

ГЕНДЕРНА СКЛАДОВА У ПОЛІТИЧНИХ ПРОМОВАХ
Д. ТРАМПА ТА Х. КЛІНТОН(НА МАТЕРІАЛІ ВИКОРИСТАННЯ АЛЮЗІЙ)
Оксана МАКОВСЬКА, Михайло ВАХОЦЬКИЙВДНЗ України «Буковинський державний
медичний університет», Чернівці (Україна)
oxanamakovska@yandex.uaGENDER COMPONENT IN D. TRUMP AND H. CLINTON
POLITICAL SPEECHES (ON THE MATERIAL OF ALLUSIONS)

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Маковская О., Вахоцкий М. Гендерный компонент в политических выступлениях Д. Трампа и Х. Клинтон (на материале использования аллюзий). В статье анализируется лингвокогнитивный аспект аллюзий, а также исследуется прагматический потенциал стилистических средств его выражения в предвыборных выступлениях Д. Трампа и Х. Клинтон во время президентской кампании 2016 года. Политический англоязычный дискурс на современном этапе эксплуатирует и последовательно закрепляет за мужчинами лингвистические характеристики доминирования, лидерства, активности, публичности, рациональности и силы воли, а за женщиной – образ нерешительности, пассивности, зависимости, отсутствия логического мышления и стремления к достижениям. Гендерная дифференциация представлена в значительной степени на фонологическом и дискурсивном и в меньшей степени – на лексическом и синтаксическом уровнях.

Ключевые слова: аллюзия, политический дискурс, стилистические средства, гендерная дифференциация, политические предвыборные выступления, прагматика текста.

The **topicality** of the research is stipulated by the general tendency of modern studies to the analysis of cognitive pragmatic aspect of the utterance, implicit world of foreign language culture, intertextual relations of literary text and its stylistically relevant parameters. Various problems arise; they are related to the recognition of allusions in the literary texts by the listener, the desire to use them without losing their artistic shade of meaning and transferring functions they perform in the original of work of art, as well as to the identification of the best ways to reconstruct them.

Subject of the research are the allusions, found in the English texts of political pre-election debates speeches of the US president candidates in 2016, D. Trump and H. Clinton. Means of allusions representation, verbalized units, found in the English texts of speeches of D. Trump and H. Clinton in the number 121 units constitute the **object** of the research. The materials of the three TV debates, totally 68 pages of the text, 43134 characters have been analyzed for the given research. The **theoretical basis** of the article is the works of A. Kirilina¹, M. Tomskaya, O. L. Bessonova² and O.I. Goroshko³. Gender relations are fixed in the language in the form of culturally determined stereotypes, imprinted on the person's speech behavior and on the processes of its linguistic socialization.

The study **aims** at identifying cognitive-pragmatic

potential of allusions in the English political discourse and determining different ways of allusions embodiment by means of stylistic devices of the English language. It presupposes a solution of such **objectives**:

specify the content of term notion “gender in political aspect” in modern linguistics;

- determine the types and mechanisms of allusions in political discourse;

- identify main characteristic features and functional traits of political discourse;

- describe the possibility of verbalization of allusions in the pre-election speeches of D. Trump and H. Clinton;

- explore pragmatic potential of lexical means of allusion representation in political speeches.

Main part. Gender differentiation of political discourse has become possible after the women became active participants of the political process. Despite the fact that the speech of the weaker sex is characterized by expressiveness and inconsistency, their political discourse tends to “masculinity” which is a distinctive feature of the political process expressed by the use of metonymy, metaphor and allusion. Verbal aggression, intolerant interruption of the interlocutors by each other, negativeness of verbal attack is equally reflected in the speeches of politicians of both sexes⁴.

¹ Kirilina A. “Lingvisticheskiye gendernyye issledivaniya” [Linguistic gender studies], *Otechestvennyye zapiski*, 2005, N 2, P. 89–101.

² Bessonova O. L. Otsinnyi tezaurus anhliyskoyi movy: kohnityvnyy i gendernyy aspekty [Evaluative thesaurus of the English language: cognitive and gender aspects], *Avtoref. dys. na zdobuttia nauk. stupenia doktora filol. nauk, spets. 10.02.04 “Hermanskiy movy”*, K., 2003, 39 p.

³ Goroshko O. I. Osobennosti muzhskogo i zhenskogo rechevogo povedeniya: psicholingvisticheskiy analiz [Features of male and female speech behavior: psychological analysis], *Avtoref. dys., MGU*, 1996, 21 p.

⁴ Butova I. “Henderna skladova u politychnomu dyskursi SSHa ta Ukrainy” [Gender component in political discourse of the USA and Ukraine], *Movoznavstvo, Naukovi vyklady*, 2012, N 1, P. 60–62.

Aggression and uncompromising stand of political polemics of the XXI century reduces the chances for singling out some peculiarities of typical female utterance which was previously characterized by a “bit softer” vocabulary. According to O. Bessonova there doesn't exist any fundamental differences in the linguistic behavior of men and women, but some distinctions do occur at all levels of the language. As the scientist mentions, gender differentiation is mostly represented on phonological and discursive levels and less – on the lexical and syntactical ones⁵.

Women and men use language differently in certain microgroups. Men tend to participate in hierarchical groups where they strive for achieving the leading positions. This means they use language units in such a way that they are able to achieve the desired goal. Opposition, confrontation or the fight is a ritual for them, that is why they are successful in the debate⁶. Ethics of communication of women and men also differs. The things women find dominant are quite natural for men. Men like language duels, and women try to avoid verbal attacks.

The study of linguistic behavior of men and women shows that women's speeches are often too expressive, emotional, not always consistent⁷.

The text is not necessarily “female”, if it was written by a woman, and vice versa. Men need to demonstrate their masculinity brightly. Of course, it is difficult to analyze political writing on the subject of gender markedness, as there are official requirements to both carrying the polemics and business writing. However, a specific kind of written communication is characteristic for some she-representatives of a political life on the pages of their own live journal, a progressive interactive form of informal dialogue.

For example, H. Clinton often uses constructions *If I can, I'm humbled* in her speeches: “*We have a full agenda, so let me, if I can, just emphasize just a few points*”. “*I am honored and humbled to call President Mandela my friend*”.

Gender peculiarities of political speech are well traced on the material of allusions, since hints, references to common facts characterize the speaker from the position of gender to the best advantage. It should be noted, that allusions serve to enrich the speech, enhance its expressiveness. In American political public speeches allusion serves as a means of creating intertext, which represents compressed information, received from the source text. Allusive unit adds a new meaning and establishes parallels. Allusions contribute to the obtaining of new, additional information from the already known image – precedent-related name, situation or text.

Thus, in the basis of this stage of investigation lies the study of the language means which reflect psycho-emotional condition of the US presidential candidates in 2016, D. Trump and H. Clinton, and fully reveal the peculiarities of functioning of allusions in their political pre-election debates.

Most researchers believe that the language of woman-politician is more expressive than that of a man, women take up a defensive position more often, while men start with a certain pressure, interrupt, speak aggressively and assertively.

We cannot say that H. Clinton's speeches are too emotional, but she tries to speak consistently, to answer questions, building a consistent report, and D. Trump denies, protests, gives cross-talks, interrupting her. In the following example repeating allusion “President Obama” D. Trump eliminates the previous message, mentioned by H. Clinton:

TRUMP: *So is it President Obama's fault?*

CLINTON: *before you even announced.*

TRUMP: *Is it President Obama's fault?*

CLINTON: *Look, there are differences...*

TRUMP: *Secretary, is it President Obama's fault?*

Furthermore, in our opinion, H. Clinton's remarks are often groundless and sound like empty promises, because they are not certified by specific explanations of how to achieve those goals she speaks about: CLINTON: *Well, at least I have a plan to fight ISIS.*

*Well, I hope the fact-checkers are turning up the volume and really working hard. Donald supported the invasion of Iraq*⁸.

Trying to influence the feelings of the audience in the first debate the Secretary starts her speech mentioning her granddaughter: *The central question in this election is really what kind of country we want to be and what kind of future we'll build together. Today is my granddaughter's second birthday, so I think about this a lot*⁹.

D. Trump's political language is characterized by emotionality, sharp tone, attracting much attention, causing noise. His displeasure and negative attitude to Barack Obama administration he expresses skillfully using the means of comparing the economy with the historical period of the Great Depression:

TRUMP: *Now, look, we have the worst revival of an economy since the Great Depression. And believe me: We're in a bubble right now. And the only thing that looks good is the stock market, but if you raise interest rates even a little bit, that's going to come crashing down.*

We are in a big, fat, ugly bubble. And we better be awfully careful.

Our airports are like from a third world country.

Political statements of H. Clinton are less categorical, although she tries with all her inherent correctness to be polite in the debate, referring to Trump allegedly unpaid taxes:

CLINTON: *So if he's paid zero, that means zero for troops, zero for vets, zero for schools or health. And I have no reason to believe that he's ever going to release his tax returns, because there's something he's hiding.*

However, when D. Trump's aggression becomes too obvious and passes to the offences:

She doesn't have the look. She doesn't have the stam-

⁵ Bessonova O. L. Otsynnyi tezaurus anhliyskoyi movy: kohnityvnyy i gendernyy aspekty [Evaluative thesaurus of the English language: cognitive and gender aspects], Avtoref. dys. na zdobuttia nauk. stupenia doktora filol. nauk, spets. 10.02.04 “Hermanskiy movy”, K., 2003, P. 7.

⁶ Tannen D. “Teacher's Classroom Strategies Should Recognize that Men and Women Use Language Differently”, *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, 1991, June 19: [E-source], URL: www9.georgetown.edu/faculty/tannend/chronicle061991.htm.

⁷ Yermolenko S. “Henderne pytannia v movnomu ta metodychnomu aspektakh” [Gender issue in linguistic and methodical aspects], *Ukrayinska mova i literatura v serednikh shkolakh, himnaziakh, litseiakh ta kolehiumakh*, 2008, Vyp. 3, P. 39.

⁸ The first Trump-Clinton presidential debate transcript, annotated: [E-source], URL: www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-aix/wp/2016/09/26/

⁹ Ibid.

ina. *I said she doesn't have the stamina. And I don't believe she does have the stamina. To be president of this country, you need tremendous stamina. She's got experience, but it's bad experience. And this country can't afford to have another four years of that kind of experience;* H. Clinton also allows herself to use disrespectful language, units with negative connotation, citing her opponent, in this case it seems that she has prepared these “quotes” in advance, but till the last moment she was trying to hold back, not to repeat them, but the situation called for immediate action:

CLINTON: *You know, he tried to switch from looks to stamina. But this is a man who has called women pigs, slobs and dogs, and someone who has said pregnancy is an inconvenience to employers, who has said... .. women don't deserve equal pay unless they do as good a job as men. And one of the worst things he said was about a woman in a beauty contest. He loves beauty contests, supporting them and hanging around them. And he called this woman “Miss Piggy”. Then he called her “Miss Housekeeping”, because she was Latina. Donald, she has a name. Her name is Alicia Machado.*

Taking into consideration the above mentioned, we can say that it is really difficult to determine purely “male” or “female” text, because political discourse dictates its own rules, and the opponents are required to keep the format of the program, requirements of presentation of their reports, while disputing. Candidates’ pre-election speeches are about equally emotive, at the same time D. Trump sounds more aggressive and H. Clinton’s expressions are not always convincing, are not supported by objective data.

Political discourse in the English language nowadays operates and logically allots to men linguistic characteristics of dominance, leadership, activities, publicity, rationality and willpower, and to women – the image of indecision, hesitation, passivity, dependence, lack of logical thinking and desire for achievement. In such way certain oppositions are lined up and are easily observed in the linguistic behavior of men and women. Gender markers of masculinity in political discourse are as follows: terminology, striving for maximum precise nomination, use of assessing adjectives, as well as abstract nouns, it makes possible to define the masculine language behavior of a politician as “instrumental”. At the lexical level semantics of instinctive sphere is clearly seen in relief and in syntax short imperative offers prevail, creating the effect of readiness to action, execution of order, resolution.

Thus, contemporary English political discourse is saturated with gender images and stereotypes which, in their turn, are transmitted from the public consciousness and are imposed on individual psychological traits of communicants.

Political speech is quite strong leverage of influence on the people. The purpose of pre-election political discourse is to attract voters to one’s side, to make people believe in the perfection of political program, its advantages over the political program of the opponent, to emphasize the disadvantages of the current government. The main features of the pre-election speech are: language minimalism, imagery,

theatricality, encouraging and involvement¹⁰.

In the basis of any communication activity lies the intention, which is understood as a pre-verbal meaningful speaker’s intention, which stipulates the choice of communication strategies and linguistic resources to implement them¹¹. The main component of communication strategies used by participants of political communication is macrointention – the struggle for power. The fact that the subjects of political communication are in a state of competition, conflict of interests and goals, affects their communicative behavior.

The debate between the US presidential candidates D. Trump and H. Clinton were clearly established thematically: *Achieving prosperity, America's direction, Securing America, Taxes, Economy, Immigration, National debt and entitlements, the Supreme Court.* It is in these areas that we investigated allusions in their speeches.

Each of the US presidential candidate focused the attention of voters on the image of America as a “super powerful state” and each new candidate for the presidency continues this tradition, strengthening it in their speeches by tactics of making the American people calm – the fight against terrorism and various external threats (security), the hope for a brighter future (health, medicine, social policy), the economy and special for H. Clinton tactics of the role and place of woman in society.

In his speeches D. Trump is more uninhibited, often appeals to comparisons, which encourage using allusive means. H. Clinton is more moderate in her statements, she uses various stylistic devices of allusive nature rather in response to their mentioning by her opponent, then she joins in analyzing specific events, creating new occurrences of certain units use.

There are the units used by both politicians and those used by each of them separately for different purposes. In their pre-election discourse many figures of paraphrasing can be traced – they are used to mitigate the unpleasant messages or, on the contrary, to strengthen the influence on the audience, e.g. in response to D. Trump’s attack on Hillary’s husband, former President Bill Clinton: *“If you look at Bill Clinton, far worse. Bill Clinton was abusive to women”*, H. Clinton attacks mentioning D. Trump’s racist remarks about decent people of America: *“He never apologized to Mr. and Mrs. Khan, the Gold Star family whose son, Captain Khan, died in the line of duty in Iraq. And Donald insulted and attacked them for weeks over their religion”*. The reaction to allusion-anthroponym is the same type of stylistic transfer. Similar phenomenon is observed among the place names. Direct opposition of countries to which each of them feels their own drawn or antipathy:

TRUMP: *Because they're using our country as a piggy bank to rebuild China, and many other countries are doing the same thing. // Our jobs are fleeing the country. They're going to Mexico.*

CLINTON: *There's no doubt now that Russia has used cyber attacks against all kinds of organizations in our country... // I've been to countries where governments either forced women to have abortions, like they used to do in*

¹⁰Fedotova Yu. “Osnovni kharakterystyky peredyborchoho politychnoho dyskursu v promovakh Baraka Obamy za 2012 rik” [Main characteristics of pre-election political discourse in Barak Obama speeches during the year 2012], *Materialy I Mizhnarodnoi naukovo-praktychnoi internet-konferentsii “Problemy ta perspektyvy rozvytku nauky na pochatku tretioho tysiacholittia u krainakh Yevropy ta Azii”*. Zb. nauk. prats, Pereyaslav-Khmelnitsky, 2014, P. 220–222.

¹¹Kokoza H. A. “Komunikatyvni stratehii i taktyky personalizatsiyi publitsystychnoho dyskursu movnymy odyntysiamy na poznachennia odiahu” [Communicative strategies and tactics of personalization of the newspaper discourse via the means of the lexemes of clothes nominations], *Filolohichni traktaty*, Sumy, SumDU, 2010, T. 2, N 1, P. 40–44.

China, or forced women to bear children, like the used to do in Romania.

By means of quantitative method we managed to show statistics of allusions use by D. Trump and H. Clinton. Thus, we verified 121 allusive phrases in D. Trump's and H. Clinton's speeches. They are distributed as follows (see Table 1). Quantitative indices show that in the researched

speeches D. Trump appeals to socially important historical events, everyday facts, references to famous persons, hints on world events of various kinds, place names, documents, international treaties, organizations, media, etc. 19% more often than his opponent H. Clinton. That is, his speech is more expressive, imaginative, represents an attractive material for analysis from the point of view of linguistics.

Table 1

Quantitative indices of allusions use in the pre-election speeches of D. Trump and H. Clinton

Allusions	D. Trump		H. Clinton	
	Number	%	Number	%
Place names				
Countries	13	10,74	8	6,61
Cities	13	10,74	5	4,13
Anthroponyms				
Presidents	5	4,13	6	4,96
Statesmen	3	2,48	2	1,65
Militaries	3	2,48	-	-
Journalists	3	2,48	-	-
Terrorists	-	-	1	0,83
Sportsmen	-	-	1	0,83
Film directors	-	-	1	0,83
War heroes	1	0,83	1	0,83
Law				
Power	6	4,96	8	6,61
Document	3	2,48	4	3,31
International treaties	2	1,65	1	0,83
International organizations	4	3,31	4	3,31
Race, ethnicity, religion	4	3,31	4	3,31
Historical Epoch	1	0,83	2	1,65
Establishments	6	4,96	-	-
Mass media	3	2,48	-	-
Social networks	2	1,65	-	-
Movies	-	-	1	0,83
Total	72	59,5	49	40,5

Conclusions. Allusion in political speeches in pragmatic terms fulfills the function of convincing voters, helps to change the perception of the facts and events that may cause antipathy by the audience. It focuses on both the major and minor details, sometimes replacing important to the background. Most frequently allusion in political discourse can be seen in such aspects as work and private lives of politicians and their environment, economic and political activities of the authorities and political parties, elections, military campaigns, means of attack and defense, terrorist or anti-terrorist campaign, negotiations, summits in the media, espionage etc. It is a kind of semantic manipulation tool, the task of which is to develop the recipients' world-view, influence on their mind and control over their behavior. From the lips of politicians these concepts sound differently. In some they are positive, in others – negative, because each politi-

cian fills these terms with one's own content. The method of creating ambiguity of the key political concepts is used for manipulation of the listener's consciousness and submission of their views the system of views of the speaker.

Маковська О., Вахоцький М. Гендерна складова у політичних промовах Д. Трампа та Х. Клінтон (на матеріалі використання алюзій). Стаття присвячена лінгвокогнітивному аналізу алюзії, а також дослідженню прагматичного потенціалу стилістичних засобів її вираження у передвиборчих промовах кандидатів у президенти США Д. Трампа та Х. Клінтон.

Політичний англомовний дискурс на сучасному етапі експлуатує та послідовно закріплює за чоловіками лінгвістичні характеристики домінування, лідерства, активності, публічності, раціональності і сили волі, а за жінкою – образ нерішучості, пасивності, залежності, відсутності логічного мислення й

прагнення до досягнень. Гендерна диференціація репрезентована значною мірою на фонологічному та дискурсивному і меншою мірою – на лексичному та синтаксичному рівнях. Гендерні особливості політичної промови добре прослідковуються на матеріалі алюзій, оскільки натяки, посилання на загальновідомі факти якнайкраще характеризують доповідача з позиції статі. Алюзії слугують для збагачення промови, підвищення рівня її експресивності. В американських політичних публічних промовах алюзія слугує засобом створення інтертексту, що представляє собою стиснуту інформацію, отриману з тексту-джерела. Алюзивна одиниця додає новий смисл, встановлює паралелі. Завдяки алюзії з'являється нова, додаткова інформація з уже відомого образу – прецедентного імені, ситуації чи тексту, який дійсно важко чітко розділити на суто “чоловічий” чи “жіночий”, оскільки політичний дискурс диктує свої правила, і опоненти зобов'язані дотримуватися формату передачі, вимог побудови виступів, ведення полеміки.

Передвиборчі промови кандидатів є приблизно однаково емоційно забарвленими, при цьому мова Д. Трампа звучить більш агресивно, а висловлювання Х. Клінтон не завжди переконливі, не підкріплені об'єктивними даними.

Алюзія у політичних промовах у прагматичному плані виконує функцію переконання електорату, допомагає змінити сприйняття аудиторією тих фактів і подій, які можуть викликати антипатію. Акцентує увагу як на важливих, так і на другорядних деталях, іноді витісняючи головне на задній план. Найчастіше алюзія в політичному дискурсі простежується в таких аспектах як діяльність і приватне життя політиків та їхнього оточення, економічна і політична діяльність владних структур та політичних партій, вибори, воєнні кампанії, засоби нападу і захисту, терористична чи антитерористична кампанія, висвітлення переговорів, самітів у ЗМІ, шпіонаж тощо. Це свого роду засіб семантичного маніпулювання, завданням якого є формування світогляду реципієнта, вплив на його свідомість і

керування поведінкою.

Ключові слова: алюзія, політичний дискурс, стилістичні засоби, гендерна диференціація, політична передвиборча промова, прагматика тексту.

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