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## **US Electioneering 2020**

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## CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION.....	3
I. POLITICAL DISCOURSE AS OBJECT OF LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS .....	5
1.1. Discourse and its interpretations .....	5
1.2.1. Overview of political discourse.....	8
1.2.2. The main functions of political discourse .....	10
1.2.3. Pragmatic peculiarities of political discourse.....	12
1.3. Intertextuality in political discourse.....	19
Conclusion to 1 <sup>st</sup> chapter .....	24
II. LINGUISTIC FEATURES IN POLITICAL SPEECHES.....	25
2.1. Lexical peculiarities in Donald Trump’s speeches .....	25
2.2. Grammatical peculiarities in Donald Trump’s speeches .....	27
2.3. Lexical peculiarities in Joe Biden’s speeches.....	30
2.4. Grammatical peculiarities in Joe Biden’s speeches .....	34
2.5. Pragmatic features in US political speeches 2020 .....	37
Conclusion to 2 <sup>nd</sup> chapter .....	45
CONCLUSION .....	46
REFERENCES.....	49
SUMMARY .....	56

## INTRODUCTION

The formation of the cognitive-discursive paradigm in modern science has made discourse the object of attention not only of linguists, but also of philosophers, psychologists, literary critics, ethnographers and specialists in artificial intelligence. The concept of “discourse” is one of the most commonly used concepts today, but even linguists can’t put its accurate interpretation.

One of the most common type of discourses is political discourse. Political discourse is a phenomenon that everyone deals with on a daily basis. The struggle for power is the main theme of this communication sphere. The more open and democratic the life of society is, the more attention is paid to the language of politics. Political discourse is of interest to both professionals in the political sphere, including journalists, and the broad masses of people.

The relevance of the selected topic is determined by the following points:

- 1) Nowadays, the topic of discourse (including political discourse) is often discussed by scholars. There is an urgent need to define the concept of discourse, its categories and functions.
- 2) In modern society, the importance of political communication is increasing, since in a democratic social structure, issues of power are openly discussed, and the solution of a number of political problems depends on how adequately these problems will be interpreted.
- 3) Political discourse refers to a special type of communication, which is characterized by a high degree of manipulation, and therefore the identification of mechanisms of political communication is significant for determining the characteristics of language as a means of influence.

The purpose of the research is to study the peculiarities of the functioning of political discourse.

This purpose necessitates the solution of the following research tasks:

- to define the concept of political discourse, describing its characteristic features;
- to characterize the functional and genre-stylistic features of political discourse;
- to investigate pragmatic aspects of political discourse;
- to explore strategies and tactics of reproduction of political media texts;
- to analyze political speeches and describe its lexical, grammatical and pragmatic peculiarities

The object of research is modern political discourse.

The subject of the study is the patterns of functioning of political discourse.

Research materials: speeches of J. Biden and D. Trump during presidential election campaign-2020 in USA.

Research methods are conditioned by the set tasks and have a complex character: descriptive, lexical-semantic, comparative and conceptual analysis.

The research paper consists of Introduction, two Chapters and Conclusion. The Introduction includes the argumentation of the topicality, research purpose and objectives, the subject and the object of the research. Chapter I is the theoretical part of the paper which provides various points of view on the definitions of discourse and political discourse, and this part also provides the information about functions of political discourse and its pragmatic peculiarities. Chapter II is focused on the analysis of the political speeches of Donald Trump and Joe Biden during US electioneering 2020.

# **I. POLITICAL DISCOURSE AS OBJECT OF LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS**

## **1.1. Discourse and its interpretations**

At the present stage of development of scientific thought, discourse is the focus of a number of humanities: linguistics, philosophy, psychology, literary criticism, political science, ethnography, communication theory and others.

The transition to a discursive paradigm is a natural development of linguistic thought. Summarizing the approaches of scientists to the evolution of linguistic scholars, this kind of evolution occurs due to "a consistent change of four main scientific paradigms - comparative-historical, system-structural, communicative-functional and cognitive-discursive" [52, p. 16-17].

The term "discourse" dates back to ancient times. In ancient Rome, this concept meant conversations (dialogues, languages) of scientists. In the XIX century this term becomes ambiguous and extends to the speech of the general public [53, p.10].

In the dictionary of the German language of the Brothers Grimm in 1860, the term "discourse" takes on two meanings: 1) dialogue, conversation; 2) language, lecture. As a linguistic term, the widespread use of discourse began only in the fifties of the twentieth century after the publication of the article "Discourse analysis", authored by the American linguist Z. Harris. He has to define discourse as a method by which coherent speech is analyzed and which is designed to extend descriptive linguistics beyond a single sentence at a given time and to correlate culture and language [42, p. 83-90].

Linguistic Encyclopedic Dictionary interprets discourse as "a coherent text combined with extralinguistic factors - pragmatic, socio-cultural, psychological and others factors; the text considered in the context of the events; speech, considered as an intentional social act, as a component involved in the interaction of people and the mechanisms of their consciousness (cognitive processes) [41, p. 136].

V. Karasyk identifies three main characteristics of discourse: 1) in formal terms – this is a unit of language that exceeds the volume of the sentence; 2) in terms of content, discourse is related to the usage of language in a social context; 3) in its organization, the discourse is interactive or dialogic [35, p. 189].

D. Schiffrin's position is similar, she distinguishes three approaches to the concept of "discourse". The first approach, from the position of formally or structurally oriented linguistics, defines discourse as two or more sentences that are interconnected in content. The second approach provides a functional definition of discourse as "any use of language". This approach determines the conditionality of discourse analysis functions by studying the functions of language in a broad socio-cultural context. The third approach defines discourse as an expression and emphasizes on the interaction of forms and functions. In this case, discourse is understood not just as a set of isolated units of the language structure "larger than a sentence", but as a holistic set of functionally organized and contextualized units of language use [7].

P. Sériot identifies 8 definitions of the term "discourse": 1) the equivalent of the concept of "speech"; 2) a unit that exceeds the sentence; 3) the impact of the saying on its addressee, taking into account the situation in which it occurs; 4) conversation, as the main type of expression; 5) speech of the speaker's position as opposed to the narration, which does not take such a position into account; 6) the use of linguistic units, their updating of speech; 7) socially or ideologically limited type of utterance (eg political discourse); 8) theoretical construction designed to study the conditions of text production [20].

V. Chernyavska reduces discourse to two main types: 1) a specific communication occasion recorded in written texts and oral speeches, which is realized in a specific communicative space cognitively and typologically conditioned; 2) a set of related thematic texts [61, p. 14].

Discourse can be confused with a speech act. I. Shevchenko and O. Morozov interpret "speech" as speech production, and "discourse" - speech in the context of social and mental activity and define speech as an integral phenomenon , as a

communication activity that takes place in a broad socio-cultural context, it is a set of processes and results, and it is characterized by continuity and dialogicity [32, p. 26-28].

F. Batsevych defines discourse as a type of communication, as an interactive phenomenon, a flow of speech that has different forms of expression (oral, written, paralingual). It occurs in a specific communication channel regulated by participant's strategies and tactics. Discourse is a synthesis of cognitive, linguistic and extralinguistic factors (social, mental, psychological, etc.) determined by a specific range of "forms of life" that depends on the subject of the communication [27, p. 138].

Despite the diversity of scientists' approaches to the definition of "discourse", we can conclude that all these meanings complement each other, considering the concept under different angles.

Studying discourse, the question about its typology arises. According to M. Makarov, the large number of discourse typologies that exist today is a consequence of the lack of sufficient empirical material [42, p. 147].

Today, the main criteria for distinguishing types of discourse according to I. Shevchenko and O. Morozova are those related to the categories of discourse and can be distinguished in terms of formal, functional and semantic criteria [32, p. 232].

Thus, considering the addressee criterion, M. Karasyk highlights personality-oriented (personal) and status-oriented (institutional) discourse. In the first case, in discussion take part individuals who know each other well, and in the second - representatives of some social group. Personal discourse has two main varieties: everyday and spiritual discourse. The specificity of everyday discourse is an attempt to minimize the information conveyed, to create a code of communication when people understand each other half-heartedly. The spiritual discourse aims at an artistic and philosophical understanding of the world.

Status-oriented discourse - verbal interaction of representatives of different social groups or institutions [35, p. 193].

Taking into account modern society within institutional discourse we can distinguish such subtypes as political, administrative, legal, military, educational, religious, medical, advertising, scientific, media and others.

The pragmalinguistic model of discourse highlights the characteristics of the means of communication or communication channels. According to the means of communication, such types are distinguished: informative and manipulative, meaningful and factual, serious and casual, etc., according to the channel of communication - oral and written, contact and distance, virtual and real types of discourse [35, p. 295].

According to socio-demographic criteria, children's, adolescent, male, female, discourse of urban and rural residents, etc. are distinguished.

There is also classification of G. Pocheptsov. He singles out TV and radio discourses, newspaper, theater, film discourse, literary discourse, discourse in the field of public relations (PR), advertising discourse, political, religious discourses [24].

This variety of classifications is a positive factor. All types and subtypes of discourse complement each other to some extent. We can conclude that the theory of discourse and its typology have been developed by linguists for a long time, and there is still no general definition of this concept, which would include all its aspects. Therefore, the interest of researchers will be focused on solving these problems, studying the features of certain types of discourse and carrying out different ways of analysis.

### **1.2.1. Overview of political discourse**

There is strong connection between language and politics because no one political regime can exist without communication. Language is necessary for politicians to inform, instruct, enact legislation, persuade, etc. The specificity of politics, in contrast to a number of other spheres of human activity, lies in its predominantly discursive nature. Many scholars believe that political activity

depend directly on language activity [10, 13], and in modern political science there is a tendency to consider language not as a means of reflecting political reality, but as a crucial part of the political sphere [27].

Current definitions of political discourse rest on the theoretical foundations of the general concept “discourse”: 1) political discourse is a set of speech structures in a particular linguistic context - the context of political activity, political opinions and beliefs with its negative manifestations (absence of political beliefs, etc.) [47, p. 20]; 2) political discourse is any speech formation whose subject, addressee or content is related to the political sphere [62, p. 23]; 3) political discourse is a set of discursive practices that identify the participants in political communication or form its specific subject [25, p. 246].

Political discourse can be defined as the set of all speech acts in political debates, as well as the rules of public policy, which are formed in accordance with existing traditions [25, p. 6].

The most accurate definitions (from linguistic point of view) is that political discourse is a coherent text (oral or written) expressed through verbal and non-verbal means of expression, due to the situation of political communication in combination with pragmatic, socio-cultural, psychological and other factors [37, p. 158].

A significant feature of the language of politics as a special sublanguage is its availability for understanding by general public. However, it is feature that allows some researchers to deny the existence of the language of politics. Large-scale specialization in political communication is associated with the fact that politics is the only professional sphere in which communication is focused on the mass addressee. Political communication is not just mediated by the media, but the media are in the main medium of its existence.

A broad approach to the analysis of politics and political communication is represented by V.V. Zelenskiy, who distinguishes between two levels in defining politics: “Politics is a set of some actions aimed at the distribution of power and

economic resources in a country or in the world between countries. This official level of politics includes the media, the education system, and all those social institutions that control the phenomena of social life. The second level of politics is personal; it is the way where the first level is actualized in the individual consciousness, as it manifests itself in the personality, in the family, in the relationships of people, in professional activity, as well as in the perception of works of literature and art” [33, p. 371].

The goal of political is the struggle for power. Political communication is understood as any transmission of messages intended to influence the distribution and use of power in society, especially if these messages come from official government institutions [19, p. 311].

The content of political discourse is limited to a public discussion of three fundamental issues (issues of power): a) the distribution of public resources; b) control over decision-making (judicial, legislative and executive); c) application of sanctions (the right to punish or reward) [9, p. 14].

### **1.2.2. The main functions of political discourse**

The main function of political discourse is using it as an instrument of political power. However, this function in relation to the language of politics is as global as the communicative function is all-embracing in relation to the language as a whole. Therefore, we will talk about the functions of the language of politics as aspects of the manifestation of its instrumental function.

The following functions can be distinguished within the framework of the instrumental function of political discourse:

1. social control;
2. legitimization of power;
3. the reproduction of power (strengthening the commitment to the authorities, in particular through the ritual use of symbols);

4. orientation ( formulation of goals and problems, the formation of a picture of political reality in the minds of society);
5. social solidarity (integration within the whole society or separate social groups);
6. social differentiation (alienation of social groups);
7. agonal (resolution of social conflict, expression of disagreement and protest against the actions of the authorities)
8. actional (mobilization (empower) people to act) [ 9, 2, 6, 14, 18, 21].

Mobilization to action is perhaps the most significant manifestation of the instrumental function of the language of politics. Stimulation can be carried out in the form of direct appeal - in the slogans, appeals and proclamations, as well as in legislative acts. Another channel for stimulating action is the creation of an appropriate emotional mood (hope, fear, pride in the country, confidence, a sense of unity). Finally, speech acts, such as a threat, a promise, an accusation, can stimulate response actions. For example, the threat of the use of force can end a strike, the promise of support in an international alliance agreement will deter a potential aggressor, and the fear of accusations of human rights violations will deter the government from persecuting dissidents. Speech acts such as expressions of support and trust are important incentives for political action.

In addition, Graber highlights such functions of political discourse as:

- 1) information dissemination
- 2) agenda setting
- 3) projection to future and past [15, p. 198].

Information dissemination about the state of affairs in the political community is one of the most significant functions of political discourse in relation to the broad masses. This is because in most cases people are not directly exposed to the world of politics, and their knowledge in this area is formed mainly on the basis of the verbal "pictures" offered to them.

Regarding the second function – “agenda setting”. The essence of this function is to control the dissemination of information: depending on whether politicians choose a particular topic for public discussion, it will be in the center or on the periphery of public attention. As a rule, politicians try to exclude topics from the agenda that might cast them in bad light. This is especially evident during the election campaigns.

Projection to future and past. A huge part of political communication is devoted to predicting the future and thinking about the past. Memories of the past, emphasizing political continuity, contribute to a sense of security and safety. Projection into the future includes forecasting the consequences of choosing one or another alternative (a bright future or the end of the world), an idealized image of future miracles and general welfare in the event of a candidate's policy. Not surprisingly, promises is predominantly used in election campaigns.

### **1.2.3. Pragmatic peculiarities of political discourse**

Having identified the field of political discourse and highlighted its main functions, we came close to describing its system-forming features. First of all, political discourse, operating in certain socio-political institutions, is characterized by institutionalism. Political communication is entirely mediated by the media and is an institutional communication, the analyzed discourse reveals a sign of distance, which is manifested in such aspects:

- physical / spatial distance (availability of security, special protective structures, etc.);
- communicative / contact distance (inaccessibility of politicians for direct language contact, media-mediated communication);
- symbolic distance (the right to own symbols of power: seal, nuclear suitcase, residences);
- psychological distance (recognition of the special wisdom and insight of a political leader);

- information distance (monopoly on information and restriction of access to it by subordinates)[16].

On the other hand, agents of political discourse seek to reduce the distance from the addressee through index use of language that implicitly signals political differences, for example, one can choose one of many regional or social accents, the use of tokens associated with a particular ideology, and finally choice of behavioral norms that show either solidarity or exclusion. Thus, we can argue that political discourse is characterized by indexality. Citizens of the country, being an implicit addressee even when they are not formally included in the discussion, create preconditions for the implicitly dialogical or even polyphonic nature of political discourse [1].

Politicians (agents), discussing with each other, giving interviews, expressing their disagreement, etc., play in public and report to the "addressee-observer" [16, p. 63] carefully selected information aimed at attracting more supporters, thereby determining the theatrical and persuasive nature of political discourse. Due to the fact that political agents mainly operate on phantom signs, ie words in the meaning of which there is no denotative component, such as democracy, social justice, the studied discourse is characterized by semantic uncertainty [16, p. 63].

Nevertheless, the language of politics strives for the accuracy of designation, terminology of its information field, thus, it replaces reality with political fantasy, which is understood as "a plausible picture of the world obtained by indirectly reflected experience is interpreted as a real state of affairs, while the subject of interpretation certainly believes in the authenticity of this reality and does not allow the idea of the possibility of its verification" [45, p. 8]. Addressees-observers, being under the influence of an artificially created political picture of the world, tend to rely on their subconscious, irrationality, which determines the fideism of political discourse.

The nature of the world of politics, which is one of the most mobile and changing spheres of life, is another obstacle to the verification of political reality,

prone to continuous transformation. This state of affairs determines the dynamism of political discourse.

According to O. Sheigal, the multidimensionality of discourse in the field of political communication is manifested in the possibility of differences in its genre space on some parameters: the degree of prototyping, event localization, sociocultural specificity, subject-address relations and institutional level [62, p. 232-243]. A broad understanding of political discourse, which includes personality-oriented and status-oriented communication, allows to divide the genres of political discourse along the axis of institutionality, arranging them sequentially from the most institutional to the most informal: official meetings of state representatives, international negotiations; political documents; speeches of politicians, public speeches; public political discussions; press conference; political scandal (on the verge of personal and personal); letters and telegrams in support or protest; rumors, anecdotes, conversations in line with strangers, conversations about politics with friends and family. Stratification by subjects of political communication requires a distinction between non-institutional and institutional types of communication [62, p.244-245].

There are genres that are characteristic of social and institutional communication (line "society - institution": speeches at rallies, voter orders, leaflets, appeals, petitions, line "institution - society": presidential decree, radio address, public speeches of politicians, posters, slogans, appeals, laws, decrees, government decrees), communications between agents in institutions (public sphere: program speech at the party congress, party program, report at the congress, speech of the prime minister at a parliamentary session, round table, parliamentary discussions, meetings of politicians, negotiations, internal sphere: closed session, behind-the-scenes discussion, official correspondence, etc.), communication between the citizen and the institution, voting in elections, citizens' letters to institutions and politicians, telegrams ).

Socio-cultural differentiation of discourse genres in the field of political communication, which leads to the formation of political sociolects, due to the diversity of ideological orientations of group political actors [54].

Ideological orientation is the basis of political sociolect and determines its nominative autonomous code, which is formed by the main words-ideologues, a specific set of language tactics, strategies and genres. In studying the specifics of genre forms from the standpoint of their correlation with the communicative complex events of political discourse, it is necessary to turn to the concept according to which communicative political events are considered as multi-genre, complex forms: for example, genres such as voter orders, answers to questions, deputy speeches, announcements, etc. [3, p. 280].

We can distinguish the following criteria that determine the level of marginality or prototype of genre forms: compliance with the main intention of political discourse - the primacy of the text, the struggle for power and the presence or absence of intersection with other types of discourse. To prototype genre forms, based on this, O. Sheigal refers to the primary, institutional genres: negotiations and decree, slogan and public political speech, parliamentary debate.

Political peripheral genres are considered secondary genres, they are at the intersection with other types of discourse. These genres are responsive: anecdote and parody, political caricature and graffiti, letters from readers and analytical articles, political memoirs and interviews, and more.

In the functional structure of the space of the genre, O. Sheigal distinguishes epideictic / ritual genres. The main intention of epideictic genres is integration (anniversary speech, radio address, inaugural speech and slogan), as well as orientation genres (agreement, decree and constitution) [62, p. 244-245]. We consider the genre of political discourse as a complex linguistic event or genre that realizes the main intention of political discourse - the struggle for power - and is distinguished by such criteria as: functional component, level of prototyping, event localization, sociocultural specificity, subjective-address relations, level of institutionality.

The speech behavior of political discourse subject is a multifaceted and complex phenomenon, which is determined by the intentions of the communicant. Politicians use all available means in the struggle for power, and the authors of political texts carefully select tactics and strategies for implementing political discourse.

Language strategies implement language genres and shape their uniqueness and individuality. K. Sedov writes: “Despite the fact that the genre establishes specific norms of communicative influence for speech personalities, any genre action is unique in its properties” [50, p. 166].

Different genres provide communication participants with a different set of opportunities. In the choice of language means of expression within the genre, variability is determined by tactics and strategies of language behavior [51, p.15].

In the definition of K. Sedov intra-genre tactics are a speech act that changes the plot turn in the development of plot interaction. The selection of intra-genre tactics depends on the strategies of intra-genre behavior, determined by the individual characteristics of speech individuals involved in the interaction. The same point of view is held by O. Mykhaleva, who understands the communicative strategy plan for the optimal implementation of communicative intentions, which takes into account the subjective and objective conditions and factors in which the communication act takes place and which determine the internal and external test structure and application of specific language tools [45, p. 45].

To implement a communicative strategy a set of tactics is used, which are determined by the intentions of the speaker and are represented by a set of techniques that determine the use of language tools. O.L. Mikhaleva believes that the chosen way of communication is considered as the result of the influence of such constitutive features of political discourse as the presence of the addressee-observer and the presence of opposing parties.

As a result, there is a need to choose strategies that reduce the status of the opponent, presenting him as an insignificant politician who does not deserve attention, and increase their own importance. The speaker at the same time

emotionally influences the addressee, tries to involve him in the political imagination [45, p. 63].

Under the influence of these factors in political discourse, three strategies are formed [22, p. 403]:

1. Strategy of theatricality, represented by a certain set of tactics: provocation, irony, warning, prediction, promises, information, demarcation, cooperation, motivation.

2. Strategy for improvement, which is served by tactics of self-justification, diversion of criticism, implicit self-presentation, presentation.

3. Reduction strategy, which is implemented through the tactics of threats, insults, exposure, impersonal accusations, accusations.

According to O. Parshyna, the strategies used by the subjects of political discourse are determined by the desire of the politician to encourage the addressee to vote for a particular political institution, to strengthen or gain authority, to inform the addressee about the subject of speech, his position on the issues under discussion.

O. Parshyna identifies the following communication strategies [48, p. 13]:

- manipulative strategy;
- agitation strategy;
- argumentative strategy;
- persuasion strategy;
- interpretive and informative strategy;
- strategy of forming the emotional mood of the addressee;
- power retention strategy;
- self-defense strategy;
- discrediting strategy;
- strategy of struggle for power;
- self-presentation strategy.

The author also emphasizes the dependence of the strategy of language influence on the set of tactics that implement each strategy of language action. The researcher notes that to actualize the same strategy, politicians can use a large

repertoire of language tactics: you can encourage to vote for a particular candidate using the means of discrediting opponents or self-promotion. From the author's point of view, the choice of a certain tactic by a politician depends on the ultimate goal of communication, the peculiarities of the communicative situation, as well as the type of language personality of the speaker.

O. Parshyna proposes the following system of classification of communicative strategies and tactics of their implementation in the discourse in the field of political communication:

1) persuasion strategy:

- agitation strategy: tactics of appeal and tactics of promise;
- argumentative strategy, which is implemented through the tactics of illustration, tactics of comparative analysis, instructions for the future and sound estimates;

2) strategies for retaining power:

- strategy of creating the emotional mood of the addressee: tactics of unity, appeal to the emotions of the addressee, taking into account the values of the addressee;

- information and interpretation strategy, which is represented by tactics of recognizing the existence of the problem, emphasizing positive information, explanation, commenting, as well as tactics of considering the problem from a new angle and indicating the way to solve it;

3) strategy of struggle for power:

- a strategy of self-defense, which is formed through the tactics of criticism, denial and justification;

- manipulative strategy: manipulative tactics and demagogic techniques;

- strategy of attack and discredit, represented by tactics of insults and accusations;

4) self-presentation strategy, which is implemented through the tactics of opposition, tactics of solidarity, tactics of identification.

A review of sources on the research problem allows us to conclude that different strategies are distinguished on the basis of individual characteristics of the linguistic personality of the producer of the discourse, the ultimate goal of communication and the peculiarities of the communicative situation. Tactics that implement strategies are considered a tool for consistent achievement of the goal by solving specific communication tasks. In political discourse, which aims to fight for power, the specifics of communicative planning depends on the situation of social interaction of communicators and the characteristics of the linguistic personality of the politician, which are reflected in tactical preferences and, consequently, the choice of language.

### **1.3. Intertextuality in political discourse**

The implementation of intertextual connections in political discourse serves as a means of establishing an intellectual and emotive connection between the politician and the audience. The problems of intertextuality of political discourse, in particular, are considered in the works of E. Levenkova. The researcher adheres to a contrastive approach to the study of political speeches and reveals the national-cultural specifics and linguocultural characteristics of intertexts on the basis of political discourse of Great Britain and the USA. This contrastive approach is contrasted with the semiotic one, in which the focus is on the symbolic characteristics of the “text in the text”. With the help of intertextual references, political leaders communicate their cultural orientations and pragmatic attitudes to the audience, since the sources of borrowing can be ideologically marked [38]. Intertextuality in political discourse can be used to establish communication with the recipient, transmit information about the external world, generate your own text, assert creative individuality and, at the same time, to express a certain ideology, socio-cultural attitudes, values and norms [59].

Intertextuality in political discourse has a certain degree of internationality because we live in a world of instant information dissemination, vivid statements of politicians are immediately broadcast through the media and simultaneously they are quoted in other parts of the world. The techniques of intertextuality in political discourse are designed to make the speeches of politicians more expressive, memorable, emotionally rich, and understandable for the public.

In political discourse, the techniques of intertextuality serve to reflect three basic elements: the general background knowledge of the author, his intentions and perception by the audience [17, p.60].

The author's pragmatic attitudes in the light of the theory of intertextuality are considered from a functional point of view or based on a set of strategies and tactics implemented by the speaker. E. Levenkova identifies the following strategies and tactics for the implementation of intertextuality in American political discourse: 1) information strategy (documenting tactics, tactics of an authoritative source, autocitation); 2) interpretation and orientation strategy (identifying, didactic tactics, warning tactics); 3) agonal strategy (distancing, criticism, accusation, threat); 4) integration strategy (rallying tactics, inspirational); and 5) incentive strategy (prescriptive tactics).

In addition to the fact that each strategy is implemented by a specific set of tactics, it is characterized by an appeal to certain sources. So, when implementing an agonal strategy, links, as a rule, indicate political rivals, and within the framework of an information strategy, an appeal is made against government documents and international organizations. Moreover, each strategy can have a number of peculiarities - in particular, when appeals to arguments in political discourse, pseudo-informing can occur, when the citation of documents is replaced by a retelling reflecting the point of view of the politician, is associated with a manipulative, selective transformation of information, is reduced to the substitution of information by its assessment, or is aimed at blurring the meaning [39, 40].

According to T.Marchenko, intertextual inclusions in political discourse, which are implemented in the media, are carriers of high manipulative potential due to the ability to augment the assigned meaning, generate culturally and axiologically determined associations that interact in a common discursive space, fix specific information in cultural memory that form a general picture of the world and determine the variability of the interpretation of reality, as well as carry out a powerful persuasive effect through the activation of culturally significant information. Quotes and allusions fulfill their manipulative potential through the actualization of tactics that reflect the main properties of political communication: irony, warning manifests theatricality, show action; authorization – luring people to one's side. Allusions, as a rule, are represented by references to external and internal socio-political events, political scandals, official documents of a political and economic nature, historical figures, films. Allusions are carried out by tactics of persuasive influence, such as the tactics of exposure, analogy, provocation, persuasive information, positive / negative characteristics of the event. Quotes serve to create an axiological interpretive canvas of an event, as well as to provide a persuasive impact. In the political discourse of media texts, intertextual inclusions can implement manipulative tactics of provocation, inducement, warning, criticism, accusation, forecasting, presentation, authorization, analogy, denunciation, irony, warning, unity, motivation, reproach, ridicule [43].

Another key aspects of the intertextuality of political discourse are identifying the sources of intertextual inclusions and their types. Researcher-noted groups sources, as a rule, have a vivid national-specific marking and reflect the general cultural, historical and political heritage of the people and the state. In political discourse, intertextuality is realized through the reproduction of certain ideologemes, sociocultural attitudes, values and norms. Precedent texts serve to form a concept, which is characterized by multidimensionality and value significance. Changes in the ideology of the people and the state lead to continuous changes in the body of national precedent texts [30].

N. Bazhalkyna highlights such precedent texts as aphorisms, proverbs and sayings, slogans, mottos and quotes, sayings of philosophers, writers, artists, politicians, expressions from the Bible, from government documents, literature, films, songs, etc. Aphorisms in political discourse have a number of basic characteristics: depth of thought, authorship, formal completeness, imagery of expression of thought, originality of formulation, brevity, truthfulness, generalization, auto-semantic, axiological, paradoxical, expressiveness and intertextuality. Borrowings serve to make speech more convincing, to influence the emotional side of the perception of reality, to save own efforts by shortening the text without the need for argumentation, to express value priorities by accepting or challenging someone else's judgment, to focus on the most important points, to make the performance more expressive, vivid and memorable, to facilitate the assimilation of the content by the listener. The factors that determine the politician's appeal to certain spheres are the topic and purpose of the speech, the politician's point of view on any issue, as well as national characteristics of political discourse, stereotypes of perception of political reality and the political situation in the country [23].

The specificity of the sources of intertextual inclusions can be explained not only by the individual characteristics of the author - his biography, life experience, knowledge, tastes - but also by national and cultural factors. For example, a characteristic feature of the implementation of intertextuality in American political discourse is creation of own aphoristic statements. The aphoristic nature of American discourse tends to convey emotive and expressive potential [23].

According to O. Spyrydovskiy, the appeal to the precedent texts or names represents a rather significant rhetorical component in political and presidential discourse, which can be explained by the fact that every head of state must adhere to social, historical, moral and ethical traditions of their country. There are a number of examples of intertextualized utterances in American presidential discourse, with the remarks of previous US presidents prevailing. In addition, references to

outstanding, public figures, politicians and reformers occupy an important place. With the help of this rhetorical technique, presidents increase the authority of their words, as well as ensure the continuity of the transfer of power in the country, sharing a common discursive space [56].

Thus, the problem of intertextuality based on the material of political discourse is highlighted in various aspects. The results of scientific research mainly relate to the use of intertextual strategies and tactics, the nature of precedent texts and specific linguistic forms of the implementation of intertextuality in political speeches, as well as the reflection of nationally determined characteristics. However, the constant progress of modern society, the continuous historical development of states and close political interaction in the context of globalization lead to a change in the system of values, views, priorities, which, in particular, is reflected in the appeal to precedent texts. The study of recent political speeches allows us to identify the most modern trends and present new conclusions regarding the nature of the sources of intertextuality, their functional load, linguistic features of implementation in speech and other national and individually specific characteristics.

## **Conclusion to 1<sup>st</sup> chapter**

The term “discourse” is one of the most commonly used concepts today, but even linguists can't put its accurate interpretation. This variety of classifications is a positive factor. All types and subtypes of discourse complement each other to some extent.

One of the most common type of discourses is political discourse. Political discourse is a phenomenon that everyone deals with on a daily basis. The main function of political discourse is using it as an instrument of political power. But there are functions that can be distinguished within the framework of the instrumental function of political discourse, for example: social control function, legitimization of power, the reproduction of power, orientation, social solidarity, social differentiation, agonal and actional functions.

We consider the genre of political discourse as a complex linguistic event or genre that realizes the main intention of political discourse - the struggle for power - and is distinguished by such criteria as: functional component, level of prototyping, event localization, sociocultural specificity, subjective-address relations, level of institutionality.

The speech behavior of political discourse subject is a multifaceted and complex phenomenon, which is determined by the intentions of the communicant. Politicians use all available means in the struggle for power, and the authors of political texts carefully select tactics and strategies for implementing political discourse.

The intertextuality of political speeches is a fairly effective way of influencing the audience. In American political discourse intertextual means emphasize American individualism, patriotism, awareness of one's own national exclusiveness. Intertextual means underlie a number of communication strategies and tactics aimed primarily at winning and retaining power.

## II. LINGUISTIC FEATURES IN POLITICAL SPEECHES

### 2.1. Lexical peculiarities in Donald Trump's speeches

A study of Trumpian speech patterns suggests that the unusual way he speaks has its roots in oral culture. He unites his audiences through emotional, targeted conversation, even if this is one-sided and usually doesn't follow a clear narrative arc.

We can often observe hyperbole in his speeches like *really*, *extremely*, *enormously*, etc. To Trump, things are *terrible* or *incredible*, *best* or *worst*. He also uses phrases like *very*, *very* and *many*, *many* or *super-duper*.

Fragmented sentences are natural and common in everyday speech, regardless of language and the speaker's geographical origin, social class or educational background. Here's a sample of Trumpian fragments:

*This is what happened here. This is not the United States of America what happened, and I think everybody knows that* [67].

Moreover, Trump often starts a sentence and allows his followers to finish the sentence in their minds. They feel empathy and intimacy, an acceptance of what's being said, and good feeling towards him – and this is an unconscious, automatic reaction. Here's a 2020 example:

*We're up 600... Think of this. Think of this. Think of this. We're up 690,000 votes in Pennsylvania, 690,000. These aren't even close. This is not like, "Oh, it's close..." With 64% of the vote in, it's going to be almost impossible to catch* [75].

In this abstract we can also notice that D. Trump tend to use repetitions to emphasize the amount of votes and to show himself in a good light.

Trumpian dialect is known for sudden switches of theme. Indeed, his frequency of divergence is unusual in that he goes off topic far more often than the average person:

*Look, having nuclear – my uncle was a great professor and scientist and engineer, Dr John Trump at MIT; good genes, very good genes, OK, very smart, the Wharton School of Finance, very good, very smart...*[69].

Topic change in the middle of a sentence is something we all do in conversation, but it's just unusual to hear it from a president in a public, formal context.

During Republican National Convention Speech Donald Trump compliments to his family members and his closest supporter, Vice President, Mike Pence, as well as his wife. Epithets are not just a means of "decorating" speech, but, first of all, a means of influence, since they actualize the signs most significant for the listeners of D. Trump's speech (*magnificent* - causing admiration especially because of an unusual quality; *amazing* - causing (someone) to be extremely surprised; *great* - very good or very effective; *faith* - a high degree of trust or confidence in someone or something; *steadfast* - staying the same for a long time; not changing or losing purpose; *beloved* - loved very much [76]).

Trump is also famous for such phrases as *Make America great again* and *Build the wall* and *Believe me, Many people are saying* that actually are part of his persuasive techniques. In this way, he tries to gain people's trust and they really succumb to this tactic unconsciously.

The addressee is forced to think about the need to elect him to the presidency. Noteworthy is the level of abstraction, the lack of specificity in Trump's promises, since he does not name specific ways to achieve goals - building the greatest economy in history, full employment, protection from any threats, inciting a new faith in the values of the nation, pride in history and a new spirit of unity. The use of lexical units with a high level of abstraction (*prosperity, faith, pride, spirit, etc.*) provides great opportunities for manipulation.

In addition, like many TV marketers, ex-President of the United States uses the rhetorical "rule of three" as seen in the case of *much smarter, much sharper, much more cunning*.

The suggestive function of repetition can also manifest itself in other emotional and psychological influences on the audience. In particular, D. Trump also used repetition to inspire the audience or to clarify, to convey to them some idea:

*You've been there. You've been there. You had the best three years that you've ever had, under President Trump. The best three years. The best three years* [66].

D. Trump is also characterized by phrases like *kind of, sort of* and the use of words of broad semantics like *everything, something* in cases of difficulty in choosing a specific word. The use of this kind of phrases and words fulfills a contact-establishing function, and also helps to create the impression of spontaneity of speech, and, consequently, sincerity and truthfulness.

Trump often uses abstract nouns such as: *support, confidence, faith, conviction, greatness, prosperity, achievement, value, pride, independence, integrity, solidarity, freedom, ect.*

Distinctive feature of D. Trump's speech style is frequently use of personal pronoun in plural form *we*. In our opinion, this is one of the manipulation techniques, because using the personal pronoun *we* candidate brings himself closer to the people, which is a good tactic during electioneering.

## **2.2. Grammatical peculiarities in Donald Trump's speeches**

The syntax of Trump's speech is not uncommon for the same type of declarative sentence structures, which is not surprising given Trump's use of predominantly short, easily repeated phrases:

*We won the great State of Ohio. We won Texas, we won Texas. We won Texas. We won Texas by 700,000 votes and they don't even include it in the tabulations. It's also clear that we have won Georgia* [75].

In one small passage, which was spoken with the same intonation, you can see five identical ascending accents on *won*. It is based on an uncomplicated psychological

device used by Donald constantly: having heard a thought duplicated with the same intonation and similar words, the audience pays special attention to what will follow after it, expectations increase.

Syntactically, Donald Trump's rhetoric does not differ much in complexity from its lexical content. As it was already written above, short, easy-to-remember and catchy phrases prevail, with a pronounced emphasis at the end of the sentence *We have a real problem. (...) We have to get down to the problem. (...) Because we do have a problem.*

In addition to simplicity and authenticity, in the grammar of D. Trump's speeches, the achievement of suggestive goals is facilitated by repetition, which has many varieties, the most important of which is semantic (meaningful) repetition, which has different incarnations. First, it is realized in tautological repetitions that arise when the same linguistic units are used repeatedly - morphemes, words, phrases or sentences. Secondly, semantic repetition appears when linguistic units are used in a phrase, sentence or in a visible area of the text that have semantic commonality with differences in terms of expression, that is, it is realized in the phenomena of semantic equivalence.

Trump's speech is characterized by both tautology and semantic equivalence. In the presented fragments the tautology is obvious: the verb *boo* is repeated 7 times in different forms: *some people were booing, People have never booed for you. I have never had a person boo me, and all of a sudden people are booing me. Those people are booing. They had never booed before. But now they boo* [68].

The suggestive effect achieved here is empathy. Both tautological linguistic units and units of one semantic field are presented in the next episode, in which Trump speaks about his unwillingness to prosecute H. Clinton:

<...>*I want to move forward, I don't want to move back. And I don't want to hurt the Clintons. I really don't. She went through a lot. And suffered greatly in many different ways. And I am not looking to hurt them at all. The campaign was vicious.*

*They say it was the most vicious primary and the most vicious campaign. I guess, added together, it was definitely the most vicious; probably, I assume you sold a lot of newspapers. I would imagine. [68].*

There are two themes in this episode that the speaker uses repetition to promote: (1) moving the country forward towards unity and (2) the suffering of the Clintons. Topic (1) is promoted both by tautology (*look forward* is used 2 times: in completed and unfinished versions), and by semantically equivalent synonymous and antonymic means (*move forward, not... move back*). Topic (2) is promoted through the tautology: *went through a lot* (3 times) and through the use of linguistic means of one semantic field, which is also accompanied by a tautological repetition: *hurt them* (3 times), *vicious* (4 times).

The suggestive function in relation to the topic “the country's movement forward towards unity” has a concrete manifestation as convincing the audience of the correct choice of voters, and in relation to the topic of “suffering of the Clintons” - as convincing the audience of the speaker's humanity and generosity and confirming his intentions to move towards the unity of the country. In any case, such an insistent repetition does not give the listener a chance not to remember the content conveyed to him.

Another peculiarity of D. Trump's speeches is constant using of discourse markers such as: *I think; I don't think; I guess; Look; I mean; You know; Let's say; As you probably know; I'll tell you what; I have to say, etc.*

Now let's pay attention to the means of expressive syntax, which, being an important element of linguistic stylistics, plays an important role in rhetoric. First of all, Trump's speech is distinguished by parcelling.

- *They made it a very, very bad ... They did a very bad thing for this state. They did a very bad thing for this nation [66].*

- *This was unbelievably wealthy, rich country, one of the richest countries, and now they don't have water. They don't have food. They don't have medicine [66].*

• *We're not talking about isolation, we're talking about security. We're not talking about religion, we're talking about security. Our country is out of control* [68].

In the first example, parceling is accompanied by another rhetorical device - syntactic repetition. In the second example, syntactic parallelism is observed. The third example uses an antithesis, also built on syntactic parallelism (We're not talking about ... we're talking about).

Thus, Donald Trump uses the same effective rhetorical means that have the greatest impact on listeners. Among the linguistic and stylistic features of his political rhetoric, one can note, first of all, informal vocabulary, parceling, syntactic and lexical repetition, as well as an abrupt rhythm created by the predominance of monosyllabic and disyllabic words.

### **2.3. Lexical peculiarities in Joe Biden's speeches**

The first shot of Biden was wearing a mask and jogging towards the stage after US Vice President Harris' invitation. As he ran with confident strides (literally), he seemed to be smashing through the glass-wall of the "Sleepy-Joe" smear campaign. The short-run up represented vitality, will and enthusiasm to take over one of the toughest jobs in the world during one of the toughest times of this generation.

*My fellow Americans, the people of this nation have spoken.*

*They have delivered us a clear victory. A convincing victory.*

*A victory for "We the People".*

*We have won with the most votes ever cast for a presidential ticket in the history of this nation — 74 million* [63].

This election was undermined by President Trump's constant commentary undermining the legitimacy of the election. By beginning his speech with the words *clear*, *convincing* and *great*, Biden reaffirmed and underline the power of the ballot and legitimized its result.

*I pledge to be a president who seeks not to divide, but to unify.*

*Who doesn't see red and blue states, but a United States.*

*I sought this office to restore the soul of America.*

*To rebuild the backbone of the nation — the middle class [63].*

Biden uses the phrase *not to divide, but to unify* to highlight some key challenges and events during the preceding administration. Without attacking Trump or even mentioning him, he upped his ante by using one of the most subtle yet strong phrases we have ever heard in a President-elect speech, *restore the soul*. This addresses the Trump's presidency as one which not just at the surface but at its core shook the ideal's of American democracy. It was a sentence which, I believe, deserved a longer pause than to be dissolved in a string of repetitive rhetoric.

*As I said many times before, I'm Jill's husband.*

*I would not be here without the love and tireless support of Jill, Hunter, Ashley, all of our grandchildren and their spouses, and all of our family.*

*They are my heart.*

*Jill's a mom — a military mom — and an educator [63].*

These words are a relieving recall of the Obama Presidency where the FLOTUS was often addressed as an equal stakeholder by President Obama. *I am Jill's husband* is a strong phrase highlighting the power of women that Biden also represented by appointing a woman as his running-mate. The empowerment of women, education and the military have played an important role in most elections, and Biden addressed them immediately, demonstrating his personal attachment and intentions regarding each of them.

It is also necessary to note that Biden has barely smiled in his speech and has kept his casual tone. He projected his voice with power as a testimony to his energy and passion.

The President-Elect raised his pitch to announce the next big stride for the fairness and equality of black people and immigrants. He also refers to the historical struggle for this with the phrase *It's long overdue*.

Joe Biden constantly highlights the importance of family. *Family* is a powerful emotional trigger for everyone.

*And to all those who supported us: I am proud of the campaign we built and ran. I am proud of the coalition we put together, the broadest and most diverse in history.*

*Democrats, Republicans and Independents.*

*Progressives, moderates and conservatives.*

*Young and old.*

*Urban, suburban and rural.*

*Gay, straight, transgender.*

*White. Latino. Asian. Native American.*

*And especially for those moments when this campaign was at its lowest — the African-American community stood up again for me. They always have my back, and I'll have yours [63].*

In this abstract, Biden expresses his respect for the entire American people, regardless of race, nationality, or sexual orientation. Expressing his democratic position in this way, Biden emphasizes his respect for all people.

The future president does not resort to the tactics of discrediting political opponents, which is typical of an election campaign, but, on the contrary, expresses the hope to build a dialogue with them. The idea of uniting the people is a red thread running through all of Biden's speech and is its leitmotif, which can be explained by the difficult situation in the country caused by racial conflicts. Biden is trying to smooth out the American disunity and among his associates lists all possible groups of people, based on their political views, age, place of residence, nationality and even orientation: Democrats, Republicans, independents, progressives, moderates, conservatives, young, old, urban, suburban, rural, gay, straight, transgender, white, Latino, Asian, Native American.

In his inauguration speech he uses the words *America* and *American* 17 times, *democracy* – 11, and personal pronoun *I* - 36 times. He uses phrases like: *I swear, I thank you, I ask, I know, I guarantee, I believe, I promise.*

Moreover, Biden mentioned *Constitution* 3 times, *war*- 6 times, *virus* – 5 times, twice about *racism* and 3 times about *dignity*.

In Biden's Democratic National Convention speech he highlights the negative experience during Trump's time. He uses such nouns with negative meaning as: *anger, fear, division*.

*The current president has cloaked America in darkness for much too long. Too much anger. Too much fear. Too much division.*

*...Four historic crises. All at the same time. A perfect storm [72].*

To emphasize the difficult economic times of the past years, Biden uses idiom a perfect storm that means bad events happen at the same time.

*This campaign isn't just about winning votes.*

*It's about winning the heart, and yes, the soul of America [72].*

In this abstract, the candidate expresses his love and respect for the American people, using the metaphorical combinations: *the heart of America* and *the soul of America*.

Biden does not use full quotations, but resorts to allusions, partially borrowing elements from other precedent texts. Allusions imply an additional meaning, embody the cultural and historical heritage, are distinguished by a high axiological potential and thus have a persuasive effect.

Consider the use of allusions in Biden's speech:

1. *I pledge to be a president ... who doesn't see red states and blue states, only sees the United States [63]* - a reference to the speech of Barack Obama, 44th President of the United States, whose speeches are among the best examples of political speeches: The pundits like to slice-and-dice our country into Red States and Blue States.

2. *Once again, America's bent the arc of the moral universe more toward justice [63]*. Biden refers to the speech of Martin Luther King in 1968: We shall overcome because the arc of the moral universe is long, but it bends toward justice.

3. *And make no mistake, too many dreams have been deferred for too long [63]* - an allusion to the famous poem "Harlem" by Langston Hughes, an influential

American writer: What happens to a dream deferred? / Does it dry up like a raisin in the sun?

4. *Our nation is shaped by the constant battle between our better angels and our darkest impulses ...*[63]. The phrase *better angels* is borrowed from the closing remarks of the inaugural speech of US President Abraham Lincoln in 1861.

*It's time to put away the harsh rhetoric.*

*To lower the temperature.*

*To see each other again.*

*To listen to each other again* [63].

More than 71 Million people voted for President Trump. That is a sizable angry population to manage. Biden asked for them to be cool through his euphemism *to lower the temperature*.

*America has always been shaped by inflection points — by moments in time where we've made hard decisions about who we are and what we want to be.*

*Lincoln in 1860 — coming to save the Union.*

<...>*And 12 years ago — when Barack Obama made history — and told us, “Yes, we can.”*

*We stand again at an inflection point* [63].

By quoting the examples of Republicans as well as Democratic presidents who changed the course of the nation in the past, Biden not only revalidated his statements regarding cooperation but also reminded the people that he will make contemporary steps to heal the nation.

#### **2.4. Grammatical peculiarities in Joe Biden's speeches**

Joe Biden's speech presents a rhythmic structure due to the anaphoric repetition of lexemes, parallel structures, which increased emotional tension of speech. Short elliptical sentences sound energetic and stimulate action.

The president informs about drastic steps of government, appoints a group of responsible persons, a date, an action plan, which makes us believe in the

effectiveness of his policy: *On Monday, I will name a group of leading scientists and experts as Transition Advisors to help take the Biden-Harris COVID plan and convert it into an action blueprint* [63].

Even though Biden won the presidential election, his speech continues to carry out the persuasive function of political discourse as he must win over Trump supporters. Addressing them, he expresses a desire to end the "harsh rhetoric" and calls for joint work: *It's time to put away the harsh rhetoric. To lower the temperature. To see each other again. To listen to each other again. To make progress, we must stop treating our opponents as our enemy. We are not enemies* [63].

The peculiarities of Biden's style are clearly visible here. Short elliptical sentences beginning with an infinitive; repetition of lexical units *each other, we, enemies* make speech bright and emotional. The syntax and structure of the utterances facilitate the perception of oral speech. The script of a victorious utterance to some extent resembles a poetic form, the repetition of words at the end of sentences - an epiphora – makes his speech more rhythmic.

*A nation united. A nation strengthened. A nation healed. The United States of America* [63].

The verbs *to decide, to pledge, to sought, to restore, to rebuild, to unite* give the speech a convincing tone.

By tradition, future presidents thank their loved ones and family members, and also express gratitude to those who voted for them: *I owe you, I owe you, I owe you everything* [63].

The threefold repetition of these constructions conveys Biden's depth and gratitude. The addressee feels involved in what is happening, considers himself a direct participant in the events.

Three times in his speech, Biden addresses the theme of America's soul in need of "restoration": *I sought this office to restore the soul of America. I've long talked about the battle for the soul of America. We must restore the soul of America* [63].

In this example, the transition from the personal pronoun “I” to “we” returns to the theme of the unity of the nation. Epiphora performs the function of attracting attention.

In Biden's speech, the passive voice occurs only once, which makes it dynamic. We can also notice that Biden barely uses adverbs and clichés. Thus, he tries to convey his emotional state to the people, to cause a certain emotional resonance through active verbs.

During electioneering 2020, Biden often uses the future tense in his speeches, thus making promises. Most often, he does it with the help of construction *to be going to do something*. For example in his speech in Wilmington, on December 28 he uses phrase *we're going to* 7 times [71].

Biden's speech is characterized by the use of a wide palette, first of all, syntactic resources that have a manipulative (persuasive) means, maintain interest in his speech until the very end. Slogan, pompousness, ellipsis, the use of parallel constructions and lexical repetitions give speech rhythm, dynamism, and increase expressiveness.

Consider Joe Biden Speech After Electoral College Vote. In this speech prevail such descriptive adjectives as: *tested, proved, resilient, true, strong, clear, honest, free, fair, stunning* [70] which fully reflect his democratic views and evoke faith in a better future.

Biden also tend to use grammatical contrasting structures. In example below, we can observe this contrast with the help of demonstrative pronouns *this* and *that*.

*This is the America we love and that is the America we're going to be* [70].

In the same speech he mostly uses personal pronoun *we* instead of *I*. In this case he uses personal pronoun *we* to convey the image of one political party as a team and to be more united with public.

*We're a great nation. We're good people. We may come from different places, hold different beliefs, but we share in common a love for this country, a belief in its limitless possibilities. For we, the United States of America, has always set the example for the world for a peaceful transition of power. We'll do so again* [70].

## 2.5. Pragmatic features in US political speeches 2020

The speech of a political leader is, first of all, an instrument of influence, the speech of a politician is his weapon. Political discourse is a complex multidimensional formation that includes speech genres and speech acts.

All these characteristics fully apply to speech, designed to create a certain mood, to inspire the audience. In delivering the speech, the candidate appeals to the feelings of the public, trying to elicit an emotional response.

The information component is present in such speeches (the future president sums up the results of the election campaign, makes promises, makes plans), but the very fact of delivering a speech is more important, which makes it possible to attribute it to a phatic speech genre. The speech genre "victory speech of the future president" is a complex formation that includes various speech acts such as representations, expressives, directives and commissions.

It seems that D. Trump, known as a successful, tough, intolerant and intractable entrepreneur, transfers his usual business strategies into political activity. It can be assumed that Trump's tough political rhetoric is a manifestation of professional deformation of his personality: in business, he successfully applies the model of an antagonistic game and continues to exploit a proven template, dictating the rules of the game and "making deals" in his usual manner in his new professional activity.

In order to understand the logic of D. Trump's game, it is necessary to formulate what goals he pursues and how he envisions interaction with other players. The key to understanding the goal of Trump's game is his own discourse, for example, in his campaign speeches, the politician tirelessly stated that he only intends to win, does not accept compromises and losses. To quote some of his "victorious" speeches: *If I am an elected president - we will win, we will win and we will win! I will totally accept the results of this great and historic presidential election if I win!; I will keep whining until I win!; We are winning, we are winning, we are winning!* etc.[65]

Analysis the speeches of the 45th President of the United States the following strategies used by in situations of political interaction:

- strategy of confrontation and conflict. Political activity is distinguished by a constant dialectic of aggressiveness, which sharply increases in periods when a political decision must be made by broad masses of citizens (elections, referendums, political demonstrations, etc.). The 2020 election campaign in the United States has clearly demonstrated this situation by the example of the conflicting and aggressive rhetoric. In the communicative interaction, D. Trump forces opponents to play by his rules, drawing them into confrontation, fearlessly attacks and does not give up until the last.

Conflict behavior shows the originality of a linguistic personality. Analysis of D. Trump's speech behavior reveals an abundance of both fairly direct and indirect manifestations of speech aggression, implemented through the following tactics: the tactics of ascertaining incompetence, accusations and reproaches are an active component of D. Trump's personal discourse as a way to delegitimize the enemy.

During the election campaign, he repeatedly accused Joe Biden of incompetence, citing shortcomings in his political activities. For example: *Incompetent Biden doesn't know what he is talking about. Has no idea. He made such bad decisions* [64].

*The problem is, you talk, but you don't get anything done, Joe. You don't. Just like when you ran the Vice-President, \$ 6 billion was missing. How do you miss \$ 6 billion? You ran the Vice-President, \$ 6 billion was either stolen. They don't know. It's gone, \$ 6 billion. If you become president, this country is going to be in some mess* [64].

This tactic, natural during the election campaign, remains in the arsenal of the politician during the presidency. At the same time, it is often reinforced by the tactics of insult. Trump's discourse reveals an intense use of irony and sarcasm as a means of active and reactive aggression, for example: *Trump: I will bring back jobs. You can't bring back jobs. Biden: Well, actually, I have thought about this quite a bit. Trump: Yeah, for 30 years* [64].

The most popular are D. Trump's toxic posts on Twitter, replete with offensive labels and saturated with aggressive rhetoric against personalities disliked by the politician. In general, it is obvious that confrontation based on speech aggression is D. Trump's favorite communicative style.

In addition, Donald Trump very often uses manipulative techniques in his speeches. During Republican National Convention Speech Donald Trump's compliments to his family members and his closest supporter, Vice President, Mike Pence, as well as his wife, in his speech serve to form a general emotional mood, "processing" the audience in the most vivid form. Like any other action, our speech activity is determined by motives and predictable results. Speech is the process of transmitting verbal messages, but the latter are not its ultimate goal.

In essence, the ultimate goal of any speech actions is to control the activities of people. While complimenting his family and comrade-in-arms, Trump "exploits" emotionally adjusting tactics that implement the intensification strategy - "protruding" the merits of his environment. At the same time, he makes extensive use of expressive evaluative vocabulary: *our magnificent First Lady, my amazing daughter Ivanka, a great brother, a man of deep faith and steadfast conviction Mike Pence, his beloved wife Karen Pence* [76].

Trump is also famous for such phrases as "*Make America great again*" and "*Build the wall*" and "*Believe me*", "*Many people are saying*" that actually are part of his persuasive techniques. In this way, he tries to gain people's trust and they really succumb to this tactic unconsciously.

In contrast to Trump, Biden's views are more democratic. He behaves mostly restrained and calm. Biden in his speeches always speaks about diversity, be it political, demographic, racial or gender diversity:

*All those who supported us, I am proud of the campaign we built and ran. I am proud of the coalition we put together: Democrats, Republicans, independents, progressives, moderates, conservatives, young, old, rural, suburban, gay, straight, transgender, Asian, Native Americans. I mean it: especially in those moments when*

*the campaign was at its slowest, the African-American community stood up again for me. You all had my back, and I will have yours [63].*

Looking at the time dedicated to issues in his speeches, we found that Joe Biden prioritized discussing the economy (29%), Covid-19 (22%), and healthcare (16%).

On his owned social media, his priorities were slightly different. Mentions of coronavirus were most prominent (31%), followed by the economy (20%) and healthcare (13%).

But in social media posts from the public, there was a different order of importance. National security and foreign affairs was the most-discussed topic (16%), followed by Covid-19 (15%), the economy (13%), and law and order (13%).

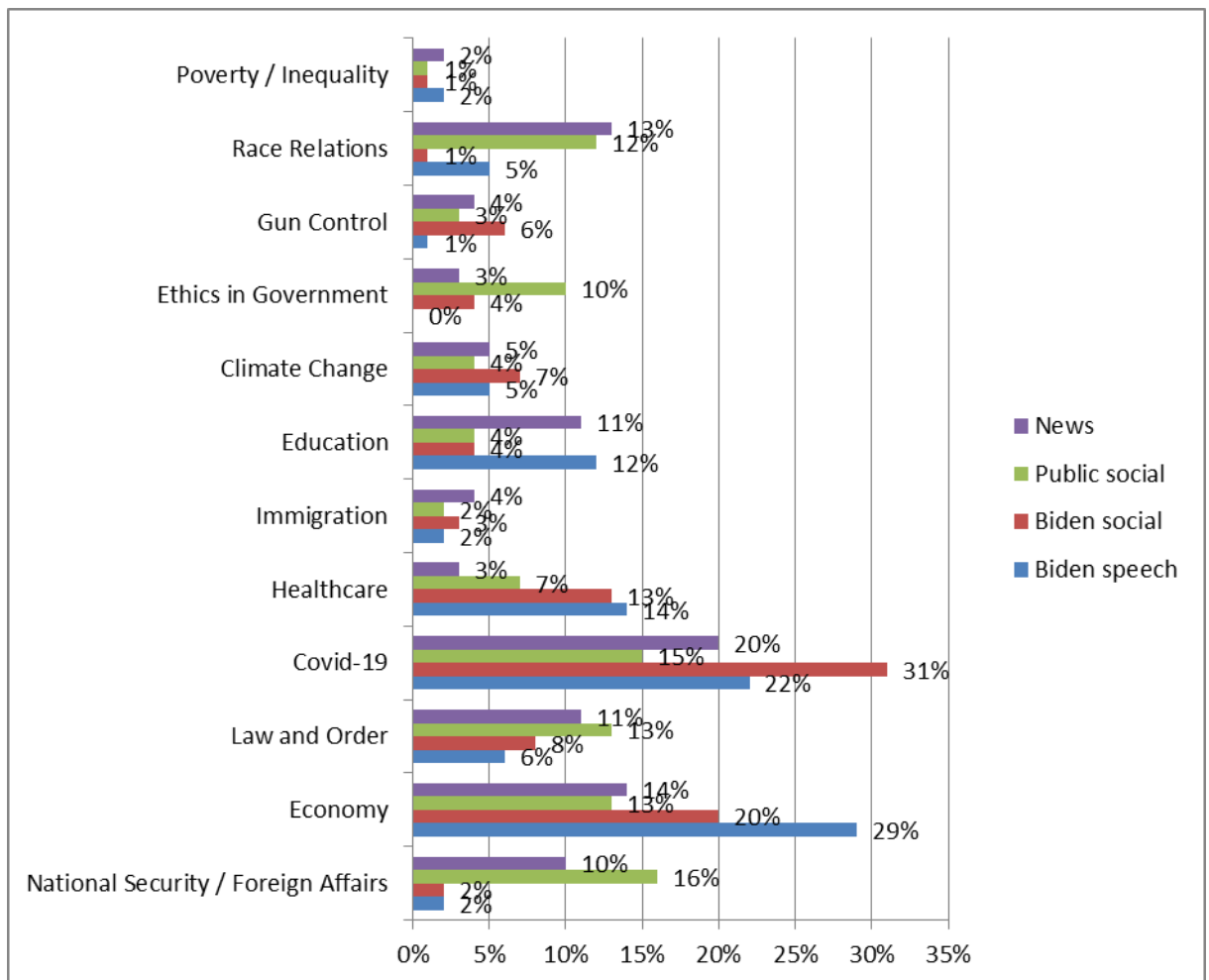


Figure 2.1. Mentions of an issue from a source in relation to all other issues studied (Jan 1 2020 - Oct 31 2020)

The media also had different priorities when it came to discussing issues relating to Biden. While Covid-19 was the top issue (20%) and the economy came second (14%), race relations was the third most important topic (13%).

We split our speech data into two parts: January to July and August to October. This meant we could analyze how much speech time the candidates dedicated to different issues early in the race compared to the later stages.

Trump only discussed coronavirus slightly more during his speeches between August and October compared to January to July. The increase was mainly to do with his Covid-19 diagnosis in early October.

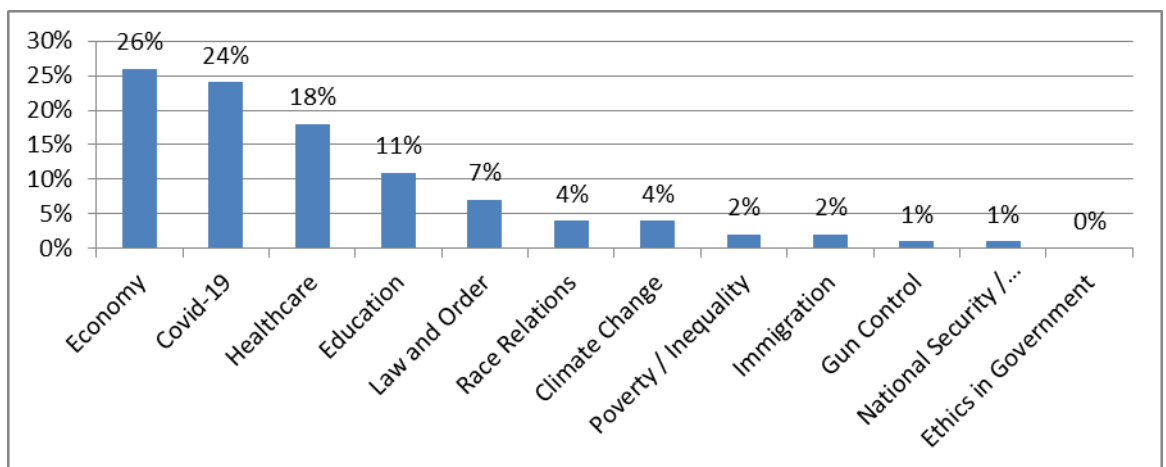


Figure 2.2. The percentage of issue-related mentions during Joe Biden campaign speeches (Jan 01 – Jul 31, 2020)

Instead, the real changes in his speech time allocation were around national security and foreign affairs and law and order, which featured far more prominently in speeches towards the end of the race.

Meanwhile, immigration and the economy were given comparatively less speech time in the latter part of the race.

In comparison, Biden increased his emphasis on the economy during his speeches in August to October compared to January to July.

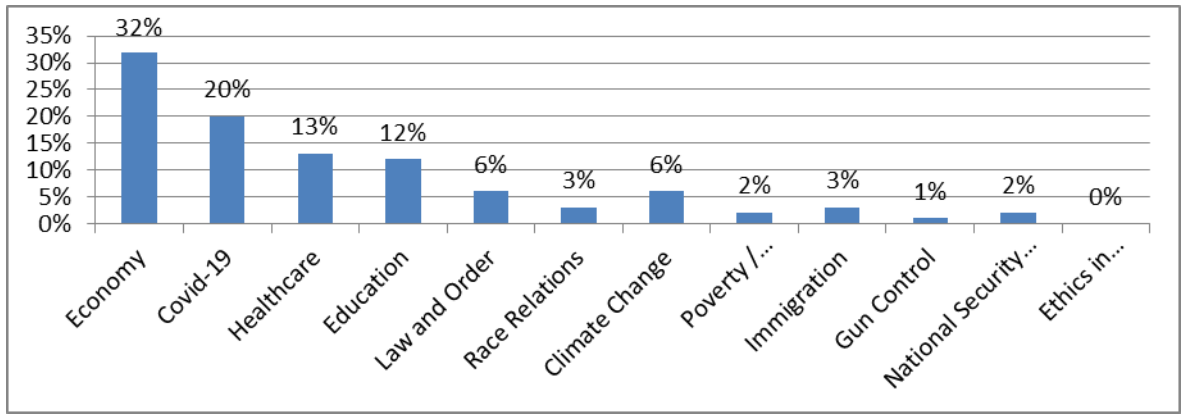


Figure 2.3. The percentage of issue-related mentions during Joe Biden campaign speeches (Aug 01 – Oct 31, 2020)

But, the percentage of speech time Biden dedicated to discussing Covid-19 and healthcare decreased as he focused on economic issues.

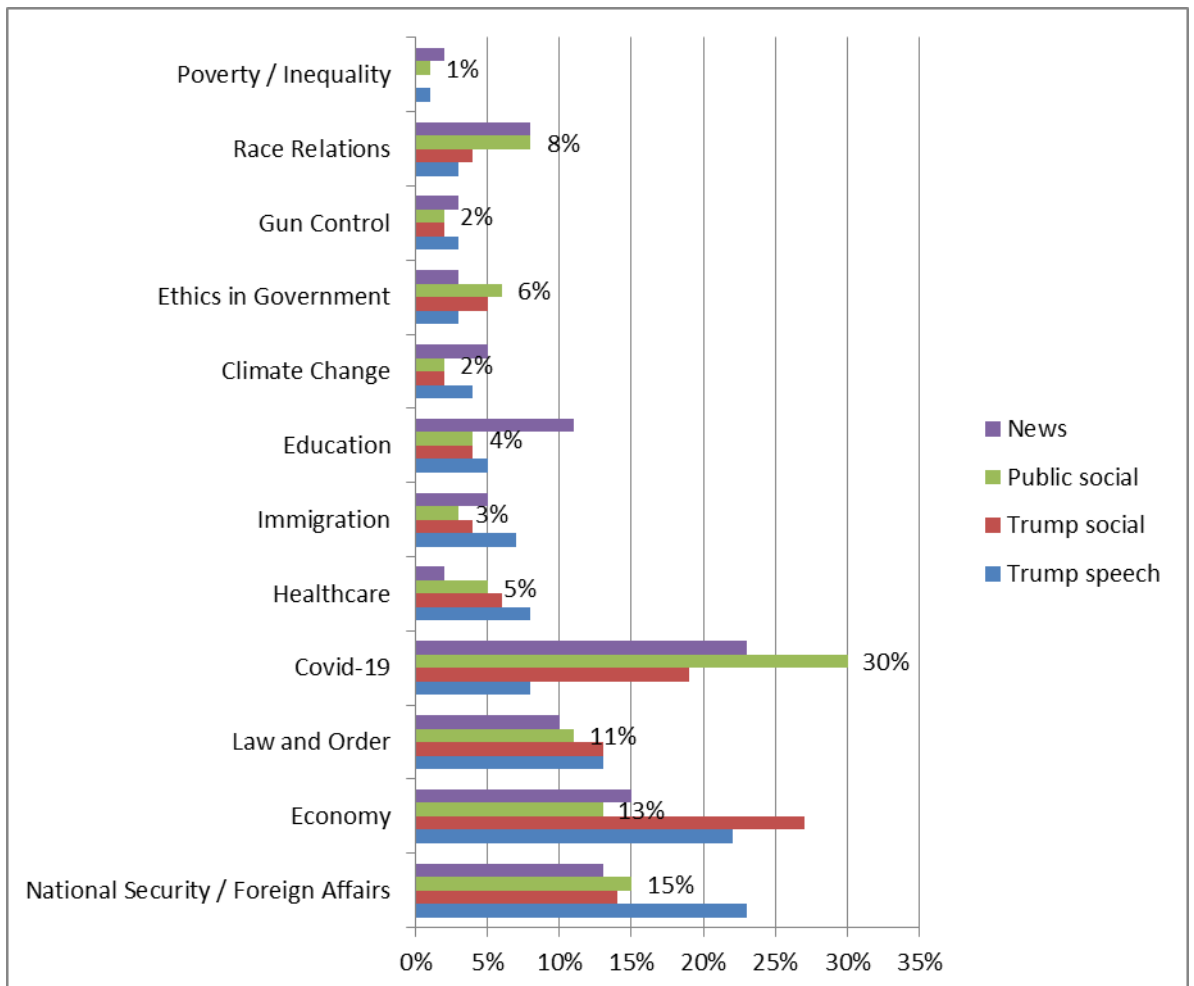


Figure 2.4. Mentions of an issue from a source in relation to all other issues studied (Jan 1 2020 - Oct 31 2020)

In speeches over the 10 month period we studied, Trump’s issue-related conversation focused on national security (23%), the economy (22%), and law and order (13%).

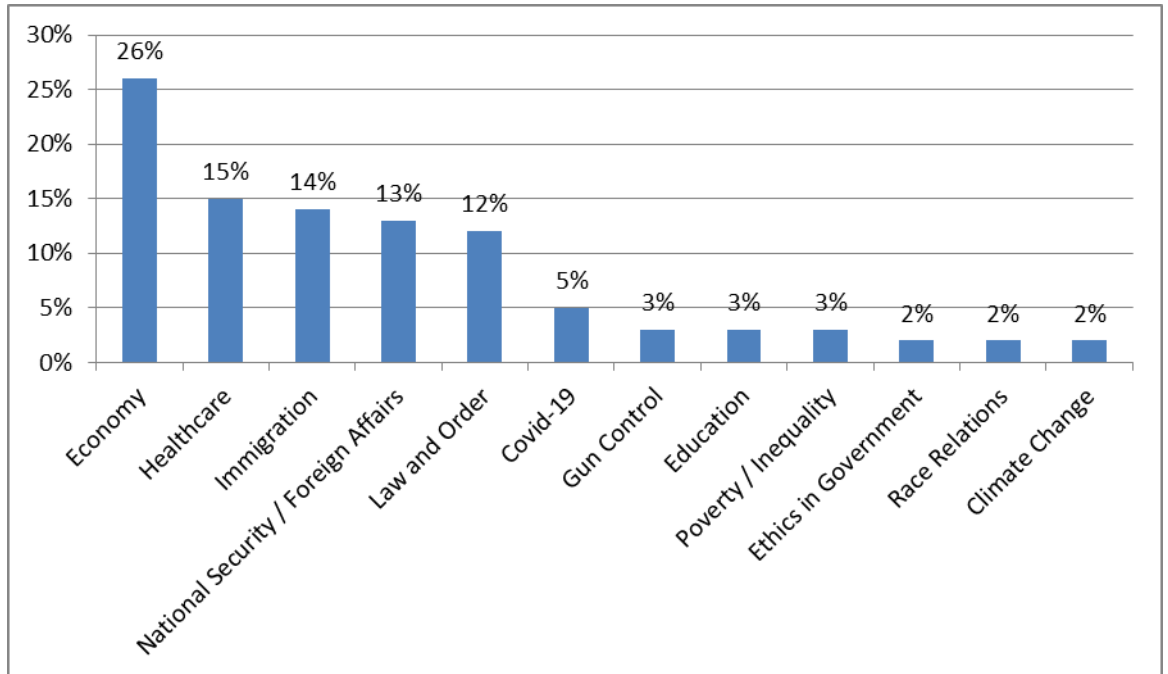


Figure 2.5. The percentage of issue-related mentions during Donald Trump campaign speeches (Jan 01 – Jul 31, 2020)

Only 8% of Trump’s speech time was focused on Covid-19, but on his social accounts it was his second most important issue (appearing in 19% of his issue-related posts). Otherwise, his focus on social media was on the economy (27%) and national security and foreign affairs (14%).

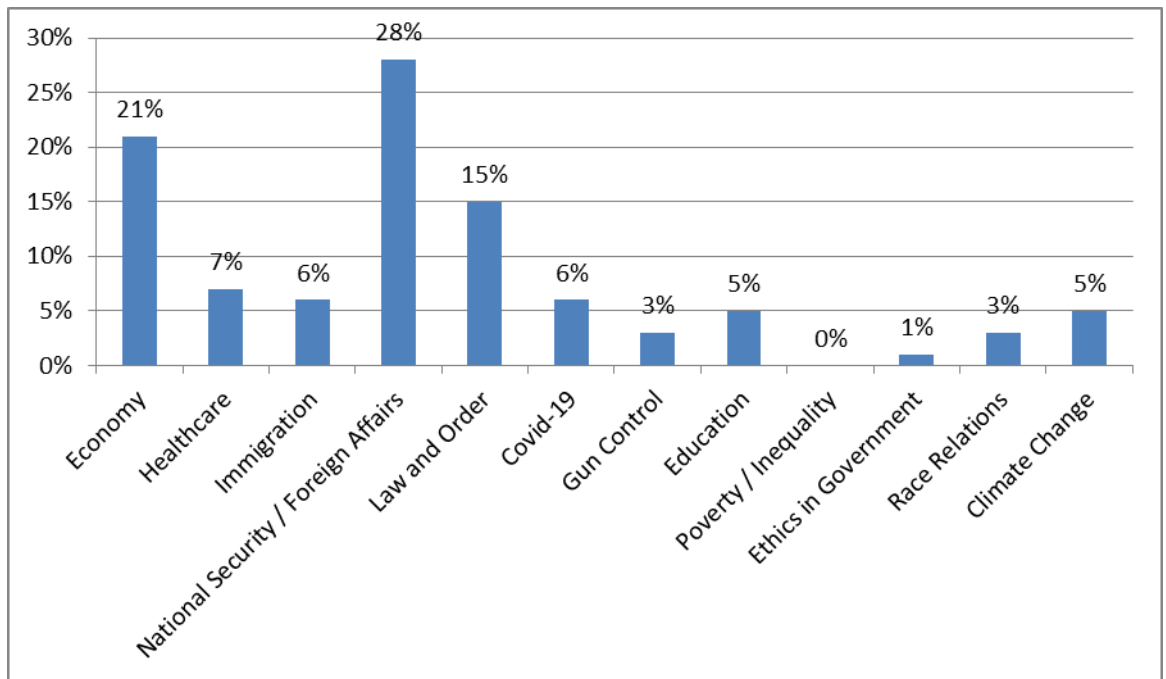


Figure 2.6. The percentage of issue-related mentions during Donald Trump campaign speeches (Aug 01 – Oct 31, 2020)

Trump’s owned social media had the same top priorities as social media posts from the public and news articles around him. Issue-related mentions of Trump from the public on social media and in online news prioritized Covid-19 (30% and 23% respectively), national security and foreign affairs (15% and 13% respectively), and the economy (13% and 15% respectively.)

Education was a hot topic in the media, appearing as the fourth most mentioned topic (11%). This was not the case in any of the other sources.

## **Conclusion to 2<sup>nd</sup> chapter**

We analyzed the speeches of two 2020 presidential candidates, Donald Trump and Joe Biden. Each of them has its own style of speech, lexical and grammatical peculiarities.

Trump tends to use repetition in his speeches, his sentences are simple and concise, and he like to change the subject often, which sounds quite unnatural.

Dissection of Trumpian speech patterns suggests that the unusual way he speaks has its roots in oral culture. He rallies his audiences through impassioned, targeted conversation, even if this is one-sided and usually doesn't follow a clear narrative arc. The syntax of Trump's speech is not uncommon for the same type of declarative sentence structures, which is not surprising given Trump's use of predominantly short, easily repeated phrases.

Donald Trump uses the same effective rhetorical means that have the greatest impact on listeners. Among the linguistic and stylistic features of his political rhetoric, one can note, first of all, informal vocabulary, parceling, syntactic and lexical repetition, as well as an abrupt rhythm created by the predominance of monosyllabic and disyllabic words.

Joe Biden is also not particularly eloquent, but he always emphasizes in his speeches that he intends to unite the American people, because of this he has many supporters.

Biden's speech is characterized by the use of a wide palette, first of all, syntactic resources that have a manipulative (persuasive) potential, maintain interest in his speech until the very end. Slogan, pompousness, ellipsis, the use of parallel constructions and lexical repetitions give speech rhythm, dynamism, and increase expressiveness.

## CONCLUSION

The concept of “discourse” is one of the most commonly used concepts today, but even linguists can't put its accurate interpretation. This variety of classifications is a positive factor. All types and subtypes of discourse complement each other to some extent.

We can conclude that the theory of discourse and its typology have been developed by linguists for a long time, and there is still no general definition of this concept, which would include all its aspects. Therefore, the interest of researchers will be focused on solving these problems, studying the features of certain types of discourse and carrying out different ways of analysis.

Political discourse in a broad sense includes all forms of communication in which the sphere of politics includes at least one of the components of the communication process: the addressee, the addressee or the content of the message. In a narrow sense, political discourse is a type of discursive behavior aimed at gaining, maintaining, and exercising political power. It seems to us that the interpretation of discourse in a broad sense seems more advantageous, because it covers all components of the space of political discourse and makes it possible to clarify each of them, based on the specific tasks of linguistic research.

Different strategies are distinguished on the basis of the ultimate goal of communication and the peculiarities of the communicative situation. Tactics that implement strategies are considered a tool for consistent achievement of the goal by solving specific communication tasks. In political discourse, which aims to fight for power, the specifics of communicative planning depends on the situation of social interaction and the characteristics of the linguistic personality of the politician, which are reflected in tactical preferences and, consequently, the choice of language.

Almost all prominent politicians of the world have become successful due to their unique public speaking skills - the ability to persuade, inspire confidence, arouse enthusiasm, commitment of listeners, especially voters. In this regard, they talk, for example, about the magical, hypnotic effect of the voice, the sound of which

attracts the listener's attention, evokes confidence in the statements and sympathy for the speaker. Thus, no one currently doubts that visual and audio signs are phenomena of communication that make up a special non-verbal text, which includes emotional information.

The speech behavior of political discourse subject is a multifaceted and complex phenomenon, which is determined by the intentions of the communicant. Politicians use all available means in the struggle for power, and the authors of political texts carefully select tactics and strategies for implementing political discourse.

The intertextuality of political speeches is a fairly effective way of influencing the audience. In American political discourse intertextual means emphasize American individualism, patriotism, awareness of one's own national exclusiveness. Intertextual means underlie a number of communication strategies and tactics aimed primarily at winning and retaining power.

The speech of a political leader is, first of all, an instrument of influence, the speech of a politician is his weapon. Political discourse is a complex multidimensional formation that includes speech genres and speech acts.

All these characteristics fully apply to speech, designed to create a certain mood, to inspire the audience. In delivering the speech, the candidate appeals to the feelings of the public, trying to elicit an emotional response.

The speech genre as "victory speech of the future president" is a complex formation that includes various speech acts such as representations, expressives, directives and commissions.

We analyzed the speeches of two 2020 presidential candidates, Donald Trump and Joe Biden. Each of them has its own style of speech, lexical and grammatical peculiarities.

Donald Trump uses the same effective rhetorical means that have the greatest impact on listeners. Among the linguistic and stylistic features of his political rhetoric, one can note, first of all, informal vocabulary, parceling, syntactic and

lexical repetition, as well as an abrupt rhythm created by the predominance of monosyllabic and disyllabic words.

Biden's speech is characterized by the use of a wide palette, first of all, syntactic resources that have a manipulative (persuasive) potential, maintain interest in his speech until the very end. Slogan, pompousness, ellipsis, the use of parallel constructions and lexical repetitions give speech rhythm, dynamism, and increase expressiveness.

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<https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/28/us/politics/trump-rnc-speech-transcript.htm>

## SUMMARY

Формування когнітивно-дискурсивної парадигми в сучасній науці зробило дискурс об'єктом уваги не лише мовознавців, а й філософів, психологів, літературознавців та етнографів. Одним з найпоширеніших типів дискурсів є політичний дискурс. Даний тип дискурсу викликає інтерес багатьох лінгвістів, адже між політика та мова сильно взаємопов'язані. Цей зв'язок проявляється головним чином в тому, що без комунікації не може існувати жоден політичний режим. Політичні діячі використовують мову для інформування, вказівок, звітів, проведення законодавчих актів, і т.д. Політика, на відміну від інших сфер діяльності, відрізняється своїм дискурсивним характером. Чим демократичнішим є життя суспільства, тим більше уваги приділяється мові політики. До дослідження різноманітних аспектів передвиборчого дискурсу зверталися дослідники з усього світу. Зокрема, політичному дискурсу присвячені дослідження Д. Акопової, П. Чілтон, Д. Грейбер, І. Шевченка, М. Ільїна, О. Михалевої, К. Сєдова, Є.І. Шейгал та інших вчених. Дослідженню когнітивної лінгвістики, теорії та історії розвитку дискурсу в науці присвятили роботи такі вчені, як В. Карасик, М. Макаров, В. Чернявська та інші.

Актуальність даної роботи пов'язана з тим, що у сучасному суспільстві значення політичної комунікації зростає, оскільки в демократичній соціальній структурі питання влади відкрито обговорюються, і вирішення низки політичних проблем залежить від того, наскільки правильно будуть тлумачитися ці проблеми. Крім того, політичний дискурс відноситься до особливого виду спілкування, який характеризується високим ступенем маніпуляцій, а тому виявлення механізмів політичного спілкування є важливим для визначення характеристик мови як засобу впливу.

Дослідження присвячене політичним промовама кандидатів у президенти США впродовж вступної кампанії 2020. Мета роботи - вивчити особливості

функціонування сучасного політичного дискурсу та проаналізувати його лінгвістичні особливості. Відповідно до мети було сформовано такі завдання дослідження: а) визначити поняття політичного дискурсу, описуючи його характерні риси; б) охарактеризувати функціональні та жанрово-стилістичні особливості політичного дискурсу; в) дослідити прагматичні аспекти політичного дискурсу; г) дослідити стратегії та тактики використаних в політичних текстах; д) проаналізувати політичні виступи та описувати їх лексичні, граматичні та прагматичні особливості.

Термін "дискурс" є одним із найпоширеніших понять сьогодні, але навіть лінгвісти не можуть дати його точного тлумачення. Ця різноманітність класифікацій є позитивним фактором. Усі типи та підтипи дискурсу певною мірою доповнюють один одного.

Одним з найпоширеніших типів дискурсів є політичний дискурс. Основною функцією політичного дискурсу є використання його як інструменту політичної влади. Але існують ще такі функції як: поширення інформації, визначення порядку денного, проєкція в майбутнє та минуле.

Мовленнєва поведінка суб'єкта політичного дискурсу є багатогранним і складним явищем, яке визначається намірами комуніканта. Політики використовують усі доступні засоби у боротьбі за владу, а автори політичних текстів ретельно підбирають тактику та стратегію реалізації політичного дискурсу.

Інтертекстуальність політичних виступів є досить ефективним способом впливу на аудиторію. В американському політичному дискурсі інтертекстуальні засоби підкреслюють американський індивідуалізм, патріотизм, та значення власної національної свідомості. Інтертекстуальні засоби лежать в основі ряду комунікативних стратегій і тактик, спрямованих насамперед на перемогу та збереження влади.

У ході дослідження ми проаналізували виступи двох кандидатів у президенти 2020 року Дональда Трампа та Джо Байдена. Кожен із них має свій стиль мовлення, лексичні та граматичні особливості.

Дональд Трамп використовує риторичні засоби, які найбільше впливають на слухачів. Серед мовно-стилістичних особливостей його політичної риторики можна відзначити, насамперед, неформальну лексику, парцеляцію, синтаксичну та лексичну повторність, а також різкий ритм, створений переважанням односкладних слів. Трамп, як правило, використовує прості та стислі речення, а також він схильний часто змінювати тему, що звучить досить неприродньо. Крім того, Дональд Трамп у своїх виступах дуже часто використовує маніпулятивні прийоми.

Джо Байден у своїх виступах завжди підкреслює, що має намір об'єднати американський народ, через це у нього багато прихильників. Також він акцентує на своїх демократичних поглядах щодо раси, статусу та гендерної ідентичності громадян.

Стиль Байдена характеризується використанням широкої палітри, насамперед, синтаксичних засобів, що мають маніпулятивний характер та підтримують інтерес до його виступу з початку до самого кінця. Лозунги, модальність, прості речення, використання паралельних конструкцій та лексичних повторень роблять стиль мовлення динамічним та виразним.

Таким чином, політичний дискурс можна розглядати як вербальну комунікацію в певному соціально-психологічному контексті, в якому комуніканти наділяються певними соціальними ролями, згідно їх участі в політичному житті, яка і є предметом комунікації. Ключовими функціями політичного дискурсу є функції політичної пропаганди, переконання та впливу що здійснюються за допомогою використання стилістичних, граматичних та лексичних засобів.