercultural communication.

In our study, we adhere to the definition of gender stereotypes as “standardized representations of behaviors and character traits that correspond to the concepts of ‘masculine’ and ‘feminine’” [12].

It is important to note that gender stereotypes as a product of each linguistic culture are largely investigated on the basis of the phraseological fund, which is formed through the development of the culture of each nation. Therefore, such an analysis allows us to fix the established stereotypes of a certain linguistic culture.

1.2. Male versus Female linguistic style

Gender linguistics, as part of gender studies, began its active development only at the end of the XXth century. To study gender stereotypes in English advertising in general, and in linguistics in particular, first of all, it is necessary to consider the very concept of “gender”.

In 1975, the work of G. Rubin, the anthropologist, “Exchange of Women: Notes on the “Political Economy” of Gender” was published, where the author considers gender as a set of agreements governing biological gender as an object of social activity. In the future, many interpretations of the concept of gender were based precisely on this point of view.

Most scientists use the definition of gender given in 1989 by E. Giddens, the sociologist: “[...] if gender is related to physical, bodily differences between a woman and a man, then the concept of “gender” affects their psychological, social and cultural characteristics. [...] If the gender of an individual is biologically determined, then the gender is culturally and socially determined” [17].

B. McElkhinni, in turn, notes that, in the framework of modern science, gender is neither the property of the individual, nor his property [44]. Therefore, it should be

defined as a manner of human behavior dictated by cultural values and social foundations of a particular society.

Today the category of “gender” from the field of social sciences has practically shifted to the field of linguistic research, where, in turn, it has been very productively studied in such areas as pragmatics and anthropooriented description [50]. A.V. Kirilina claims that in the framework of a linguistic study there is no such category as gender, however, by studying the structure of the language, it is possible to identify the contents of this category.

The subsequent linguistic studies in the field of genderology were conducted based on the fact that any discrepancies between male and female languages are a priori determined by biological sex. At the same time, neither age, nor education, nor the cultural level of the individual were taken into account.

By the beginning of the XXth century in the field of gender studies and communication, world-famous linguists began to take their first steps (O. Jespersen, F. Mautner, E. Sepir). Despite the fact that at that time their development in this field had not yet led to the formation of a separate direction, scientists began to study language as a phenomenon associated with society as a whole and man in particular. The following directions have formed in linguistics – pragmatics, socio- and psycholinguistics, the theory of discourse and communication. Along with this, research began on the distinguishing features of the male and female varieties of European languages: English, French, German [40].

There are a number of studies of speech behavior in various social groups, as a gender-related phenomenon, where the gender variability of the language is directly related to social factors. Their author, F. Mautner, believed that **the “female” language** originated in the days of ancient theater, and was closely related to its historical customs, and more precisely, the fact that men played female roles in it. **The female version of the language** was adapted in society only when women got the right to play on stage [25]. However, F. Mautner’s theory of the social conditionality of gender variability in language has not been developed for a long

time.

Gender differences in speech at the level of phonetics and grammar were studied by E. Sepir. As a result, he concluded that the gender diversity of speech, in most cases, is due to two factors: language saving and the psychological perception of men and women as a member of a particular social group. He says that women's options, first of all, should be defined as abbreviated forms, the origin of which has absolutely no connection with gender, but which are varieties unique to women.

The emergence of female reduced forms is due to the phonetic and morphological economy of the language. However, he also recognizes that an indicator of a woman's secondary, less ritually social status.

In general, the first works in the field of gender studies in linguistics did not differ in regularity and were based on the notion that the female language is significantly inferior to the male language in the number of units at all its levels [20]. At the same time, it was widely believed that the gender variability of language is biologically determined: "the concept of gender accepted in culture considers men and women to be categories of life that are naturally and unequivocally defined with obviously differing psychological and behavioral preferences that can be predicted based on reproductive functions. The competent adult members of these societies see the differences between men and women as fundamental and sustainable [...]. Things are what they are, thanks to the fact that men are men and women are women: such a separation is seen as natural and rooted in biology" [41; 51].

Only in the late 60s. XX century when linguists gradually began to abandon a structuralist view of language, sociolinguistics and communicative semantics received a huge impetus to development. This period also includes the first large-scale research in the field of pragmatics and paying particular attention to the psychophysiological and social nature of the language: the formation of an individual's speech is affected by his gender, age, level of education, etc. [35].

At the same time, the feminist movement became especially active. As a result, a separate scientific field was formed – gender studies, which immediately became

the subject of study of such sciences as anthropology, history, psychology, socio- and psycholinguistics, sociology, philosophy, economics.

Thus, in the process of forming gender studies in the field of linguistics, three main stages can be distinguished:

“**Alarmist**” during which the study of gender as a social phenomenon, the function of social structures (institutions and statuses) in the formation of gender identity, the connection of the units used and the speaker’s personality began.

The stage of “**feminist conceptualization**”, the purpose of which was to develop clear guidelines in feminist theory and practice. It was during this period that feminist-oriented sciences were created: feminist psychoanalysis, feminist linguistics. More often than not, they sought to expose male dominance in social and cultural life. Feminist criticism of the language was clearly polemic in nature, the development of the linguistic methodology itself was carried out, attempts were made to influence language policy.

The “**post-feminist stage**” was distinguished by an empirical test of ideas expressed by representatives of early feminist linguistics, the emergence of “male studies”, cross-cultural and linguocultural studies of gender, the study of more languages and a new understanding of methodological issues.

Today, such a new industry as linguistic genderology (gender linguistics) is fully formed in general linguistics [19].

Gender linguistics, arising under the influence of biological and gender reality, reflects the totality of biological characteristics and social roles, as well as the characteristics of the psyche and behavior inherent to representatives of a given gender within a certain culture.

In relation to gender linguistics, the terms “**masculinity**” and “**femininity**” are “conceptual metaphors that convey an internally contradictory and at the same time dynamic ratio of male and female substrates” [47].

The manifestation of masculinity and femininity can be observed in various fields: “in the types of behavior, in various types of social activity, as well as in the

language that describes these phenomena”.

Interpretation of genderism as “a reality mediated by signs, symbols and texts”, along with the biological and social, cultural and symbolic component of gender, through which many phenomena and concepts that are not directly related to gender are identified with “male” and “female”, suggest that in every culture there is a “gender picture of the world”. This concept includes the totality of representations that make up a person’s vision of reality, where things, properties and relationships are categorized using binary oppositions, the sides of which are associated with male or female principles.

The reasons should include two fundamental features of the thinking process. The first is the very method of conceptualizing reality with the help of binary oppositions as the most familiar and “economical” form of organizing a picture of the world, originating in the opposition “WE – THEY”. The second is as follows: the general picture of the world is always “humanized”, which is reflected in the allegorical, symbolic and metaphorical characters of its images, in appeal, for example, to a bodily metaphor. Since a person is not neutral to the floor, a special case of anthropomorphization of the world’s picture is “the endowment of phenomena and things with gender characteristics, their correlation with male or female” [41; 51].

One of the main provisions of gender studies was the thesis that the two components of gender – social and cultural symbolic – contain implicit value orientations and attitudes.

Nature and culture, emotional and rational, spiritual and bodily – these phenomena, not directly related to gender, are identified with masculine or feminine in such a way that within these pairs a kind of hierarchy is created, called the “gender asymmetry”. What is supposed to be defined as masculine is placed in the center and is regarded as a positive and dominant attribute, and marked as feminine as peripheral, reduced.

The hierarchy of “masculinity” and “femininity”, as values, affects the

hierarchy of social actors (both individuals and, for example, cultures), for which to be represented or to represent themselves as a woman or a man means to accept the whole set of such attributions. Thus, with the help of a gender metaphor, relations of inequality, power, and control are confirmed.

At the same time, two clarifications must be made, without which the correct explanation of many phenomena of the gender picture of the world is impossible. Firstly, the degree of marked androcentricity of cultures is different. For example, Russian culture, due to a number of factors, is less androcentric than western. This can be found in the individual components of culture, be it language or philosophical conceptualization of male and female principles.

Secondly, in addition to identifying the feminine with a subordinate, vulnerable and suffering, it is necessary to take into account other meanings contained in this concept, as well as in the picture of the interaction of two principles. So, one should take into account the circumstance, which, as a rule, is ignored in the feminist discourse: the image of the feminine in essence is ambivalent. For example, J. Lacon believes that a woman in an androcentric culture “does not exist”, but it should be clarified that it does not exist as reality. However, it is constantly present as an opportunity for both the worst and the best. A woman is less than a man, but more than a man. A man is a man, but only a man. “Feminine as a threat of violation of certain norms and denial of certain values is at the same time the possibility of affirming other norms and values, which explains, for example, the deep-rooted idea of the feminine saving mission in world culture” [41].

The masculine principle was interpreted “as the Apollonian principle of form, idea, initiative, activity, power, responsibility, culture, personality, reason, abstract conceptual thinking, consciousness, justice.

The feminine principle is like the Dionysian principle of mother, passivity, submission, nature, feeling, instinctiveness, unconsciousness, concrete thinking, mercy. Such an interpretation of masculine and feminine qualities is “traditional for philosophical and mass consciousness” [41].

This view of the masculine and feminine, as two different forms, served as the basis for the formation of ideas about the gender linguistics. Since the interpretation of male and female qualities is traditional, “gender stereotypes reflected in the language, on the one hand, are culturally determined, and, on the other hand, are recognized by the individual in accordance with his personal experience”.

A relatively recent move of gender studies in linguistics beyond the study of few languages and cultures has provided some new information on the features of gender conceptualization.

Initially, it was only about androcentrism and the proof of its presence in language and culture: language is not only anthropocentric – it is androcentric, i.e. reflects the male perspective and focuses on the male person. This conclusion was supported at an early stage of research by the results of a study of a small number of languages (mainly English and German). A systematic and focused study of another language material began somewhat later.

Later, other languages came to the attention of scientists and the researchers had the opportunity to compare the manifestation of masculinity and femininity in it with its manifestations in the languages studied earlier. At the same time, scientists found that “although androcentrism is inherent in the Russian language, it manifests itself not so distinctly”.

The language does not function on its own, but it reflects the social and cultural processes “characteristic of society at a given period of its development, therefore it is necessary to highlight the degree of androcentrism of a particular culture and its language, intra- and extralinguistic factors” [29].

Intralinguistic factors include:

- the structure of the language, its capabilities in the field of expression of the concept of gender (morphological, lexical, and other means);
- characterological features of the language, which can also be described in terms of expressive capabilities in relation to gender.

Extralinguistic factors include:

- features of the studied culture and value parameters of masculinity and femininity, established gender roles, requirements for male and female subcultures, etc.;
- historical and / or political factors whose role in manipulating a diverse gender concept has long and convincingly been proven;
- the interpenetration of cultures (multiculturalism).

Thus, the emergence of the nominations “masculinity” and “femininity” is not accidental from the point of view of the mechanisms of conceptualized reality in the consciousness of the individual. The concepts of masculinity and femininity are metaphorical and, due to their semantic duality, affect the consciousness of native speakers, forcing them to associate the abstract categories of masculinity and femininity with men and women, respectively. The process of categorization in human consciousness goes from concrete to abstract, so the very nomination of the concepts of “masculinity” and “femininity” was due to specific human experience – the presence of two types of people with different functions. The internal form of the metaphysical categories “masculinity” and “femininity” refers to people of different sexes and forces them to attribute qualities that are characteristic of these categories, but not necessarily characteristic of real men and women. This identification contributes to the formation of gender stereotypes and social expectations in relation to men and women.

Summing up, it can be noted that the development of research in the field of gender began from ancient times and was a study of the category of the genus in the language. Later there was a confusion of the categories of gender, because of which a tough debate began in the scientific community. Moreover, it was originally believed that the masculine gender and, accordingly, masculinity as a category are superior to the feminine and femininity. Then, based on the study of the languages of America and Africa, the distinguishing features inherent in the “language of men” and “the language of women” were identified. After, in the 60s of the last century, the so-called feminist movement was actively spread, which had a great impact on all

spheres of life, including science.

In the process of cognition, objects, properties, processes of not only real, but also spiritual worlds are identified and named from the surrounding world. The latter include images, “symbols, standards and stereotypes of culture, as well as values recognized by society, ethical standards”. In the form of cognitive-conceptual structures, they form the basis of the picture of the world, “depending in the modern sense on the features of history and social structure, nature, traditional activities and other forms of manifestations of this national-cultural community. A special place in the picture of the world is occupied by the principles and models of communication” [29].

1.3. Linguistic features and linguistic image of males and females

Nowadays “feminism occupies a stable position in the social and cultural space of developed English-speaking countries, therefore, adherence to the ideas of gender equality is perceived as a commonplace in this society” [36]. Despite the fact that attempts to change the language of the nominative system under the influence of feminist linguistics are criticized as a deliberate intervention in the language in order to overcome the gender asymmetry existing in this language society, the principles of gender correctness are observed in many media articles.

Until the middle of the XXth century, in linguistic science, syntax and semantics were studied separately, there was a completely clear distinction: lexicology dealt with the semantic side of the language and grammar (morphology and syntax) with the formal-grammatical aspect. In modern linguistics, many linguists have come to the conclusion that the phenomena of syntax and semantics are inextricably linked, which confirms the interest in the syntax of the lexical semantics of the Moscow semantic school (Yu.D. Apresyan et al.), as well as an active study of syntactic units in the semantic aspect (N.D. Arutyunova, Ye.V. Paducheva, O.N. Seliverstova et al.).

The pragmatic aspect of the discourse is crucial in the syntactic organization of the text, in which “the syntax of the sentence reflects the distribution of the semantic roles of the participants in the event: either by word order, or by various functional correlation of elements (subject, object), or using active or passive forms” [21].

In various types of discourses, the communicative functions of the language are closely related to the semantic categories of modality, emotiveness, expressiveness and evaluation. Although numerous linguistic studies do not have an unambiguous interpretation of these concepts, the recognition of the human factor in the language is associated with interest in these categories as part of the study of communicative discursive strategies. N.D. Arutyunova sees in the communicative purpose of the statement, expressed in the form of recommendations, incentives to act, praise or warnings, the evaluative component.

It is **the category of modality** that expresses the reality / unreality of the statement and “as a means of social and sociocultural interaction” reflects the influence on the discourse of the human factor and other extralinguistic components.

Traditionally, the category of modality is divided into objective and subjective. Many modern scholars believe that “the spheres of the subjective and objective in a language, as in reality, are always interconnected; the category of modality is a dialectical unity of the objective and subjective”, which is present in communicative utterances. According to N.S. Valgina, objective modality “in fact, reflects how the speaker (author) qualifies reality – as real or surreal, possible, desired, etc.”.

M.V. Zaynullin singles out the modality of reality when the subject perceives the message as a reliable fact, and the modality of invalidity when the content of the message for the subject is not real, but achievable, desirable, possible or doubtful. The choice of verb forms for various types of discourses is determined by the modality of the utterance and determines the syntax of the sentence. The modalities of reality are usually associated with the indicative mood of the verb, the modalities of invalidity – the imperative or subjunctive verb mood. The position of the authors

of journals in relation to the addressee is realized by the imperative form of the verb, reflecting the “special type of speech behavior”. According to A.L. Sharandin, the meanings of the forms of imperative mood verbs do not possess the property of either reality (reality) or hypothetical (irreality); an action expressed by the form of the imperative verb has the property of feasibility or impracticability.

In English, there are usually six main types of text modality. Epistemological modality. Its markers are the verbs of knowledge, understanding, reflection, memory (*to know, to guess, to realize, to remember, etc.*), as well as constructions expressing logical causal relationships of processes and facts (*complex sentences with subordinate real or probable conditions*).

Verbs of speaking, action and perceptual activity in the indicative mood (*to see, to hear, etc.*) are the means of expressing evidential modality; modal verbs *could, must, might* in the sense of assumption; modal words *certainly, perhaps, etc.*; words of suspension and comparison *as if, it seemed, it appeared, like*; alien direct and indirect speech.

Emotional modality conveys emotions and feelings by means of emotive vocabulary, interjections, verbs of sensation and feeling (*to feel, to strike, to love, etc.*), exclamatory and interrogative sentences.

The main means of expressing conditional modality are considered modal verbs, their equivalents (*to be to, to have to, to be able to*) and volitional vocabulary (*to wish, to want, to desire, to long for, to prohibit, impossible, etc.*) .

Hypothetical modality is conveyed by constructions with an unreal condition and a hypothetical consequence of *what if, I would, if only he could, how I wish, etc.*, modal words *possibly, perhaps*, as well as nouns and verbs with the meaning of “imagination”.

The basis of evaluative (axiological) modality is constituted by the concepts of “good” – “evil”, “good” – “bad”, the means of expressing it are estimated adjective vocabulary (*strangely liberal, immoral, brilliant etc.*), as well as keywords-symbols that convey axiological position of the author.

Conclusions to Chapter I

Gender linguistics, as part of gender studies, began its active development only at the end of the XXth century.

Sociolinguistics (social linguistics) is “a branch of linguistics that studies language in connection with the social conditions of its existence. By social conditions we mean a set of external circumstances in which the language actually functions and develops: the society of people using this language, the social structure of this society, the differences between native speakers in age, social status, level of culture and education, place of residence, and differences in their speech behavior depending on the communication situation”.

The hierarchy of “masculinity” and “femininity”, as values, affects the hierarchy of social actors (both individuals and, for example, cultures), for which to be represented or to represent themselves as a woman or a man means to accept the whole set of such attributions. Thus, with the help of a gender metaphor, relations of inequality, power, and control are confirmed.

CHAPTER II. THE CONCEPT OF POLITICAL DISCOURSE

2.1. Types and functions of political discourse

Political discourse can be defined as a language of mass media or other institutions that is generally used in social and political spheres of communication. Such definition of political discourse is found, for instance, in “The Political Rhetoric of a United Europe” by Christ’l de Landtsheer. Political discourse is a discourse of a politician and if it is viewed within the professional framework, it can be considered as an institutional form of discourse. This means that only those discourses can be qualified as political which take place in such institutional situations where the speaker expresses his/her opinion as a politician (e.g. government sessions, parliamentary discussions, election campaigns, political debates, etc.).

It is possible to distinguish the spheres of political discourse’ contact with other types of institutional discourse (advertising, scientific, pedagogical, legal, religious, sports, military) as well as with non-institutional forms of communication (art and everyday discourse). Media discourse plays a special role in the functioning of political discourse, being both a channel for political communication and an influential way of interpreting of political discourse.

There are two approaches to the definition of political discourse: wide and narrow. Such dual interpretation of political discourse is implied in the statement made by Paul Bayley: “There is no such thing as political language, but a wide and diverse set of discourses, or genres, or registers that can be classified as forms of political language. It would be feasible to identify a set of ‘canonical’ forms of political discourse: policy papers, ministerial speeches, government press releases or press conferences, parliamentary discourse, party manifestos (or platforms), electoral speeches, etc. They are all characterized by the fact that they are spoken or written by (or for) primary political actors – members of the government or the opposition, members of parliament, leaders of political parties, candidates for office”.

Political discourse divides into its sub-genres:

- Religious discourse
- Green discourse
- Nationalistic
- Feminist discourse
- LGBT discourse

Each type of discourse at the same time represents a discourse of a particular segment/group of society. Hence, each segment (based on professional, class (socio-economic), gender divisions) produces discourses that are typical to them. Discourses produced by those segments are the reflections of their ideological stances.

For modern political linguistics, it is extremely important to include in a political discourse a number of components related to speech activity: these are the author's political views; and other discourses that can be implicitly or explicitly represented in a particular sample of discourse; and the political situation determining the content of the discourse; and etc.[10]

G. Lasswell classifies the types of political discourse according to the degree of transparency of the language, depending on the tension in the country or the world. So, if political decisions play a key role in deciding the fate of a country or a specific person, as, for example, in the case of promulgation of laws or sentencing in court, the discourse will be built on established standards and be transparent and concise.

Other situations, such as calls to take one side or another in elections or referenda, when the people themselves must choose the path of future development for themselves, are still very tense, because the audience is faced with a choice, and therefore is responsible for it. Nevertheless, the authors of the discourse have much greater freedom to express their emotions about what is happening, the use of stylistic means of expression, etc.

The latter in the given situation are least related to the tension of their participants. These include the celebration of the victory of one of the presidential candidates in the election or the inauguration ceremony of the new president. The

corresponding discourse is the most colorful, replete with stylistic means, bringing to the fore the values of society and the idea of the unity of the nation [32].

As for the functions of political discourse, here it is necessary to turn to the functions of the language, deduced by academician V. V. Vinogradov: communication, communication and impact [10]. All these functions are presented in political discourse. The central role is given to the impact function, since the speech of the politician is aimed not so much at transmitting any information, but rather at influencing the audience. The communication function also fades into the background, as often between the author and the addressee there is no communication as such.

It seems advisable to take a look at another classification of language functions developed by R. Jakobson [61] based on the orientation of each function on a communication component. So, he distinguishes communicative, emotional, incentive, fatic, metalanguage and aesthetic functions.

The main function of political communication is the incentive function, which consists in exerting influence on the addressee in order to gain and maintain power. E. I. Sheigal even brings this feature into his definition of political discourse: it is “communication, the main intention of which is the struggle for power” [51]. Indeed, the political discourse is the desire to gain power, so it is often used as a way to manipulate people. The struggle for power implies the need to induce the audience to act (for example, before the election), to convince them of the purity of intentions, the correctness of the speaker’s judgments, etc. That is why the political language is so rich in various stylistic means by which the speaker makes his speech more convincing and impressive.

An incentive function can be expressed in different ways in a discourse: explicitly, that is, in the form of slogans, direct appeals to people, etc., and implicitly, when an author conveys a certain emotion through his discourse, be it fear, anger or feeling unity, thereby pushing the audience to any action.

Despite the dominance of the incentive function, the remaining functions of the language also play an important role in political discourse. The communicative function is responsible for the transmission of information: political discourse often contains information about important political events, political directions and about everything that may be important for a given communicative situation.

The emotive function is responsible for expressing the speaker's feelings and emotions, as well as for awakening the same emotions at the addressee. Thanks to the persuasiveness of speech and the successful choice of stylistic means, the speaker is able to evoke a whole range of diverse emotions in the listener. In political discourse, it is very important that the addressee shares the feelings of the speaker: only then can they together strive to achieve common goals.

The magic function is associated with the establishment and maintenance of communicative contact. It is closely intertwined with the previous one, because only in case of interest and commonality of tasks and views will contact be established between the parties and communication will be successful.

The metalanguage function helps to correctly convey the meaning of a word or phrase. So, politicians often resort to the explanation of certain terms, concepts and ideas of the world of politics, since their meaning may not be fully understood by the audience.

The last function in this series – aesthetic – is aimed at creating expressive speech. As in the literary text, in political speech it plays an important role, since the use of stylistic means makes speech vivid and memorable [49].

The functional features of political discourse leave their mark on its substantive and formal components. One of the features of political discourse is that it combines standardization and expression. The first component is necessary so that the discourse is accessible to a wide range of recipients. It consists in observing certain sequences of construction and reproduction of discourse, as well as the rules for choosing vocabulary. Expressivity, on the other hand, allows us to convey in the discourse the emotional state of the author and his attitude to the topic. Being expressed with the

help of stylistic figures of speech, expressiveness also makes the text interesting for perception, which is extremely important for the world of politics, since the more thoughtful the discourse is, the more influence it can have on the audience.

The nature of the audience also leaves its mark on political discourse, which is characterized by the predominance of a mass addressee. This feature is that when creating and reproducing a sample of discourse, the author expects that he will be immediately heard by a significant number of people. For example, debates in parliament take place in the presence of its members, and the inaugural speech of the new president is broadcast by television and radio not only in the respective country, but also abroad.

Political language is also an integral part of political discourse. It is characterized by uncertainty, often expressed through words with abstract meanings and polysemy. It reveals itself because politicians often have to talk veiled about unpleasant things that cast a shadow over them. This also includes the anonymity of certain statements in order to hide the actor responsible for a particular decision. Also, the speaker's use of uncertainty can be attributed to not show his ignorance in any matters. In addition, uncertainty helps to avoid possible conflicts, because if the speaker does not specify his message and speaks blurry, then he will not have to answer for what has been said or it will be much easier to reflect the attacks of rivals and ill-wishers [51]. Consequently, political discourse adapts to external conditions.

2.2. Linguistic features of political discourse

Under the content of political discourse, it is necessary to understand a set of all essential features of a political discourse that are common to all genres of this discourse and can distinguish it from other types of a discourse. Building a comprehensive and accurate system of distinctive features is rather complicated, as they form a very agile frame, features of which depend on the type and specificity of a concrete discourse. [17]

At the present stage of development of political discourse, many researchers are studying the linguistic features of political discourse, called the “political language”, which means a special style, manner of communication with the addressee. Political language is in bilateral relations with extralinguistic reality. On the one hand, the political situation on the world stage has a tangible influence on him, because he reflects the country’s life with its values, traditions and priorities. For example, political reality often forces speakers to distinguish between people in their discourse on “friends” and “strangers,” and often it is necessary to carefully draw this border so as not to cause new conflicts.

On the other hand, the choice of language means is of great importance for political discourse. It allows you to influence the consciousness of the addressee, how he will perceive this or that information, how he will behave after understanding it. The role of the political language in creating the image of a politician or an entire party, as well as in making important decisions, cannot be underestimated. There are many examples when a successful public appearance changed the course of historical, and especially military, events.

Speaking about the creation and perception of political discourse, T.A. van Dijk also addresses the idea of two types of knowledge. He contrasts “General cultural knowledge shared by participants in various social groups” and “knowledge shared by participants in a separate social group” [41]. The first type forms the basis of communication, is objective and undeniable. The second type of knowledge meets the criteria of the first with only one limitation – the similarity is true only for a particular society. For everyone else, this knowledge seems like only a conviction or opinion.

The main task of the analysis of political discourse is to identify the links between power, thinking and language, as well as mechanisms for managing public opinion. At the present stage of development of the analysis of political discourse, four approaches to it are especially clearly distinguished. They are not mutually exclusive and often complement each other in research.

The most developed and widely known is the **critical discourse analysis** (CDA), which arose in the early 1990s. It is rooted in classical rhetoric, text linguistics, sociolinguistics, applied linguistics and pragmatics, but the greatest influence, according to Ruth Wodak, a university professor Lancaster, at CDA was provided by the systemic functional linguistics of M. Halliday, who considers language at the same time as “the brainchild and creator of human society” [70].

At the heart of the CDA are ways to study the expression of social inequality and the exercise of power in society. The most prominent adherents of this approach are N. Fairclough, T. A. van Dijk and R. Wodak, however, there are also a number of authors from different countries who publish their works in the journal “Critical Discourse Studies” edited by T. A. van Dyke covering social, gender and ethnic inequality in the world.

T.A. van Dijk defines the CDA as “a kind of discourse-analytical research procedure aimed at studying mainly the methods of abuse of social power, dominance and inequality that are realized, reproduced and faced with resistance in the form of discourse in the social and political contexts” [21].

CDA is not limited to one specific method. Mentioning dynamism and versatility among its positive features, G. Weiss and R. Wodak still call him “eclectic and unsystematic”. However, they immediately stipulate that such interdisciplinarity can also be considered as a positive feature of the CDA, since it allows a dialogue between different theories.

In their opinion, the KDA pays much more attention to the social than to the purely linguistic in the discourse. It is the role of discourse in the social aspect of life that is at the center of the interests of the CDA. The linguistic component becomes interesting when it is discussed in the context of the expression of social and cultural features in discourse.

A comprehensive examination of the discourse from the sociological and linguistic sides would be an extremely successful procedure if it had not encountered

a number of obstacles in the path of its development. They are primarily associated with inconsistencies in the categories with which these two methods operate.

H. G. Weiss and R. Vodak find the root of the problem in “Horizontgebundenheit”, i.e. in the mismatch of the horizons or angles of view of the above-mentioned methods [69]. Nevertheless, CDA supporters are actively developing mechanisms that will synthesize linguistic and sociological methods of discourse analysis.

Returning to the idea of social orientation of CDA, it is necessary to turn to the works of T.A. van Dijk, who develops this idea, representing CDA as “discourse analysis with an attitude” [55]. He believes that discourse is not only social from the beginning, but also political in its orientation. Such an approach, however, does not exclude the adoption of methods and tools of both social and linguistic theories, which allows expanding the boundaries of research. It follows that the CDA is committed to creating the basis for dialogue between these theories.

So, CDA considers language as a social practice. With the help of language, people express their relationship, a look at the world around them. And since life itself is socially colored, the discourse reflects these social characteristics in itself. In addition to this feature, the CDA has several other distinctive features that allow it to stay separate from other methods of analyzing political discourse.

Along with the social aspect, in the area of CDA interests are language and power. There are a number of works devoted to the relationship and the relationship of these two phenomena.

So, in his book “Language and Power” N. Fairclough analyzes the ways in which some people dominate over others with the help of language. He sees the task of his research in discovering and explaining how the existing customs of relationships between people with varying degrees of power, found in the subconscious, find their expression in the language [56]. As a result, the author comes to the conclusion that language, being the main guardian of the worldview, is

an integral part of a person's social life and the main means of expressing power in society.

Showing interest in the same problem, R. Vodak writes that the CDA is primarily aimed at studying the relations between domination, discrimination and control, which are reflected in the language. "Language can be used to challenge the authorities, to overthrow it, to change its distribution in the short or long term. [...]CDA are interested in ways of using linguistic forms for diverse expression and power management"[69].

In addition, supporters of the KDA call to remember that the language is not influential in itself, but acquires significance and power at the time of use. It is this fact that explains the interest of KDA supporters in the discourse of individuals with a certain power and, therefore, responsible for the existence of inequality between people.

Probably the last in the list of CDA features will be called its "transdisciplinary" nature [53]. This term belongs to N.Ferklafu differs from the classical "interdisciplinarity" in that it implies not the closeness of the methods of different disciplines, but their close dialogue.

At the end of a rather voluminous characteristic of critical discourse analysis, it must be emphasized once again that it does not come down to any single method, but is a constantly developing and expanding approach to discourse analysis.

The second way to analyze the discourse is **content analysis**, which consists in computer processing of voluminous corps of political texts (which excludes the subjectivity of conclusions) in order to identify patterns of functioning of political discourse, as well as to determine the relationship between language and power [49]. This method "involves streamlining the surface diversity of texts, thereby opening the possibility of their comparison and calculus" [42]. The most famous adherents of content analysis are American sociologists G. Lasswell and B. Berelson.

The widespread use of content analysis began in the 30s of the XX century in the United States. Even then, G. Lasswell began to obtain quantitative indicators of

the information used in political texts. Interest in this approach was growing, because it allowed, for example, to calculate the effectiveness of propaganda, so widespread in the 20th century, especially during periods of war [22].

The fundamental work in the field of content analysis so far is the book *Content-Analysis in Communication Research* written in 1952 by B. Berelson. In the modern world, content analysis is used in a wide range of disciplines. In addition to linguistics, it includes political science, psychology, sociology and others. Such a popular approach to the analysis of discourse indicates the high effectiveness of research conducted with its help.

Thanks to computer programs, a researcher can calculate, for example, the number of phrases with the value of praising a country or a specific person. For this, a strict system of coding information and ranking it on the scale of intensity of the attribute is used. Also, the program may be tasked with calculating the amount of print space devoted to a particular topic.

Content analysis has practical applications in the field of authorship. So, for example, using computer programs and corpus of texts whose authors are unknown, it is possible to more or less accurately determine the author (in the presence of other texts signed by him) by the frequency of certain words.

The role of content analysis in the study of political discourse cannot be underestimated. For example, the identification of statistical patterns regarding the mention of a particular subject of discussion in the US election discourse can often help predict the outcome of the election [52]. Thus, content analysis has a wide scope and is an extremely effective method of analyzing political discourse.

Speaking about the options for the analysis of political discourse, one cannot but mention the rhetorical approach (in the terminology of E.I. Sheigal – descriptive). It has its roots deep in history, namely during the time of Aristotle and Cicero, who conducted a thorough rhetorical analysis of the speeches of his time. In other words, classical methods of analysis are used in order to identify the most frequent and effective rhetorical techniques and strategies used by modern politicians. However,

unlike critical discourse analysis, adherents of this approach do not empathize with any participant in the discourse, but take a neutral position with respect to the subject of study.

Despite the traditional methods, the rhetorical approach could not but adapt to the new conditions imposed on it by the features of discourse. The result of this adaptation was the appearance of rhetorical criticism (English rhetorical criticism). A new direction was formed in the USA in the first half of the 20th century, when the need to be able to make convincing and effective speeches was again recognized. In addition, it became possible to broadcast them on radio and television, which expanded the range of verbal influence on the audience [49].

The sources of rhetorical criticism are K. Burke and G. Steltsner. The most famous work in Russia of the first is “The Hitlerite Fight Rhetoric”, published in one of the issues of Political Linguistics. In it, C. Burke provides a detailed analysis of the ideas of A. G. Itler and the methods of their expression in the “Struggle”.

S.K. Foss gives the following definition to the whole area: “it is a qualitative research method created for the systematic study and explanation of symbolic acts and artifacts with the aim of understanding rhetorical processes” [59]. In other words, a “rhetorical critic” tries to explain how rhetoric works and what impact the rhetorical act has on the behavior, thinking and mood of the audience.

Nevertheless, all linguistic scholars agree that the main task of the updated approach is not so much to analyze rhetorical strategies and techniques as to evaluate their effectiveness for fulfilling the author’s intent. Adherents of the rhetorical approach “believe that it is necessary to show the ideological symbolism and intentions of speakers hiding behind rhetoric; find out how rhetoric affects cultural stereotypes and how these stereotypes are reflected in rhetoric” [9].

Rhetorical analysis involves four types of activity: description, analysis, interpretation and evaluation. At the first stage, the rhetorical strategies used in a particular sample of discourse are identified. Further, they are analyzed in the historical and cultural context and are interpreted from the point of view of the

author's intention. At the last stage, the critic assesses the effectiveness of the method of constructing the discourse chosen by the author in this situation [43].

One of the most fruitful areas in modern political linguistics is the cognitive approach. It develops as part of cognitive science. Cognitive scientists focus on mental processes, their expression in language and their influence on the choice of language tools.

Despite the fact that the cognitive trend originated in the second half of the 20th century and coincided with the flourishing of political linguistics, already in 1937 L.S. Vygotsky wondered about the relationship between speech and thinking [14]. Since then, the goal of cognitive linguistics has been “to understand how the processes of perception, categorization, classification and understanding of the world are carried out, how the accumulation of knowledge takes place, which systems provide various types of activities with information”. This nature of the tasks explains the close connection of cognitive science with psychology and philosophy. And the key role of language in achieving its objectives connects it also with linguistics.

Indeed, the focus of cognitive scientists is language, since it is believed that it is in it that the mental processes occurring in the human mind are reflected. “Our knowledge of the world is systemic, it is organically connected with the continuity of knowledge, which is expressed linguistically through discourse, which we define as a dynamic process, with the help of which the predicative connection of the phenomena of the world with its direct expression through language is realized” [2].

Moreover, the cognitive direction presupposes the support of discourse on already known information, which is stored in the human memory and activated when it is necessary for understanding in the communication process.

This idea was developed by W. Chafe. It is based on the ternary system of tricks: the given, accessible and new. The emphasis in the discourse is on the last component. Oral discourse consists of intonation units containing the foci of consciousness. Each intonation unit can contain in itself no more than one element of new information, since more consciousness simply cannot activate [28].

One of the peaks of interest in cognitive linguistics is during the study of metaphors by J. Lakoff and M. Johnson. Their book, *Metaphors We Live By*, has become a fundamental work in the field of cognitive theory of metaphor. Its authors put forward the following postulate: metaphors exist not only in language, but also in human thinking.

It follows that a person not only speaks with metaphors, but also thinks with them, that is, the conceptualization of the world is also metaphorical in nature [62].

This is due to the fact that metaphors are based on the principle of analogy, similarity, so with their help it becomes much easier to perceive, explain and accept certain phenomena of the world, for example, abstract concepts. The results of such a metaphorization of extralinguistic reality find their expression in the language, and with it they are passed on to the next generation. As a result, as J. Lakoff himself admits, one can hardly talk about a person's ability to discuss reality in exact categories, since metaphorical conceptualization is extremely subjective in nature [64].

The cognitive theory of metaphor formed the basis of a wide range of Russian and foreign works devoted to its study in political discourse (E.V. Budaev, A.P. Chudinov, A.N. Baranov, Yu.N. Karaulov, A. Chenki, J. Lakoff, M. Johnson, Z. Harris and others), including works on the application of a new approach to semantics (A. Chenki) and the theory of parts of speech (E.S. Kubryakova).

Through the prism of the ideas of cognitive linguistics, grammar was also comprehended. So, R. Langaker claims that grammatical structures are symbolic in nature and carry a certain "conceptual content". Moreover, the scientist believes that conceptualization includes the speaker's understanding of both "fundamentals" (English "ground") and "given discursive space" (English "current discourse space"). The first component consists of determining the roles of the participants in communication (speaking-listening), its circumstances (time-place) and the type of communication itself. The second component is a reference to the mental space shared by all participants in communication [64], i.e. what E. S. Kubryakova called

“general knowledge” and “joint knowledge”, necessary for the success of communication.

R. Vodak also speaks about the importance of the cognitive approach to discourse analysis. She believes that he will help to get answers to many questions of language researchers, for example, about the reasons for different understanding the same text by different groups of recipients. The relevance of such a question is indicated by her experiment, which consists in retelling the news by various people. During the experiment, it was found that the subjects emphasize different information depending on their experience and vision of the world. Therefore, there is a cognitive connection between discourse and society, which once again encourages scientists to conduct research in the field of cognitive linguistics [11].

The cognitive approach is actively used in the analysis of political discourse. So, “the modeling of the cognitive base of political discourse is carried out through the analysis of frames and concepts of political discourse, metaphorical models and stereotypes that underlie political beliefs” [51].

Summarizing the four approaches currently existing to the analysis of political discourse, it must be emphasized once again that they are not mutually exclusive. The same sample of discourse can be analyzed both from a rhetorical and cognitive point of view, and with the help of content analysis, and from the standpoint of critical discourse analysis.

Such a variety of methods makes it possible to most fully describe the functioning of political discourse at this stage in the development of science and to fill in some existing gaps in understanding the relationship between thinking and language.

Theory of Cognitive Linguistics is employed in our work as analytical apparatus in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of political speeches where they shed light on the discursive construction of ideology and the legitimation of social action.

Conclusions to Chapter II

Political discourse is “the totality of all speech acts used in political discussions, as well as public policy rules, sanctified by tradition and verified by experience” (A.N. Baranov). **A broad approach to political discourse** has two levels of politics: official and personal. The first is based on all types of manifestations of politics in the social life of people of any country. The second level of politics is updated when there is a relationship of the individual with other people or the world.

The types of political discourse, given by G. Lasswell, are outlined according to the degree of transparency of the language, depending on the tension in the country or the world.

Linguistic features of political discourse are represented with two approaches: 1) **critical discourse analysis**, which considers language at the same time as “the brainchild and creator of human society”; 2) **content analysis**, which consists in computer processing of voluminous corpora of political texts (which excludes the subjectivity of conclusions) in order to identify patterns of functioning of political discourse, as well as to determine the relationship between language and power.

CHAPTER III. POLITICIAN'S LANGUAGE THROUGH THE PRISM OF GENDER

3.1. Gender stereotypes in political discourse

Gender stereotypes are a type of stereotype. Gender stereotypes (GS) are simplified, schematized, emotionally colored, stable images of men and women, distributed, as a rule, to all representatives of a particular gender community, regardless of the personal characteristics of its specific representatives.[26]

After conducting a series of experiments, American psychologists found that GS have priority over racial ones, and that the vast majority of men and women unknowingly accept these stereotypes.

Language plays a crucial role in the process of formation, consolidation and reproduction of GS in society. It does not only create a certain image of the world, but also significantly affects the thoughts and actions of its carriers and the development of society as a whole.

As part of the discursive direction of feminist criticism of the language, the foundation was laid for studies of the linguistic side of social phenomena to describe the hidden mechanisms by which the language constructs gender stereotypes at the deep mental level of social and individual consciousness. Recent studies have shown how GS determine the patterns of behavior of men and women, affect the identification of individuals in society, and, ultimately, reproduce the patriarchal ideology, limit women's access to power and lead to their hidden or overt discrimination.

Here are some examples of gender stereotypes in American politics.

“Angry white male” - is a derogatory term for white males holding conservative or right-wing views in the context of U.S. politics, usually characterized by "opposition to liberal anti-discriminatory policies" and beliefs. The term commonly refers to a political voting bloc which emerged in the early 1990s as a reaction to perceived injustices faced by white men in the face of affirmative action quotas in the

workplace. Angry white men are characterized as having animosity toward young people, women or minorities. Donald Trump supporters have been described by some political commentators and liberal-leaning media companies as angry white men.

The examples of gender stereotypes of **Donald Trump**:

*Thank you, thank you, all that social distancing. **Look at you people all spread out, six feet, that's pretty impressive.** But we like it the old way, a little bit better, don't we? And we'll be back. We'll be back to that soon, I think, I really believe it.*

*But I **really** am honored to be with extraordinary workers of Allentown, Pennsylvania.*

I'm saying, what are the hours? They said, "You won't even believe it." I said, "But don't work those hours too, we're all working hard."

*Now, you know what says that, right? **NIH1**, who says that? Sleepy Joe Biden. Remember? He said the **NIH1**. I said, "Isn't it the other way around?" They said, "Yes, sir." But he said it. So it doesn't make any difference. But during the **H1N1**, and that's the swine flu, and it was a pandemic in '09 that was not well handled at all, got very poor marks.*

And you know what other countries say? Their country first. Why wouldn't they do that?

"Angry black woman" - a stereotype in American society that portrays African American women as sassy, ill-mannered, bad-tempered, etc. Their culture as well as generalizations and stereotypes about them have evolved within American society dating back to the colonial years of settlement. In the 2010s African-Americans continued to be negatively depicted with negative stereotypes in news reports and in fiction such as films and TV shows, though not as negatively. These stereotypes are diversified, widespread and of long-standing.

That is one of the stereotypes **Michelle Obama** discusses in her book "Becoming". She was called "angry", "unpatriotic", "unfeminine", so she decided to rebrand herself. M. Obama knows that anger isn't always an effective tool for

change, though, which is why she came up with her now-famous phrase: “*When they go low, we go high.*”

“I’m not gonna pretend like I’m not angry. But if I’m trying to move an issue, if my anger doesn’t work to move the issue, then it’s not helpful,” she said. “And that’s what going high means. Going high means you don’t ignore it. Going high doesn’t mean you don’t acknowledge the fear... Usually your goal isn’t to just be angry.” While she doesn’t “deny the feeling exists,” she tries to “separate [her] anger from the point.”

“Well, fortunately, New Hampshire, here’s the beauty: we have everything we need to stop this madness.”

*“And in this election, if we turn away from her, if we just stand by and allow her opponent to be elected, then what are we teaching our children about the values they should hold, about the kind of life they should lead? **What are we saying?**”*

Ralina Joseph, a professor at the University of Washington, in her book "Postracial Resistance: Black Women, Media Culture, and the Uses of Strategic Ambiguity." used M. Obama to exemplify a postracial society. "The Michelle Obama era," Joseph calls it. She said she is not critiquing Michelle Obama, or Oprah, or Shonda Rhimes, the prolific TV writer, for what she calls "strategic ambiguity" — which, while not being coy, is also not being direct about racism or sexism — but using them as examples to understand the positives and negative of it.

Geriatric politicians – generally refers to leaders who are significantly older than most of the adult population and may be considered as too old to become a president. Here is an example of how this stereotypical term is presented in mass media:

“But it’s time nonetheless: We can’t be serious about Bernie Sanders prospectively being president until he’s 87 years old or Joe Biden until he’s 86. Anyone who has helped care for truly elderly parents knows this.

Many much-older parents — including 95-year-old former President Jimmy Carter, who said last month he couldn't have done the job at 80 — know it, too.

But we have to talk about it now, with Sanders having had a heart attack last week and Biden struggling daily to defend his integrity against wholly made-up attacks by President Donald Trump. As adult children say to more-ordinary parents than Sanders, Biden or Trump, about more-mundane matters like driver's licenses and cooking for themselves, it's time.[from MarketWatch site, "Opinion: Sanders, Biden and Trump are too old to be president" by Tim Mullaney]

"Come Election Day 2020, my choices for president of the United States will be 74 (Donald Trump), 79 (Bernie Sanders) or 77 (Joe Biden). If they were a rock band, Bernie, Biden and Bombastic could form one of those sad tribute groups that wheeze their way onto a casino stage just past the freeway exit and belt out their greatest hits from '75.

So, in a weird way, let me renounce my wish for youth, because being younger, politically speaking, means you will be unrepresented — actually, nonexistent — in the nation's highest office for the next four years.

As Biden and Sanders conclude their throwdown in the Democratic Party primaries for the right to cage fight with Trump this fall, millennials remain the juiciest part of the electorate.

The problem for Biden, Sanders and even Trump is not merely numbers; it's something more existential. It's about feel."[from SantaFe New Mexican "For the millennials, it's another day in the geriatric ward", By Phill Casaus]

For decades female candidates have tried not to discuss the prohibited topics. They have been told to stay quiet about the troubles they face and shed signs of their femininity in an attempt to prove that they are "man enough" to hold the highest office in the land. Such females may be also mentioned as **women who go against stereotypical gender roles.**

These may be brightly illustrated by such progressive women in American politics as **Hillary Clinton** and **Elizabeth Warren**. Here are some examples of what is discussed in press about them:

*“We saw that in the **Hillary Clinton** campaign 1.0 back in 2008, when she repeatedly pointed out that she wasn’t running “as a woman” but as “the best qualified and experienced person.”*

“Throughout the campaign, many of the qualifications and experiences she emphasized were those typically expected of executive men,” Dittmar wrote in her book. “She portrayed herself as a fighter, donning boxing gloves and being credited with having testicular fortitude.” [from The New York Times]

*“Everything she said was true, rendering the idea that women aren’t electable to a “myth,” as Maggie Astor, a New York Times political reporter, has noted. But what **Warren** did on Tuesday night — pivoting from her signature “I’ve got a plan” messaging to answer a question that a man would have never been asked — was a big political risk.”[from The New York Times]*

“The only people on this stage who have won every single election that they’ve been in are the women.”(c. E. Warren)

*“Gender in this race, that is the trap question for everyone. **If you say, “Yeah. There was sexism in this race.” Everyone says whiner. And if you say, “No, there was no sexism,” about a bazillion women think, “What planet do you live on?” I promise you this, I’ll have a lot more to say on that subject later on.”(c. E. Warren)***

Millennial female politicians

The examples of gender stereotypes of **Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez**, who made history by becoming the youngest woman ever elected to Congress.

“Women like me aren’t supposed to run for office,” she said in a recent campaign ad. “I wasn’t born to a wealthy or powerful family”

*“Well, I think, **first and foremost**, there is a systemic issue here.*

*And it is acute situations like this in which Puerto Ricans **continue to be treated like second-class citizens**. Puerto Rico was given a fraction of the FEMA recovery as other -- as Houston, for example, in Hurricane Harvey. We have Hurricane Irma. We have Hurricane Sandy.*

*And this is not just an issue of the **colonial status of Puerto Rico**, but it is also an issue of us not treating and dedicating enough resources to addressing climate change enough either.*

***They cannot -- they cannot choose a president**. They do not have a vote in -- they don't have a represent -- a representative vote in the House or the Senate, which means that they did not even have the capacity to choose for this president, yet they continue to suffer at the hands of this administration.”*

The examples of gender stereotypes of **Jacinda Ardern**, the world's youngest female head of government:

*“Yes, I did renew again New Zealand's offer to take 150 refugees from both Manus Island and Nauru. New Zealand holds an obligation generally, to make sure that we maintain our obligations to the United Nations to take refugees. **We have set ourselves a quota that we extended to 1000 over the course of the next year**. So that was the offer under which that was made and we firmly keep that on the table. It is a very genuine offer.”*

*“No, because the offer is still under active consideration by Australia, so there's no need to do so. **I absolutely** understand the priority that has been placed around the offer by the agreement with the United States. **Of course** that agreement will lead to a substantial number of those who have refugee status, being resettled. So it's understandable that priority has been placed on that offer. **Of course**, from New Zealand's perspective, we want our offer to remain on the table, of course, so we can assist as much as we are able at expediting a resolution on this issue.”*

3.2. Linguistic images of modern American politicians

The aim is to reveal linguistic images and gender strategies in the speeches of two outstanding political figures: Bernie Sanders and Elizabeth Warren, based on their political and electoral campaigns and much respect for their overall effect created on the audience. The personalities of Bernie Sanders and Elizabeth Warren are iconic — both are outstanding political figures of the present time. Bernie Sanders has served in many political positions such as the mayor and a representative in the senate. Elizabeth Warren is an American politician, lawyer, public speaker. She has appeared three times in the ranking of the 100 most influential people in the world according to Time magazine.

3.2.1 The linguistic image of Bernie Sanders

Bernie Sanders is a progressive who admires the Nordic model of social democracy and has been a proponent of workplace democracy. He advocates for universal and single-payer healthcare, paid parental leave, as well as tuition-free tertiary education. He supported the Affordable Care Act, though he said it did not go far enough. He advocates for bold action to reverse global warming and calls for substantial investment in infrastructure, with "energy efficiency and sustainability" and job creation as prominent goals. He says that climate change is a serious threat to nation. During his speech at Georgetown University in November 2015 about his view of democratic socialism, and what it means to him, Sanders said: "I don't believe government should take over the grocery store down the street or own the means of production, but I do believe that the middle class and the working families who produce the wealth of America deserve a decent standard of living and that their incomes should go up, not down. I do believe in private companies that thrive and invest and grow in America, companies that create jobs here, rather than companies that are shutting down in America and increasing their profits by exploiting low-wage labor abroad".

It should be mentioned that the **linguistic image** may be defined through the prism of certain functions, and linguistic personalities existing in political discourse.

According to L.L. Slavova linguistic personality of a politician can be manifested as an **individual personality** that represents age, gender and status characteristics [56]

Here are some examples:

“My friends, I am the son of a Polish immigrant who came to this country speaking no English and having no money. My father worked every day of his life and he never made a whole lot.”

A **collective personality** represents the ideas of nation:

“Together, we have sent the message that will echo from Wall Street to Washington, from Maine to California. And that is that the government of our great country belongs to all of the people and not just a handful of wealthy campaign contributors and their Super PACs.”

Generalized symbolic personality can signify a stratum label of national ethnic community in the eyes of others:

“It will bring together blacks and whites, Latinos, Asian-Americans, Native Americans, straight and gay, male and female, people who were born in America and people who immigrated here.”

A **virtual personality** is constructed on the basis of speech acts analysis. They are differentiated according to the role in the communication process and are used in various genre forms of political discourse. Certain kinds of speech acts, for example orders, requests, advising, warnings, promises, commitments, etc. The most typical speech acts in the genre of political speech are representatives. They are presented by simple statements and claims:[]

“As we all remember, the last time Republicans occupied the White House their trickle-down economic policies drove us into the worst economic downturn since the depression of the 1930s.”

Directives are one of the most power-dependent linguistic expressions of compulsion:

*“And **let us** never forget, Democrats and Progressives win when voter turnout is high.”*

*“**My request is, please go to berniesanders.com and contribute. Please help us raise the funds we need, whether it's ten bucks or 20 bucks or 50 bucks, help us raise the money we need to take the fight to Nevada, South Carolina, and the states on Super Tuesday. So there it is. That's our fundraiser. Pretty quick.**”*

Commissives (promises, threats and offerings) are an indispensable part of a political speech:

*“**No, we will not allow huge tax breaks for billionaires. We will not allow huge cuts to Social Security, veterans needs, Medicare, Medicaid and education. No, we will not allow back into the White House a political party which is so beholden to the fossil fuel industry that they cannot even acknowledge the scientific reality of climate change or anything about it.**”*

*“**This is the promise of America and this is the promise we must keep alive for future generations.**”*

According to E. I. Sheigal the first function is **an integrative function** that attracts special attention and consists in uniting all people without exception into a single nation [51]. When analyzing political discourse, it is very important to trace the development of the image of the author, especially on whose behalf the speech is being spoken. If a politician speaks on his own behalf, this underlines his personal responsibility for what he says. If he often uses the first person pronoun “we”, then this means that he identifies himself with any group of people, whether it is a particular party or the population of the whole country.

Here are some examples:

*“As **I hope all of you know, this race has never been about me. I ran for the presidency because I believed that as a president I could accelerate and institutionalize the progressive changes that we are all building together and if we***

keep organizing and fighting, I have no doubt but that that is exactly what will happen.”

In addition to the above functions, which are characteristic of inaugural speeches, as well as public and victorious speeches, E.I. Sheigal also highlights the **performative function** of the first genre. Its meaning is that the speaker does not act as a person, but as a bearer of a specific social status.

Here are some examples:

“On a very personal note, speaking for Jane, myself and our entire family, we will always carry in our hearts the memory of the extraordinary people we have met across this country.”

In his monograph, E. I. Sheigal singles out another function of inaugural speech – **declarative**. Its meaning is that the president, acting as a sage, fills his speech with didactics. With the help of modal verbs and words with the semantics of duty, he reminds people of the high moral principles that they should be guided in when committing certain actions.

Here are some examples:

*“All right. Dr. Desai **If you could** hang around for a bit and maybe take some questions and engage in a discussion, I would appreciate it very much.*

*But **I can** understand if somebody who has the virus sneezes in the face of somebody else, you cough in somebody’s face, the virus is transmitted.”*

*“**We must** pursue the fight for women's rights, for gay rights, for disability rights. **We must** against stronger and stronger opposition protect the right of a woman to control her own body.”*

Political leaders represent themselves, their views on social and political phenomena, their citizens and their opponents through verbal and nonverbal means of communication.

Bernie Sanders is a well-known politician who makes use of hand gestures during his speeches (Heller, 2020). One of his most-used hand gestures is the moving finger-pointing. He performs this hand gesture by continuously pointing with his

index finger as if he is leading to a moving object in the air. Bernie uses the gesture when he is putting across a point. The consistent pointing portrays his feelings on a particular topic. Most times, it is the feeling of anger. Analysts have stated that Sander's hand gesture is positive because he is not pointing to anyone.

3.2.2. The linguistic image of Elizabeth Warren

In 2012, the UK magazine *New Statesman* named Warren among the "top 20 US progressives". She has become known for the number and depth of her policy proposals, which led to the phrase "Warren has a plan for that" becoming an Internet meme. On her website, she lists more than 45 plans for topics including health care, universal child care, ending the opioid crisis, clean energy, climate change, foreign policy, reducing corporate influence at the Pentagon, and ending "Wall Street's stranglehold on [the American] economy".

She has also introduced an "Economic Patriotism" plan intended to create opportunities for American workers, and proposals inspired by opposition to President Trump.

Warren has been highly critical of the Trump administration and has expressed concerns over what she says are Trump's conflicts of interest: "But as it's currently written, Trump's deal won't stop the serious and ongoing harm NAFTA causes for American workers. It won't stop outsourcing, it won't raise wages, and it won't create jobs. It's NAFTA 2.0. For these reasons, I oppose NAFTA 2.0, and will vote against it in the Senate unless President Trump reopens the agreement and produces a better deal for America's working families."

It should be mentioned that the linguistic image of **Elizabeth Warren** may be defined through the prism of certain functions, and linguistic personalities existing in political discourse.

Referring to the four linguistic personalities of L.L. Slavova it is possible to admit that

The **individual personality** of E. Warren is reflected in the following examples:

*“I grew up in Oklahoma. **My daddy** ended up as a maintenance man, and my mom worked for minimum wage at Sears. **My three brothers** served in the military. The oldest was career, 288 combat missions in Vietnam. The second worked construction. The third started his own business. **Me? I got married at 19** and graduated from a commuter college in Texas that cost \$50 a semester. **The way I see it, I’m a janitor’s daughter** who became a public school teacher, a professor, and a United States Senator. America is truly a country of opportunity!”*

The **Collective personality** representing the ideas of nation as a whole may be found in the following examples:

*“Look around. **Americans** bust their tails, some working two or three jobs, but wages stay flat. Meanwhile, the basic costs of making it from month to month keep going up. Housing, health care, child care — costs are out of sight. **Young people** are getting crushed by student loans. **Working people** are in debt. **Seniors** can’t stretch a Social Security check to cover the basics. And even **families** who are OK today worry that it could all fall apart tomorrow. **This.Is. Not. Right!**”*

*“**People get it: the system is rigged.**”*

The **Generalized symbolic personality** indicating the startum label or ethnonational communities in the perception of others can be traced in the following examples:

*“Donald Trump knows that the **American people** are angry — a fact so obvious he can see it from the top of Trump Tower. So now he’s insisting that he, and he alone, can fix the rigged system.”*

*“That’s Donald Trump’s America. An America of fear and hate. An America where we all break apart. **Whites** against **blacks** and **Latinos**. Christians against Muslims and Jews. Straight against gay. Everyone against immigrants. Race, religion, heritage, gender, the more factions the better.”*

“But ask yourself this. When white workers in Ohio are pitted against black workers in North Carolina, or Latino workers in Florida, who really benefits?”

“And now Trump and his campaign have embraced it all. Racial hatred. Religious bigotry. Attacks on immigrants, on women, on gays. A deceitful and ugly blame game that says, whatever worries you, the answer is to blame that other group, and don’t put any energy into making real change.”

The **virtual personality** constructed on the basis of speech acts can be presented the following way. **Representatives** – simple statements and claims:

*“We are here tonight because America faces a choice, **the choice of a new president.**”*

Directives:

*“But **try to do** something, anything, for working people, and you’ll have a fight on your hands.”*

*“If you believe that America must work for all of us, not just the rich and powerful, if you believe we must reject the politics of fear and division, if you believe we are stronger together, then **let’s work our hearts out** to make Hillary Clinton the next President of the United States!”*

Commissives (promises, threats and offerings):

“To every Republican in Congress who said no: this November, the American people are coming for you!”

*“But other than talking about building a stupid wall, **which will NEVER get built**, really, did you hear any actual ideas?”*

*“And, for one low, low price, **he’ll even throw in a goofy hat.**”*

*“Well, I’ve got news for Donald Trump. The American people are not falling for it! We’ve seen this ugliness before, and **we’re not going to be Donald Trump’s hate-filled America. Not now, not ever!**”*

*“**Hillary will fight** to make sure discrimination has no place in America. And we’re with her!”*

According to E.I. Sheigal **an inspiratory function**, consists in inspiring the nation or any group of society for the great things to come. It turns out to be relevant for the genres of public speech and victorious speech of the future president.

Here are some examples:

*“Fourth is that when people leave the prison system, they need to be reintegrated into their communities. **They need to be able to have a chance** to get a job, to be able to find decent housing, and they need to be able to participate in the political process. And that means they need the right to vote to be reinstated. They are American citizens.”*

Declarative function is also observed in her speeches.

Here are some examples:

*“All I **can say** is, Democrats, get a better message.”*

*“We know, and we **must have** the courage to make it happen.”*

Another function is **expressive** function, which determines the nature of events and is highly suggested in such speeches.

Here are some examples:

*“**And so**, every night when I went home, no matter what the day had been like, I would count up how many pinky swears we had done during the day. And I kept getting out there and hammering my message. I kept getting out there talking about what's happening with working families across the country, talking about how Washington works great for the rich and the powerful, just not working for anyone else, and how we've got to fight back against that.”*

*“**So** I talked about it every single day and ultimately, I went from 17 points behind that guy to beating him by 7-1/2.”*

*“**So**, the way I see it is here we are in a presidential, and it's the same kind of you stay after it every day. One might say you persist.”*

*“**So** understand this, Cecilia. I grew up in a family that wasn't political. I grew up out in Oklahoma, and to this day I couldn't tell you how my parents were registered or my grandparents or much of anybody else.”*

“So, thanks for the question. You know, I’ve been around this block before. Back in 2012, when I ran against that very popular Republican incumbent, he ran the same play. And what I discovered at that point is that around this country, around the commonwealth of Massachusetts, people care a lot more about their families than they do about some kind of name-calling.”

3.3. Linguistic styles and features of language of Bernie Sanders

The linguistic styles and features of Bernie Sanders may be characterized in the following way.

Confidence is mainly understood as firmness and the absence of doubt, so we searched for signs of lack of doubt in the texts, for example, such adverbs as “really”, “unconditionally”, “absolutely”, as well as phrases such as “I hope”, “it is absolutely obvious”, “I am sure”, etc. [38]

Here are a few examples of using reinforcing adverbs, as well as phrases expressing confidence in Bernie Sanders’s speech:

*“As I **hope** all of you know, this race has never been about me. I ran for the presidency because I believed that as a president I could accelerate and institutionalize the progressive changes that we are all building together and if we keep organizing and fighting, I **have no doubt** but that is exactly what will happen”.*

*“I’m **quite sure** that that has been effectively addressed. It is absurd that we remain the only major country on earth not to provide paid family and medical leave. That has not yet been addressed so far”.*

*“We’re going see, I’m **sure** a spike in an already epidemic of mental health crises in this country. Panelists, who wants to chime in on mental health”?*

We have also found instances of the use of words and phrases expressing **uncertainty** and **doubt**. These include such units as “probably”, “maybe”, “hardly”, “maybe”, “let’s say” and others. Here are some examples of how Bernie Sanders expresses insecurity:

*I know that there **may be** some in our movement who disagree with this decision, who would like us to fight on to the last ballot cast at the Democratic convention.*

*Right now, the bill that will **probably** be passed tomorrow will guarantee coverage for testing, that's great. And yet what happens if I have the illness and I end up in the hospital? That may cost me thousands of dollars.*

*Okay. Let me throw out what I think will **probably** be the last question here. It's almost getting back to how we began.*

Logic is usually understood as a sequence in the presentation of one's own opinion. When analyzing texts, we searched for language units that help to present one's opinion in a consistent manner, such as “firstly”, “secondly”, “so”, “if” ..., “then”, “because”, etc. Here are a few examples that we met in the texts of the speeches which demonstrate the logical presentation of his main theses. We can also trace, which of the most important social spheres of public life, Sanders consistently singles out as a Democrat, who professes views close to the socialist ones, and at the same time motivates the listeners to the logical conclusions he needs. The use of repetition *If we don't believe* increases the consistency and emotionality of his speech:

Health care:

“If we don't believe that we are entitled to healthcare as a human right, we will never achieve universal healthcare”.

Social justice:

“If we don't believe that we are entitled to decent wages and working conditions, millions of us will continue to live in poverty”.

National education:

“If we don't believe that we are entitled to all of the education we require to fulfill our dreams, many of us will leave schools saddled with huge debt or never get the education we need”.

Global problems – environmental protection:

“If we don’t believe that we are entitled to live in a world that has a clean environment and is not ravaged by climate change, we will continue to see more drought, floods, rising sea levels, an increasingly uninhabitable planet”.

Overcoming racism, xenophobia and religious bigotry:

“If we don’t believe that we are entitled to live in a world of justice, democracy and fairness, without racism, sexism, homophobia, xenophobia, or religious bigotry, we will continue to have massive income and wealth inequality, prejudice and hatred, mass incarceration, terrified immigrants, and hundreds of thousands of Americans sleeping out on the streets in the richest country on Earth”.

Further change in the subject of Sanders' views is also dictated by logic. He, as an experienced speaker, pauses to give listeners time and opportunity to better understand his messages, and shifts their attention to another topic related to a person known to all suffocators.

Sanders, as an experienced speaker, pauses to give listeners time and opportunity to better understand his message, and shifts their attention to another topic related to a person known.

*“**Then** we’re going to go to one of my favorite musicians for a short break **because** technologically, **we need some break here** to go to our next guest and that’s Sarah Lee Guthrie and some of you may know, she is the daughter of Arlo Guthrie and the granddaughter of one of the great folk singers and writers in modern American history, and that is Woody Guthrie. And she’ll be singing for about five minutes and we thank her very much”.*

The use in this example of the personal pronouns *We*, *You*, *Our* and the corresponding verb forms *we’re going*, *we need*, *we thank* emphasizes the unity of the speaker with the people.

The tendency to **argue** is usually understood as disagreement with the interlocutor and persistent attempts to prove the correctness of one’s opinion.

Here are some examples:

“Well it’s not “We”. Let me interrupt your doctor. I don’t intend to become very political tonight, but it’s not the, “We.” We had a President of the United States who downplayed this, who is still in my view, downplaying it. Is that a fair statement”?

*“You embodied the words that are the core of our movement: **Not me, but us.** I thank each and every one of you for what you’ve done”.*

It is also interesting to note cases of open consent with the interlocutor, when such expressions as “You are right”, “I agree ...”, “I cannot but agree with the opinion ...”, etc., for example, were used, for example:

Pramila Jayapal: (16:13)

The other challenge, senator, is the scale of the crisis and the losses that are going to accrue to an already deeply unfair, unjust and inequitable system that has already, for decades, actually, penalized black and brown workers, low wage workers, poor people and the most vulnerable. We need immediate support to people right now, but we also have to fix the overall systems that made us so unprepared-

Bernie Sanders: (16:38)

Right.

Pramila Jayapal: (16:38)

And so, the recognition that our systems are far too patchwork and there’s a whole set of missing federal policies that are big enough and bold enough; the things you’ve been advocating for on the campaign. Things like universal healthcare, missing systems that provide mandated paid family and medical leave, universal childcare-

Bernie Sanders: (17:25)

Right.

Dr. Joia Mukherjee: (51:53)

I think there are labs now that are processing them in as little as two or three hours. But the problem is the backlog. So I have a good friend who was a known contact of a COVID patient and this is a very common story and waited five days for a test. Living in a household with vulnerable people. I mean that is not an acceptable thing in the richest country in the world. That is a political choice.

Bernie Sanders: (52:21)

All right. What did I not ask you or did you not discuss that you like to [crosstalk 00:52:26]-.

Dr. Joia Mukherjee: (55:50)

I worked in the Ebola crisis in West Africa and we did a lot of work with Ebola survivors and a lot of it was mental health work because it wasn't only the acute illness but it was a long term suffering that had been meted on their families.

Bernie Sanders: (56:44)

Okay, cool. Who else wants to jump in on mental health issues.

Objectivity is usually understood as illustrativeness, dealing with concrete facts and data, and citing examples in support of one's point of view. Accordingly, we searched for linguistic units in the speech in order to illustrate an example or visual situation when giving the specific facts:

*“Things change all of the time. Literally, negotiations are going on as I speak. We're talking **about 250 billion dollars** to be provided to expand unemployment insurance. This is something ... A concept I fought for. My belief is that in this crisis, we got to make all American workers whole. This bailout should not be just for large corporations. It should be for working families, for lower income people, and for the most vulnerable people in our country. This unemployment provision will essentially allow furloughed Americans, those who have been laid off, **to receive 100% of their prior income capped at 75 thousand dollars a year for up to four months**”.*

*“This proposal will provide **250 billion dollars** in a one-time **check of 1200 dollars for adults and 500 dollars per child**. I wanted much more, frankly. I thought*

we needed 2000 dollars a month. Republicans essentially wanted a lot less. That is where they are right now. And these checks will be made out to individuals making less than 75 thousand a year and households making less than 150 thousand”.

Laconicism is the antithesis of verbosity - brevity of speech and tendency to use very few words in order to express a great deal. In order to understand how verbose and laconic men and women are, it is necessary to identify the number of language units that do not carry a semantic load, such as, for example, “well”, “here” (in those cases when it does not carry a semantic load), “yes” (as interjections), identical repetitions of words and phrases. Here are some examples of the use of words and phrases that do not carry a semantic load:

Pramila Jayapal: (17:25)

Some sort of a payroll guarantee system to keep workers on payroll instead of going to unemployment in the first place.

Bernie Sanders: (17:32)

Right.

Dr. Joia Mukherjee: (52:26)

But this program needs to be far more robust to handle the crisis that we face. So whether it's state departments of health, local departments of health or the federal mandate, I just think we have just invested in so much of our public infrastructure that it puts us tremendously at risk.

Bernie Sanders: (53:39)

This is part of the overall anti-government movement of the last 30 years.

The **terms** mean language units that are used to denote the concepts of special areas of knowledge. Here are some examples:

Political sphere:

*Good morning and thank you very much for joining me. I want to express to each of you my deep gratitude for helping to create an unprecedented grassroots **political campaign** that has had a profound impact in changing our nation.*

*On a practical note, let me also say this, I will stay on the ballot in all remaining States and continue to gather **delegates**. While Vice President Biden will be the nominee, we must continue working to assemble as many delegates as possible at the **Democratic convention** where we will be able to exert significant influence over the party platform and other functions.*

Medical sphere:

*In terms of **healthcare**, even before this **horrific pandemic** we are now experiencing, more and more Americans understood that we must move to a Medicare for All single-payer program. During the primary elections, exit polls showed in state after state, a strong majority of Democratic primary voters supported a single government health insurance program to replace private insurance. That was true even in states where our campaign did not prevail.*

*No, I think that's a fair assessment. So we learned about **COVID-19** from the WHO at the end of last year. That's why it's called **COVID-19**, 2019. So it's been around and has been known about since then. Since learning about it, different countries have reacted differently. And we see that the policies that they put in place have effected their outcomes. So let's look at countries like China, South Korea, Singapore. These countries have taken certain **measures**. They've been very quick to jump on this **disease**. They've started flattening the curve. You heard that phrase just now.*

3.4. Linguistic styles and features of the language Elizabeth Warren

The linguistic styles and features of Elizabeth Warren may be characterized in the following way.

Emotionality is usually understood as the saturation of speech with emotions, as well as the expression of feelings. In the process of analyzing, we mainly relied on

the lexical aspect, as well as on units of intonation. Here are some examples of the use of emotionally colored vocabulary, which we met in the texts of speeches:

“Well, let’s take a deep breath and spend a little time on that. We don’t have to decide that this minute”.

“Oh, I do. I have no regrets at all. This has been an honor of a lifetime. 10 years ago I was teaching a few blocks from here and talking about what was broken in America and ideas for how to fix it. And pretty much nobody wanted to hear it”.

WARREN: *So, actually, I supported Massachusetts changing its laws on marijuana. Massachusetts had decriminalized at that point and I thought it made a lot more sense for Massachusetts to go ahead and legalize marijuana, and I now support the legalization of marijuana.*

Elizabeth Warren: (03:45)

*No. I am **deeply grateful** to the people with Massachusetts. Look, back in 2012 they took a chance on someone who had never run for public office before. They ousted a very popular incumbent Republican Senator to give me a chance to stand up on a bigger platform and fight for their families. And I am **deeply grateful** for that.*

WARREN: *So **I'm really glad** you asked about Social Security, because this is one that reminds you how things have broken apart in this country. As you all know, Social Security passed back during the Great Depression. The biggest problem with Social Security, it was too narrow and cut out too many -- particularly, jobs that were largely held by African Americans and other groups.*

Talkativeness is usually when someone likes to talk a lot. Unlike verbosity, talkativeness is not associated with a lack of brevity and clarity, but is related to the number of words spoken and the time of speaking. When identifying the correspondence of this characteristic of reality, we considered the number of spoken words, as well as the amount of time that was said by both men and women.

“I had gotten a long email from my nephew and how proud his dad, my brother is, and how they were all had their plans to vote and have met other people. And it is,

it's these long ties, for that moment standing in the booth, I missed my mom and my dad. Gender in this race, that is the trap question for everyone. If you say, "Yeah. There was sexism in this race." Everyone says whiner. And if you say, "No, there was no sexism," about a bazillion women think, "What planet do you live on?" I promise you this, I'll have a lot more to say on that subject later on".

"And one last thing, it's about all the people who are affected by all the issues I've talked about, whether they got involved in my fight or someone else's fight or even not at all. But however we talk about this, there still is a trillion and a half dollars of student loan debt outstanding. There are still tens of millions of people across this country who one bad medical diagnosis and they're upside down financially. There are still mommies and daddies all across this country who can't finish their education, can't take on jobs, because they can't find access to decent childcare that they can afford".

As it was already mentioned, verbosity is the antonym of **laconicism**. And by verbosity it is meant the use of a large number of words and the lack of brevity and clarity of the message. Verbosity implies the use of linguistic units that do not carry a semantic load, namely interjections (such as "well," "here," etc.), as well as the exact **repetition** of words and phrases.

Question: *Senator, will you be making an endorsement today? We know that you spoke with both Joe Biden and Bernie Sanders yesterday.*

Warren: ***Not today, not today.** I need some space around this and I want to take a little time to think a little more. I've been spending a lot of time right now on the question of suspending and also making sure that this works as best we can for our staff, for our team, for our volunteers".*

Question: *So it could be coming, but just not right now?*

Warren: ***Not right now. Not right now.***

COOPER: *But you...*

WARREN: *That's our responsibility.*

COOPER: *But you started off by saying -- by talking about some of your travels and people talking about climate change and their concerns and tabletop issues.*

WARREN: *Yes. Yes.*

Imagery is understood as the brightness and liveliness of speech, as well as the use of images for comparison, hidden or obvious.

WARREN: *But people said to me, you're going to lose because Massachusetts in 2011, according to conventional wisdom, was not ready to have a woman senator or governor. We never had and people said it's just not going to happen, not at least for another generation.*

Now you can imagine how I heard that. I heard that as, get in this race, right now, which is what I did. So I jumped in the race and sure enough, you know, the early coverage is about what I'm wearing. It's about my hair. It's about my voice. It's about whether or not I smile enough. I didn't.

It was every part of that. And this kept up and I thought, you know, look, I'm going to be in this race. I'm going to make something count every single day. So every day when I saw a little girl, I would come up and I'd usually get down, I'm a teacher, and I would say, hi, my name is Elizabeth and I'm running for Senate because that's what girls do.

Listening ability means the ability to listen to the interlocutor without interrupting him, and to adequately respond to his words, for example, to give a satisfactory answer to the question posed. In order to understand how women can listen, we considered cases when guests interrupted the host and each other, continued talking (sometimes with an increase in the volume of the voice), if

someone else entered into the conversation, and also when they did not answer the questions posed, forcing the host repeat the question, focusing the guest's attention on the fact that he or she did not answer the question.

COOPER: *But you started off by saying -- by talking about some of your travels and people talking about climate change and their concerns and tabletop issues.*

WARREN: *Yes. Yes.*

COOPER: *Doesn't putting a lot of Democrats' focus on impeaching the president, which is not going to pass in the Senate, it's not really going to go anywhere in that sense, doesn't that take away focus from the tabletop issues that you and other Democrats say they want to run on?*

WARREN: *So, you know, let me just say, if you've actually read the Mueller report, it's all laid out there. It's not like it's going to take a long time to figure this out. It's there. It's got the footnotes. It's got the points. It connects directly to the law.*

Speaker 6: (02:50)

Senator, what happened here in Massachusetts?

Elizabeth Warren: (02:54)

I was told at the beginning of this whole undertaking that there are two lanes, a progressive lane that Bernie Sanders is the incumbent for and a moderate lane that Joe Biden is the incumbent for and there's no room for anyone else in this. I felt that wasn't right, but evidently I was wrong.

By giving **examples**, it implies the intention to give an explanation or to prove a point of view, by using the word "for example", and without it:

*"But the second reason is because of the racial impact of the enforcement of marijuana laws. You know, right now in this country, the best evidence suggests that African-Americans and whites use marijuana at about the same rates, and yet African-Americans are far more likely to be arrested for marijuana use than whites are. So, every time we start to talk about criminal justice reform, **for example**, I think*

a good place to start is with the things we make illegal, and one of the best places we could start is by legalizing marijuana”.

Speaker 8: (04:28)

Could you two things, reflect a little bit about what that was like for you? And then the question is could you talk a little about the role that gender played in this campaign?

Elizabeth Warren: (04:41)

*So it was ... I stood at that voting booth and I looked down and I saw my name on the ballot. And I thought, “**Wow kiddo, you’re not in Oklahoma anymore.**” That it really was a moment of thinking about how my brother and dad, if they were still here, would feel about this.*

Elizabeth Warren: (05:09)

*I had gotten a long email from my nephew and how proud his dad, my brother is, and how they were all had their plans to vote and have met other people. And it is, it’s these long ties, for that moment standing in the booth, I missed my mom and my dad. Gender in this race, that is the trap question for everyone. If you say, “**Yeah. There was sexism in this race.**” Everyone says whiner. And if you say, “**No, there was no sexism,**” about a bazillion women think, “**What planet do you live on?**” I promise you this, I’ll have a lot more to say on that subject later on.*

Conclusions to Chapter III

The analysis of linguistic styles and features of Bernie Sanders and Elizabeth Warren showed that Bernie Sanders’ speech includes the following six qualities: *confidence, objectivity, consistency, a tendency to argue, the use of a large number of terms, a tendency to openly express disagreement with the interlocutor, and laconicism.* Elizabeth Warren’s speech includes the following characteristics: *emotionality, verbosity, talkativeness, imagery, listening ability, high speed of speech and the tendency to give examples in support of their point of view.*

The linguistic images of both senators can be defined through the prism of four linguistic personalities: *individual personality, collective personality, generalized symbolic personality, virtual personality.*

It should be mentioned that the linguistic image of Bernie Sanders may be defined through the prism of *integrative, performative and declarative functions.*

The linguistic image of Elizabeth Warren may be defined through the prism of *inspiratory, declarative and expressive functions.*

CONCLUSIONS

Gender is “a set of social and cultural norms that society requires people to fulfill, depending on their biological sex”, which was studied in terms of **gender psychology** aimed at the differences between men and women, i.e. how gender representatives say how they relate to each other, how they behave, as well as the characteristics of their psyche.

Sociolinguistics (social linguistics) is “a branch of linguistics that studies language in connection with the social conditions of its existence. By social conditions we mean a set of external circumstances in which the language actually functions and develops: the society of people using this language, the social structure of this society, the differences between native speakers in age, social status, level of culture and education, place of residence, and differences in their speech behavior depending on the communication situation”.

We defined gender as a combination of socially-determined and socially significant aspects of the behavior of men and women, including language, which are constructed and expressed in the framework of the culture of this society. Not being a linguistic category proper, gender, as well as gender relations, is fixed in language and culture, including through gender stereotypes existing in the minds of native speakers of culture and influencing the actual behavior of people, as well as their perception of interlocutors.

By gender speech stereotypes we mean culturally and socially conditioned ideas about the qualities and norms of speech behavior of representatives of both sexes and the reflection of these ideas in the language. At the same time, gender speech stereotypes can be both stereotypes-representations, that is, they are cliches of consciousness, minimized representations of native speakers of culture and language about the speech behavior of men and women, and behavior stereotypes that perform a prescriptive function, since gender speech stereotypes can prescribe certain

behavior to men and women, being an important part of building communication and its success.

The hierarchy of “masculinity” and “femininity”, as values, affects the hierarchy of social actors (both individuals and, for example, cultures), for which to be represented or to represent themselves as a woman or a man means to accept the whole set of such attributions. Thus, with the help of a gender metaphor, relations of inequality, power, and control are confirmed.

Political discourse is “the totality of all speech acts used in political discussions, as well as public policy rules, sanctified by tradition and verified by experience” (A.N. Baranov).

A broad approach to political discourse has two levels of politics: official and personal. The first is based on all types of manifestations of politics in the social life of people of any country. The second level of politics is updated when there is a relationship of the individual with other people or the world.

The analysis of linguistic images of Bernie Sanders and Elizabeth Warren showed that Bernie Sanders’ speech includes the following six qualities: *confidence, objectivity, consistency, a tendency to argue, the use of a large number of terms, a tendency to openly express disagreement with the interlocutor, and laconicism*. Elizabeth Warren’s speech includes the following characteristics: *emotionality, verbosity, talkativeness, imagery, listening ability, high speed of speech and the tendency to give examples in support of their point of view*.

The linguistic image of Bernie Sanders was defined through the prism of such functions: integrative, performative and declarative functions; and linguistic personalities, existing in political discourse.

The linguistic image of Elizabeth Warren was defined through the prism of such functions: inspiratory, declarative and expressive functions; and linguistic personalities, existing in political discourse.

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