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Master's Qualification Paper

INTONATION OF THE MANIPULATIVE INFLUENCE
IN THE POLITICAL DISCOURSE

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INTRODUCTION

In contemporary world, particular attention is paid to political discourse in society. Recently, people have begun to take a closer look at the actions of politicians and analyse their speeches. That is why it is important to investigate the manipulative means of controlling consciousness or behaviour used by political figures. But nowadays, a large part of the population chooses the leader not on the basis of rational evaluation of election programmes of certain political movements and public leaders, decisions, activities, but on the emotional level, on the basis of the formed ratio of sympathies of antipathy, degree of trust and distrust to specific leaders and organizations. The contemporary society demands researches on the problem of manipulation and its intonation, in particular.

It is known, manipulation in speech communication is carried out involuntarily or for some purpose, hidden indirect psycho-communicative influence on the recipient, group of persons or masses, which provides a change in interconnected algorithms and modes of functioning of their consciousness, subconscious and unconscious. It should be noted that manipulation and political discourse are closely linked. The phenomenon of "manipulation" attracted the attention of more than one researcher. The scientists such as G. Franke, E. Hoffman, T. van Dijk have attracted the study of manipulation (Dijk, 2006). Many linguists view political discourse as a phenomenon of public sphere. According to a number of studies (Alexiyevets, 2018; Steriopolo, 2004; Shtakina, 2011), influence in political speech is achieved by a set of prosodic parameters: various terminal tones, the selection of the most significant components of expression, rhythmic organization, change of rate of pronunciation from slow to fast.

Nowadays many scholars investigate the main strategies, tactics and types of manipulations used in the modern political sphere. An analysis of public speeches of current US politicians proves the importance of speech manipulative techniques for successful achievement of political goals.

There are a lot of scientific works and articles on the issue of intonation of the manipulative influence in the political discourse. It is obvious that this issue is very

important. The researchers of the language Megentesov, S.A., Troshina, N. N., Jones D., Issers O.S., Dijk Teun A. Van, Crystal, D. examine the general issues of the development of the political discourse. Scientists are trying to explain the impact of intonation in political discourse.

So, **the topicality** of this scientific work is coursed by the focus of the contemporary phonetic studies on the thorough investigation of the problems of manipulation, manipulative influence and its intonation.

The aim of this work is the determination of the specificity and the main regularities of the spoken realisation of the manipulative influence in the English political discourse by establishing the prosodic inventory of its organisation.

The main tasks include the following:
- to reveal the core of the manipulation;
- to consider general characteristics of the linguistic means of the manipulative influence
- to describe functional role of the intonation of the manipulative influence in the political discourse;
- to elaborate the programme and methodology of the experimental research of the intonation of the manipulative influence in political discourse;
- to identify the invariant of intonation of the manipulative discourse.

The object of this paper is the oral realisation of political discourse.

The subject of the work is the regularities of intonational organisation of the manipulative influence in political discourse.

Methods of investigation. The linguistic observation method was used for establishing the communication features of English political discourse in general as well as features of manipulative influence; method of semantic and communicative-pragmatic analysis to determine the characteristics of the manipulative influence and features of its intonational organization, and the experimental phonetic method as to conduct the detailed auditory and acoustic analyses.

Materials used in the investigation are political speeches of J.F. Kennedy and Richard M. Nixon (1920 msec).

The theoretical significance of the research work consists in introducing the theoretical basis for further investigations in this field, providing a more detailed insight into the essence of the manipulative influence, the interaction of prosodic means in its realisation. The research achievements can be the basis for the expression of intonational features used in political discourse. The methodology used in the investigation could be used by further generations for studying phonetic aspects of political speech. The results of the scientific work will contribute to further developments of discourse phonetics.

The practical value of the work is determined by the ability to use its main results and conclusions in the courses of English Practical and Theoretical Phonetics ("Discourse prosody", "Phonostylistics", "Rhetorical Phonetics") as well as in further study of the phenomenon of manipulative influence in political discourse and conducting experimental and phonetic studies.

The approbation of the results of the phonetic investigation was held at the scientific conference "Ad orbem per linguas. До світу через мови" (Kyiv, KNLU, March, 20-22, 2019) and was published in one thesis of the conference.

The structure of the work. It consists of the introduction, three chapters, general conclusions, literature cited and appendices.

In **the Introduction** the choice of research topic is discussed, its relevance, the purpose, tasks, object and subject of the work are defined, the material methods, theoretical and practical importance are described as well as the approbation of the work and its structure are presented.

Chapter 1 is dedicated to the general characteristic of manipulative influence in political discourse and the role of intonation in its organisation.

Chapter 2 outlines the programme and methods of experimental phonetic research.

Chapter 3 is concerned with auditory and acoustic analysis of the oral political speeches and focuses on the results of this research.

General Conclusions formulate the outcome of the analysis and outlines the prospects for further research or the chosen subject.

Literature Cited contain the list of bibliographic material which was used in the process of exploration such phenomena as intonation and manipulation in the political discourse (70 positions).

Resume contains short summary of the proposed master's paper.

Appendices represent the spectrograms, texts of political speeches which are studied and the questionnaire of the students' poll.

CHAPTER 1
The Theoretical Basis of the Intonation of the Manipulative Influence in Political Discourse

In the modern world, special attention is paid to political discourse in the life of society. Recently, people began to pay more attention to the actions of politicians and analyze their performances. That is why it is important to study the manipulative means of controlling consciousness or behavior used by political figures. But it should be noted that for today a considerable part of the population of the country chooses not on the basis of a rational appraisal of the programs of certain political movements and their leaders, decisions, activities, but on the emotional level, on the basis of the formed ratio of sympathy and antipathy, the degree of trust and distrust to specific leaders and organizations. Therefore, nowadays more and more scientists study the problem of manipulation of man, his consciousness and behavior (Michalova, 2009). The phenomenon of manipulative influence is relatively new in linguistics, and therefore its allocation and analysis, first of all, requires clarification of the conceptual apparatus and, accordingly, a clear definition of the term under investigation.

Manipulation in linguistic communication is carried out involuntarily or for some purpose hidden implicit psycho-communicative influence on the recipient, a group of people or a mass of people that provides a change of interrelated algorithms and modes of functioning of their consciousness, the subconscious and unconscious (Kalita, Taranenko, 2012). It is worth noting that manipulation and political discourse are closely linked. The phenomenon of "manipulation" attracted the attention of not one researcher. Scientists such as G.Franke, E. Hoffman, T. van Dijk and others (Dijk, 2006).

The word "discourse" (Latin discursus means "running to and from") was first used by James Kinneavy who viewed it as the full text of an oral or written situation. His work gives us a framework for understanding what is produced when people practice rhetoric, using language purposefully to communicate ideas to an audience. James Kinneavy bases his theory of discourse on the communicative

triangle the three points of which are: the speaker (or writer), the audience (or reader), the outer world (the reality) and the triangle itself which represents the text or the massage (Kinneavy, 1971). He relates these four components to four purposes of discourse: expressing oneself, eliciting a particular response from listeners (readers), picturing reality as clearly and logically as possible and giving pleasure. If the primary emphasis is on the speaker (writer) and the speaker's aim is self-expression then the result is expressive discourse (protest, declaration). If the primary stress is on eliciting a particular response from an audience and the speaker's aim is to convince, to persuade or even stimulate to action, the result is persuasive discourse (political speeches, sermons). If the primary emphasis is on the subject matter or reality talked or written about the result is referential discourse (scientific interviews, dialogues).

1.1. The Status of Political Discourse in the English Language

Many linguists view political discourse as a phenomenon of a purely public sphere. According to the famous Dutch scientist T. van Dijk, political discourse is understood as the actual use of language in the socio-political sphere of communication and more widely in the public sphere of communication. T. Van Dijk also believes that political discourse is a class of genres that is quite clearly confined to the social sphere, namely politics. Government debates, parliamentary debates, party programs, and politicians' speeches are those genres that belong to the policy area. Manipulative influence would not have such a strong effect without intonational means of communication. The main prosodic components – the characteristics of the voice, tempo, timbre, volume, stress, speech accent. Each of these components in its own way affects the perception of the proclaimed speech and personality, which provides the necessary information.

Nowadays political discourse can be studied as a interdisciplinary phenomenon. First of all, much attention is paid to political discourse as more and more people prefer conscious approach to the political life of society. In the thesis, political discourse is explored in combination with intonation and manipulation.

Linguists' vigilant attention to prosodic issues is due, in fact, to new theoretical and practical needs. Increased interest in the prosodic organization of speech is explained by its close interraction with others levels of discourse production, the ability to effectively convey the actual sense, to be a reliable source and conduit of information, to make certain communicative influence on the interlocutor (Алексієвець, 2015:308).

In linguistic literature, the term "prosody" is defined as the totality supra-segmental characteristics, that is, dynamic, altitudinal, temporal changes that characterize a particular segment of the speech continuum (composition, phonetic word, phrase) and perform a sense-distinguishing role.

The results of previous studies has shown that political discourse has a special rhythmic and melodic design, which is subject to such extralinguistic and linguistic and cultural factors as conditions of communication, language variant, specific features of the linguistic personality. English oral political broadcasting is characterized by a set of prosodic parameters: variety of terminal tones (descending, even, rising, complex and compound), highlighting the most significant components of the statement due to the extension or narrowing of the range, a clear rhythmic organization, change speed of pronunciation from slow to fast, high frequency logical, syntagmatic and pragmatic pauses, modifications of volume from moderate to high, as well as changes in tone from mild to intense. (Алексієвець, 2015: 309-310).

So, the prosody components reflect the entire hierarchy of organization of text units, transmit numerous nuances of changes in the communication situation and emotional mood of the speaker.

1.2. The Status of Manipulation in Linguistics

First of all, we should write that manipulation is linguistic word with great creative potential that is first and foremost topical in the framework of the theory of linguistic manipulation. The wide and somewhat blurred semantic filed of the term

"manipulation" includes such key elements as "negative" intention of the speaker and covert (not evident for the listener) character of influence. Manipulative functions of discourse create covert, masked layer of linguistic data that is not easily separated from purely informational content. Depending on the character of utterance (its orientation towards past or future), more importance is attached to either confirmation with objective reality (if the topic of interaction touches upon something that has already happened) or to the pragmatic factor (frankness of the speaker whose speech is associated with the future) (Москаленко, 2007: 447).

At the same time, consideration of linguistic means typical for manipulative texts is important for identification of the fact of manipulation. A discourse becomes manipulative not due to usage of specific lexical or grammatical units, but, first and foremost, through association with the speaker's intentions, unclear influential character of the utterance, conditions of communication (social context). Language offers to speakers a whole arsenal of means to realize manipulative aims. Linguistic manipulation is marked by language signs of different levels that help interpret the speaker's intentions. Manipulative influence refers to problems of linguistic legal framework. Estimation of legal force of linguistic phenomena, which is the object of a new complex discipline called legal linguistics, has to be extended to the concept of manipulation. Until recently methods of manipulation (in political discourse, advertisements or horoscopes published in the media) help avoid exposure and appliance of legal sanctions (Akopova, 2013).

The art of manipulation is not about making people do what you want them to do but rather getting them to want to do what you want them to do.

Important characteristics of any manipulation are closeness, illusion, invisible mechanism, consciousness psychological influence, in order to form certain beliefs and preferences. If the manipulation object believes that everything that happens is natural and inevitable, the success of manipulation is guaranteed (Ковешникова, 2014:387).

Another scholar Parshin emphasizes on Power Tools. He identifies six groups. 1) Selection of words and expressions 2) Creation of words 3) Selection of

grammatical form 4) Selection of sequence 5) Use of super-segmental features 6) Selection of hidden or implicit prerequisites. We will focus on lexical, super-segmental aspects.

Parshin refers to phonosemantic (associative constituents of sounds and their letters), alliterative means of language, to the phonetic level. In Parshin's notes, the mechanism of influence of rhythmic and rhymed texts is similar to alliteration, but is perceived much more consciously. Parshin emphasizes that there are factors of phonetic impact that are reserved solely for oral speech. These are the prosodic tools of the language: intonation, voice register, as well as articulatory postures, speech rate and pause (Паршин, 2000:57)

1.2.1. The Interpretation of Manipulation in Linguistic Sources

Linguistic manipulation is a relatively new trend studies in the framework of pragmatics and generally defined as any verbal interaction viewed as goal-oriented and goal-preconditioned phenomenon. It is verbal communication described from the perspective of one of the speakers when he sees himself as a subject of manipulation, while his interlocutor plays the role of an object.

Manipulative functions of discourse create covert, masked layer of linguistic data that is not easily separated from purely informational content. Depending on the character of utterance (its orientation towards past or future), more importance is attached to either confirmation with objective reality (if the topic of interaction touches upon something that has already happened) or to the pragmatic factor.

Manipulation is realized when the listener cannot see the speaker's covered intentions behind what is actually being said. As one of the key parameters of manipulative utterance is specific intentionality, in order to discriminate manipulation, one has to analyze such parameters as aim of verbal communication, communicative intention, reason, and motive.

A discourse becomes manipulative not due to usage of specific lexical or grammatical units, but, first and foremost, through association with the speaker's

intentions, unclear influential character of the utterance, conditions of communication (social context). Language offers to speakers a whole arsenal of means to realize manipulative aims. Linguistic manipulation is marked by language signs of different levels that help interpret the speaker's intentions.

Oral presentation of information is an important aspect of linguistic influence. In case of a written text it is easier for the reader to discern inserted influence, as a text is always as hand and can be revised and contemplated. This is impossible when dealing with oral information. In order to grasp the meaning of every word in the context and think while listening to a sequence of oral messages, one need time which is often deficient. Thus, if separate words are intentionally stressed and if speech is structured with a definite aim, oral information can exert greater influence than written text. Summing up what has been said, we can conclude that linguistic manipulation is influence exercised by one person upon another or a group of people through speech and non-verbal means oriented toward achieving a certain goal that consists in changing of the addressee's behavior, perceptions and intentions in the course of communicative interaction.

According to awareness of linguistic actions, manipulation can be intentional and non-intentional. In case of intentional linguistic manipulation, the subject aims at a definite result on the part of the object of manipulation. Non-intentional linguistic manipulation is exercised involuntary, as the subject does not aim at achieving results from the listener. According to the type of linguistic action, manipulation can be:

– social (social non-informational speech acts with clichés in the form of greetings, oaths, prayers);

– volitional (speech acts of following the speaker's will in the form of orders, requests, refusals, advise, etc.);

– informational and estimative (speech acts setting public moral, legal, interpersonal emotional relations in the form of reprobation, praise, accusation, insult, threat).

According to orientation towards the interlocutor, manipulation can be person-oriented and society-oriented. Person-oriented linguistic manipulation is

directed towards the listener by the speaker who constructs the image of his interlocutor in order to achieve the desired effect. In case of society-oriented manipulation, the speaker doesn't construct the image of a separate listener, but creates general picture.

In psychology the term "manipulation" is defined as type of psychological affection, which in case of skillful realization leads to implicit provocation of another person's intentions that do not correspond to his actual wishes and his stimulation towards commitment of actions required by the manipulator. Linguistic manipulation is based upon mechanisms that compel the listener to perceive verbal messages uncritically and facilitate creation of illusions and misperceptions impacting addressee's emotions and making him accomplish actions advantageous for the speaker.

The manipulation of human consciousness can be carried out at the expense of various means, including through language. Linguistic means of manipulation is one of the subjects of research in such a science as cognitive linguistics. Moreover, the results of such studies are of interest to both scientists in this field and ordinary people, mainly in terms of practical application. Speech manipulation has become a separate subject of linguistics not so long ago, therefore, despite the popularity of the topic in our time, its apparatus has not yet fully developed: including, now, there is no clear classification of all methods of manipulation.

Issers says "*Probably, the language began to be used for the purpose of influence and manipulation since its moment of origin. And our ancient ancestor who guessed to use the word as an influence tool, but not as a cudgel, was, undoubtedly, one of the first manipulators*" (Issers, 1996:71-74). The tradition of studying manipulation goes back to works of psychologists, sociologists, political scientists. All these scientists estimate manipulation mainly as "*impact on the person with the purpose to induce him to make something (to give information, to make an act, to change the behaviour) unconsciously or contrary to his own desire, opinion and intention*" (Talarico,2009). Influence within institutional communication is carried out by means of agitation, propaganda, demagogy, belief, suggestion,

persuasion and "public relations" (PR). Speech influence (SI) as a field of research studies processes of speech regulation of activity of one person or group of people. From the middle of the last century various aspects of this phenomenon were studied at audience which made it possible to talk about the formation of a new scientific discipline. According to Teun A. Van Dijk, "*as socially, manipulation is defined as illegitimate domination confirming social inequality*". Cognitively, manipulation as mind control involves the interference with processes of understanding, the formation of biased mental models and social representations such as knowledge and ideologies. Discursively, manipulation generally involves the usual forms and formats of ideological discourse, such as emphasizing "*Our good things, and emphasizing Their bad things*" (Dijk, 2006:359-383). Whereas speech manipulation (SM) is understood as "*a type of language influence used for the hidden introduction of purpose, desire, intention, relations or attitudes which don't coincide with those available for the addressee into his mentality*" (Wells, 1986:53-75). In other words, when the hidden opportunities of language are used by the addressee of the utterance in order to impose a certain notion of reality to the addressee, to create the necessary attitude towards it, to cause emotional reaction necessary for addressee, we are talking about manipulation of speech.

Manipulation is an effect carried out through a whole set of techniques that allow you to subordinate someone else's will. The word "manipulation" for most people has a negative connotation, which is reflected in dictionaries. For example, we give the definitions of the word "manipulation" from the key explanatory dictionaries of the Russian, English and French languages. So, in the dictionary of S. I. Ozhegov the second meaning of the word "manipulation" is as follows: Trick, Fraud (disapproved) (Шейгал, 2000:368). In the Oxford dictionary, the second meaning of the word looks like this: The action of manipulating someone in a clever or unscrupulous way (English Oxford Dictionaries). Since dictionaries reflect the essence of real-life phenomena, we can conclude that in society, regardless of state and nationality, manipulative actions of a precisely negative nature take place on a regular basis, which distorts the true purpose of the manipulative influence. In

theory, manipulation should carry a moral message, mate with a subtle sense of the situation, only then will its effectiveness really be good.

In general, manipulations in linguistics are not well understood. There are only individual opinions of scientists who make their own attempts to explain the essence of this concept. So, I.V.Sentenberg and V.I. Karasik consider verbal manipulations as pseudo-arguments (i.e. violation of argumentation). T. M. Nikolaeva believes that this is a peculiar means of education in a situation of "communicative sabotage" and linguistic demagogy. K.L. Beauvais and W.D. Arens represent speech manipulation by means of achieving a goal through persuasion (Шейгал, 2000:368).

Speaking about the fact that manipulation is a cognitive phenomenon, T. van Dijk identifies the following types of manipulation of cognition:

1. The manipulation of short-term memory is carried out using specific text and speech characteristics, such as headings, names and slogans. The above techniques are also used in legitimate forms of communication, so the conclusion is as follows: from a cognitive point of view, manipulation is nothing special and is implemented using familiar techniques. The discursive characteristics of manipulation involve a versatile analysis: phonetic, phonological, morphological, syntactic, lexical, operational (for example, too fast and illegible speech, intentionally complicated syntactic constructions, too abstract words and expressions).

2. Episodic manipulation. This type of manipulation suggests that the effect is on episodic memory (memories of specific communicative situations). It leads to the formation of mental models stored in episodic memory, including our own emotions and experiences associated with these communicative events. The mental model is unique in nature. Manipulators form definite mental models in manipulators, focusing on information that is beneficial to them, which lies directly in their area of interest, and silent information that contradicts the goals and intentions of the manipulators.

3. Manipulating social cognition. This kind of cognitive manipulation involves the manipulation of ideological views, moral norms and values, the so-called social representations. Social representations have a direct impact on the mental models of a person. For example, a pacifist through the prism of his own convictions describes the situation as follows: the United States launched a military attack on Iraq.

The manipulation of social cognition is implemented using strategies such as generalization and the strategy of using knowledge (Dijk, 2006:359-383).

Many authors, when speaking about the manipulation model, use the term "discursive comfort", which is understood as the maximum coincidence of the constructs of discursive realities in the nomination of recipient personality cognitive structures (beliefs, opinions, judgments, prejudices), i.e. the manipulator should be as close as possible to the reality of the recipient. The reality closer in which the recipient lives and the reality created by the manipulator, the higher the level of comfort.

"Your reality" consists of the interaction of three components:

1. "I am mine" - positive self-presentation in the framework of cognitive recipient representations;

2. "Own values" - cognitive preferences;

3. "Enemies" are destroyers of our values.

In political communication, the product of the cognitive process are socio-political representations (Зиндер, 1964:3-27). Manipulation is based on pre-existing stereotypes, prejudices and beliefs.

1.2.2. Main Aspects of Manipulation

The psychological dimension of manipulative discourse focuses on psychologically sensitising the target to the manipulative message. The basis of the subject's permeability enhancement intervention to the „instructions" of the message

is to know the target individual's personality or the psychodynamic characteristics of the target-group or target-community. Depending on knowing the target, the speech shall focus on creating, maintaining and consolidating a trusty atmosphere which would allow the implantation of the manipulative action. The central measure of installing the trusty atmosphere shall be the unconcealed convergence in an original agreement. As any protocol or contract, the original agreement shall exploit all that directly means and obviously "WE"; "we smoke", "we do not smoke", "we do not drink coffee", "we support the team", etc. This original agreement operates as a platform for "captatio benevolentiae" for the interlocutor and as a a favourable framework for launching the manipulative ideas. For and on the notable account of the initial agreement the prior views of the target-audience shall be accepted. The original agreement is therefore held in a salutary manner by the acceptance of the message recipients' opinions. The reality is that the target-audience does not have clear views. People have some attitude. Their views rise on this attitude. The "target opinions" are partly invented by that who manipulatively evokes them first, to set them forth and, secondly, to set forth the terms of an agreement that shall progressively amended. Beyond the acceptance of the opinions, the content of the agreement is reinforced by the community demanding attitude, conduct, behaviour, interests and values. In the original agreement, the manipulator tends to identify themselves with the manipulated, to show they have something in common with the manipulated (Ільницька, 2010:115-125).

If the lie is part of the arsenal of informational manipulative means, seduction occupies the princely place in the psycho-manipulative "organon". A sympathy played to the target-audience is attached to "together". Sympathy is reinforced by assigning support and assistance. The manipulative relation is supported by blandishment, adulation, flattery, cajolement. Subsequently, promises and engagements are added to the original agreement, which shall be primers for triggering the target into the manipulative project. Another widely used psychological means is the appeal to the opinions of some authorities which would approve the scenario where the source and the target have beneficial roles

(Chadwick, 2016:7-22). The target and the source as "we" should therefore not "disappoint", frustrate the authority's expectations.

In a broad sense, speech influence refers to speech communication, taken in the aspect of its focus and motivational conditioning. According to V.E. Chernyavskaya, speech manipulation is a speech impact aimed at implicit, hidden motivation of the addressee to perform certain actions; as a hidden introduction into his mind of desires, relationships, attitudes serving the interests of the sender of the message, which do not necessarily coincide with the interests of the addressee (Чернявская, 2006:136).

The purpose of speech manipulation is to persuade the manipulated person (addressee) to accept certain statements as true without taking into account all the arguments. From the position of S.A. Megentesov's any speech utterance "i*s inextricably linked with the aspect of influence or suggestion*" (Мегентесов, 1997:111).

It is important to note that the manipulator does everything possible so that the addressee perceives these thoughts, decisions, feelings and actions as their own, and not imposed from outside, and also considers himself responsible for them.

Modern literature on the psychology of manipulation reveals various aspects of manipulation and defines it as:
-the kind of spiritual influence or hidden domination that is carried out by force;
-supremacy over the spiritual state, influence on the change of the inner world;
-deceptive indirect influence in the interests of the manipulator;
-latent influence on the choice made;
-an impulse to specific behavior through deception or playing on the other person's possible weaknesses;
-attitude to another person, as an object, tool or tool;
-latent coercion, programming of intentions, thoughts, relationships, feelings, attitudes and behavior;
-influence and control, the use of another in the form of an object or thing.

When integrating these features, it becomes clear that in understanding the essential content of manipulation, a number of the most important features are distinguished:

-the idea of dexterity and mastery of methods of influence;

-the idea of implicit hidden influence;

-the idea of preserving the illusion of independence of the object of manipulative influence;

-the idea of turning the object of manipulation into a malleable and obedient instrument;

-the idea of a negative assessment of manipulative influence.

The manipulator decides what to do for the addressee of the influence and tries to influence his goals in his own interests.

The main feature of manipulation is that it is impossible to immediately detect the fact of manipulation. Often a person understands that he did not make a decision, but acted in the interests of others, after a very long time. The main signs of manipulation are deception and falsehood. If a person has been robbed of anything by force or coercion, this cannot be considered manipulation. And if a person himself gives something and even asks to accept his gift, then this can be a manipulation.

1.3.General Characteristics of the Linguistic Means of the Intonation of the Manipulative Influence in Political Discourse

Pragmatically speaking, linguistic manipulation is based on the use of indirect speech acts, which are focused on prelocutionary effects of what is said. There are a number of institutional domains and social situations in which linguistic manipulation can be systematically observed, e.g. in cross-examination of witnesses in a court of law. Linguistic manipulation can be considered also as an influential instrument of political rhetoric because political discourse is primarily focused on persuading people to take specified political actions or to make crucial political

decisions. To convince the potential electorate in present time societies, politics basically dominates in the mass media, which leads to creating new forms of linguistic manipulation, e. g. modified forms of press conferences and press statements, updated texts in slogans, application of catch phrases, phrasal allusions, the connotative meanings of words, a combination of language and visual imagery. To put it differently, language plays a significant ideological role because it is an instrument by means of which the manipulative intents of politicians become apparent.

Language mechanisms operating the processes of speech manipulation have appeared spontaneously, as the language itself to a certain degree facilitates distortion of objective reality offering not only specific designations, but also imprecise, blurred, ambiguous denominations. Manipulative discourse takes position between two extreme points – the legitimate (true, full) information and a lie. A lie and manipulation are opposed to different types of truth: a lie stands up against "semantic truth"; manipulation opposes "pragmatic truth".

Gradobyk says that "*Speech exposure" is the impact of a person on another person or group of people using speech and nonverbal means accompanying speech to achieve the goal set by the speaker*".There are two main aspects of speech exposure - verbal and non-verbal (Градобык, 1975: 308-318).

Verbal speech exposure is exposure through words. With verbal influence, it matters in which verbal form you express your thought, in what words, in what order, how loudly, with what intonation, what, when and to whom you are speaking.

A non-verbal effect is an effect using non-verbal means that accompany our speech (gestures, facial expressions, our behavior during speech, the appearance of the speaker, the distance to the interlocutor, etc.).

The tool of speech manipulation (TSM) in its broad sense is any verbal sign that in a certain context and meaning can have necessary impact on the addressee. The person is tend to use the word for impact on the interlocutor – unconsciously. In case of conscious use of language it is possible to tell about speech manipulation in its true meaning, as this action, first, is purposeful. "*Every language element is a*

very difficult and sensitive tool on which plays the one who uses language. Thus, the perception and understanding created at the recipient depend on how the addresser uses this sensitive tool" (Budaev, 2009: 269). Various phonographic, lexical means, morphological categories, syntactic designs, text categories are used generally in the interaction as a tool of speech manipulation. In the research the following levels of speech manipulation are highlighted: phonographic, lexical, and grammatical.

At the phonographic level speech manipulation is carried out by means of special sound and graphic registration of the message. The phonetic means – a prerogative of oral speech: intonation, timbre, both allocation by voice, and pauses are applied. In a political discourse of mass media phonetic instruments of speech manipulation are widely used in oral types of a discourse. Some TSM of phonographic level is equally present both in oral and written language: alliteration, assonance, rhyme. These means, which are urged to transfer features of a sound cover of the text, are quite seldom. So, the following heading is an example of alliteration and a rhythmization: *Re-win, re-run, re-up, USA, March 23, 2007*. The author uses parallel construction with prefix re-plus monosyllabic roots. Thus, the special rhythm and dynamics are created which set the vigorous tone for all subsequent text, as well as in case of application in the following heading of a rhyme and rhythmization: "*Money talk, as you walk, Washington Post, February 24, 2007*". Other tools of speech manipulation at the phonographic level have no analogues in written language. However, some of such means (intonation, register of a voice, tempo of speech and a pause) can be compensated by using graphic means: punctuation, meta-graphic means (underlining, font selection, capital letters). Means of graphics cannot only be "transcription" of oral speech, but also the self-sufficient means of speech influence that provoke a certain utterance of written speech by the reader and it can also be markers of other tools of speech manipulation.

1.4. The Basic Tendencies of the Intonation Means of the Manipulative Influence in Political Discourse

One of the most important means of influence at the phonetic level is the deliberate emphasis on intonation of words that are significant for the speaker or accentuation of fundamentally significant words (Зиндер, 2007:576). The speaker consciously identifies the most significant words from the point of view of the communicative attitude, not only in order to emphasize the significance of what was said, but also to influence the recipient's perception of the text. Intonation, according to some linguists, plays an integral role in a communicative act. So, for example, G. Sh. Davletkulova believes that thanks to intonation, a thought takes on a complete character, an utterance can be given an additional meaning that does not change its main meaning, and the meaning of an utterance can also change (Давлеткулова, 2011). N.V. Pronnikova identifies two main aspects of intonation: communicative and emotional. By communicative the scientist understands the information communicated by the speaker with its help: whether the statement is completed, whether it is a question or statement (Пронникова, 2014). Therefore, for example, G. Sh. Davletkulova believes that "*thanks to intonation, a thought takes on a complete character, an utterance can be given an additional meaning that does not change its main meaning, and the meaning of an utterance can also change*" (Давлеткулова, 2011).

The emotional aspect consists in the fact that a certain emotion is contained in intonation, which always reflects the speaker's emotional state, and sometimes his intention (though not always realized by him) to influence the listener in a certain way (Руженцева, 2015). Very often, the speaker's emotions, feelings and feelings can be identified by his voice. However, there are times when a person tries to give a voice a certain emotion artificially in order to influence the addressee.

1.4.1. Functional Role of the Intonation of the Manipulative Influence in Political Discourse

The problem of communicative effectiveness received particular resonance in political speech. Political speech has three main functions: communication function, message function and impact function. The latter is most clearly expressed in political speech when one of the most powerful means of persuasion, the human voice, comes into play. Obviously, the problems of communicative effectiveness are relevant, first of all, for the genres of oral public speech, since the influence function in the journalistic style of speech prevails over the message function. The perception of political speech and its acting function directly depend on the lexicon-phonetic means used by politicians, with intonation playing a special role.

Intonation is a complex unity of the following components:

1) speech melody;

2) phrasal stress;

3) temporal characteristics (duration, pace, pause);

4) rhythm;

5) timbre (voice quality) (Антипова, 1979).

The defining characteristics of intonation are the movement of the fundamental tone, or speech melody, phrasal stress and rhythm. The components of intonation manifest themselves in two aspects: communicative – intonation reports whether the statement is complete or incomplete, whether the question or answer contains a request or command; represents communicative types of utterance: narrative, exclamatory, interrogative, incentive.

The intonational design of oratory (especially in the solemn register) is subordinated to its main communicative function – the impact function.

The purpose of public speaking and the situation within which the action takes place determine its structure, as well as the choice of prosodic means of influencing the audience.

Speech by the politician is the most important means of his communication, both with his electorate and with the entire world community. Adequate proficiency

in oral speech, the ability to speak publicly is recognized by many researchers as an important component of human activity, on which the success of an individual, primarily a public and political figure, in various life situations can depend.

1.4.2. Phonetic Means of the Intonation of the Manipulative Influence in Political Discourse

The phonetic system of any language contains two levels: segmental and suprasegmental, or prosodic, each having a certain number of its units. Segmental units are elementary sounds: vowels and consonants, which form the vocalic and the consonantal subsystems. Suprasegmental units are syllables, rhythmic units, intonation groups, utterances. They form the subsystems of pitch, stress, rhythm, etc. Segmental and suprasegmental units are closely interrelated with lexical and grammatical units, because lexical and grammatical forms can only be modified by changing sounds.

Intonation is organized by the strength and pitch of the voice, speaking rate, pausal division, timbre, stress distribution in syntagma or phrase, rhythm, speech melody (Jones, 1948; Jones, 1969). V.V. Vinogradov defines four basic functions of intonation: the function of grammatical synthesis, the function of dividing into syntagmas, the predicative and modal-differential functions. All of them manifest themselves in a single complex, forming the artistic and aesthetic structure of the proposal (Виноградов, 1950). L.R. Zinder and I.G. Torsuev also emphasizes the correlation of intonation with the meaning of the statement, defining it as the unity of interconnected components, correlated with a specific set of linguistic meanings (Зиндер, 1964).

Discourse intonation can in part be traced back to the works of Halliday who was concerned with developing a phonological typology based on meaningmaking grammatical choices. He views intonation as highly structured, consisting of three hierarchical systems: tonality, tonicity and tone. Tonality refers to the division of speech into intonation/tone groups. Each tone group contains a single unit of

information and represents the speaker's perceptions and management of the whole message. Tonicity refers to the placement of accents, i.e., the assignment and realization of the most prominent word in a tone group, indicating the focus of information. Tone, the contrasting pitch movements in each tone group, expresses different speech functions and status of information. Discourse intonation offers a different description of intonation to the grammatical. Sentence-based models which view intonation as grammatical regard tones typically chosen with particular syntactic structures such as rising tone with general questions and falling tone with special questions, statements and commands.

Discourse intonation is also different from the descriptions of intonation which view the attitudinal function of intonation as primary and central. In their description of the intonation of speech O'Connor and Arnold remark that "a major function of intonation is to express the speaker's attitude to the situation in which he is placed at the moment of speaking". They attach attitudinal meanings to each of ten tone groups combined with each of four sentence types: statements, questions, commands and exclamations. Cruttenden for instance, describes the rising tone as having the attitudinal meaning of "reassuring" with wh-questions and "non-commital" or "grumbling" with declaratives. The "rise-fall" tone can mean "impressed" with yes/no questions and declaratives, or "challenging" with clauses of any syntactic type.

Thus, it is completely obvious that the intonational organization of the utterance is determined not only and not so much by its internal characteristics as by external factors, context, speech situation in which it is used, by one or another pragmatic attitude.

Intonation means that satisfy the requirements of British public speech have certain characteristics. D. Crystal among them distinguishes the rhythm of all indicators, a high level of intensity, a high melodic level, a slowed-down tempo, a high tonal range and a special resonant voice quality (Crystal, 1969).

In addition, the authors indicate the presence in such speech of dispersed phrasal stress, which emphasizes all significant and partly official words

(conjunctions, prepositions, auxiliary verbs, etc.), as well as the tendency to a consistent increase in the frequency of distinguished syllables in each utterance is proportional to the increase in the audience in front of which the speech is delivered. Another feature of the speech of politicians is that rhythmic groups are characterized by relative isochronism, which is most noticeable in the initial and final syntagms (Арутюнова, 1990; Григорьева, 2007; Демина 2007).

Expressiveness is one of the most important features of any public speaking, including political speech. Expressiveness involves the transfer of individual elements using appropriate language means, which primarily include intonation, namely stress, tempo, rhythm, pause (Шейгал, 2000).

The expressiveness of the text is often provided by prosodic emphasis on its semantic components: words, syntagmas, sentences, over-phrasal unities. In political speech, there is a certain pattern of combination of strong and weak prosodic emphasis on the semantic components of the text (Воробьева, 1999; Антипова, 1979).

In other words, prosodic emphasis has a close relationship with the semantic structure of the utterance, in particular with the actual division of the sentence. Those words that carry new or important information are prosodically highlighted (Crystal, 1997).

Many British scientists, among them D. Crystal, W. Wells and A. Kruttenden, use the term "focus" to indicate prosodic emphasis (Crystal, 1975; Wells, 1986). So, W. Wells defines four categories of focus (contrast, main, secondary, zero) and the corresponding four degrees of emphasis (maximum, significant, negligible, minimal) (Wells, 1986).

It should be noted that studies conducted by some of the authors already mentioned (W. Wells, L.G. Fomichenko) show that prosodic marking trends are the same for all functional and stylistic types of texts. Moreover, this phenomenon, in their opinion, acts both at the level of the whole text, and at the level of utterance (Crystal, 1975; Абросимова, 2004). In this regard, it seems interesting to analyze prosodic parameters of isolation based on the material of this study.

1.5. The Theoretical Background of the Intonation of the Manipulative Influence in Political Discourse

Oral presentation of information is an important aspect of linguistic influence. In case of a written text it is easier for the reader to discern inserted influence, as a text is always as hand and can be revised and contemplated. This is impossible when dealing with oral information. In order to grasp the meaning of every word in the context and think while listening to a sequence of oral messages, one need time which is often deficient. Thus, if separate words are intentionally stressed and if speech is structured with a definite aim, oral information can exert greater influence than written text.

According to the character of subject-object interaction, manipulation can be direct (i.e. the subject is openly presenting his demands to the object of manipulation) an indirect (i.e. manipulation directed at the environment rather than at the object). Direct method of linguistic manipulation includes such forms of the language system that are associated with certain meaning directly expressing corresponding illocution, i.e. communicative aim of the speaker. Thus, for example, declarative and interrogative utterances are conditionally connected with illocutionary forces of a message. Indirect method of expression of communicative intention presupposes usage of language forms to express illocution force not connected with their direct linguistic meaning. Indirect forms do not openly express the speaker's intentions. According to awareness of linguistic actions, manipulation can be intentional and non-intentional. In case of intentional linguistic manipulation, the subject aims at a definite result on the part of the object of manipulation. Non-intentional linguistic manipulation is exercised involuntary, as the subject does not aim at achieving results from the listener. According to the type of linguistic action, manipulation can be:

– social (social non-informational speech acts with clichés in the form of greetings, oaths, prayers);

– volitional (speech acts of following the speaker's will in the form of orders, requests, refusals, advise, etc.);

– informational and estimative (speech acts setting public moral, legal, interpersonal emotional relations in the form of reprobation, praise, accusation, insult, threat). Perlocutionary criterion (addressee's reaction) presents basis for discrimination of the following types of linguistic manipulation: – evaluative (changing of the subject-object relation, connotative meaning of the object for the subject);

– emotional (formation of general emotional mood);

– rational (reconstruction of categorical structure of individual conscience, introduction of new categories).

In case of society-oriented manipulation, the speaker doesn't construct the image of a separate listener, but creates generalized image of a group as a whole. Every type of linguistic manipulation can facilitate regulation of interlocutor's activity and change his behavior. According to orientation towards the interlocutor, manipulation can be person-oriented and society-oriented. Person-oriented linguistic manipulation is directed towards the listener by the speaker who constructs the image of his interlocutor in order to achieve the desired.

In the context of making certain terminological distinctions between the notions language and politics, this inquiry views them considering the definitions offered by Chilton. Thus, the scholar states that language is *"the universal capacity of humans in all societies to communicate, while by politics he means 'the art of governance"*. Thus, this inquiry views the language as an instrument to interact or transact in various situations and/or in different organizations being conventionally recognized as political environment. It is generally accepted that the strategy that one group of people takes to make the other group of people do what it intends to be done is known as a linguistic strategy. It involves manipulative application of the language. Therefore, linguistic manipulation is the conscious use of language in a

devious way to control the others. Pragmatically speaking, linguistic manipulation is based on the use of indirect speech acts, which are focused on prelocutionary effects of what is said. There are a number of institutional domains and social situations in which linguistic manipulation can be systematically observed, e.g. in cross-examination of witnesses in a court of law. Linguistic manipulation can be considered also as an influential instrument of political rhetoric because political discourse is primarily focused on persuading people to take specified political actions or to make crucial political decisions. To convince the potential electorate in present time societies, politics basically dominates in the mass media, which leads to creating new forms of linguistic manipulation, e. g. modified forms of press conferences and press statements, updated texts in slogans, application of catch phrases, phrasal allusions, the connotative meanings of words, a combination of language and visual imagery. To put it differently, language plays a significant ideological role because it is an instrument by means of which the manipulative intents of politicians become apparent.

Political thinking is embodied in speech structures, and the specificity of this thinking often manifests itself in speech activity regardless of the speaker's desires (Crano, 2015). The foregoing relates to the greatest extent to the intonation (tone) of a political figure as an internal form, an internal structure of his speech activity.

In tone, in the intonation of the speaker, he is internalized, and then expressed in sound (written) form, in gestures and facial expressions (exteriorized) the whole diversity of political discourse, which allows you to accurately and objectively determine motives, goals, interests, and also predict the results of speech activity one or another politician.

Intonation as an internal form of speech activity includes three levels of foundations and simultaneously three components of the psyche. The terms "spirit", "soul" and "body" can denote them. Based on the spiritual-mental-physical unity of the psyche, the following components are distinguished in the structure of speech intonation (including political speech intonation): emotional, rational, stylistic, figuratively associative, and a holistic-shaped component uniting them. These

components are permeated with a special stress-experience. The most important features of this integral tension are semantic fullness, special "energeticity", continuity ("extension", "connectedness") and at the same time discreteness ("separation"), living variability, focus on objects and realizability.

The nature of intonation as a spiritual-semiotic phenomenon determines the inevitability of "increment" of its original content due to additional, or connotative, meanings organically introduced into living intonation by intoning subjects (authors, performers, listeners). By M.M. Bakhtin, this is a tonality.

CONCLUSIONS TO CHAPTER 1

So, the identification characteristic of manipulation is a specific psychological and communicative attitude of the acting subject, which is expressed in the lack of recognition of the equal value of one's own needs and the needs of the target and the desire to satisfy one's own need without detecting a conflict of interest in front of the target.

The verbal behavior of the manipulator differs from the non-manipulative special structural organization, and not the specific content of the communicative strategy in the form of techniques, tactics, etc. There are no specific tactics of manipulation. Any tactics placed in the structure of a manipulative communicative strategy acquire the character of a manipulative one and enter into a generic relationship with the strategy of the manipulator. There are a number of tactics typical of manipulation that ensure the successful implementation of a manipulative communicative strategy.

The study of special literature on intercultural communication, verbal impact, verbal and non-verbal means of verbal communication, intonation as an indicator of the speech and oratory competence of a politician, stylistics, sociolinguistics and rhetoric made it possible to create a conceptual basis for subsequent special experimental research.

Intonation is the most important linguistic means of translating the intent of the speaker and his emotions, as well as a deliberate and deliberate means of influencing the viewer.

CHAPTER 2. The Programme and Methodology of the Experimental Research of the Intonation of the Manipulative Influence in Political Discourse

Political discourse has become an object of close attention of modern scholars of language and culture, since this field of knowledge gives an idea of the basic principles on which political communication in a particular society, in a particular culture, is based. The main purpose of the exploration is to identify the manipulative influence of intonation of politicians in their oral speeches.

2.1. The Program of the Experimental Research of the Intonation of the Manipulative Influence in Political Discourse

The program of the experimental research of the intonation of the manipulative influence in political discourse includes the following steps:

- Selection of speeches for analysis;
- auditory speech analysis of election speeches;
- linguistic interpretation of political speeches;
- conducting a survey;
- acoustic analysis of prosodic speeches characteristics.

Within this section, we analyzed the rhythmic features of the texts of public speeches by J. F. Kennedy and R. Nixon, the role of rhythm and intonation in the creation of expressive-emotional texts.

The inaugural speech of the 35th President of the United States, John F. Kennedy, is recognized by many experts as the standard of thoughtful and verified rhetoric. It cannot be called very informative or informative, since the performative component occupies a more substantial part in this speech (APPENDIX C).

The most significant stylistic techniques of John F. Kennedy's inaugural speech are metaphors, antitheses, repetitions (in particular anaphors), parallelism and alliteration.

John F. Kennedy, a favorite of many politicians, uses only twice in his speech. But the antitheses to which he prefers are quite common. This may indicate that

Kennedy's speech has a more declarative than a persuasive character, which, in turn, is explained by the peculiarities of inaugural speech as a genre of political discourse.

The country has seen an economic downturn, rising unemployment. Kennedy went to the polls, urging America to enter "new frontiers". The main objective was to revitalize and stabilize the economy, as well as regain US superiority in nuclear missiles.

As in the pre-election speech nominating the presidential candidate, in the inaugural address of J. Kennedy words with the most common semantics:

- freedom (peace), hope (hope), trust (faith), human rights (civil rights), proud (pride), renewal (update), change (change), revolution (revolution), order (order). These words are the core for the ideological and thematic design of speech.

The main toposs of the inaugural message:

- The noble and historical role of the United States as a defender of human rights, peace and order:

"*Let the word go forth from this time and place, to friend and foe alike that the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans - born in this century, tempered by war, disciplined by a hard and bitter peace, proud of our ancient heritage...*";

- the intention to lead the country as the Lord bequeathed (the religious component is very important):

"*the belief that the rights of man come not from the generosity of the state but from the hand of God*".

- the problem of choice, the need for the right choice:

"*We observe today not a victory of party but a celebration of freedom*";

- problems of foreign and domestic policy (foreign policy prevails in the conditions of the Cold War). The arms race, the world threat of the USSR, the establishment of order and the assertion of human rights and freedoms in the newly formed states:

"*How to end and alter the burdensome arms race, where Soviet gains already threaten our very existence*";

- the formation of domestic policies aimed at economic growth, emphasis on the consciousness of the American people, the manifestation of their best qualities brought up in the course of history (a lot of attention is paid to the historical aspect):

"*Courage - judgment - integrity - dedication - these are the historic qualities of the Bay Colony and the Bay State*".

In the election speech of the candidate for president, there is another topos, this is the personal biography of the candidate:

"*For 18 years I have been in the service of the United States. First as a naval officer in the Pacific during World War the Second and for the past 14 years as a memder of the Congress*".

This Kennedy pre-election speech is very concise, uninformative and does not give wide comments on his planned presidential program and the current situation in the country. Speech has a purely performative function.

According to the central structure, the speech of J.F. Kennedy. The central idea of his speech is "promise" (APPENDIX A).
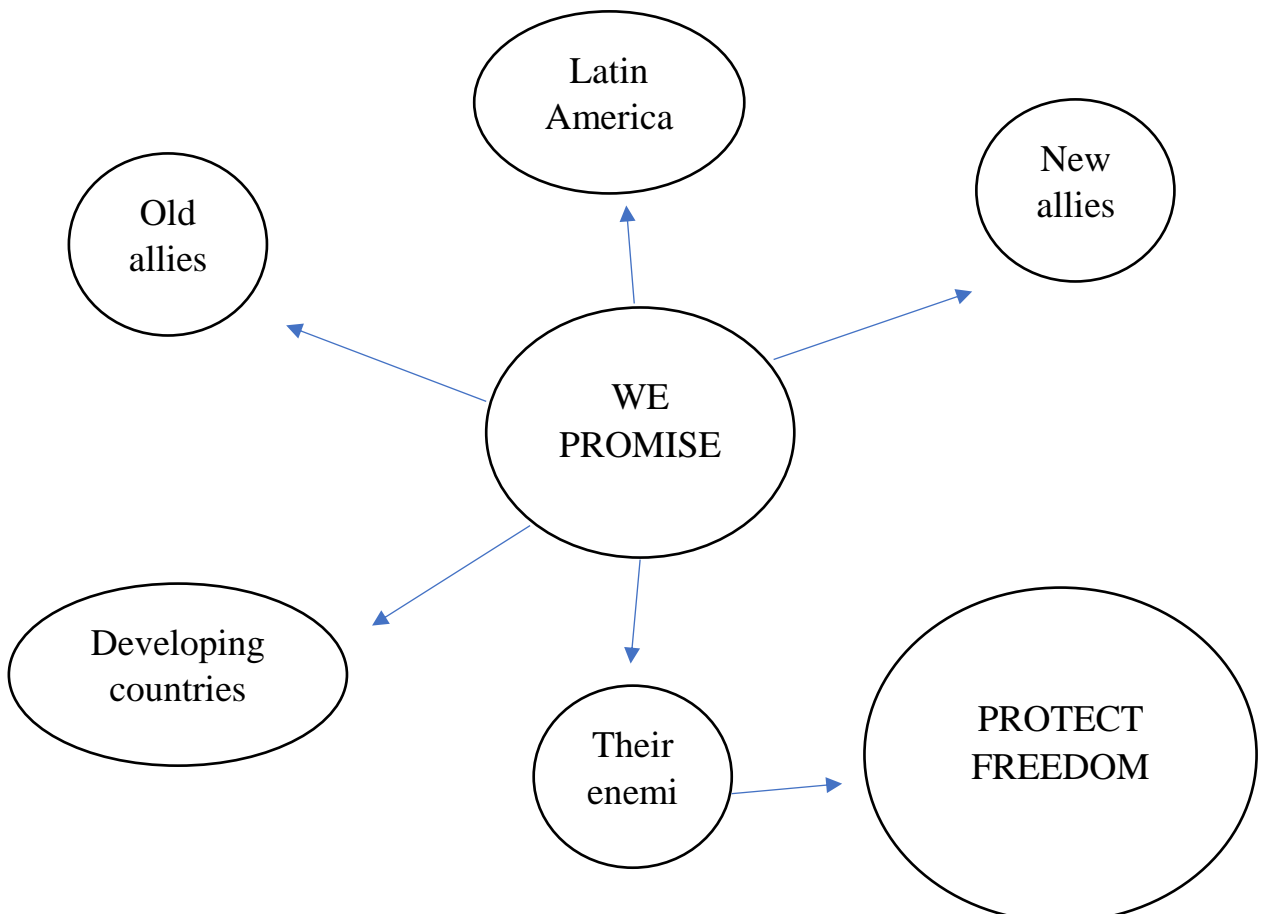
The "promise" smoothly turns into a threat: it is said at a time when the whole world is divided into two camps, and Kennedy, on behalf of American citizens and citizens of the whole world, calls not for an arms race, but for joining forces. It is curious that in such a situation the dichotomous structure is not used (see Jefferson's speech above), although the historical context has it.

The first inaugural message of Richard M. Nixon, January 20, 1969 (APPENDIX D). The main semantic centers: *change (changes), peace (world), choice (choice), kindness (kindness), love (love), progress (progress) with, goal (goal), communication (communication), cooperation (cooperation), open world (open world space)*.

The main theme center is still the topic of new discoveries and improvements, rallying the nation for the further prosperity of future generations according to the will of the Almighty.

The new topic, which was rather loudly proclaimed in the president's speech, is the theme of world unity, the opening of borders for the establishment of a single world space, with a single market economy, what we today call the process of globalization:

"*Let all nations know that during this administration our lines of communication will be open*".

We seek an open world - open to ideas, open to the exchange of goods and people - a world in which no people, great or small, will live in angry isolation".

The president's speech has a very characteristic composition. All parts of the text are equal, laconic and have a slogan, appeal character. The use of imperative constructions, proposals based on contrast and contrast, reflects the spirit of the times, inexorable desire to advance in the absence of political and economic stability in the country.

2.2. The Methodology of the Experimental Research of the Intonation of the Manipulative Influence in Political Discourse

Interest in the study of political communication arose in ancient times, however, the formation of political linguistics as an autonomous scientific direction is associated with the systematic study of political communication, which began in the middle of the last century and was based on the pioneering work of Harold Lasswell, Paul Lazarsfeld, Walter Lippmann, Victor Klemperer, George Orwell and other prominent experts.

At the end of the last century, linguistics formed a separate direction, the focus of which is the theory and practice of analyzing political communication. To denote this area of research in world science, the name "political linguistics" has become established. At the same time, there are sometimes notations that emphasize certain aspects of political semiosis: for example, "political science philology", "political science literature", "political science linguistics" (Зиндер ,2007), "political semantics" (Руженцева, 2015:44-58), "political discourse" (Чудинов, 2008:256).

The creation of a new scientific direction predetermined discussions not only about its name, but also about the corresponding subject and object of research, about the conceptual terminological apparatus and methodology of the corresponding research.

Before turning to a detailed discussion of specific methods and techniques of linguistic analysis of a political text, it makes sense to consider a number of general problems that will have to be addressed in one way or another in the subsequent text. These include the issue of the status of political linguistics (political linguistics) as a scientific and educational discipline, its relationship with legal linguistics and other "hybrid" areas of scientific knowledge. It is equally important to address the problem of the correlation of methods and techniques of domestic political linguistics (as well as legal linguistics) with world experience in the analysis of political texts in the interests of ensuring the rule of law.

Of course, in this sphere, as in any other, it is necessary to take into account the whole arsenal of ideas accumulated in world science and practice.

Political linguistics, legal linguistics; media linguistics; gender linguistics, pedagogical linguistics, linguoecology, linguoculturology - in recent years, these designations have received increasing recognition.

The question naturally arises of the status of the corresponding fields of scientific research. It is significant that, in the opinion of many respected experts, political linguistics and legal linguistics (juris linguistics) are new sciences that arose at the boundary between the two "classical" humanities (in the first case, at the intersection of linguistics and political science, and in the second, at the intersection of linguistics and jurisprudence). In the framework of the substantiation of the corresponding views, there is often a wide recognition of "hybrids" among the natural sciences (biophysics, biochemistry, geophysics, physical chemistry, etc.).

At the same time, there is another point of view, according to which political linguistics is linguistics that addresses political communication, and legal linguistics is linguistics that refers to legal communication, that is (along with media linguistics, pedagogical linguistics, ethnolinguistics) these are only scientific directions in the framework of linguistics as a science of language and its functioning.

In accordance with another point of view, the terms "stylistics of political speech", "stylistics of legal speech", and "media stylistics" are preferable, which reflects the perception of the respective areas as options not even of linguistics as a whole, but stylistics as one of the private sections of linguistic science.

Unfortunately, I also had to deal with non-classical areas of linguistics, including political linguistics, as another simulacrum (from lat. Simulacrum), i.e., that in the philosophy of postmodernism and poststructuralism is defined as a pseudo-thing, empty form, term (concept) that does not have real content and, accordingly, scientific recognition.

We also note that not all scientists consider the consideration of political communication to be the subject of exclusively linguistic research. In the view of a significant part of political scientists, philosophers and sociologists, political

communication is one of the sections of political science (sociology) as a science and academic discipline.

Accordingly, many jurists believe that there are professional features of the speech of judges, prosecutors, lawyers and other specialists, which should be studied in the framework of jurisprudence and taught at the corresponding faculties.

When considering the status of the research areas under consideration, it should be assumed that if political linguistics is really a science, then it should have a specific object of research, its own conceptual and terminological apparatus, and should be recognized in the scientific community.

The problem of research methods of political communication is also important from a linguistic point of view. This problem, in particular, was considered more than ten years ago when preparing the first edition of the textbook "Political Linguistics" (Ярославцева, 2007), in which a section on the methodology and methodology of a new scientific direction for science was needed. At that time, it seemed quite obvious that, unlike cognitive linguistics, psycholinguistics, comparative historical linguistics, sociolinguistics, and other scientific areas, which are based on a common methodology, political linguistics, as well as media linguistics, legal linguistics, or advertising linguistics, are united primarily by the studied material (political language, political texts, political discourse), and therefore in this area of knowledge there is no "unified theoretical basis, methodology and terminology" (Ярославцева, 2007).

Then it seemed that for political linguistics it is possible to offer only some conceptual and terminological minimum, without which at least minimal mutual understanding between experts is impossible.

The methodology of political linguistics as a science has a hybrid, complex, syncretic character, primarily because it genetically goes back to the methodological base not only of linguistics and political science, but also of a number of other scientific areas and disciplines.

The greatest role in the formation of the methodological base of political linguistics as an autonomous scientific direction was played by the achievements of

cognitive linguistics, media linguistics, sociolinguistics and discourse studies, as well as scientific developments from a number of related disciplines: linguoculturology, linguo-pragmatics, psycholinguistics, hermeneutics, and others.

The obvious source for the methodology of political linguistics was also the achievements of political science, sociology.

The achievements of journalism, advertising science, imageology, theory and practice of public relations, theory and practice of speech influence, genre studies, intercultural communication and a number of other disciplines are also essential for the formation of a comprehensive methodology of political linguistics as a science.

The indicated scientific directions and disciplines intersect with political linguistics in the first place along the lines of the material being studied - "political language, political texts, political discourse" (Wodak, 1989: 288).

The second direction of the intersection of these areas and disciplines with political linguistics concerns methods and techniques research of political material. At the stage of the development of political linguistics as an autonomous scientific field, specialists actively used traditional linguistic methods (structural, semantic, textual, lexicographic, etc.), as well as methods of "hybrid" scientific areas (linguistic, cognitive, linguoculturological, linguo-pragmatic, etc.).

Then it seemed that for political linguistics it was enough to develop some conceptual and terminological minimum that would ensure mutual understanding between specialists, as well as highlight the most promising areas of research.

Of course, the researcher does not always declare the use of certain methods and his position in relation to the ontology of the phenomenon under consideration, but both are usually easily determined if the author is sufficiently consistent and not inclined to eclecticism.

Methods that are assigned to different levels (vertically) in the proposed scheme can usually interact within the framework of a single study: for example, recognition of a metaphor as a mental or verbal phenomenon does not affect the possibilities of content analysis or critical analysis. When considering publications on political linguistics at the same level (horizontal), the situation is different. The

structural-semantic approach cannot be cognitive (although transitional, intermediate forms are possible), and the descriptive approach, as a rule, should not be combined with critical analysis.

The proposed structure is linguistic-centric, which seems to be a fairly adequate solution, given the specifics of the subject of study. The intersection with other scientific disciplines and directions and the commonality of a number of analysis methods and techniques can, from our point of view, be considered universals combining political linguistics with other fields of knowledge that study political messages. However, the specificity of political linguistics as an autonomous scientific field also presupposes the existence of its own methodological principles and provisions that have a high degree of convergence of the convergence in space of political linguistics as a science. We characterize these principles and provisions.

1. Attraction of extra-linguistic information about the political situation, taking into account the extra-linguistic factors of creating a political message, the result of which is the partial use of the methods and techniques of the basic sciences (Ярославцева, 2007).

2. The possibility of multidiscourse research uniting different formats of discourse (political and artistic, political and journalistic, political and historical, political and media discourse, political and military discourses, political and television and radio discourses, political and film discourses, etc.), the consequence of which is the partial use of methods and techniques relevant for other discursive varieties (for example, for the analysis of journalism or fiction) (Wodak, 1989: 288)

3. The contrast of critical and descriptive analysis. This is a characteristic feature of research specifically on political linguistics. At this level, a political assessment is distinguished (a methodology for the critical analysis of discourse), a normative assessment (given from the point of view of compliance of the phenomena under consideration with language norms and traditions), an ethical assessment and a pragmatic assessment (given from the point of view of the effectiveness of using appropriate language tools).

For political linguistics, political assessment is especially important, which is much less often found in the analysis of literary or advertising text.

4. A selection of leading research methods for the material. At this level, political linguistics distinguishes between quantitative and quantitative analysis. In the first case, the researcher reveals the general patterns of using certain phenomena without their precise quantitative description. Quantitative analysis is characterized by a large sample size and interpretation of statistical patterns.

5. The parallel use of various scientific methods in a single study. Even preliminary observations show that the combination of some methods leads to eclecticism, while the interaction of other methods leads to a more complete understanding of the essence of the phenomenon.

Interdisciplinary methods. Political linguistics is characterized by the high-frequency use of interdisciplinary methods, which, in particular, include:

- methods of basic sciences. A characteristic feature of "hybrid linguistics" is the active use of the methodologies of basic sciences;

- political science and sociology.

High-frequency for political linguistics is the use of the methodology of a science such as imageology — works on political personology are created using methods relevant to creating the image of a politician or the image of the state (Ярославцева,2007);

- methods of media linguistics and media stylistics (stylistics of the media). Political media texts are investigated using methods specific to media linguistics, journalism, as well as rhetoric, semiotics (Шейгал, 2000)

6. Priorities in the selection of materials for research.

Political linguistics has developed a number of priorities (preferences) in the selection of material for research, which is undoubtedly connected with the actual political, extra-discursive goals and objectives of political texts and political campaigns in general.

These include:

- increased attention to extra-discursive factors (state and changes in foreign and domestic policy and a number of states), hence the involvement of material from non-linguistic sources (political science and sociological studies, imageology, the press, as well as comments published in electronic sources);

- increased attention to the study of cognitive patterns of generation and reception of a political text, hence the emergence of a very large body of work on the material of cognitive metaphor;

- preference in the selection of secondary, modified specifically for the political (rather than journalistic) discourse of genre forms;

- the preference for political messages with a pronounced pragmatic orientation, hence the appearance of a body of work created on the basis of pragmatic oriented texts and individual statements;

- increased attention to political messages with a predictive focus, hence the appearance of a body of work created on the basis of political and economic forecasts;

- increased attention to research on comparative material with an intercultural orientation, hence the emergence of a body of work, the material for which was the media texts of two or more countries.

7. Consistent appeal to multichannel representation of political messages and, as a consequence, the active use of syncretic methods for analyzing creolized (multichannel) texts created using two or more semiotic series: verbal / visual (for example, in print political advertising), visual / acoustic (in TV messages) (Бахтин, 1979:424).

8. The use of transformed methods of analysis, including those modified in relation to the political discourse of rhetorical and stylistic analysis methods (Шейгал, 2005:77-83).

Thus, the convergence (convergence) of these features in the space of political linguistics is another argument in favor of the recognition of political linguistics as an autonomous scientific field, which has its own methodological base.

In recent years, political linguistics has received the status of an independent scientific discipline, which, of course, has already found its traditions, has formed its own theory, methodology and specific methodological tools relevant to the analysis of political discourse. The history of the development of this direction allows us to talk about the already existing, and only the emerging separate areas of political linguistics, the description of which is devoted to our monograph.

Considering the existing approaches to the study of political communication in general and political linguistics in particular, it is advisable to recall the seven established interdisciplinary traditions described by the American scientist Robert Craig in the development of communication theory.

Among them, the specialist in communication studies identified the following:

1) rhetorical, involving the use of the most effective methods of verbal interaction (conversation) that meets the requirements of persuasiveness and practicality;

2) semiotic, studying the problems of finding common sign systems for successful presentation and transmission of meanings in the process of communication;

3) phenomenological, representing dialogue as "living a different experience" (with this approach, communication "explains the relationship

4) identities and differences in trusting human relations and improves communication practices that help to overcome personal goals and strategies that are a barrier to the direct sense of oneself and the other, and which make it possible to maintain established trustful relationships (Chadwick, 2016:22);

5) cybernetic, according to which communication is considered as a process of information processing, which allows us to explain how all kinds of complex systems (living or non-living, macro or micro) are able to function and why functional disturbances often occur; at the same time, "cybernetics cultivates a practical approach that takes into account the complexity of communication problems and casts doubt on many familiar points about the differences between human and non-human information processing systems" (Chadwick, 2016:10);

6)   sociopsychological, studying the socio-and individual characteristics of the transmission of messages and the person's response to messages in order to provide for an effective impact on the causes of behavior in different communicative situations, to anticipate and control the results of communicative behavior;

7)   sociocultural, developing such communicative practices that take into account the cultural diversity and cultural relativity of the participants in communication;

8)   critical, or discursive-reflexive, suggesting not a one-sided, but dialectical approach to understanding communication *"For critical theorists, local practices and empirical results of communication cannot be taken at face value, but must be evaluated in the light of a reflective analysis of the distorting influences of power and ideology in society"* (Chadwick, 2016).

A significant part of the traditions highlighted by R. Craig is also very relevant in the analysis of modern domestic political communication. However, one cannot neglect the study of another American specialist R. Midow, who previously identified six fundamental approaches to the study of political communication proper:

1)   systemic, involving the identification of the relationship between the elements of political communication;

2)   linguistic, aimed at studying the specific language that has developed in the field of politics, often inaccessible to an ordinary citizen;

3)   symbolic, focusing on a system of political symbols, the manipulation of which determines the political status of the subjects of communication;

4)   functional, considering the basic functions of political communication, primarily the functions of ensuring social stability and socialization;

5)   organizational focusing on the distribution of information flows between the structural elements of the political system;

6)   "Environmental", considering the impact of political communication on other types of communication and on society as a whole.

Modern researchers emphasize that in domestic science there are at least two major areas in the study of political communication. The first approach is the

information one, which presupposes the traditional consideration of the more often unidirectional process of production and transmission of information regardless of the political context, historical period, characteristics of the subjects of communication, etc. (the communicative approach itself). The second is social, involving subject-object interactive relationships, realized linearly (between the communicator and the recipient) or non-linearly (communicator - recipient - communication situation).

Some researchers, however, highlight a number of more private scientific areas of political communication. M.V. Gavrilova suggests considering the following:

- linguistic direction, generalizing the study of rhetorical, conceptual, semantic, linguo-stylistic, logical-linguistic aspects of political communication, as well as the theory of speech influence, the theory of truth control, linguo-ideological analysis;

- psychological direction, studying the psychological components of mass communication (motivation, psychological personality types, psychobiography, leadership, etc.);

- cognitive direction, including the theory and practice of cognitive (in particular, metaphorical) modeling of the political world and conceptual analysis of linguistic phenomena representing the system of knowledge and ideas about political reality;

- psycholinguistic direction, combining psychosemantic, phonosemantic and other studies based on the methods of psycholinguistic experiment, psycholinguistic examination, etc.;

- discursive-narrative direction, focused on the basis of the theory of critical discourse analysis of political communication;

- a political science direction aimed at studying the communicative concept of politics, the communication system and information flows in the field of politics and the like;

- sociological direction of political communication.

Obviously, the actualization of one or another aspect of a scientific problem contributes to the formation of special approaches specific to it. So, E.V. Budaev and A.P. Chudinov, focusing on the study of conceptual metaphors in political discourse, emphasized the relevance of such areas of political metaphorology:

1) cognitive, considering a political metaphor as a (basic) mental operation, as a way of cognizing, categorizing, conceptualizing, evaluating and explaining the world;

2) rhetorical (semantic-stylistic, linguo-pragmatic), evaluating metaphor as a language tool that performs aesthetic and pragmatic (acting) functions (researchers emphasize that "the rhetorical direction in the study of political metaphors, on the one hand, is one of the undoubted sources that served as the basis for the emergence of the theory of conceptual political metaphor. On the other hand, the rhetorical trend so far has emerged as a kind of "competitor" to the theory and practice of the study of political metaphors "according to Lakoff." As the presented review shows, the parallel development of these two areas leads to their mutual enrichment and even convergence ");

3) complex, involving the combination of methods for studying political metaphors (cognitive or rhetorical) with methods of other disciplines: psycholinguistics, linguoculturology, sociolinguistics, discourse theory, comparative linguistics, comparative historical linguistics, corpus linguistics (Ярославцева,2007).

An analysis of the political speeches of Nixon and Kennedy suggests that the following areas are popular in political communication: linguistic-semiotic, cognitive, cognitive-discursive, rhetorical, linguistic-cultural, psycholinguistic, sociolinguistic.

CONCLUSIONS TO CHAPTER 2

So, the inaugural addresses and the above-mentioned election speeches are a reflection of the political era, linguistic and national-specific features of the two countries. Highlighted semantic and thematic centers recreate the historical, socio-political and linguistic background.

The resulting picture is confirmed by linguistic observations at different levels. The results of the study demonstrate the evolution of views in the American political discourse and allow you to get a holistic perception of the changes.

CHAPTER 3. The Results of the Experimental Research of the Intonation of the Manipulative Influence in Political Discourse

3.1. The Auditory Analysis of the Experimental Research of the Intonation of the Manipulative Influence in Political Discourse

First of all, we should tell that phonetics is a science which borders on a number of other subject areas, within the Humanities as well as within Technology. The programme of study may therefore on the one hand be combined with subjects such as linguistics, applied linguistics, all language courses, psychology, anthropology or sociology and on the other information technology, speech technology (signal conditioning, speech synthesis and speech recognition) or information science.

Intonation has a symbolic nature. It acts as a sign when it serves to indicate the completeness / incompleteness, certainty / uncertainty of the statement, and also when it conveys the general emotional mood of the speaker. It appears as a half-sign when, together with lexical-syntactic means, it participates in the expression of the meaning of the utterance. As a sign of a sign (a sign of "second order"), intonation appears when it does not correspond or contradicts the meaning of the expression expressed by lexical and grammatical means (the sign of "implicit culture", or the style of the language).

The functions of intonation include the following:

1) organization and division of the speech flow;

2) juxtaposition of units of division (general question / narration in English);

3) expression of the relationship between units of division (pause);

4) expression of relations between elements of the intonation unit (different degree of emphasis on the elements of the phrase);

5) expression of emotional meanings;

6) subjective-modal meanings (evaluative, motivational-contact);

7) pragmatic meanings (speech means that contribute to the success of a communicative act).

Intonation should be ranked as one of the most important means of linguistic expressiveness, since on its basis it is possible to establish (restore) the peculiarities of contextually situational and pragmatically oriented use of utterances, their relevance or irrelevance for these communication conditions, their subjective-modal meanings, as well as the connotations associated with them.

Intonation is defined as "the variations which take place in the pitch of the voice in connected speech" (Jones, 1969:275). Intonation has traditionally been described either in the form of contours, i.e. as tonal movements in certain directions, or in the form of levels into which the vocal range of a speaker can be divided. Contour-based models (Fox, Kohler, Pheby) describe intonation in the form of dynamic tone contours (intonation progressions) and attach particular importance to the nucleus as the most prominent syllable of the utterance. Level models consider intonation patterns to be sequences of different pitches. They describe pitches of certain structurally relevant syllables and postulate at least two (high [H] and low [L]), at most three (high [H], low [L], and mid [M]) levels for the description of intonation. Tones or tonal movements are understood as a sequence of target points that lie on these levels. On the one hand, tones serve to emphasize certain syllables; on the other hand, they can act as initial or final boundary markers for intonationally relevant phrases (Grice & Baumann, 2002: 191).

In speech, an utterance can be divided into several segments – its prosodic phrases. On the basis of studies concerned with intonational form-function relations of natural-utterance fundamental frequency (F_0) contours. Kohler developed the KIM that systematically labels and analyzes intonation structures specific to the language. F_0 has been defined "as the frequency of the sinusoid that evokes the same perceived pitch (residue pitch, virtual pitch, etc.) as the complex sound that represents the input speech signal" (Hess, 2008:184). Hence, F_0 is an acoustical parameter whereas pitch is a perceptual parameter. Kohler (Kohler, 1991) differentiated peak, valley, or level contours (so-called basic contours) depending on the placement of the F_0 maximum or minimum in relation to the vowel carrying

the sentence stress in the center of the syllable (the syllable nucleus), whereby only peak level contours will be regarded in the following.
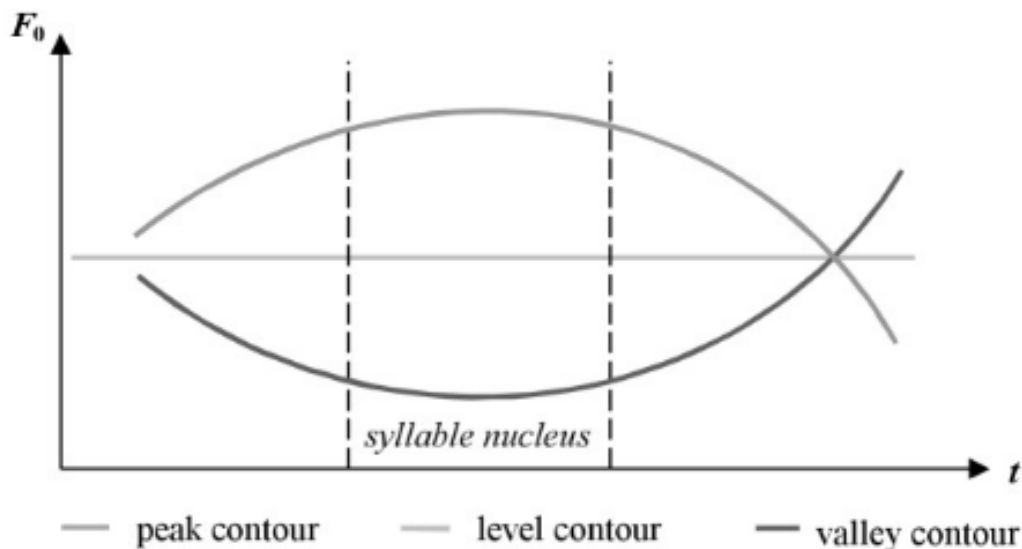
Thus, two fundamental characteristics for spontaneous and reading speech can be derived from the functions of intonation: first, intonation structures what is said and, at the same time, connects the prosodic phrases in relation to each other. Second, intonation emphasizes newly introduced and important information as well as information that is contrary to a person's expectations delineating it from already known, less important information and information being concordant with what a person is expecting. If intonation functions are applied consistently in an interrogation, the result is a specific speaking style expressing the pragmatic intention of the speaker (pragmatics is a subfield of linguistics that studies how the transmission of meaning depends not only on structural and linguistic knowledge of the speaker or listener, but also on the context of the utterance, any pre-existing knowledge about those involved, the inferred intent of the speaker, and other factors; pragmatics explains how language users are able to overcome apparent ambiguity, since meaning relies on the manner, place, time, etc. as well as the intonation of an utterance). Crucially, while reading out a text, a record of interrogation, or test instructions, the interrogator could, for example, try to symmetrically structure the content into thematic sections. To this end, she/he might apply intonation patterns which according to Frankish's (Frankish, 1995:9) aspect of structure focus on the

sentence accents as an overall configuration and put the content-related elements side by side. Additionally, an interrogator could emphasize text details which seem important to her/him in an isolating fashion focusing on the independence of the sentence accents and juxtaposing the content-related elements. Similarly, Calhoun presents another approach relating to the notion that intonation creates information structure where a crucial component is the amount of prosodic salience imparted on an item relative to its expected prosodic salience (Calhoun, 2010:35) Notably, this can be regarded as a (subtle) deviation from Grice's cooperative principle in speech where the interrogee in an interrogation might be led to suppose that the interrogator has a strong reason for adding particular prosodic salience to a specific detail such as, for example, that the interrogee had answered unsatisfactorily or that the relevance of a detail had been overseen. This interaction of a subtle emphasis and its interpretation, in turn, might increase (potentially on a rather automatic level of information processing) the suggestive potential of the prosodically emphasized details and the interrogative suggestibility of the interrogee (Grice, 1975:280).

Oratory speeches, the samples of which we find in the speeches of philosophers and scholars of Ancient Greece and Rome, have significant pragmatic effects and are of interest to today's speakers. Ancient Roman and ancient Greek scholars devoted great importance to public political speech.

In light of the findings of research on interrogative suggestibility in a legal psychology context, it seems to be important whether the abovementioned emphases are realized on central or peripheral details of the stimulus material. According to Christianson and Loftus, central details could be identified in terms of their centrality to the subject's attention, rather than relevance to the plot. Therefore, central details would be those details associated with material central to subjective attention, independent of whether they are also associated with material central to the event's plot (Christianson, Loftus, 1991:85). A series of studies have indicated that the emotional intensity of an event is a significant predictor for how vividly the event is recalled. To this end, it is thought that memory for central details of (particularly negative) emotional events is well retained, whereas memory for peripheral details

is poorly recalled. Lanciano and Curci demonstrated, that after an emotional event, also peripheral details may be stored, and that memory of these details is influenced by the memory task adopted as individuals provided more peripheral details when they were asked to remember these in a probed recall than in a free recall task.

When conducting an election campaign at the highest level, the constituent elements are:

1) inaugural speech of the elect;

2) taking the oath;

3) congratulations on being elected to the post;

4) gratitude of the elect to the voters for support.

The last two situations are on the periphery of the communicative-pragmatic field "Elections", as congratulations and thanks are also characteristic of informal everyday communication.

Psychologically, public political communication is a complex process of spiritual, moral, social interaction of individuals pursuing certain goals and interests, experiencing all kinds of emotional experiences and intellectual stress. Three relatively independent aspects are distinguished here: socially-perceptive (mutual perception and assessment by subjects of each other in the process of communication), communicative (exchange of information), interactive (coordination of practical interaction).

In the study of the intonation of political speech, we identified the semiotic aspect. This was required because intonation serves to express both linguistic and a wide range of para- and extralinguistic meanings. Biosemiotics studies the genesis of speech on the scale of phylogenesis (the formation of speech in the formation of human society) and ontogenesis (the formation of the need and ability to speak of an individual). Ethnosemiotics considers intonational characteristics as identifiers of the ethnic and personal parameters of a communicant. In terms of linguosemiotics, simple and complex language signs (word and utterance, utterance and sounding text) are studied.

To conduct our research, we settled on the following research methods: questionnaires before reading the article and a computerized structured interview after reading the article. Below we will describe the procedure and advantages of our chosen methods.

The first stage of the experiment was a questionnaire, we used self-filling questionnaires. In many respects, the self-filling questionnaire and structured interview are similar, however, one obvious difference is still the lack of an interviewer. A self-filling questionnaire, in comparison with a structured interview, is characterized by fewer open-ended questions, easy-to-use design and brevity.

The advantages include: minimal material costs, speed of use, lack of influence of an interviewer and convenience for respondents. However, this method has its drawbacks: the lack of clues, the lack of the possibility of samples, the difficulty in posing other types of questions, the inability to collect additional data and some others.

When questioning, we took into account the following links (Белл, 2012):

1. Do not allow the bulkiness of the questionnaire;

2. Consider a pleasant appearance of the questionnaire and a clear presentation;

3. Start with the questions most interesting for the respondent;

4. Accompany the questionnaire with clear instructions for completing;

5. Predominantly vertical arrangement of answer options;

6. Put the questions and answers side by side.

A structured interview is one of many forms of research interviews, the purpose of which is to standardize the process of interviewing respondents in order to minimize differences between multiple interviews related to one research project. The context of application is social research.

When conducting a structured interview, it is understood that the design of the interview is controlled by the interviewer, the questions are conveyed to the respondents in the same context for the subsequent pooling of answers. Usually the questions are specific, often a fixed range of answers is offered (closed-ended

questions). The advantage of this research method is the accuracy and ease of data processing, however, some scholars criticize the structured interview methodology because of the limited choice of answer options (Белл, 2012:776).

Procedure for conducting a structured interview:

1. establishing contact with the respondent and justification of the reasons for participating in the study (verbally or in writing);

2. setting the time and details of the interview and reaching an understanding with the respondent, guarantee confidentiality;

3. direct interviewing (make sure there are no variations when posing questions and their clear sequence, correctness of filter questions);

4. appropriate styles of testing;

5. fixing answers (answers must be recorded as accurately as possible).

It should be remembered that the questions at the beginning should be directly related to the research topic, which the respondent needs to be informed in advance. Personal or awkward questions are usually asked at the end of the interview. From the very beginning, the respondent should be interested in and maximally support his attention. General questions must precede specific ones.

Consider the mistakes that researchers often make during a structured interview:

1. Poorly worded question;

2. The method that the interviewer uses to pose a question;

3. Incorrect understanding by the respondent;

4. The respondent's memory problems;

5. The method that the interviewer uses to capture information;

6. The way that information is processed.

As we noted earlier, both structured interviews and questionnaires suggest closed-ended questions. The advantages of closed questions include the ease in processing the results, establishing the relationship between the variables and comparing the respondents among themselves, simplicity for the interviewer and the respondent, less chance of variability in fixing the answers.

Among the shortcomings note the loss of spontaneity in the answers, the difficulty in compiling mutually exclusive answer options, the inexhaustibility of answer options, the lack of a suitable option among the proposed.

When developing questions, you must adhere to the following rules:

1. Always keep in mind research questions;

2. Determine what you want to find out;

3. Think about how you yourself would answer this question;

4. Avoid using ambiguous and technical terms;

5. Avoid being too long, ambiguous, overly generalized and

leading questions;

6. Check if the respondent has the necessary knowledge;

7. Ensure that there is a relationship between closed-ended questions and answers (Белл, 2012: 776).

Before proceeding to the description of our practical work, we will present its main steps in the form of an algorithm.

At the first stage, we carried out a continuous sample of inaugural speeches by J. F. Kennedy and Richard Nixon. Having identified, following T. van Dijk, manipulation as a communicative and interactive practice, which suggests that the manipulator, acting in its own interests, establishes control over other people, usually against them, we tentatively categorized them as manipulative (Dijk, 2006:359-383).

After reading the article, a computerized structured interview was conducted, in which, in particular, it was proposed:

1) to determine the emotion, feeling that the respondent experienced during the reading of the article;

2) name verbally or emphasize in the text of the article those passages that are remembered that attracted attention.

All respondents noted negative emotions (frustration, anger, resentment, etc.) as dominant feelings when reading the article.

The hypothesis was that in this case, as the most memorable passages of the text, the respondents, being representatives of the "bad" side in the opposition "We are good, they are bad", will single out the most manipulatively strong ones.

The discourse analysis of the passages identified by 20 respondents confirmed their involvement in the implementation of communicative manipulation strategies that implement the macroposition "We are good, they are bad", which made it possible to single out the first list of manipulation markers. We called them "discursive markers of manipulation" and later on they formed a separate group of markers. Before reading the article, respondents were asked to fill out a questionnaire (APPENDIX F).

After reading the article with the subjects, a computerized structured interview was conducted in the following form:

1. What do you feel: anger, joy, humiliation, enthusiasm, calmness, resentment, nothing, resentment, tenderness, surprise, disappointment, sadness, irritation, pacification, guilt, inconvenience, relief?

2. Do you feel comfortable after reading a speech (on a scale of -5 to 5).

3. Note in the text of the article the passages that attracted your attention and are remembered.

Results:

1) Average age 20-22

2) 15 – YES; 5 – NO

3) 15 – YES; 5 – NO

4) 10 – a)

    5 – b)

    5 – c)

5) 12 – a)

    4 – b)

    4 – c)

Passages that attracted attention and are remembered:

"What kind of nation we will be, what kind of world we will live in, whether we shape the future in the image of our hopes, is ours to determine by our actions and our choices".

"We observe today not a victory of party but a celebration of freedom - symbolizing an end as well as a beginning - signifying renewal as well as change. For I have sworn before you and Almighty God the same solemn oath our forbears prescribed nearly a century and three-quarters ago".

"The peace we seek to win is not victory over any other people, but the peace that comes "with healing in its wings"; with compassion for those who have suffered; with understanding for those who have opposed us; with the opportunity for all the peoples of this earth to choose their own destiny".

Based on the questionnaires of the participants and the answers received during the structured interview, we analyzed the fragments of text that they highlighted to identify discursive markers of manipulation.

In the framework of the structural organization of the article, we can conclude that the passages noted by the participants of the experiment, which attracted special attention, are dispersed in all semantic parts of the text, so we could not identify any compositional conditionality (for example, if the highlighted passages were in strong positions text).

3.2. The Acoustic Analysis of the Experimental of the Intonation of the Manipulative Influence in Political Discourse

The speeches of politicians are aimed at attracting potential voters to their side, for which vocabulary is actively used related to obtaining power, political promises, values, political actors, political systems and forms of statehood.

In the process of text creation, the authors of manipulation discourse often choose the most neutral word from the semantic field, though even a neutral word in a certain context may perform the role of impact, because in contrast to the word with an expressive negative connotation it transfers a positive estimation of this issue

in a hidden form, reflecting the position of the whole ideological system, and, vice versa, while describing events, criticized by this system, emotional words with negative connotation are chosen. Compare: peacemakers – aggressors.

It is vividly shown in phrases with political and estimation connotations in the texts, describing the conflict of interests of political parties, various military conflicts, terrorist attacks, etc.

First of all, it is worth noting that political manipulation is possible in a crisis situation for the state, when alternatives to generally accepted ideas and beliefs appear. In other words, society must be disoriented. The ideal ground for manipulation is instability, which does not guarantee a secure future, and the absence of concrete, consistent with each other arguments that can justify each of the possible positions.

Instrumental analysis of sounding speech has a long tradition in phonetic research, the foundations of such a technology were laid back by the Kazan Linguistic School, in particular V.A. Bogoroditsky. Acoustic formalization of speech is of interest to identify the specifics of the generation of speech in a foreign language, speech interaction, accentuation of speech, etc. A description of prosodic means is necessary to study the problems of phonetic interference.

In this regard, in modern applied linguistics, issues of prosodic formalization of speech are given great attention. Currently, the concept of "prosody" has become widespread and has various interpretations. Prosody, as a rule, is understood as an additional speech characteristic that includes such parameters as duration, intensity, prosodic timbre, melody, etc. In turn, rhythm is a regular alternation of the same type of phenomena.

According to L.V. Zlatoustova, rhythm is the most important parameter of sounding speech, serving its semantic function, uniting the statement, highlighting and deepening its meaning (Златоустова, 1981:105)

Traditionally, speech rhythm is considered as a periodic occurring in time. However, the study of rhythm should also be conducted through analysis of prosody, since it largely forms the periodic phenomenon itself, determines its specificity,

which expresses the rhythm-forming function of prosody. From this point of view, the rhythm on the basis of experimental studies can be interpreted as a prosodic phenomenon with characteristic functional structures; in particular, such an understanding can be found in the works of R.K. Potapovoi, V.V. Potapov (Потапова, Потапов, 2012: 462).

Thus, the rhythm is interpreted as a phonetic phenomenon in which different units and means of super-segment phonetics participate.

In English, as in most languages of the world, speech is created by the flow of an air stream pumped by the lungs on the exhale. From the lungs, air passes through the trachea into the larynx (larynges), where voice formation occurs: soft muscle tissue (called the vocal cords) can block the glottis, and then the air stream makes them vibrate, and we hear vowels or voiced consonants. If the vocal chords are divorced, the air passes freely, the consonants become deaf, or we hear a whisper, or a pause.

Modern technologies are developing so rapidly that today's methods may be outdated tomorrow, so we will only consider the main ways of studying the acoustics of speech. Some methods were mentioned in previous sections, where it was mentioned that cognitive processes of a linguistic nature were studied by observing the work of certain parts of the brain using magnetic resonance imaging (MRI) and encephalography, and the development of the child's speech and the mother's speech turned to the child were recorded using audiovisual means and analyzed by spectral analysis.

To determine the place of formation of the barrier when pronouncing sounds, the palatography method (from palate "palate") and X-ray were used. There are safer methods now, but even now, experimenters are deciding on experiments such as, for example, a throat puncture in the area of the thyroid gland to measure sub-pharyngeal pressure.

However, the bulk of the data was obtained using recording equipment, analyzing programs, and a computer. Speech became visible, and data became objective and accessible to many. The most common at present are the American

Speech Analyzer program and the Praat programme developed in the Netherlands. Programs are being improved, their new versions appear on the Internet. In addition, each research laboratory can develop its own methods and programs for special purposes.

The first stage of the experiment always becomes the collection of material: the question is solved about who to record and how many people need to be recorded so that the sample is representative (representative).

The collection of such material is carried out by the method of field work, but many experiments are carried out in laboratory conditions.

The basic principle of analysis is based on the fact that the speech signal is a sound wave consisting of vibrations that overlap each other, while vowels have periodic fluctuations, and consonants are non-periodic.

а)

б)

[s   t   eɪ   ɫ   t h eɪ   ɫ   d̥   eɪ   ɫ]
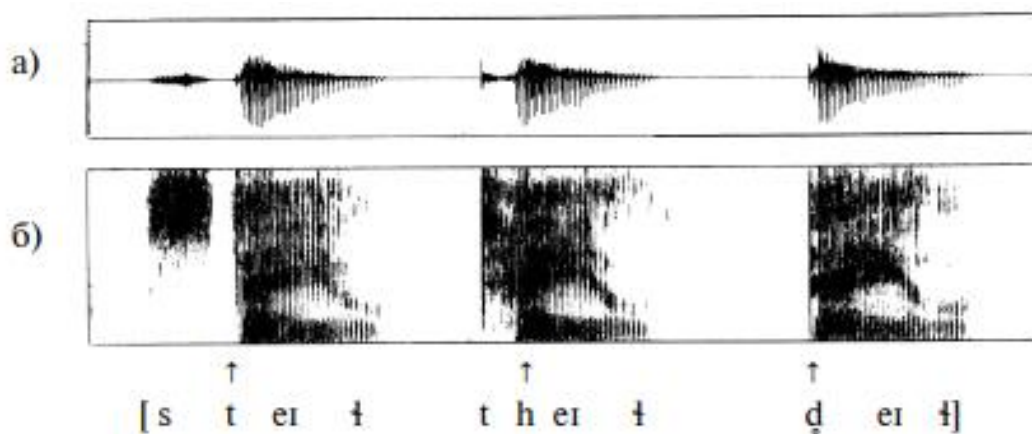
As you can see, the pattern is repeated in vowels, but it is impossible to distinguish it in a dull consonant / s / (it looks like a brush). Here you can also observe the exposure time when closing the speech organs before pronouncing the closure explosive / d / and aspirated / t /.

The analyzing equipment makes it possible to decompose the components of the sound wave, just as the components of the "white" light are visible in the rainbow. In the sound spectrogram, for example, in the vowel, which is the main voice carrier, you can see these components, which are called formants.

They look like dark horizontal stripes located at different levels corresponding to different frequencies, and are numbered from the bottom up: F1, F2, F3, etc. The

first two formants are the most informative: the first formant (F1) shows how open or closed the vowel is (the low level F1 corresponds to the more closed vowels like / i /, / ĕ /), and the second (F2), located above the first, shows whether we are dealing with a front vowel of the type / e /, / x / or a back vowel of the type / P /, / R /. In the first case, F2 will be higher than in the second.
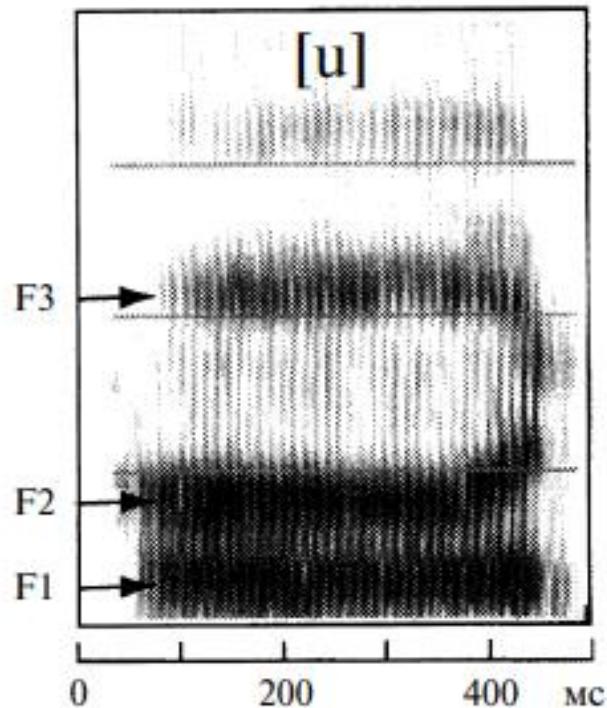

Thus, formants as indicators of the distribution of vibrational energy at different frequencies (the more intense the dimming, the higher the energy), provide information about in which part of the voice path and which resonator works.

Our ear, as experimenters write, is especially sensitive to the second formant and sends this data to the left hemisphere of the brain to recognize phonemes and words. The most important consonant information for recognizing words and understanding the text in continuous speech is located in the transitional sections between the consonant and the vowel.

Recognition of voiced / deaf or aspirated / non-aspirated consonants depends on the time the voice was turned on (which is called VOT - voice onset time). The human ear recognizes such a period of time within a duration of 20 ms, and on the

graph, thanks to the timer on the horizontal axis, it is possible to more accurately measure the exposure time from closing of the speech organs to turning on the voice.
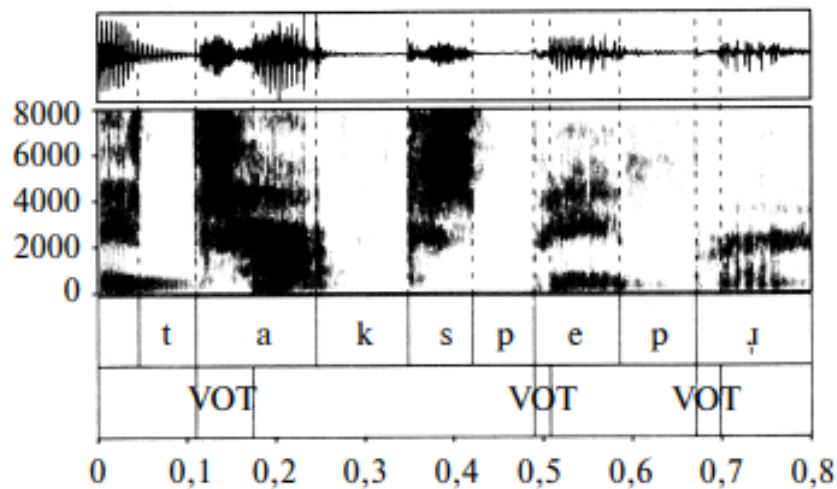

Changes in intonation are observed in a separate "window", where the frequency envelope (b) of the fundamental tone (BST) is given, which is called the zero formant, therefore in English it is denoted as F0. This is the main indicator of melody and accentuation, at least for British English. As you can see, the envelope CHOT (b) is interrupted where there are deaf consonants or pauses between words.

In parallel with the frequency envelope envelope in a separate window, you can measure the amplitude of sound vibrations, which is called the intensity (by ear it is perceived as volume). The duration of words, syllables and intonation groups is measured along the horizontal axis.

All digital indicators are subjected to statistical processing, which ensures the objectivity and reliability of the data obtained.

Firstly, we took Kennedy's and Nixon's speeches and downloaded them into the praat program for the acoustic analysis. The obtained material is used for analysis to measure and study acoustic speech signal. For the detailed analysis we took 15 seconds of Kennedy's and Nixon's speeches. At first, let's look at the results of an analysis of John Kennedy's speech. The first step was to make the tonogram of the text.

"We observe today not a victory of party but a celebration of freedom - symbolizing an end as well as a beginning - signifying renewal as well as change".
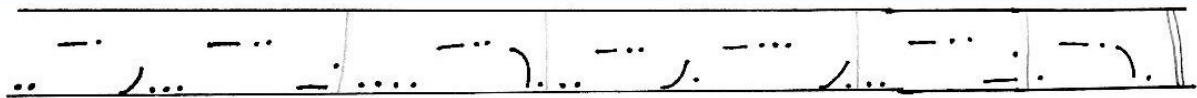
"For I have sworn before you and Almighty God the same solemn oath our forbears prescribed nearly a century and three-quarters ago"
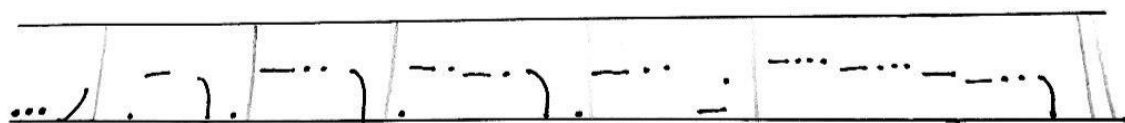
So, we can see that predominantly rising tones are used in the beginning of the speech. Rising tones are used in order to get attention from the audience. And then he uses falling tones in order to show confidence in words.

The second step is to download speech to the "Praat". Thanks to the programme we can see the spectrogram of the speech:
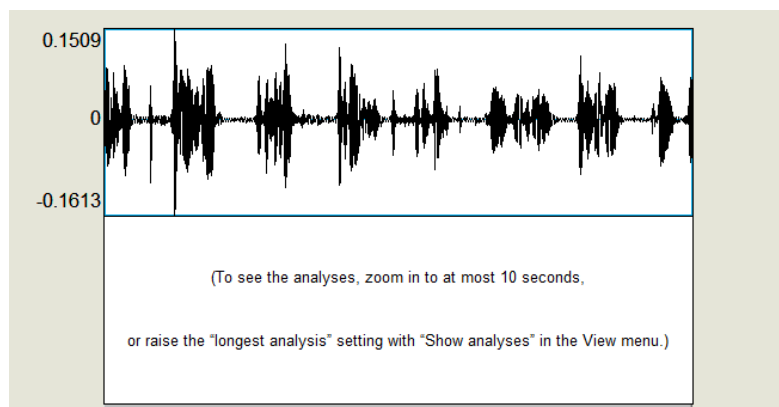
The next step is to analyze speech of R. Nixon. Let's take the next part:

"What kind of nation we will be, what kind of world we will live in, whether we shape the future in the image of our hopes, is ours to determine by our actions and our choices".
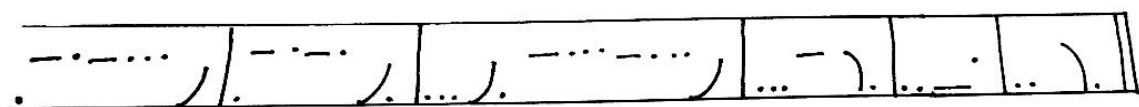
So, we can see that Nixon uses almost the same intonational model – low rises are frequently used.

The second step is to download speech to the "Praat". Thanks to the programme we can see the spectrogram of the speech:

CONCLUSIONS TO CHAPTER 3
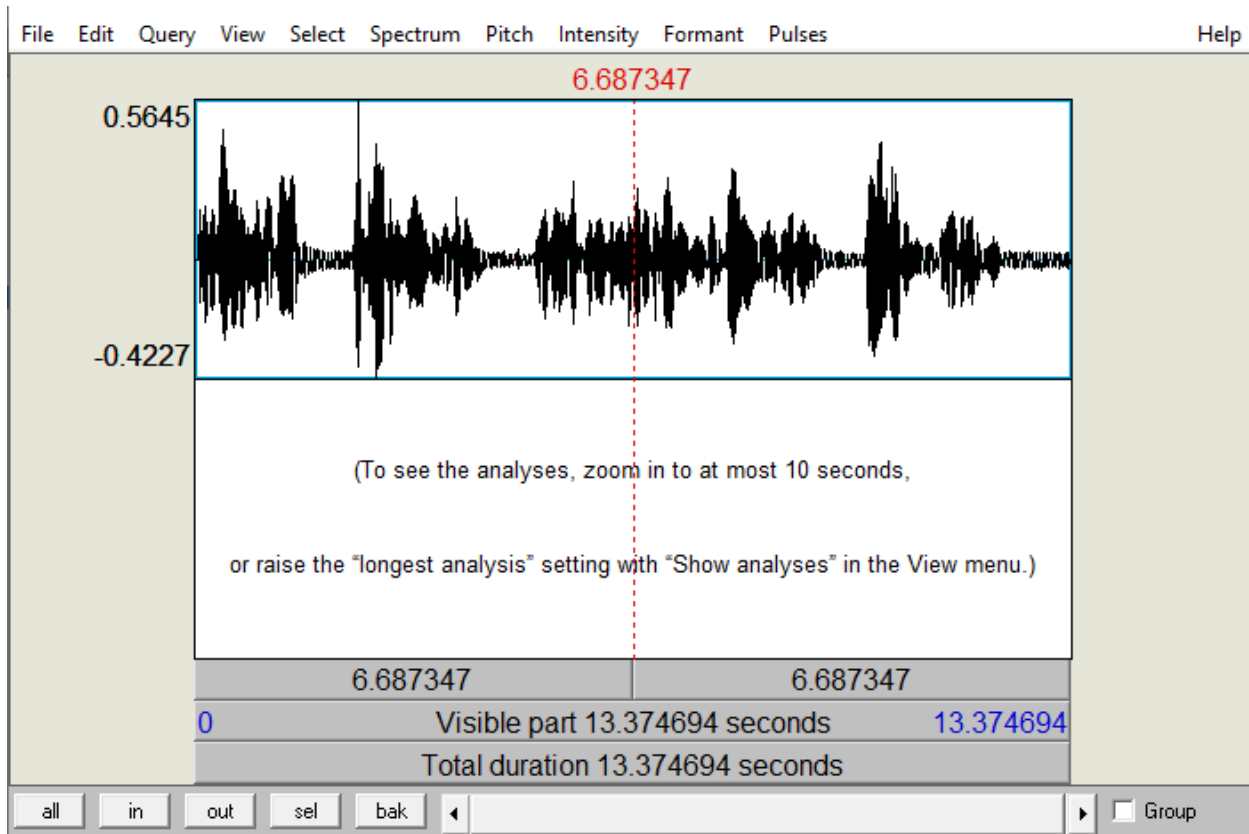
At the junction of political discourse and media discourse, there is a political discourse of the media, which is aimed at motivating the addressee to action, imposing a "convenient" point of view, which means manipulating the audience's consciousness.

Thus, manipulation is seen as the central concept of the political discourse of the media, is most clearly manifested in polarized discourse and is implemented using two main strategies - positive self-presentation and representing the opponent in an unfavorable light. These strategies can be implemented using a wide variety of linguistic means.

Having developed an algorithm for a computer program that allows one to detect manipulative influence, and tested it on potentially manipulative articles, as well as texts on abstract topics, we came to the conclusion that five of these parameters are significant, which suggests that they can be used for development computer classifier of texts by the level of manipulability.

So, the acoustic characteristics of the speech signal are studied using analyzing equipment and computer programs. Spectral analysis allows you to consider and measure formant indicators to study the sounds of continuous speech. To study intonation, stress, and also the prosody of tones in tonal languages, one studies the data of the fundamental frequency (frequency), duration and intensity.

In the course of the study, the following provisions were confirmed and experimentally substantiated:

a) public political speech is a specific branch of sociological, psychological and linguistic knowledge;

b) the concepts of "socio-political communication" and its "field structure" are closely interconnected and allow a comprehensive analysis of communicative situations in public political speech as a whole, including their objects and subjects;

c) the concept of linguistic pragmatics is specialized in relation to the peculiarities of research of socio-political speech in its perception by a mass

audience; public political speech belongs to both book-written and oral-spoken types of language;);

d) intonation has a symbolic nature;

e) intonation is one of the important means of linguistic expressivity;

f) techniques and methods for teaching Ukrainian and foreign students to master socio-political speech using computer technology have been developed and tested in pedagogical practice.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

In the proposed Master's thesis, on the basis of the functional-communicative approach, by the way of the theoretical generalisation of known scientific knowledge and results of the experimental-phonetic research the specificity of intonation of the manipulative influence is determined.

The literature review revealed that manipulation is an unintentionally or deliberately hidden indirect psycho-communicative influence on a person, which provides a change in the interconnected modes of functioning of his consciousness, subconscious and unconscious. The manipulative effect is aimed at changing the addressee's settings. The effectiveness of the manipulative influence is confirmed by a number of linguistic and extralinguistic means.

In the context of the problem under study, political discourse is interpreted as a public discourse based on the political picture of the world, aimed at its formation, change, to encourage people to engage in political activities.

Intonation plays a great role in the delivery of the speaker's ideas as well as reveals the manipulative influence on the audience. It serves as a conscious and deliberate instrument of influence, the speaker's intentions are realised to convey to the listener the thoughts of the speaker, the desire to convince and win the audience.

The results of the carried out auditory and acoustic analyses of the features of oral actualization of the manipulative influence in public political discourse showed the existence of variant realisations and invariant intonation models of the manipulative influence in political speech.

According to the results of the undertaken research, the manipulative influence in the political discourse is actualised due to a complex of intonation means: terminal tones (fall, level, rising), highlighting the most important components of the expression by the range widening or narrowing, the clear rhythmic organization, tempo variations (from decelerated to accelerated), high frequency of pauses (logical, syntagmatic and pragmatic), modifications of volume (from moderate to high), and also the tone change (from soft to intense). The intonation means at speech influence covers the melodic range, melodic intervals,

tempo, pausation, loudness range. The manipulative speech influence can be achieved by using both maximum and minimum indicators. The combinations of both contribute to increasing the degree of the manipulative influence.

Thus, further study of the manipulative influence phenomenon in political discourse and conducting the experimental-and-phonetic investigations will allow to clearly defining various intonation strategies for its implementation in the speeches of politicians and their understanding by the audience.

РЕЗЮМЕ

У сучасному світі особлива увага приділяється політичному дискурсу у житті суспільства. Саме тому важливим є дослідження маніпулятивних засобів керування свідомістю чи поведінкою, які використовують політичні діячі. Та на сьогоднішній день значна частина населення здійснює вибір не на основі раціональної оцінки програм певних політичних рухів і їхніх лідерів, рішень, діяльності, а на емоційному рівні, на основі сформованого співвідношення симпатії й антипатії, ступеня довіри і недовіри до конкретних лідерів та організацій.

Метою роботи є визначення специфіки та основних закономірностей усвідомлення маніпулятивного впливу в англійському політичному дискурсі шляхом встановлення просодичних засобів його організації.

Магістерська праця складається зі вступу, трьох розділів, загальних висновків, списку використаних джерел, резюме та додатків.

У **Вступі** обґрунтовано вибір теми дослідження, визначено її актуальність, мету, завдання, об'єкт та предмет праці, описано методи, теоретичне та практичне значення, а також вказано апробацію роботи.

Розділ 1 присвячено загальній характеристиці маніпулятивного впливу в політичному дискурсі та ролі інтонації в його актуалізації.

У **Розділі 2** окреслено програму та методи експериментально-фонетичного дослідження.

У **Розділі 3** подано результати аудитивного та акустичного аналізів усних політичних виступів, що містять маніпулятивний вплив.

У **Загальних висновках** узагальнено результати проведеного дослідження та окреслено перспективи подальших досліджень.

Обсяг роботи складає 93 сторінки, включаючи додатки. При написанні магістерської праці було використано 70 джерел вітчизняних і зарубіжних авторів.

Ключові слова: вплив, маніпулятивний вплив, політичний дискурс, інтонація, просодичні засоби, акустичний аналіз, аудитивний аналіз.

RESUME

In contemporary world, a special attention is paid to political discourse in society. Recently, people have begun to take a closer look at the actions of politicians and analyse their speeches. That is why it is important to investigate the manipulative means of controlling consciousness or behaviour used by political figures. But nowadays, a large part of the population chooses the leader not on the basis of rational evaluation of election programmes of certain political movements and public leaders, decisions, activities, but on the emotional level, on the basis of the formed ratio of sympathies of antipathy, degree of trust and distrust to specific leaders and organizations. The contemporary society demands researches on the problem of manipulation and its intonation, in particular.

The aim of this work is the determination of the specificity and the main regularities of the spoken realisation of the manipulative influence in the English political discourse by establishing the prosodic inventory of its organisation.

The structure of the work. It consists of the Introduction, three chapters, general conclusions, literature cited and appendices.

In **the Introduction** the choice of research topic is discussed, its relevance, the purpose, tasks, object and subject of the work are defined, the material, methods, theoretical and practical importance are described as well as the approbation of the work and its structure are presented.

Chapter 1 is dedicated to the general characteristic of manipulative influence in political discourse and the role of intonation in its organisation.

Chapter 2 outlines the programme and methods of experimental phonetic research.

Chapter 3 is concerned with auditory and acoustic analysis of the oral political speeches and focuses on the results of this research.

General Conclusions formulate the outcome of the analysis and outlines the prospects for further research of the subject.

Literature Cited contains the list of bibliographic material which was used in the process of exploration such phenomena as intonation and manipulation in the political discourse (70 positions).

Appendices represent the spectrograms, texts of political speeches which are studied and the results of the poll.

Key words: influence, manipulative influence, political discourse, intonation, prosodic means, acoustic analysis, auditory analysis.

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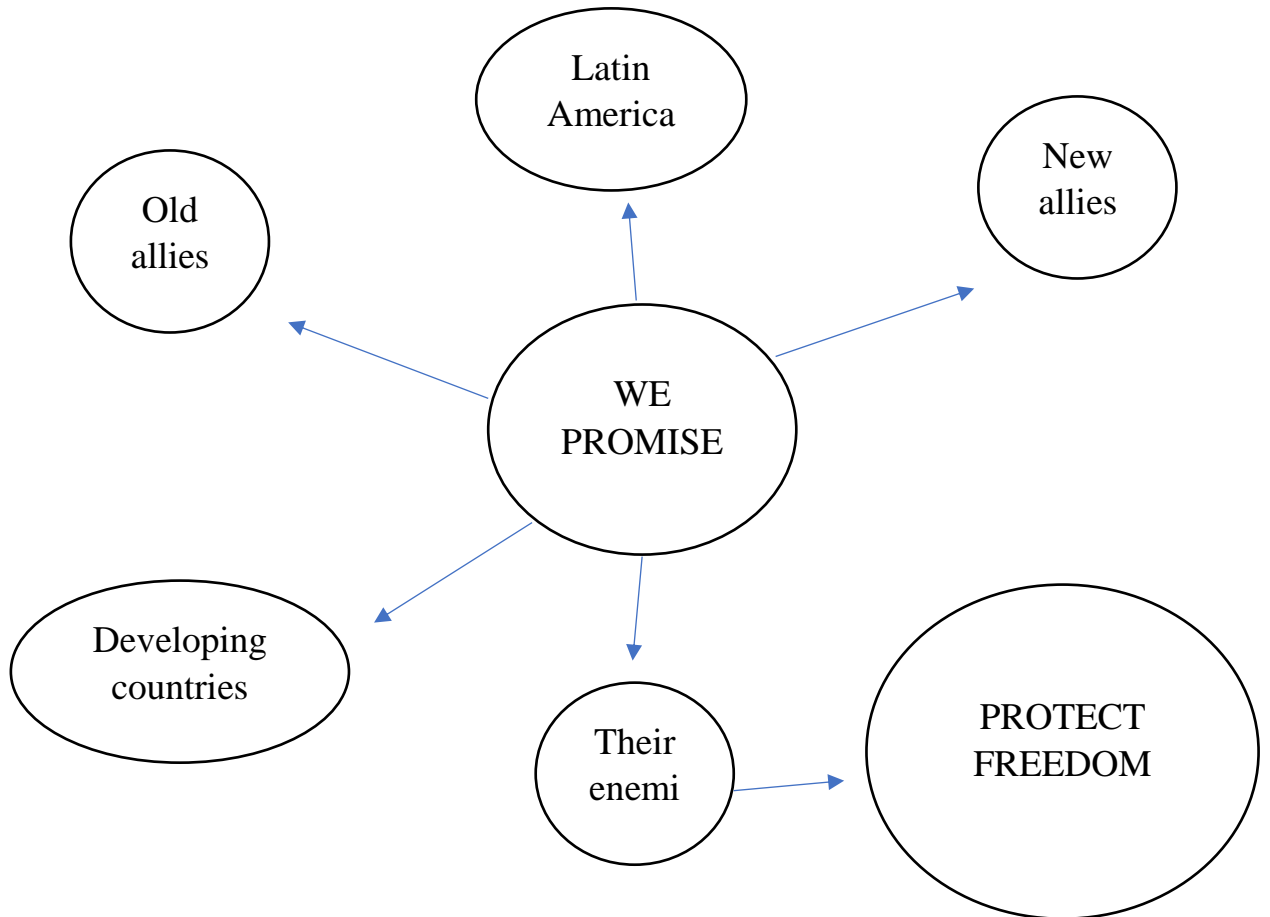47. Златоустова Л.В. (1981). *Фонетические единицы русской речи.* 1981

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APPENDIX A

The structure of the inaugural speech of J.F. Kennedy

APPENDIX B

Correlation of methods of political linguistics

Linguistic methods	Structural, semantic, textual, stylistic, lexicographical, etc.	
Evaluation position (axiological level)	Critical analysis	Descriptive analysis
Special principles for the selection and analysis of research material (level of material relevance)	Qualitative analysis (identification qualitative laws without their quantitative characteristics)	Quantitative analysis (content analysis, corpus linguistics)
Comparison	Comparison (comparison, contrastive research, etc.): languages, discourses, texts, options, etc.	
Interdisciplinarity of research (using the methods of "hybrid" and related sciences)	Linguocognitive, hermeneutic, psycholinguistic, linguistic and cultural, sociolinguistic, discourse analysis options, etc.	

APPENDIX C

Inaugural Address of President John F. Kennedy

Washington, D.C.

January 20, 1961

Vice President Johnson, Mr. Speaker, Mr. Chief Justice, President Eisenhower, Vice President Nixon, President Truman, Reverend Clergy, fellow citizens:

We observe today not a victory of party but a celebration of freedom - symbolizing an end as well as a beginning - signifying renewal as well as change. For I have sworn before you and Almighty God the same solemn oath our forbears prescribed nearly a century and three-quarters ago.

The world is very different now. For man holds in his mortal hands the power to abolish all forms of human poverty and all forms of human life. And yet the same revolutionary beliefs for which our forebears fought are still at issue around the globe - the belief that the rights of man come not from the generosity of the state but from the hand of God.

We dare not forget today that we are the heirs of that first revolution. Let the word go forth from this time and place, to friend and foe alike, that the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans - born in this century, tempered by war, disciplined by a hard and bitter peace, proud of our ancient heritage - and unwilling to witness or permit the slow undoing of those human rights to which this nation has always been committed, and to which we are committed today at home and around the world.

Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe to assure the survival and the success of liberty.

This much we pledge - and more.

To those old allies whose cultural and spiritual origins we share, we pledge the loyalty of faithful friends. United there is little we cannot do in a host of

cooperative ventures. Divided there is little we can do - for we dare not meet a powerful challenge at odds and split asunder.

To those new states whom we welcome to the ranks of the free, we pledge our word that one form of colonial control shall not have passed away merely to be replaced by a far more iron tyranny. We shall not always expect to find them supporting our view. But we shall always hope to find them strongly supporting their own freedom - and to remember that, in the past, those who foolishly sought power by riding the back of the tiger ended up inside.

To those people in the huts and villages of half the globe struggling to break the bonds of mass misery, we pledge our best efforts to help them help themselves, for whatever period is required - not because the communists may be doing it, not because we seek their votes, but because it is right. If a free society cannot help the many who are poor, it cannot save the few who are rich.

To our sister republics south of our border, we offer a special pledge - to convert our good words into good deeds - in a new alliance for progress - to assist free men and free governments in casting off the chains of poverty. But this peaceful revolution of hope cannot become the prey of hostile powers. Let all our neighbors know that we shall join with them to oppose aggression or subversion anywhere in the Americas. And let every other power know that this Hemisphere intends to remain the master of its own house.

To that world assembly of sovereign states, the United Nations, our last best hope in an age where the instruments of war have far outpaced the instruments of peace, we renew our pledge of support - to prevent it from becoming merely a forum for invective - to strengthen its shield of the new and the weak - and to enlarge the area in which its writ may run.

Finally, to those nations who would make themselves our adversary, we offer not a pledge but a request: that both sides begin anew the quest for peace, before the dark powers of destruction unleashed by science engulf all humanity in planned or accidental self-destruction.

We dare not tempt them with weakness. For only when our arms are sufficient beyond doubt can we be certain beyond doubt that they will never be employed.

But neither can two great and powerful groups of nations take comfort from our present course - both sides overburdened by the cost of modern weapons, both rightly alarmed by the steady spread of the deadly atom, yet both racing to alter that uncertain balance of terror that stays the hand of mankind's final war.

So let us begin anew - remembering on both sides that civility is not a sign of weakness, and sincerity is always subject to proof. Let us never negotiate out of fear. But let us never fear to negotiate.

Let both sides explore what problems unite us instead of belaboring those problems which divide us.

Let both sides, for the first time, formulate serious and precise proposals for the inspection and control of arms - and bring the absolute power to destroy other nations under the absolute control of all nations.

Let both sides seek to invoke the wonders of science instead of its terrors. Together let us explore the stars, conquer the deserts, eradicate disease, tap the ocean depths and encourage the arts and commerce.

Let both sides unite to heed in all corners of the earth the command of Isaiah - to "undo the heavy burdens . . . (and) let the oppressed go free."

And if a beachhead of cooperation may push back the jungle of suspicion, let both sides join in creating a new endeavor, not a new balance of power, but a new world of law, where the strong are just and the weak secure and the peace preserved.

All this will not be finished in the first one hundred days. Nor will it be finished in the first one thousand days, nor in the life of this Administration, nor even perhaps in our lifetime on this planet. But let us begin.

In your hands, my fellow citizens, more than mine, will rest the final success or failure of our course. Since this country was founded, each generation of Americans has been summoned to give testimony to its national loyalty. The graves of young Americans who answered the call to service surround the globe.

Now the trumpet summons us again - not as a call to bear arms, though arms we need - not as a call to battle, though embattled we are - but a call to bear the burden of a long twilight struggle, year in and year out, "rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation" - a struggle against the common enemies of man: tyranny, poverty, disease and war itself.

Can we forge against these enemies a grand and global alliance, North and South, East and West, that can assure a more fruitful life for all mankind? Will you join in that historic effort?

In the long history of the world, only a few generations have been granted the role of defending freedom in its hour of maximum danger. I do not shrink from this responsibility - I welcome it. I do not believe that any of us would exchange places with any other people or any other generation. The energy, the faith, the devotion which we bring to this endeavor will light our country and all who serve it - and the glow from that fire can truly light the world.

And so, my fellow Americans: ask not what your country can do for you - ask what you can do for your country.

My fellow citizens of the world: ask not what America will do for you, but what together we can do for the freedom of man.

Finally, whether you are citizens of America or citizens of the world, ask of us here the same high standards of strength and sacrifice which we ask of you. With a good conscience our only sure reward, with history the final judge of our deeds, let us go forth to lead the land we love, asking His blessing and His help, but knowing that here on earth God's work must truly be our own.

APPENDIX D

First Inaugural Address of Richard Milhous Nixon

Monday, January 20, 1969

Senator Dirksen, Mr. Chief Justice, Mr. Vice President, President Johnson, Vice President Humphrey, my fellow Americans--and my fellow citizens of the world community:

I ask you to share with me today the majesty of this moment. In the orderly transfer of power, we celebrate the unity that keeps us free.

Each moment in history is a fleeting time, precious and unique. But some stand out as moments of beginning, in which courses are set that shape decades or centuries.

This can be such a moment.

Forces now are converging that make possible, for the first time, the hope that many of man's deepest aspirations can at last be realized. The spiraling pace of change allows us to contemplate, within our own lifetime, advances that once would have taken centuries.

In throwing wide the horizons of space, we have discovered new horizons on earth.

For the first time, because the people of the world want peace, and the leaders of the world are afraid of war, the times are on the side of peace.

Eight years from now America will celebrate its 200th anniversary as a nation. Within the lifetime of most people now living, mankind will celebrate that great new year which comes only once in a thousand years--the beginning of the third millennium.

What kind of nation we will be, what kind of world we will live in, whether we shape the future in the image of our hopes, is ours to determine by our actions and our choices.

The greatest honor history can bestow is the title of peacemaker. This honor now beckons America--the chance to help lead the world at last out of the valley of turmoil, and onto that high ground of peace that man has dreamed of since the dawn of civilization.

If we succeed, generations to come will say of us now living that we mastered our moment, that we helped make the world safe for mankind.

This is our summons to greatness.

I believe the American people are ready to answer this call.

The second third of this century has been a time of proud achievement. We have made enormous strides in science and industry and agriculture. We have shared our wealth more broadly than ever. We have learned at last to manage a modern economy to assure its continued growth.

We have given freedom new reach, and we have begun to make its promise real for black as well as for white.

We see the hope of tomorrow in the youth of today. I know America's youth. I believe in them. We can be proud that they are better educated, more committed, more passionately driven by conscience than any generation in our history.

No people has ever been so close to the achievement of a just and abundant society, or so possessed of the will to achieve it. Because our strengths are so great, we can afford to appraise our weaknesses with candor and to approach them with hope.

Standing in this same place a third of a century ago, Franklin Delano Roosevelt addressed a Nation ravaged by depression and gripped in fear. He could say in surveying the Nation's troubles: "They concern, thank God, only material things."

Our crisis today is the reverse.

We have found ourselves rich in goods, but ragged in spirit; reaching with magnificent precision for the moon, but falling into raucous discord on earth.

We are caught in war, wanting peace. We are torn by division, wanting unity. We see around us empty lives, wanting fulfillment. We see tasks that need doing, waiting for hands to do them.

To a crisis of the spirit, we need an answer of the spirit.

To find that answer, we need only look within ourselves.

When we listen to "the better angels of our nature," we find that they celebrate the simple things, the basic things--such as goodness, decency, love, kindness.

Greatness comes in simple trappings.

The simple things are the ones most needed today if we are to surmount what divides us, and cement what unites us.

To lower our voices would be a simple thing.

In these difficult years, America has suffered from a fever of words; from inflated rhetoric that promises more than it can deliver; from angry rhetoric that fans discontents into hatreds; from bombastic rhetoric that postures instead of persuading.

We cannot learn from one another until we stop shouting at one another--until we speak quietly enough so that our words can be heard as well as our voices.

For its part, government will listen. We will strive to listen in new ways--to the voices of quiet anguish, the voices that speak without words, the voices of the heart--to the injured voices, the anxious voices, the voices that have despaired of being heard.

Those who have been left out, we will try to bring in.

Those left behind, we will help to catch up.

For all of our people, we will set as our goal the decent order that makes progress possible and our lives secure.

As we reach toward our hopes, our task is to build on what has gone before-- not turning away from the old, but turning toward the new.

In this past third of a century, government has passed more laws, spent more money, initiated more programs, than in all our previous history.

In pursuing our goals of full employment, better housing, excellence in education; in rebuilding our cities and improving our rural areas; in protecting our

environment and enhancing the quality of life--in all these and more, we will and must press urgently forward.

We shall plan now for the day when our wealth can be transferred from the destruction of war abroad to the urgent needs of our people at home.

The American dream does not come to those who fall asleep.

But we are approaching the limits of what government alone can do.

Our greatest need now is to reach beyond government, and to enlist the legions of the concerned and the committed.

What has to be done, has to be done by government and people together or it will not be done at all. The lesson of past agony is that without the people we can do nothing; with the people we can do everything.

To match the magnitude of our tasks, we need the energies of our people-- enlisted not only in grand enterprises, but more importantly in those small, splendid efforts that make headlines in the neighborhood newspaper instead of the national journal.

With these, we can build a great cathedral of the spirit--each of us raising it one stone at a time, as he reaches out to his neighbor, helping, caring, doing.

I do not offer a life of uninspiring ease. I do not call for a life of grim sacrifice. I ask you to join in a high adventure--one as rich as humanity itself, and as exciting as the times we live in.

The essence of freedom is that each of us shares in the shaping of his own destiny.

Until he has been part of a cause larger than himself, no man is truly whole.

The way to fulfillment is in the use of our talents; we achieve nobility in the spirit that inspires that use.

As we measure what can be done, we shall promise only what we know we can produce, but as we chart our goals we shall be lifted by our dreams.

No man can be fully free while his neighbor is not. To go forward at all is to go forward together.

This means black and white together, as one nation, not two. The laws have caught up with our conscience. What remains is to give life to what is in the law: to ensure at last that as all are born equal in dignity before God, all are born equal in dignity before man.

As we learn to go forward together at home, let us also seek to go forward together with all mankind.

Let us take as our goal: where peace is unknown, make it welcome; where peace is fragile, make it strong; where peace is temporary, make it permanent.

After a period of confrontation, we are entering an era of negotiation.

Let all nations know that during this administration our lines of communication will be open.

We seek an open world--open to ideas, open to the exchange of goods and people--a world in which no people, great or small, will live in angry isolation.

We cannot expect to make everyone our friend, but we can try to make no one our enemy.

Those who would be our adversaries, we invite to a peaceful competition--not in conquering territory or extending dominion, but in enriching the life of man.

As we explore the reaches of space, let us go to the new worlds together--not as new worlds to be conquered, but as a new adventure to be shared.

With those who are willing to join, let us cooperate to reduce the burden of arms, to strengthen the structure of peace, to lift up the poor and the hungry.

But to all those who would be tempted by weakness, let us leave no doubt that we will be as strong as we need to be for as long as we need to be.

Over the past twenty years, since I first came to this Capital as a freshman Congressman, I have visited most of the nations of the world.

I have come to know the leaders of the world, and the great forces, the hatreds, the fears that divide the world.

I know that peace does not come through wishing for it--that there is no substitute for days and even years of patient and prolonged diplomacy.

I also know the people of the world.

I have seen the hunger of a homeless child, the pain of a man wounded in battle, the grief of a mother who has lost her son. I know these have no ideology, no race.

I know America. I know the heart of America is good.

I speak from my own heart, and the heart of my country, the deep concern we have for those who suffer, and those who sorrow.

I have taken an oath today in the presence of God and my countrymen to uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States. To that oath I now add this sacred commitment: I shall consecrate my office, my energies, and all the wisdom I can summon, to the cause of peace among nations.

Let this message be heard by strong and weak alike:

The peace we seek to win is not victory over any other people, but the peace that comes "with healing in its wings"; with compassion for those who have suffered; with understanding for those who have opposed us; with the opportunity for all the peoples of this earth to choose their own destiny.

Only a few short weeks ago, we shared the glory of man's first sight of the world as God sees it, as a single sphere reflecting light in the darkness.

As the Apollo astronauts flew over the moon's gray surface on Christmas Eve, they spoke to us of the beauty of earth--and in that voice so clear across the lunar distance, we heard them invoke God's blessing on its goodness.

In that moment, their view from the moon moved poet Archibald MacLeish to write:

"To see the earth as it truly is, small and blue and beautiful in that eternal silence where it floats, is to see ourselves as riders on the earth together, brothers on that bright loveliness in the eternal cold--brothers who know now they are truly brothers."

In that moment of surpassing technological triumph, men turned their thoughts toward home and humanity--seeing in that far perspective that man's destiny on earth is not divisible; telling us that however far we reach into the cosmos,

our destiny lies not in the stars but on Earth itself, in our own hands, in our own hearts.

We have endured a long night of the American spirit. But as our eyes catch the dimness of the first rays of dawn, let us not curse the remaining dark. Let us gather the light.

Our destiny offers, not the cup of despair, but the chalice of opportunity. So let us seize it, not in fear, but in gladness-- and, "riders on the earth together," let us go forward, firm in our faith, steadfast in our purpose, cautious of the dangers; but sustained by our confidence in the will of God and the promise of man.

APPENDIX F

	Question	Answer
1	Indicate your age, gender, activities.	
2	Are you interested in politics?	Yes No
3	Do you feel negative emotions towards Western politicians?	Yes No
4	How do you rate R. Nixon's inaugural speech?	- Both positive and business. I think that the speech was convincing. - As a relationship of power and pressure with side of the speaker. I think that the candidate act only in their own interests. - As neutral. I think that the speech was not at all inspiring.
5	How do you rate the inaugural speech of J.F. Kennedy?	- Both positive and business. I think that the speech was convincing. - As a relationship of power and pressure with side of the speaker. I think that the candidate act only in their own interests.

		As neutral. I think that the speech was not at all inspiring.