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**ABSTRACT**

of the dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Science

**PROBLEM OF ARGUMENTATION IN POLITICAL  
DISCOURSE**

Speciality: 5704.01 – Theory of language

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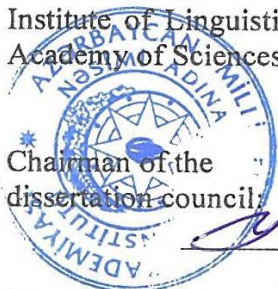
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## INTRODUCTION

**The relevance of the topic and its background studies.** Since socio-political issues are openly presented in modern society, they have become an object of intense discussion in the media, social networks and publicistic literature. As a certain ideological comprehension, politics is carried out through language on the communicative level processed in language. In this regard, the importance of political communication is gradually increasing and linguistic research is expanding against the background of turbulent political events taking place in the world.

Azerbaijani linguistics has become the venue of integrative development of traditions of increasing the importance of the language phenomenon in the light of the results obtained in the direction of political communication research today. The interest of local linguists-researchers in the field, especially in political discourse has significantly increased.

Many issues related to political discourse possess interdisciplinary nature and are involved in mutual research from the standpoint of text linguistics, discourse, cognitive linguistics, linguopolitics, pragmalinguistics, political science, and psycholinguistics. Investigation of the system-forming features of this type of discourse, its units, basic concepts, genre variety, above all, brings the dichotomy of the language of politics and political language to the fore at the scientific level. Also, it is necessary to examine such forms of institutional discourse as legal, political, religious, scientific, etc., not only from the perspective of intra-linguistic relations, but also of the language identity of bearers of culture. Thus, political discourse has become a common object of scientific research with a similar subject.

The fact that the phenomenon of political discourse remains relevant shows that it is not sufficiently studied, and in the 21st century, along with political scientists and sociologists, the interest of linguists in this topic is increasing. However, the analyses of Azerbaijani linguists provide a generalized description of political discourse concepts, concrete language and speech units, generic

representation of political discourse components.

Since political discourse has a high rhetorical and manipulative character, it is a special type of verbal communication of high importance in terms of the investigation of language-speech means of influence and argumentation strategies, in addition to the discovery of political communication mechanisms. From this standpoint, investigation of audience's ways of comprehension the real intentions veiled through manipulation has become relevant along with the discovery of language-speech means of influence in political discourse.

In addition to being institutional in nature, political discourse has an argumentative nature. In many cases, the research conducted in this direction requires the analysis of argumentation and its forms (argument, evidence, refutation, confirmation, criticism), and argumentation strategies. Politicians demonstrate their communicative, rhetorical, and linguistic competence precisely in the process of argumentation, thereby simultaneously realizing himself as a speaker. An addressee who can correctly assess the degree of truth of argumentation strategies used in political discourse is able to predict the addresser's intentions and future political movements. In the process of analyzing political texts, as well as political speeches, dialogues, debates, and interviews, it is noteworthy to study the argumentation strategies in political discourse to persuade audiences, as well as purposefully manipulative fallacies. That is why, it has theoretical and practical importance to choose argumentation in political discourse as the object of research and in detail to study the system of linguistic tools characteristic for constructing speech with argumentative potential.

Utilized for different purposes in different fields, argumentation is the most effective persuasive phenomenon evolved by human thinking, and has a universal character. Due to the development of scientific thinking, argumentation has been forced to enter the interdisciplinary field of humanities in the 20th century. Such nuances as argumentation strategies, the style of argumentation, the choice of logical arguments or fallacies, shape speaker's ethos and play a leading role in audience evaluation.

In spite of the fact that the theory of argumentation was actively developed in Europe in the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, in the scientific space of the post-Soviet republics, this trend began to become relevant only at the beginning of the 21st century. In the former Soviet Union, the ineptitude of the theory of argumentation in the humanitarian field was caused by the dogmatic tradition imposed due to the existence of solitary ideology categorically rejected differences of opinion and prevented free-thinking. Argumentation was limited to the study of mathematics and formal logic.

It is regrettable that there still exists the stereotype of argumentation as a typical logical event in philosophy, psycholinguistics, linguistics and other fields. Despite the interdisciplinary character of argument is already accepted, its linguopragmatic character is still overshadowed during empirical description of its characteristics and types, hence a return to purely logical evaluations is observed. All the same, the division of argument into rational and irrational types involves the refutation of its irrational components.

It is agreeable that the tendencies to eliminate these shortcomings have been observed in recent years. The elevated attention to the problems of argumentation has led to amalgamation of efforts of scientists from different fields to overcome the one-sided approach to the study of this complex phenomenon. Argumentation theory has formed the idea that it is a verbal communication process of the human personality with rational and emotional, even existential, foundations, which is not limited to the field of rational thinking but also studies psychological and linguistic mechanisms.

The fact that argumentation is not committed to linguistic researches, largely, the absence of a fundamental work enclosing the linguistic map of argumentation in political discourse in Azerbaijani linguistics, manifests the relevance of the topic of the dissertation.

In terms of the topic of the dissertation, such issues as political discourse, political language, correlation between politics and language, problems of linguopolitics are weighed in the works of T.van Dijk, R.Wodak, N.Fairclough, M.Faucault, A.Beard, P.Bourdieu, M.Edelman, D.Grabar, D.Green, D.Howarth,

A.Hewings, J.Joseph, G.Kress, B.Hoc, H.Lasswel, A.Pelinka, J.Wilson, V.Dickmann, A.Baranov, E.Sheygal, A.Chudinov, E.Budaev, E.Kazakevich, M.Gavrilova, G.Khazagerova, P.Serio, A.Jioeva, A.Semyonov, V.Demyankov, V.Karasik, V.Chernyavskaya, O.Bartashova, O.Vorobyova, V.Gerasimov, M.Ilyin, A.Golodnov, P.Gurevich, A.Zaitsev, Z.Komarova, E.Popova, A.Romanov, K.Rybachuk, Y.Sorokin, M.Trichik and others. In the world linguistics, linguistic argumentation issues, argumentation theory and argumentation strategies are analysed by F.Eemeren, R.Grootendorst, Ch.Perelman, L.Olbrechts-Tyteca, S.Toulmin, F.Henkemans, D.Birdsell, L.Groarke, S.Jacobs, A.Alekseev, D.Bokmelder, A.Baranov, A.Belova, V.Demyankov, N.Fanyan, A. Almossawi, H.Johnstone, F.Jungslager, D.Walton, P.Parshin, T.Tretyakova, V.Serqeyev, L.Vasilyev, V.Bryushinkin, N.Gronskaya, N.Danilevskaya, N.Dobryakova, A.Karamova, A.Ivin, A.Kadyrli, A.Markovich, V.Moskvin, O.Revenko, G.Ruzavin, V.Tseptsov and other linguists.

In Azerbaijani linguistics, Sarkhan Abdullayev, Fakhraddin Veysalli, Azad Mammadov, Ilham Tahirov, Fikret Shiriyeu, Zeynab Jafarova, Majid Efendiyeu, Salatyn Ahmadova, Ilhama Hajiyeva, Tarana Hajiyeva, Alikram Taghiyeu, Fikret Nabiyeu and other linguists consider political language as a field of verbal communication dominated by a special sign system and specific linguistic forms and speech techniques, and characterize political discourse as a status-oriented form of communication.

**The object and the subject of the research.** The object of the study is the linguistic-rhetorical argumentation strategies used by politicians in political discourse. The subject of the research entails the study of language and speech tools performing argumentative function in political discourse and having a candid role in increasing the effectiveness of argumentation, depending on politician's pragmatic intention, communicative goal and rhetorical style.

**The purpose and the objectives of the research.** The purpose of the research is to identify and characterize the linguistic-rhetorical argumentation strategies in political discourse. The following tasks arising from this purpose are intended to be implemented:

- to provide a detailed interpretation of the term “political discourse” and to distinguish its boundaries as a separate type of discourse;
- to characterize the image of “language identity” in political discourse;
- to determine the functions and methods of political discourse analysis;
- to develop a compositional scheme of political discourse based on the analysis of pre-election speeches;
- to characterize the main cognitive and pragmatic structural elements of political discourse at the macro (global) and micro (local) levels;
- to determine the lexical composition of political discourse;
- to distinguish linguistic elements in political discourse as the part of the map of national values;
- to show the grammatical forms of expression of the strategy of distance in political discourse;
- to reveal the forms of manifestation of precedent in political discourse;
- to present the theoretical foundations and research methodology of argumentation;
- to interpret the variety of types of argumentation;
- to reveal the ratio of linguistic and extralinguistic components aimed at the effectiveness of argumentation;
- to distinguish the leading argumentation strategies in political discourse, to evaluate their linguistic forms of expression and rhetorical potential;
- to identify the most common linguistic means of influence in political discourse and to reveal their role in argumentation;
- to determine the classification criteria for the means of linguistic and speech influence in the implementation of argumentation in political discourse and to analyze the most mobile means identified by grouping them at apposite levels.

**Research methods.** In the course of fulfilling the tasks set in the dissertation, a methodology of complex linguistic analysis, which allowed for a detailed description of the politician’s speech behavior,

to study communicative-argumentative strategies in his political activity, and to express the speaker's linguistic identity was applied. Accordingly, the methods of discourse analysis, functional-pragmatic analysis, linguopragmatic analysis, conceptual analysis, content analysis, logical-semantic analysis, pragma-dialectical approach, and argumentation modeling were used.

Through the application of this methodology, a total of 58 different speeches in Azerbaijani, Russian, and English were analyzed, including political speeches, debates, interviews, and comments of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Mr. Ilham Aliyev, and the heads of states of Turkey, Russia, the USA, Great Britain, and other countries.

### **The main provisions for the defence:**

1. Political discourse is a purposeful and planned verbal process materialized between communicants in the context of social interaction, characterized by communicative purpose, pragmatic intention, argumentative content and dialogism.

2. The significance of political language is not limited to its political communication amenity – there is an integral bond between political activity and language activity. The fact that language is an extremely effective means of persuasion, political control and forms the basis of political communication requires each state to have a language policy appropriate to its structure, domestic and foreign policy.

3. The prognostic models contained in the political-linguistic research method, the methods, approaches, techniques and research procedures aimed at studying political communication and political discourse for the formulation of strategies and tactics of political activity, possess the inter-paradigm integrative tone.

4. A complete description of linguistic argumentation in an intentional context is possible on the basis of a complex semantic-pragmatic analysis of lexico-grammatical components at the phraseological units and text level.

5. Argumentation strategies consist of contextual-pragmatic propositions aimed at convincing the addressee of the need to adjust the world map model when defending the main thesis in political

discourse.

6. An evaluative proposition related to values is the strategy which increases the argumentative potential in political discourse and contains the main content parameter of the argument.

7. The main verbal manifestation of the strategy of distance, which is an indicator of the category of politeness in political discourse, consists of grammatical means.

8. Conceptuality in political discourse is distinguished by its high abstraction. The conceptual field consists of the fields of root and mark and is based on the interaction with the structures of knowledge organized into frames and scenarios.

9. The linguorhetorical potential of argumentation in political discourse is expressed through discrete linguistic units which include the implementation of the categories of persuasiveness, suggestiveness, and imperativeness.

10. The criteria for classifying the most common linguistic-manipulative means of ascendancy (fallacies) in political discourse are based on mutual communicative interaction and encompass certain levels of interpretation of information which have the maximum impact on the addressee.

**Scientific novelty of the research.** The issues of argumentation in political discourse, the function of linguistic means as argumentation strategies, the argumentation potential of language and speech units are involved in extensive research for the first time in Azerbaijani linguistics. Based on the need to develop a methodology for the study of argumentation and argumentation strategies in political discourse in order to fill the existing gap in the field, the model we propose considers argumentation in political discourse at the micro- and macrolinguistic levels, and accordingly, the analyses cover the intentional application of a peculiar argumentation strategy at the phraseological level.

Also, in Azerbaijani linguistics, the leading linguorhetorical argumentation strategies in modeling argumentation in political discourse are identified and involved in systematic analysis for the first time.

**Theoretical and practical significance of the research.** The

theoretical significance of the study consists of its being a theoretical source for future research on the problem of argumentation in political discourse, and the provisions presented, in addition to presenting the discursive, cognitive-pragmatic and linguorhetorical characteristics of argumentation in political discourse, develop the provisions of argumentation theory and linguopolitical science.

The practical significance of the study is determined by the fact that the results arrived can be utilized in teaching political discourse, political rhetoric, argumentation theory, linguopolitical science and political communication selective courses, and in writing textbooks and manuals on political discourse and linguistic argumentation. The results can also be used in the preparation of practical recommendations for specialists in the field of political communication.

**Approbation and application.** The main results obtained during the research were reflected in author's reports presented at national and international scientific conferences, as well as in the articles and theses published in reputable scientific journals in Azerbaijan and beyond its bounds. The results obtained can be applied in the teaching process of linguistic argumentation, political discourse analysis, political rhetoric, rhetorical argumentation and other subjects.

**The name of the organization where the dissertation is performed.** The research was carried out at the Chair of General Linguistics of Azerbaijan University of Languages.

**Total volume of the dissertation in characters with the indication of the volume of its structural units separately.** The thesis consists of Introduction, 4 Chapters, Conclusion, the list of references and the list and definitions of the terms used in the dissertation. The introduction is 8 pages, 14676 characters, the first chapter 51 pages, 100108 characters, the second chapter 53 pages, 99881 characters, the third chapter 59 pages, 111209 characters, the fourth chapter 80 pages, 151825 characters, the conclusion 4 pages, 6571 characters. The total volume of the dissertation consists of 484271 characters, except for the references.

## MAIN CONTENT OF THE DISSERTATION

The **Introduction** of the dissertation emphasizes the relevance of the topic, highlights the extent of its previous studies, determines its object and subject, states its purpose and objectives, presents the methods, basic provisions for defence, and reflects the scientific novelty, theoretical and practical significance of the research.

The first chapter of the dissertation, called “**The paradigm of political linguistics**”, consists of four paragraphs.

In the first paragraph entitled “*Political discourse as the object of linguistic research*”, the correlation between politics and language are mainly described, and it is stated that political discourse is the object of research of both fields of science.

The object of political research can consist of social institutions and relations with a political character, and this point necessitates the emergence of “hybrid” fields of science. Thus, a wide spectrum of not only humanities, but also other fields of science, bearing traces of political knowledge, is formed. This feature earns politics the status of a science with a group of political objects - a “mega science”, consisting of the integration of various sciences and forming the concept of a “system of political sciences” as a whole.

Relations between politics and divergent social fields (economy, law, morality, etc.) are respectively studied by political economy, political-legal theory, political ethics, etc. The relations between split social events (language, media, advertising, etc.) and politics has led to the emergence of a number of more limited fields of science like political linguistics, political informatics, etc.

One of the main conditions for the implementation of political activity is that it has a communicative-linguistic character: “*In a sense, politics is a system of human relations carried out mainly with the help of language. For this reason, political science does not exist and cannot exist without learning the language of politics.*”<sup>1</sup> Thus, the language of politics is not just a means of describing political facts and events, but an element of discourse that shapes the

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<sup>1</sup> Гаджиев, К.С. Политическая философия / К.Гаджиев. – Москва: ОАО Издательство «Экономика», – 1999. – с.550

meanings of those facts and events. In modern political science, there is a tendency to interpret language not only as a means of reflecting political reality, but also as a method of policy making<sup>2</sup>. Even a number of researchers accept the principle: *“In general, political activity passes through linguistic activity.”*<sup>3</sup>

On the basis of political discourse a special institution has been formed although all the features of the speech act are reflected in political discourse. This type of discourse has a unique feature – its main task is to influence the recipient, to convince them of the addresser’s position and the truth of what is uttered<sup>4</sup>. In other words, language exists in the form of discourse, which is an integral part of social relations – on the one hand, discourse shapes these relations, and on the other hand, it is formed through them<sup>5</sup>.

Within the framework of the well-known problem that the dissertation is aimed at solving, the concept of discourse is determined as a unity of text and social context with a single content. In other words, discourse is the speech expressed in the existing social context according to the ideology of “here and now”. Thus, the object of discourse includes not only the text, but also extralinguistic factors (knowledge about the world, points of view, goals, social experiences, lifestyle of communicators, etc.)<sup>6</sup>. According to T.van

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<sup>2</sup> Johnson, J.B. Political science research methods. / J.B.Johnson, H.T.Reynolds, J.D.Mycoff. – CQ Press; 9th edition, – 2019. – 400 p.; Joseph, J.E. Language and Politics. / J.E.Joseph. – Edinburgh University Press, – 2006. – 181 p.

<sup>3</sup> Шейгал, Е.И. Семиотика политического дискурса: /дисс. доктора филол.наук/ – Волгоград, 2000. – с.27

<sup>4</sup> Eyyubov, A. Diplomatiyanın əsasları / A.Eyyubov. – Bakı: İqtisad Universiteti, – 2010. – 86 s.; Əfəndiyev, M. Siyasi elm / M.Əfəndiyev. – Bakı: Siyasət, – 2010. – 859 s.; Əhmədli, C.T. Cəmiyyət-siyasət-ideologiya: siyasi biliklərin əsasları / C.Əhmədli. – Bakı: “İnam” plüralizm mərkəzi, – 1997. – 538 s.; İsgəndərzadə, M. Politologiyanın əsasları / M.İsgəndərzadə. – Bakı: Kitab Klubu, – 2012. – 152 s.; Kissincer, H. Diplomatiya / H.Kissincer. – Bakı: Qanun, – 2015. – 783 s.; Məmmədov, A. Siyasi liderlərin psixoloji portretləri / A.Məmmədov. – Bakı: “Mono-Grup” NPM, – 2019. – 250 s.

<sup>5</sup> Allahverdiyeva, A.M. Characteristics and functions of political discourse // – Science and Beyond Publishing UK Ltd., British journal for social and economic research, – 2018. Vol. 3, Issue 2, – p.31-35

<sup>6</sup> Abdullayev, Ə.Ə. Mətni anlama modelləri / Ə.Abdullayev. – Bakı: Səda, –1999. –344 s.; Abdullayev, Ə.Ə. Aktual üzvlənmə, mətn və diskurs / Ə.Abdullayev. –

Dijk, these factors ensure comprehension of text<sup>7</sup>.

Along with the works of scientists in the fields of political communication, hermeneutics, sociology, and semiotics, political discussions have also played a major role in the formation of Political Discourse Theory. In the works of T.van Dijk, D.Howarth, P.Bourdieu, G.Lasswell, F.Webster, M.McLuhan, Y.Habermas and others, socio-political relations are analyzed in the context of political dialogue<sup>8</sup>.

Thus, political discourse should be performed by a professional politician in an institutional environment. In other words, political discourse can be called “political” only in the process of political communication accompanying a certain political act in political conditions.

In the second paragraph titled “*The dichotomy of language of politics and political language*”, the concepts of “language of politics” and “political language” are contrasted and it is concluded that they have different meanings.

The object of political linguistics consists of political communication, and its purpose is to study various relations between language, thinking, and means of communication, political subjects and the political situation of society. In modern political linguistics,

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Ваки: Zerdabi LTD MMC, – 2011. – 272 s.

<sup>7</sup> Дейк, Т.А. ван. Язык. Познание. Коммуникация / Т.Дейк. – Москва: Прогресс, – 1989. – 312 с

<sup>8</sup> Дейк, Т.А. ван. Язык. Познание. Коммуникация / Т.Дейк. – Москва: Прогресс, – 1989. – 312 с.; Bourdieu, P. Language and Symbolic Power. / P.Bourdieu. Trans. Gino Raymond and Matthew Adamson. – Cambridge: Polity Press. – 1991. – 303 p.; Howarth, D. Discourse Theory in European Politics. Identity, Policy and Governance, G.B./ D.Howarth. – Palgrave Macmillan, – 2005. 381 p.; Lasswell, H.D. The Structure and Function of Communication in Society // The communication of ideas. – New York: Harper and Row. – 1948. – p.37-51; Уэбстер, Ф. Теории информационного общества / Ф.Уэбстер. Пер. с англ. М.В.Арапова, Н.В.Малыхиной. – Москва: Аспект Пресс, – 2004. – 400 с.; Маклюэн, М. Понимание Медиа: Внешние расширения человека / Пер. с англ. В.Николаева. – М.; Жуковский: «КАНОН-пресс-Ц», 2003. – 464 с.; Habermas, J. Theorie des kommunikativen Handelns (ТКН), Bd.1: Handlungsrationalität und gesellschaftliche Rationalisierung, Bd. 2: Zur Kritik der funktionalistischen Vernunft. J.Habermas. – Frankfurt/M., – 1981. – 533+632 S.

the general issues of political communication are studied; the problem of political speech genres (slogans, political leaflets, political programs, newspaper articles, speeches at rallies, parliamentary polemics, etc.) and the functional characteristics of political texts are analysed.

There is a bond between language and power<sup>9</sup> – words do not only characterize political communication, but are part of it: “*We also present ourselves to others through our choice of language or language variety. Language choice, and language itself, are part of IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION (both individual and collective), as has been extensively documented in sociolinguistic research from the 1970s onwards.*”<sup>10</sup> Thus, language is the basis of political communication as an extremely effective tool of persuasion and political control. However, the terms “language of politics” or “political language” is the subject of discussion.

The language of politics includes the terminology and rhetoric of political action through which politicians perform their professional activities. Political language is a resource available to all members of society and involves the use of the common language for specific purposes (to persuade, control, manipulate). Some linguists consider the political language as a separate language: “*It is unreasonable to deny the existence of the political language and it should be considered as one of the sub-languages – a variant of the national language.*”<sup>11</sup> Also, R. Wodak notes that political language has a multifunctional property: “*Political language is located between two poles – a special language with a functional-conditional*

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<sup>9</sup> Fowler, R. Language and control. / R. Fowler, B. Hodge, G. Kress: [et al]. 1st edition. – London: Routledge & Kegan Paul. – 1979. – 232 p.; Lasswell, H.D. The Structure and Function of Communication in Society // The communication of ideas. New York: Harper and Row. – 1948. – p.37-51; Lasswell, H.D. The Language of Power / H.D. Lasswell // Language of Politics: Studies in Quantitative Semantics. – N.Y., – 1949. – p.20-39.

<sup>10</sup> Wodak, R. Language, power and identity // Language teaching, – 2012. 45(02). Lancaster University [Elektron resurs]. URL: [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/259419190\\_Language\\_power\\_and\\_identity](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/259419190_Language_power_and_identity)

<sup>11</sup> Шейгал, Е.И. Семиотика политического дискурса / Е.Шейгал. – М.: ИТДГК «Гнозис», – 2004. – с.20

*character and a jargon that reflects the ideology of a certain group. For this reason, political language should be addressed to a certain group (due to historical and socio-psychological reasons) and should be understandable for it (in accordance with propaganda goals)."*<sup>12</sup>

This socio-stylistic diversity of the political language roots from its multifunctionality.

Researchers focusing mainly on the pragmatic importance of political language emphasize the functional role it plays in the process of political communication. In this regard, such functions of political language as propaganda, emotional impact on citizens and making them inclined to their further activities, and obtaining public consensus are distinguished<sup>13</sup>. In other words, political language is not only a tool for describing events, but also a part of events and a tool that strongly influences the formation of the meaning of these events.

In political discourse, the addresser massiveness causes the political language used to be devoid of coded language features. Unlike other professional jargons, political sociolect does not contain particular lexicon unknown to other sociolect carriers, and this property is the basis of political language. This language reflects the use of the vernacular as a tool of persuasion and control, and sometimes with manipulative purposes. Apart from these, the massive character of political communication results in conciseness.

Among the addressee intentions serving as the main purpose of political discourse, which is to influence the addresser, are such pragmatic intentions as purposeful interpretation of referent, ensuring safety of the intended concept in audience thinking, achieving irrational understanding of information, and changing behavioral stereotypes of the target. The above is mainly realized through the application of linguistic-rhetorical categories (informativeness, argumentation, dialogism, expressiveness, conceptual accuracy,

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<sup>12</sup> Водак, Р. Язык. Дискурс. Политика / Р.Водак. – Волгоград: Перемена, – 1997. – с.24

<sup>13</sup> Allahverdiyeva, A.M. Siyasi diskursu şərtləndirən linqvistik və ekstralinqvistik faktorlar // Bakı II Beynəlxalq Elm Konfransı, – Bakı, Azərbaycan: – 1 aprel, – 2018, – s.129-131

contextuality) that are a means of emotional understanding of information and are characteristic of political discourse. Thus, political discourse consists of the following constructive elements:

- massiveness;
- dominance of emotional factor;
- semantic neutrality (periphery);
- accompaniment of political communication by mass media;
- reflection of realia in verbal communication;
- dynamic nature of language of politics due to situational flexibility.

In the third paragraph entitled “*The research methods in political linguistics*”, it is mentioned that the political-linguistic research method consists of integrative inter-paradigm methods, approaches, techniques and research procedures aimed at the study of political communication and political discourse in order to formulate prognostic models, strategies and tactics of political activity, and carries out the following tasks:

When we scrutinize political linguistics from retrospective perspective, we witness the process of its formation being fulfilled in several main directions. Each of them is based on certain methodological approaches which enrich the development of political linguistics at a certain stage:

- to examine the relationships between language and ideology, language and politics from both retrospective and progressive aspects;
- to interpret the concept of political communication and its features;
- to interpret the concept of political discourse, to reveal its general and specific features, to present its main organizational tools and to determine their role in building the discourse environment;
- to determine the nature of the impact of the structure and linguistic features of political discourse on the method of expression and the recipient;
- to interpret the relationships between concepts such as “power”, “influence”, “authority” and “politics” and the properties of political discourse;

- to identify the linguistic means used to influence the audience;
- to reveal the tasks that linguistic identity will perform using these means;
- to analyze the process of forming the oratorical image of a politician;
- to monitor media outlets in order to assess various political behavioral trends;
- to develop political science prognostic models;
- freeing political communication from manipulation by presenting optimal political action strategies and tactics.

Looking at political linguistics from a retrospective perspective, we witness that the process of its formation took place in several main directions. Each of them is based on certain methodological approaches that enriched the development of political linguistics at a certain stage:

- quantitative semantic research of the conducted propaganda based on the method of content analysis;
- assessment of the oratory skills of politicians using traditional heuristic and innovative rhetorical methods;
- analysis of idiolects of political leaders based on the psycholinguistic method;
- study of the management of public consciousness through semantic manipulation in political journalism;
- semiotic study of political symbols;
- study of political communication taking into account extralinguistic factors using the method of discourse analysis;
- analysis of methods for modeling cognitive structures in the process of political communication.

At the modern stage of linguopolitics, in the presence of various methods and means, discourse analysis has become the dominant research method, and political discourse has acquired the status of a generalized object. Unlike other linguistic paradigms, linguopolitics has a strong heuristic potential as a unique field of science<sup>14</sup>. The basis of this potential consists of such widely applied

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<sup>14</sup> McNabb, David E. Research Methods for Political Science. Quantitative and

research methods as content analysis, cognitive model (map), political linguistics methodology and methods (cognitive methods, rhetorical techniques), discursive methods (critical discourse analysis, discourse construction methods, complex methodology of descriptive discourse analysis (neurocognitive, psycholinguistic; political-sociological, comparative and typological), methods of political metaphorology, political discourse analysis, methods of learning political language, methods of analysis of polycode phenomena of political communication. Among them, critical discourse analysis is considered the interdisciplinary field which combines linguistic analysis, rhetorical analysis, and social theory that connects language with social context: *“It reveals the relationships between discourse and society, context, language, and power.”*<sup>15</sup> Thus, in modern linguistics, the problem of political language is considered in the context of political discourse studies. In scientific literature, we also meet researchers who exhibit different approaches and note that political discourse possesses the features of explicit pragmatism, evaluation and agony<sup>16</sup>. To give an instance, E. Sheygal presents a complex analysis of political discourse and shows that there are 3 main linguistic approaches in its study<sup>17</sup>:

- 1) descriptive – rhetorical analysis of the linguistic behavior of politicians;
- 2) critical – analysis of social inequality in discourse;
- 3) cognitive – analysis of frames and concepts within the framework of political discourse.

The study of the language of politics is carried out against the

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Qualitative Methods. / Nabb Mc, E. David. – New York: Routledge, – 2016. – 448 p.

<sup>15</sup> Аллахвердиева, А.М. Особенности политического дискурса Терезы Мэй // – Москва: Гуманитарные науки. Вестник МГЛУ, – 2019. № 6 (822), – с.173.

<sup>16</sup> Карасик, В.И. Языковой круг: личность, концепты, дискурс / В.Карасик. – Волгоград: Перемена, – 2002. – 477 с.; Романов, А.А. Политическая лингвистика: Функциональный подход / А. Романов. – Москва–Тверь: ИЯ РАН, ТвГУ, – 2002. – 191 с.; Сорокин, Ю.А. Политический дискурс: попытка истолкования понятия // Политический дискурс в России: Материалы рабочего совещания, – Москва, – 30 марта, – 1997, – с.57–62.

<sup>17</sup> Шейгал, Е.И. Семиотика политического дискурса: /дисс. доктора филол.наук/ – Волгоград, 2000. –с.11

background of the development of methods of analysis of political and media texts to solve the problems of political discourse, political thinking, the correlation between political discourse and political behavior, the needs to create political forecast models that predict future, monitor various traditions in public consciousness, etc. Then the modern methods, mainly, content analysis, cognitive approach, ideological analysis and descriptive methods are applied.

The mechanisms of application of the mentioned methods give grounds for drawing the conclusion that political discourse is a unique type of communication organized according to political communication norms and conditioned by a certain political situation. Effectiveness or ineffectiveness of political discourse is based on these criteria.

The fourth paragraph titled ***“Political discourse and institutionality”*** characterizes political discourse as one of the varieties of institutional discourse.

V.Gerasimov and M.Ilyin note that institutional movement has a socially purposeful character: *“In relation to some areas of special importance for certain social institutions in the life of society, those institutions will create and support defining, descriptive and limiting requirements that can be considered acceptable or unacceptable.”*<sup>18</sup> These institutions stipulate that human behavior, as well as speech behavior during communication, should be subject to certain rules and regulate them. Since the main function of a speech act at the institutional level is communication<sup>19</sup>, the components that make up its structure are determined precisely in the course of discursive activity of participants. Institutional property requires endowment of political discourse in the form of a codified system in order to ensure communication between participants.

Political discourse is one of the forms of institutional discourse and is a form of status-oriented communication – communicators are

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<sup>18</sup> Герасимов, В. Политический дискурс-анализ / В.Герасимов, М.Ильин, – Москва; Политический дискурс: История и современные исследования: Сборник научных трудов /РАН ИНИОН. – Москва, – 2002. – с.64

<sup>19</sup> Шейгал, Е.И. Семиотика политического дискурса: /дисс. доктора филол.наук/ – Волгоград, 2000. –с.57

not individuals, but bearers of a certain social status. Functions of other types of discourse cross over at that time, and within the same text different types of discourses are interlinked. For instance, in the process of political socialization of an individual, the political discourse intersects with pedagogical discourse. On the other hand, the interrelationship between advertising discourse and political discourse stems from the fact that both types serve a common purpose – to influence the potential “consumer” calling them for an action. Political discourse also intersects with sports discourse – there contest, and even sometimes fight in both discourses. According to A.Zilbert, although the main aspect uniting political discourse with sports discourse is agonism, sports discourse is functionally different from political and military discourses<sup>20</sup>. As a result, sports and war metaphors occupy an important place in the corpus of political metaphors. For example, in Russian: *оказаться вне игры, вести двойную игру, доиграться до санкций*; in English: *game-changer, playing the man not the ball, knock-out punch, to punch above weight*; in Azerbaijani: *oyuna mərkəzdən başlamaq, ağır çəkilişlərin mübarizəsi, meydanda tək qalmaq, həlledici zərbə*, etc.

The ritual feature indicates that there is a close interaction between the political discourse and the artistic discourse. Memoirs, documentary prose works, examples of ironic poetry, satires, some folk genres (riddles, anecdotes, proverbs and sayings), creolized text genres related to visual and performing arts (posters, caricatures, teleparodies, movies) converge with political discourse. At this time, the goal is to form an imaginary version of the world map for the interests of the ruling ideology, to confirm or deny existing stereotypes, to form and expose social-political myths, critical thinking, and to interpret the past from today’s perspective.

This is known that economic course of any state is based on its political course. Political communication performance is impossible without the speech acts used during description and characterization of economic realities. The most obvious sample is the intermediate

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<sup>20</sup> Зильберт, А.Б. Спортивный дискурс: точки пересечения с другими дискурсами. // – Москва: Язык, сознание, коммуникация, –2001. Вып.19, – с.102

topics “crisis” and “reforms” belonging to any sphere.

The intersection of political and religious discourse is manifested in cognitive mythicization and beliefs in the magic of words, in leader’s use of manipulative influence and ritualization of communication to accept his extraordinary power.

Guarding view-points in the surrounding world comprehension process and during polemics is typical for scientific discourse.

Due to the fact that foreign and domestic policies of states are a means to realize goals and objectives, diplomatic discourse converges with political discourse.

Legal discourse juxtaposes with political discourse in the field of state legislation, for example, during politically motivated court proceedings.

Thus, political discourse converges with diverse genres acquiring their aspects. All the same, its main task (regulation of power) remains unchanged.

The second chapter of the dissertation entitled “**The compositional-conceptual framework of political discourse**” consists of 3 paragraphs.

The first paragraph is called “*Communicative structure of political discourse*” and here it is emphasized that through political discourse the impact on the masses is realized not only at the level of the choice of lexical-grammatical units or the structure of sentences and paragraphs, but also at the structural level, that is, the composition of speeches.

Composition is the interaction and arrangement of means of speech, the plan of expression in speech. Most researchers (H.Lemmerman, E.Klyuev, M.Lvov, E.Zaretskaya, A.Vasilyeva, N.Kokhtev, P.Soper, etc.) state that the classical speech composition consists of introduction, body and conclusion. In this paragraph, the compositional study of pre-election speeches, which is a separate genre of political discourse, is particularly carried out.

N.Kokhtev notes the pre-election speech is distinctive for its composition, which provides for the justified and regular content, the location and construction of all its constituent parts, their connection,

as well as their systematic organization and placement<sup>21</sup>. Thus, the sequence of speech acts and communicative operations that reveal communicative individuality of politicians, as well as speech composition, are the aspects that ensure individual-stylistic heterogeneity (idiolect) of pre-election discourse. O.Gaykova states that each pre-election component speech performs its own function – to inform, to propagate, to inspire, to influence<sup>22</sup>. During reviewing the composition of pre-election political speeches included in the analysis, it was exposed that they consist of the beginning, introduction (preamble), body and conclusion.

Usually, the body of political speeches consists of various thematic blocks. From its compositional standpoint, several types of pre-election political speeches are distinguished depending on the method of arrangement of thematic blocks:

- The concentric type – is distinguished by general presentation of the main idea at the beginning of speech. This idea is justified, concretized, enriched with arguments and facts in the process of speech. The speaker emphasizes the main idea in the final part once again, thereby confirming it for the audience.

- The hierarchical type – is distinguished by linear arrangement of thematic blocks in relation to each other. Here, one topic moves to another, the next develops the previous, being a starting point for the interpretation of this topic. This arrangement leads to discovery of the main idea which determines communicative purpose of speech.

- The parallel type – implies existence of a number of thematic blocks connected by one idea at the same time, but sometimes unexpected transitions between topics may occur.

- The mixed type – a form of composition in which several thematic blocks have parallel and others hierarchical relations.

To characterize each component, block, as well as the linguistic and rhetorical tools they contain, the debates on the eve of the 2016

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<sup>21</sup> Кохтев, Н. Основы ораторской речи / Н.Кохтев. – Москва: Изд-во МГУ, – 1992. – 240 с.

<sup>22</sup> Гайкова, О.В. Предвыборный дискурс как жанр политической коммуникации (на материале английского языка): / дисс. канд. филол. наук / – Волгоград, 2003. –211 с.

US presidential elections between the candidates H.Clinton and D.Trump and a speech by H.Clinton are included in the analysis. The analysis of the compositional characteristics of the speeches reveals that individual genres of political discourse have a certain structure, functional characteristics that determine that structure, as well as compositional elements originating from speaker's intention. Thus, the structure of political discourse consists of a set of tag formulas, an introduction to the topic, the body consisting of various thematic blocks, and a unity of some compositional elements as the final part.

Thus, the structure of pre-election political discourse is formed by a set of etiquette formulas, an introduction to the topic, the main part of the speech consisting of various thematic blocks, and a combination of a number of compositional elements, such as the final part. Each of these elements individually performs a certain communicative-pragmatic function.

In the second paragraph of the chapter, called "*The cognitive-pragmatic aspect of political discourse*", it is stated that the cognitive model of discourse topic is very relevant for researchers of communication.

In most cases, researchers investigate the cognitive model of discourse in a specific direction. The term "model" was used by T. van Dijk to name a particular structural organization form of knowledge and memory. According to the researcher, during the development of cognitive model, not only abstract mental knowledge, but also the real points of view, dreams, demands, intentions, goals, feelings and emotions should be taken into account<sup>23</sup>. In this regard, it can be noted that the cognitive model of discourse has a complex and multi-level character.

The cognitive model proposed by N.Belozerova and L.Chufistova reflects all the mentioned features<sup>24</sup>. The apperceptive, communicative, deconstructive and synthetic cognitive model

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<sup>23</sup> Дейк, Т.А. ван. Язык. Познание. Коммуникация / Т.Дейк. – Москва: Прогресс, – 1989. – с.68

<sup>24</sup> Белоzerova, Н., Чуфистова, Л. Когнитивные модели дискурса. / Н.Белоzerova, Л.Чуфистова, – Тюмень: Изд-во Тюменского гос. ун-та, – 2004. – с.5

presented by the co-authors is described as a multi-level, multi-component and multi-functional mental structure based on insight of certain phenomenon. This mental structure is based on paradigmatic, syntagmatic relationships and the interaction of the right and left hemispheres of the human brain during information shaping and processing.

As a result of the consideration of various approaches, it is concluded that the cognitive model of political discourse consists of such conceptual elements as addresser, addressee, utterance, subject of utterance, the time of communication act, the place of communication act, the situation in which the communication act is realized, social relations, the roles of the participants of the act, the cognitive characteristics of the act participants and the characteristics of linguistic space (text).

V. Komissarov, who put forward the opinion: *“The receiver of information from text forms certain personal attitudes towards the text, which he calls “pragmatic”*<sup>25</sup>, claims that when the addressee turns to the text in order to obtain information about some event or fact which does not belong to him personally and is not compelling, the relations can acquire an intellectual character. In addition, the author calls the aspect observed “pragmatic potential of text” by the fact that information affects the addressee’s feelings and can cause him to display appropriate emotional reaction. From this point of view, the ability to create a communicative effect in political discourse, to arouse specific attitudes towards information while receiving it, in other words, to have a purposeful effect on the recipient of information, is the pragmatic aspect or potential of political discourse. Pragmatics is related to such concepts as communicative intention (illocution), communicative impact (perlocution), communicative tactics, strategies, distribution of roles between communicators, conventions, and principles. Thus, political discourse participants roles acquires a pragmatic character during the transmission or reception of information in discourse process.

In political discourse, the intention of the addresser

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<sup>25</sup> Комиссаров, В. Теория перевода / В. Комиссаров. – Москва: Высшая школа, – 2004. – с.209

(communicative intention) manifests itself until the utterance is realized, and comprises strategic idea of discourse - a program consisting of speech acts related to informing, manipulating, influencing, inciting the interlocutor, talking to or obtaining certain information from him, and other intentions. In the selection of language means expressing intentions with maximum accuracy, the addresser follows the principle of purposefulness and chooses language means of expression directly or indirectly, depending on the communicative strategy, in order to realize his intention. Addressees' language skills and communicative competence help them to decode the intention. As a social phenomenon, political discourse, which aims to influence audience both explicitly and implicitly, possesses great pragmatic potential.

In political discourse, explicit relations are expressed through connectors. Here, the term "connectors" refers to the set of elements which join two or more components of discourse. O.Kamenskaya shows recurrent, coordinating and conjunctive types of explicit relations formed by means of appropriate connectors<sup>26</sup>. One of the explicit units included in the pragmatic model of political discourse is word-referents (proforms). These are periphrastic lexical units with imprecise meaning and the meaning is deduced only on contextual component basis. In this regard, when one component has semantic autonomy, the other one is presented through proforms:

*"We need all countries, every single one of you, to step up and commit to very substantial reductions by 2030. And I'm absolutely convinced, I passionately believe that we can do it by making commitments in four areas"*<sup>27</sup>.

The main feature of implicit relations is that they are not expressed openly through connectors: *"Implicitly consists in saving the means and time used, which is one of the most common traditions inherent in all forms of human activity"*<sup>28</sup>. The conclusion mentioned

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<sup>26</sup> Каменская, О.Л. Текст и коммуникация / О.Л.Каменская. – Москва: Высшая школа, – 1990. – с.59

<sup>27</sup> UK Boris Johnson UN General Assembly Speech Transcript: [Electronic resource]. September 22, 2021. URL: <https://www.rev.com/blog/transcripts/uk-boris-johnson-un-general-assembly-2021-speech-transcript>

<sup>28</sup> Каменская, О.Л. Текст и коммуникация / О.Л.Каменская. – Москва:

is produced by using texts with a more concise structure in political discourse. Implicit linking is an effective tool to trim texts. However, formation of these relationships by author of a text and by recipient comprehension require the latter to have relevant background knowledge and certain logical skills. As a result of the analysis of the selected examples, it was exposed that implicitness in political discourse is manifested at three levels – grammatical, semantic and grammatical-semantic.

In the third paragraph entitled “*Conceptualization in political discourse*”, it is noted that the leading concept of political discourse is “power”, despite the fact that many concepts such as freedom, equality, homeland, nation, solidarity, independence, peace, successful future, national pride and so on are also key concepts in political discourse in any language.

The concept of “power” does not differ in terms of types of thinking and is perceived as the ability to persuade, the rights and opportunities, and it mainly contains associations with the acquisition of control. This is reflected in the following metaphors:

*hakimiyyəti ələ keçirmək – seize/take the power – захватить власть;*

*hakimiyyətə gəlmək – rise/ascend to power – подняться к власти;*

*hakimiyyətə sahib olmaq – wield the power – обладать властью;*

*hakimiyyət dəhlizi – the corridors of power – коридоры власти;*

*güc rıçaqları/vasitələri – the levers of power – рычаги власти;*

*hakimiyyət/güc ehtirası – lust for power – жажда власти, etc.*

In modern political discourse, concepts create more negative associations in people’s minds. For example, in the dictionary of associations of the modern English language, the concept “politician” is mainly associated with the semantics of the word “liar”. Alternatively, the concept of “politics”, which is related to the semantics of the word “government”, also causes a negative evaluation (bore, cheat, crap, deception, mess, rubbish, war, etc.)<sup>29</sup>. When we look at the dictionary of associations of the Russian

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Высшая школа, – 1990. –с.174

<sup>29</sup> Word Associations Network. An ideographic dictionary or thesaurus [Electronic resource]. URL: <https://wordassociations.net/en>

language, we witness that many political concepts create negative associations in a Russian-speaking mind. For example, the word “politics” is associated with the word “грязная”<sup>30</sup>.

As E.Sheygal notes, power in political discourse is directly related to the concept of communicative leadership, which implies that the leader should have high encyclopedic, linguistic and interactive competence<sup>31</sup>. The author refers to the ability of a politician to use the basic methods of persuasion that condition effective communication – classic rhetorical categories (ethos, pathos, logos). V.Karasik, who arrays a similar attitude to the issue, notes that the values of political discourse imply the justification and protection of rights over authorities<sup>32</sup>.

The frequency with which concepts are developed in political discourse is not the only criterion indicating their value. Frequent expression of concepts through linguistic units not only indicates speakers’ political priorities, but also their mastery over the means to influence audiences and the skills of persuasion. For example, when Barack Obama was nominated for the presidential post, the main leitmotif of his speech was the need to reform the country’s domestic and foreign policy. Accordingly, the word “change” was the most repeated word (20 times) in his speech. As a speaker, B.Obama’s ethos concentrated on striving for everything new dictated by American culture, focusing on the future rather than the past.

The main theme which the UK leaders constantly address is the “united British society” and, accordingly, the concepts based on the British values such as *equality, fair play, creativity, tolerance, an outward looking approach to the world, openness and adaptability, work and self-improvement, strong communities and families*, are included into their speeches. Apart from these, it was revealed that the concept “stronger together” is more often referred to, which can be interpreted as an attempt to unite power and politics in a

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<sup>30</sup> Русский ассоциативный словарь: [Электронный ресурс]. URL: <https://thesaurus.ru>dict>

<sup>31</sup> Шейгал, Е.И. Семиотика политического дискурса: /дисс. доктора филол.наук/ – Волгоград, 2000. – с.112

<sup>32</sup> Карасик, В.И. Языковой круг: личность, концепты, дискурс / В.Карасик. – Волгоград: Перемена, – 2002. – 477 с.

conceptosphere consisting of the same values.

Regarding the leading concepts in the US political discourse, it should be noted that the most important among them is “The American dream”. This concept, which arose as a result of close cooperation of individualism and capitalism, has associations with power and self-reliance. The concept, being the national ethos of the US, is expressed through words embodying relevant ideals such as *democracy, rights, freedom, and equality*, and promises prosperity, success, and advancement in the social ranks for every citizen of the country, regardless of social, religious, racial, and ethnic affiliation.

Stylistic figures and tropes, which are indicators expressive increase in modern political speech, are also a source of conceptualization in political discourse. Among stylistic figures, antithesis, inversion, ellipsis, phonetic/lexical/syntactic repetitions, syntactic parallelism, rhetorical question, etc. are more active. Metaphor, metonymy, personification, symbol and epithet are among the most used tropes. The purpose of using these stylistic tools in political discourse is to conserve the perlocutionary effect of speech.

Most stylistic devices have a national-cultural color, and in this regard, metaphors are the conveyers of national colourites. Comparison of political metaphors in different languages shows that they have similar functions at the mental level: *Dəmir yumruq – Iron fist – Железный кулак*. Sometimes associative similarity of metaphors has a national (subjective) character. For example, the Russian word “таять” evokes a technical association, but in American English the word “melt” in the metaphor “melting pot” evokes an entirely different association: a society that unites people of different cultures and classes. In the Azerbaijani language, this combination does not bear similar meaning; it is associated with a melting pot made of poor quality material only by means of direct translation.

Metaphor has symbolic and rhetorical power in political discourse. Owing to M.Edelman, metaphor “*awakens hidden trends in politics and impulses in the masses*”<sup>33</sup>. It is impossible to disagree

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<sup>33</sup> Edelman, M. *Politics as Symbolic Action: Mass Arousal and Quiescence*. / M.Edelman. – Chicago: Markham, – 1971. – p.67

with this opinion considering political discourse as the form of activity – *“the source of power that feeds politics”*<sup>34</sup>, which unities diverse social groups based on communicative influence and enables them to act as a single organism.

Thus, conceptualization in political discourse is the reflection of objects and events in thinking that determine the formation of certain ideas about the political situation in the form of concepts.

The next, third chapter of the dissertation is called **“The lexico-semantic and grammatical representation of political discourse”** and is subdivided into four paragraphs.

In the first paragraph entitled **“General lexical peculiarities of political discourse”**, it is stated that the language of politics is the official language of power, and the language tools to influence related to it are different from those used in artistic, journalistic, and everyday language: *“...the pragmatics of political discourse is determined by its functional nature, which is expressed as a means of cognitive and topical integration in the current span of information. For this reason, it is typical to resort to various rhetorical strategies at the grammatical, lexical, and stylistic levels (connectors, pronouns, articles, word order, repetition, metonymy, metaphor, antonomasia, toponyms, allusions and other precedent phenomena) for communicative diversity”*<sup>35</sup>.

Political speech is a type of journalistic style aimed at influencing the masses, mainly through media. This type, which occurs in articles, essays, and interviews, possesses specific socio-political vocabulary, logical regularity and emotionality of the speech genre. At the same time, unlike scientific style, information in political speech is intended both for a limited circle of specialists and for public. In addition to logical sequence, imagery, emotionality, evaluation and call to action are among the characteristic stylistic features of political speech, where addressee’s thinking as well as feelings become an impact target: *“Not only the non-environmental*

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<sup>34</sup> Graber, D. Political Communication: Scope, Progress, Promise // Political Science: The State of the Discipline. – 1993. vol. 2, – p.305

<sup>35</sup> Allahverdiyeva, A.M. Siyasi diskursda metaforik arqumentasiya // – Bakı: Humanitar Elmlərin Öyrənilməsinin Aktual Problemləri, – 2018. № 4, – s.35

*relativity, incompleteness and inadequacy of lexical-semantic system, but also subjectivity of linguistic value and assessment, the gaps and approximations arising from interconnection of linguistic-expressive tools, on the other hand, the variety of motives, goals, and alternatives turn the texture of language into a flexible and easy-to-use mass in the hands (and in the language) of the speaker in the communication process, easily turns it into a flowing solution – a moving mechanism everywhere.*”<sup>36</sup>

In political discourse, impact on audience is carried out with the help of linguistic (lexical, phraseological, syntactical), extralinguistic (intonation) and paralinguistic (mimicry, gesture, posture) units. In this paragraph, our research object is language units related to the lexical level of political speech.

Our reflections exposed that political vocabulary, political terminology, idiologems (*пролетариат (proletariat), народ (people), свобода (freedom), социализм (socialism), демократия (democracy)*), political neologisms (*uzaq xaric – far abroad – дальнее зарубежье, yaxın xaric (postsovet ölkələri) – near abroad – ближнее зарубежье, şaquli hakimiyyət – vertical power structure – вертикаль власти, sabitlik qövsü – arch of stability – дуга стабильности, dondurulmuş münaqişələr – frozen conflicts – замороженные конфликты*) and archaisms (*исполком (executive committee), горком (city committee), горсовет (city council)*), neutral vocabulary and cliches (*müvafiq olaraq – аналогично этому – by the same token, dəqiq ifadə etsək – строго говоря – strictly speaking*), slang words and borrowings (from Latin: *de-yure (legal), de facto (real, factual), persona non grata (undesirable person)*; from french *attache (attache – embassy employee)*, general and author abbreviations (*ASEAN – Cənub-Şərqi Asiya Ölkələri Assosiasiyası*), collocations (*təməl qoymaq – закладывать основу – lay the foundation, hərəkətə gətirmək – сдвинуть с мертвой точки – set in motion*), references and quotations (*R.Reyqan: the evil empire – şər imperiyası; U.Çörçill: the iron curtain – dəmir pərdə*), stereotypical introductory expressions (*iddia etmək olar ki ... – можно*

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<sup>36</sup>Abdullayev, S.Ə. Qeyri-səlis dilçilik təcrübəsi / S.Abdullayev. – Bakı: “Victory”, – 2013. –s.54

утверждать, что ... – it may be argued that) prevail in political discourse.

In the second paragraph of chapter III titled “*The semantic inaccuracy in political discourse*” informative and phatic properties of political discourse are contrasted.

Even though informativeness is not one of the main functions of political discourse, it would be incorrect to assume that it is not referred to. In particular, the relationship between informativeness and phatic properties bears significance, depending on the genre of political discourse. The criterion of informativeness is based on the fact that information contains novelty in terms of content and does not carry non-trivial characteristics. Phatic trait is not based on content innovation, but on emotive-expressive, ritual correlation properties and contradicts informativeness.

In political language, there has traditionally been a conflict between conceptual precision and semantic dispersion. On the one hand, it strives to achieve maximum conceptual accuracy as it is a professional sub-language used by politicians, like the languages of doctors, soldiers, lawyers, etc.

As M.Gavrilova stated, semantic inaccuracy is related to a number of semantic-pragmatic factors and is manifested in the following varieties in political discourse<sup>37</sup>:

1) Broadness and abstractness of meaning. Words with broad semantics, for example, *process*, *event*, *mission*, lead to wide variations in interpretations as a result of referential ambiguity. Using the combination “democracy representing parliament” instead of the word “democracy” is an example of this phenomenon.

2) Semantic complexity actually stems from the complexity property of denotation. In political language, the complexity of understanding many lexical units (default, impeachment) that express complex ideas that do not have a direct relationship with human experience is related to extralinguistic factors.

3) Violation of semantic boundaries between words with gradual semantics is observed, in particular, by not clearly

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<sup>37</sup> Гаврилова, М.В. Политическая коммуникация XX в. / М.Гаврилова. – Санкт-Петербург: Изд-во Невского инст. языка и культуры, – 2008. – 94 с.

distinguishing orientation on the scale of political coordination. For example, reactionary – conservative – liberal – progressive – radical.

4) Semantic relativity – manifests when the addresser's political position is reflected. The same platform may reflect the position of one politician as reactionary, and that of another as liberal. Semantic relativity is interdependent with the concept of ideological polysemanticity, in which the same words are used to express different concepts by representatives of different ideologies.

The affective-evaluative content, which suppresses the informative content of political communication, becomes of special importance and leads to the emergence of semantic dispersion. This linguistic phenomenon is manifested in the form of collective connotations (democracy, freedom, solidarity, liberal, conservative, etc.) used by social groups to interpret political reality.

Communicative contradictions are fully reflected in the content of political discourse and manifest at three functional levels:

- orientation – setting the political position;
- integration – gaining political supporters;
- agonism – struggling with political opponents.

Hence, three types of contradiction signs can be distinguished in political discourse: orientation, integration and agony.

Names of political institutions and politicians with institutional duties, names of socio-cultural places – addresses of authorities are particular orientation signs acting as markers of political figures. Names of political figures are associatively connected to the names of political values and correspond to political orientation scale expressed in spatial metaphorical terms (right, left, center, etc.) which are traditionally cross-cultural universals. In addition to spatial terms, political orientation scale is also marked by terms commonly denoting color names (white, black, red, yellow, etc.).

Special integration characters belonging to “we” invariant, first of all, consist of non-verbal elements – the national state symbols (flag, coat of arms, anthem), as well as the emblems expressing collective identity (emblems of political parties and movements), portraits of political figures and statues, ritual behavior (laying wreaths, a leader's speech in front of masses), etc. Slogans and

mottos also perform integrative function. These language units express the guiding idea, the goal of the political struggle, and aim to gather supporters of that idea, bestowing them upon experience and express a sense of social solidarity:

*Bir millət, iki dövlət!* (The expression characterizing the brotherly relations between Azerbaijan and Turkey.)

*Справедливость, солидарность, свобода!* (The slogan of Russian social-democratic party.)

*Experience counts!* (The campaign slogan of Deborah Murphy, candidate for the 2019 US Congressional elections.)

Although the agonal function is traditionally associated with vulgar lexicon, according to E. Sheygal, these language units in political discourse are not a special sign of aggression<sup>38</sup>. The author states that in political discourse special means of aggression, first of all, the markers expressing “alienness” (invariant “they”), at the same time meaningful signs with semantic components of distancing (he, they, there, outside, alien, outside, etc.), lexical units expressing diminution, reduction (all kinds, various, some, anything, etc.), graphical (quotation marks, three evenly spaced periods) and lexical markers (*like, called/named, defamed, pseudo-*, etc.) are used.

All the mentioned displays that phatic character has an advantage over informativeness for aggression as well as for integration. Verbal aggression in political discourse is, as well, expressed by invective vocabulary (*traitor, swindler, provocator*, etc.), the expressive names of political parties and movements characteristic of official and colloquial languages (*fascists, bolsheviks, patriots*, etc.) esteemed to politicians based on their behavior and activities expressed through names (*separatist, dictator, populist, extremist*, etc.). One of the widespread invective nominative tools in political discourse is ethnonyms (*asians, caucasians, jews, zionists, muslims*, etc.).

The analysis of the literature on the subject yielded that the boundaries between the three functional signs of contradiction mentioned have not been definitively determined. The pragmatic

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<sup>38</sup> Шейгал, Е.И. Семиотика политического дискурса: /дисс. доктора филол.наук. / – Волгоград, 2000. – 433 с.

evolution of signs makes it possible for one type to change into another from semiotic perspective. The main direction of this evolution is the movement from informativeness to phatic feature – decrease of the descriptive content and increase of the pragmatic content. In other words, it is the process of turning orientation signs into integration signs (“we” ideological connotation and positive emotionality), or into aggression signs (“they” ideological connotation and negative emotionality).

The third paragraph of the chapter is called ***“The grammatical expression of the strategy of distancing in political discourse”***.

Since it is impossible to formulate and remember a behavioral strategy to solve a certain communicative problem in any discourse type, an analytical approach to communicative strategies is required. In the political discourse, this approach is reflected in the application of the strategy of distancing (category of politeness and impoliteness), which has unique national-cultural peculiarities and pragmatic means of accomplishment. In political discourse, this strategy is realized through both lexical and grammatical tactics. Influence through speech is a verbal sign which can have a proper effect on addressees in a certain context and meaning, and various linguistic means are used for expression. Consequently, a speaker is required to choose not only words, but also effective grammatical constructions.

Grammatical ideologemes are grammatical markers to strengthen the ideological meaning expressed by grammatical means in political discourse. Since the usage of special syntactic and morphological categories, choice of pronouns, nominalization, and word order, preference of active or passive voice, components of complex sentences, peculiar verbal constructions (speech models), attributive-nominative constructions, possessive case, present tense forms and other tools are multidisciplinary in character, they draw attention during political discourse analysis. In addition to the semantic composition of political discourse, its syntactical structure can be a direct means of increasing or decreasing emphasis, accentuating some words, phrases and combinations, thus laying

semantic emphasis according to speaker's political interests<sup>39</sup>.

Although grammatical means in political discourse are directly connected with the world values map, that map reflects national characteristics, too. For example, when describing America and American values, the superlative degree of adjectives is often used in the morphological plan, which is completely consistent with the mentality of Americans about their country's eminence:

*"Together, we resolved that a great nation must care for the vulnerable, and protect its people from life's worst hazards and misfortune.*

*We are true to our creed when a little girl born into the bleakest poverty knows that she has the same chance to succeed as anybody else, because she is an American; she is free, and she is equal, not just in the eyes of God but also in our own.*

*They are the words of citizens and they represent our greatest hope.*<sup>40</sup>

Intensifying adjectives and adverbs, definite and indefinite numbers are also the grammatical units often used by politicians, through which they make audiences proud of their country and raise spirit of patriotism by recalling certain historical events:

*"Son 15 il ərzində Azərbaycanla hərtərəfli inkişaf təmin edil"mişdir. Bunun əsas şərti ondan ibarətdir ki, biz Ulu Öndərin yolu ilə gedirik. Onun qoyduğu yol yeganə düzgün yoldur və Azərbaycanın müstəqillik tarixi bunun əyani sübutudur.*

*Son 15 il ərzində bu yolla gedərək biz böyük uğurlara imza atdıq, Azərbaycan xalqı təhlükəsizlik, sabitlik şəraitində yaşamışdır. Bu 15 il ərzində dünyanın müxtəlif bölgələrində, bizim bölgəmizdə, Avropada çox təhlükəli proseslər baş verirdi: qanlı toqquşmalar,*

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<sup>39</sup> Чейф У.Л. Данное, контрастивность, определенность, подлежащее, топика и точка зрения // – М.: Новое в зарубежной лингвистике, – 1982. Вып. XI, – с.277-316; Fowler, R. Language and control. 1st edition. / R.Fowler, B.Hodge, G.Kress: [et al] – London: Routledge & Kegan Paul. – 1979. – 232 p.; Kress, G. Language as ideology. / G.Kress, B.Hodge. Second Edition. – London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, – 1993. – 230 p.

<sup>40</sup> Inaugural Address by President Barack Obama: [Electronic resource]. January 21, 2013. URL: <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2013/01/21/inauguraladdress-president-barack-obama>

*müharibələr, vətəndaş müharibələri, dövlət çevrilişləri. Azərbaycan xalqı bu 15 il ərzində sabitlik şəraitində yaşamışdır. Bu da inkişafımız üçün əsas şərtidir*”<sup>41</sup>.

In the speeches analyzed, it became apparent that the main grammatical means which serve to cognizance of the strategy of distancing in political discourse consist of modal verbs, modality markers, subjunctive mood, passive voice, tense shift, deictic pronouns and word order.

Paragraph fourth of Chapter III is called ***“The precedence in political discourse”***.

Political communication is materialized within a framework defined by social policy rules and is encoded through both natural language and non-verbal signs. These signs have a peculiar measurement unit – political discourse is a formation of signs based on two: real and virtual measurement units. The real dimension determines the text that appears during certain political communication. The virtual dimension includes thesaurus of precedent utterances manifested during political communication, as well as typical conversational models and communication genres in this field.

Political reality is formed by verbal activities of politicians in the form of speeches, statements and decisions that affect fates of individuals and nation as a whole. Although political discourse includes many non-verbal activities such as socio-political ceremonies and election campaigns, the main link is the word (oral or written) that binds party supporters together, emphasizes the continuity of political views of party members from different generations, and demonstrates correlation between parties and all political systems. This fact embraces the dependence on direct informative intertextual relations among the peculiarities of political communication.

On the whole, the study of text as a communicative unit includes intertextuality (inclusion of elements of other texts in the text – quotations, allusions), transtextuality (implicit or explicit

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<sup>41</sup> İlham Əliyevin andiçmə mərasimində nitqi [Elektron resurs]. – 18 Aprel, –2018. URL: <https://president.az/az/articles/view/28071>

intertextual relations), paratextuality (relationship of the text with its own parts – illustrations, preface, comments, etc.), metatextuality (relationship of the text with realia and characters from it), which shows how the addressee faces precedence. The phenomenon of hypertext, manifested in the process of electronic communication, has also entered this series.

In the process of political communication, intertextual relations, which have become a powerful tool for influencing audiences and manipulating public consciousness, are of particular importance in terms of information veracity. Referring another text and including a certain fragment of it, allows politicians to demonstrate their ideological principles, cultural values, and at the same time makes their speech more complete and convincing.

The intertextual property, hypertextuality, and interstylistic tonality, also characteristic of ancient rhetoric, are especially noticeable in modern political discourse. This can be illustrated by the fact that political discourse contains elements of other texts which characterize it as an integral part of general political discourse and in a broader sense, it is perceived as an element of national culture, forming intertextual relationship<sup>42</sup>.

There are different forms of precedence in political discourse:

- precedent texts (fiction, examples of folklore, etc.);
- precedent applications (literal presentation of text fragments (quotations, aphorisms, proverbs and sayings, individual words and expressions) without indicating the source);
- precedent allusions (an associative reference in the form of a hidden or apparent allusion to facts in virtual or objective reality known to the addressee); for example, a certain historical situation (*The Battle of Gettysburg*, *The Appomattox Events*) – is presented not only directly, but also indirectly (indicating the place, time or a certain sign of the event);
  - precedent paraphrases (a technique consisting of changing a fixed combination or lexical composition of the text);
  - precedent names (names of famous people (politicians,

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<sup>42</sup> Чудинов, А.П. Политическая лингвистика (уч.пос.) / А.Чудинов. – М.: Флинта: Наука, – 2006. —с.114

military leaders, scientists, writers, heroes of literary works, etc.)) is perceived through the name, surname and a certain symbolic quality, or characteristic aspect. For example, democracy in America is associated with the name of Abraham Lincoln, and this is reflected in such names as *The Great Emancipator*, *The Railsplitter*, *Honest Abe*.

In political discourse, whose main function is the struggle for power, precedence is a powerful tool to influence audiences<sup>43</sup>. The purpose of this tool is the implementation of various strategies (agonism, integration, informing, prompting, communication) to influence audiences more, to convince, to ensure the distorting effect of speech, as well as to draw attention to author's way of expressing their opinion. In this case, there is a clear relationship between speaker's intention and the strategy used.

In political struggle, intertextual precedence is often used in the context of presenting oneself, justifying one's position, ideas and views depending on selected strategy. As a rule, inclusion of someone else's opinion in a speech results in the acquisition of ideological character in terms of that opinion. Because it is a reference to the statement of compatible people or political opponents. For example, in the following two different speeches of President İlham Aliyev, reference to the speeches of other politicians are observed. In similar situations, a reference or quotation is called "an argument by authority" or "an appeal to authority" (*argumentum ab auctoritate*) in Rhetoric. In the first part, Mr. President strengthens his position by reminding his colleague and in the second, his opponent of the shared values that confirm his thoughts and opinions by means of this strategy:

*"Mənim, Avropa İttifaqı Şurasının Prezidenti və Ermənistanın baş naziri Paşinyanın Brüsseldə baş tutmuş üçtərəfli görüşümüzün nəticələrinə dair cənab Şarl Mişel tərəfindən yayılmış bəyanatda aydın şəkildə deyilir ki, Qarabağda yaşayan erməni əhalisinin də*

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<sup>43</sup> Попова, Е.А. Интертекстуальность как средство воздействия в политическом дискурсе (на мат. англ. текстов о полит. карьере А.Шварценеггера): / дисс. канд. фил. наук: 10.02.02/ – Самара, 2007. – 220 с.; Рыбачук, К.Ю. Типология интертекстуальных включений в современном политическом дискурсе Великобритании и США // – Тамбов: Филологические науки. Вопросы теории и практики, – 2016. №11 (65), ч. 3. – с.164-167

*hüquqları və təhlükəsizliyi nəzərə alınacaq. Biz bunu tam şəkildə dəstəkləyirik*”<sup>44</sup>.

*“Mr. Prime Minister was just pointing that it was Stalin who made a decision to give Nagorno-Karabakh to Azerbaijan which is wrong because again, look at the Caucasus Bureau July 1921, when it is said to retain Nagorno-Karabakh in Azerbaijan and not to transfer it to Azerbaijan”*<sup>45</sup>.

In political speeches, quotations from well-known politicians help them strengthen their position in the fight against ideological opponents and become a tool of political struggle. Such peculiar types as accusing, discrediting, humiliating and discouraging a political opponent arise from this general function. Sometimes referring to another politician serves to strengthen the essence of that political ideology. Thus, precedence in political discourse engenders the interaction of different texts on each other and incites its acquiring a multi-layered, polycentric structure.

The fourth chapter of the dissertation entitled **“The explicit and implicit linguistic reflection of argumentation in political discourse”** consists of 5 paragraphs.

In the first paragraph, called **“Argumentation as an interdisciplinary phenomenon”**, argumentation is introduced as an integral element of political discourse – politicians should argue their position to convince audiences to accept them, and gain their support. The idea *“As a bigger part of the meaning of text is not expressed by linguistic devices, the process of text understanding can be interpreted similar to the solution of mathematical problems”*<sup>46</sup> indicates that in linguistics, as in other humanities, special argumentation skills are required for selection of valid arguments, determination of concepts and solidity of results.

Evidence-based arguments form only a part of reasoning or

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<sup>44</sup> IX Qlobal Bakı Forumunun açılışında İlham Əliyevin nitqi: [Elektron resurs]. 16 İyun, 2022. URL: <https://president.az/az/articles/view/56458>

<sup>45</sup> Panel discussions on Armenia-Azerbaijan Nagorno-Karabakh conflict held as part of Munich Security Conference: [Electronic resource]. February 15, 2020. URL: <https://president.az/en/articles/view/35813>

<sup>46</sup> Mammadov, A. Studies in text and discourse. / A.Mammadov. – Baku: Azerbaijan University of Languages. – 2008. –p.51

argumentation in public speeches, broad debates, political polemics, arguments, or just everyday conversations. Being considered as an intellectual activity in search for grounds and arguments, their analysis, selection, verification and evaluation of their logical consequences, in systematic review of alternative versions, in selection of the most effective addressee solutions, as well as in identification of the most used persuasive means of reasoning, argumentation penetrates into the communication process nucleus: *“This type of speech activity always takes place in a certain cultural, historical and social context. It should be noted that in the process of communication, when used to achieve a certain goal, a speech becomes an argument. One of the components of speech impact, in other words, one of the strategic tasks of argumentation is persuasion. This task is aimed at changing the addressee’s world map, thereby controlling his thinking.”*<sup>47</sup>

Nowadays, when a special culture of collective thinking (mentality) is formed against the background of manifestation of complete individual thinking feasibility, scientific researches conducted in the direction of the problem of argumentation are more relevant than ever. In this field, interdisciplinary researches are coordinated by the International Society for the Study of Argumentation (ISSA). However, since the theory of argumentation does not cover a single field of science, its unconditional usage for purely practical (rhetorical) purposes is inappropriate. This theory is divided into a number of directions according to the field of science represented by authors. Although rapid development of individual rhetoric requires description of argumentation in the field, lack of a concept of general argumentation currently slows down work in this field.

Among the existing logical, psychological and pragmalinguistic approaches, supporters of the last one consider argumentation as a type of interactive communication consisting of speech acts aimed at solving a conflict in favour of one side. From this point of view, the pragmalinguistic-oriented definition

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<sup>47</sup> Allahverdiyeva, A.M. ABŞ Siyasi Diskursunda Arqumentasiya Strategiyaları // – Bakı: Dil və ədəbiyyat, – 2017. № 4(104), – s.144

introduced by F.Eemeren and R.Grootendorst is of particular interest: *“Argumentation is designed to confirm or refute the expressed opinion and convince the rational judge (audience – A.A.) of the correctness of a certain point of view, the expressed opinion is a speech act consisting of a series of utterances aimed at persuading that it is acceptable or unacceptable.”*<sup>48</sup> Thus, the co-authors relate pragmalinguistic and rhetorical approaches directly to argumentation, both at theoretical and practical levels, inscribing it is a verbal, social and rational activity. It is for this reason that development of a purely rhetorical approach to the study of argumentation is an urgent issue to meet the modern requirements.

The doctrine of argumentation – the attitude towards the audience to whom the argument is addressed and who decides whether it is acceptable or not – has been the essence of rhetoric from ancient Greece to the present day. In response, the same year, two seminal works were published which led to the revival of ancient dialectic ideas and the emergence of new fields of study, including informal logic, critical thinking theory, argumentation theory and practice. In his monograph *“The Uses of Argument”*, S.Toulmin introduced the concept of *“working logic”*<sup>49</sup>. Ch.Perelman and L.Olbrechts-Tyteka shook the scientific community with the concept of *“new rhetoric”* (neo-rhetoric) mentioned in their book *“New Rhetoric: A Treatise on Argumentation”*<sup>50</sup>. The authors’ pathos included the need to shift attention from ideal logical frames to persuasive thought processes based on diverse humanitarian knowledge and experience.

Argumentation in political discourse is a verbal, communicative activity, a macro-speech act containing a point of view, aimed at persuading the thesis put forward in an institutional context to be acceptable/unacceptable.

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<sup>48</sup> Eemeren, F. *Argumentation, Communication, and Fallacies. A Pragmadiialectical Perspective* (1st ed.) / F.Eemeren, R.Grootendorst, – Routledge: – 1992, –p.24

<sup>49</sup> Toulmin, S.E. *The Uses of Argument*. / S.E.Toulmin. – Cambridge University Press; Updated edition, – 2003. – 262 p.

<sup>50</sup> Perelman, Ch. *The New Rhetoric: A Treatise on Argumentation*. / Ch.Perelman, L.Olbrechts-Tyteca. – University of Notre Dame Press, –1991. – 576 p.

Paragraph second of Chapter IV is called *“The communicative-discursive argumentation”*.

The researchers emphasize that there are big differences between argumentation acts and other speech acts because argumentation contains more than one utterance and has an interactive character, although they refer to the theory of speech acts. For example, T.Tretyakova notes that the resolution of disputes is carried out in four dialectical phases of critical discussion model<sup>51</sup>:

- 1) confrontation phase (identification of dispute);
- 2) initial stage (distribution of antagonist and protagonist roles);
- 3) argumentation stage (clash of ideas);
- 4) final stage (dispute resolution in favor of one party).

Polemics that reflect opposite attitude of speakers towards their political opponents are typical for political discourse. This factor conditions argumentative analysis of political discourse, and precisely for this reason, positively evaluated concepts (democracy, fascism, communism) of one side are perceived as negative, even direct insults from the other side. Thus, it is necessary to discuss not only general polemical essence of political speech, but also argumentation, which is presented in the form of an integrative interpretation of interactive dialogical act.

Political discourse includes stereotyped phrases and expressions as well as different types of arguments and stereotyped argumentation patterns. These include models reflecting socio-political relations, analogy-based similarity relations, and relations introduced by predicates aimed at persuading audiences of a bond between judgments advanced by speakers and points of view expressed. Different argument types and typical verbal constructions give rise to different levels of patterns. For example, at the meeting of the House of Commons of Great Britain held on 19.07.2023, the following argument models are observed<sup>52</sup>:

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<sup>51</sup> Третьякова, Т.П. Опыт лингвистического анализа аргументации в политическом диалоге // – Санкт-Петербург: Коммуникация и образование, Сб. ст. Под ред. С.Дудника, – 2004, – с.299-320

<sup>52</sup> Oral evidence: Work of the Financial Conduct Authority: [Electronic resource].

1. Persuasion model, the purpose of which is to achieve mutual understanding necessary for the joint activity of participants of political communication. Persuasion is carried out through information provided by predicates (judge, implement, be relevant) that express human cognitive activity.

2. Reasoning based on causality.

3. Evaluation presented through confirmation/denial, hypothesis, acceptance/unacceptance, as well as emotional-evaluative (expressing joy, disappointment, anger, regret) speech acts.

The choice of persuasive argumentative tools is an important factor in linguistic interpretation of argumentation, because each of them has a specific linguistic feature and lexical inventory. Examples (calculations, figures), references (authority, fact), argumentative process (sequence of arguments), quotations (appeal to another's words without distortion) are some of them.

In the third paragraph of Chapter IV entitled “*The argumentation categories in political discourse*”, it is mentioned that a wide range of opportunities offered by language to addressees to verbalize their intention is possible owing to language impact means. In modern linguistics, in relation to the study of the phenomenon of language impact, two terms have entered the scientific circulation: “suggestiveness” and “persuasiveness”.

Persuasiveness is a means of influence used by oral or written information author to convince addressees, to call them to fulfill/not to fulfill certain actions. Persuasive communication process is manifested in situations where people purposefully process information and aims to generate certain behavior of recipients, or to influence their points of view and attitude. In addition to having a hidden effect on cognitive activity, the chain of arguments is designed to ensure effectiveness in persuasive communication within the framework of persuasive tactics and strategies (efficacious self-presentation, discrediting the opponent, propaganda, etc.).

Thus, in the dissertation, persuasiveness is defined as a means of persuasion realized by using particular means (rhetorical and

stylistic means, sophisms) and some textual categories (implicitness, modality, etc.)) to strengthen the argument.

Persuasive linguistic means in political discourse do not contain persuasive meaning due to their semantic structure. Their persuasive potential is realized in the semantic-structural unity of the discourse. The persuasive communication elements in political discourse consist of presupposition, addressee authority (trust or distrust), affirmative or negative argument the choice and their different types, as well as addressee qualities (gender, socio-economic status, education, emotional state and political views). Based on the above mentioned, it can be concluded that persuasiveness is an argumentative-pragmatic category which characterizes political communication. Accordingly, category of persuasiveness can be considered the main category in relation to functional-intentional features of political discourse.

Suggestiveness implies specific marker-components and structures of the linguistic level which serve to directly realize addressee the goals. This component is related to induction of emotions, involuntary thoughts, images, mental and physical states. Like persuasiveness, suggestiveness is manifested in both micro- and macrolinguistic features of discourse. Microlinguistic features include potential of all language levels, which are phonetic, prosodic, graphic, orthographic, syntactical, lexical, word formation, morphology, in short, the system of signs. At the macrolinguistic level, suggestiveness is manifested through the category of person, information redundancy, structural and compositional organization, stylistic composition.

Both suggestiveness and persuasiveness are related to recipient's coercive acceptance of certain information. Difference between them is that, above all, persuasive tools have a propositional-semantic character; in other words, they are realized in the form of semantic complexes at the level of utterance or communicative block. Suggestiveness takes place at the level of pre-propositional linguistic units, where form (phonetic, graphical, syntactical, sometimes lexical and word building levels) or meaning (morphemic and lexical levels) are affected.

It is worth considering that persuasiveness leads to the appearance of content components (denotative and partially emotional-evaluative elements at the level of subjective modality) when considering persuasiveness and suggestiveness at the level of text categories. Suggestiveness does not affect content and meaning, but it impresses the process of text comprehension, optimizes its assimilation or, on the contrary, hinders it.

Along with persuasiveness and suggestiveness, we are consider imperativeness should also be included among the subcategories of political discourse. Given, political discourse functions not only to persuade or govern, but also to call for action, our approach becomes justified.

Imperativeness implies presence of linguistic means expressing call for action in discourse. Imperativeness is classified owing to the relationship in which promotion is expressed (in relation to the recipient, in relation to the joint activity of the addresser and the recipient, or in relation to the promotion of a character who is not directly involved in communication); thus, categorical (direct) and non-categorical (indirect) types of linguistic imperative are distinguished<sup>53</sup>.

The direct imperative form is expressed through various forms of the imperative form of verb (in particular, the third person (qoy-pyсть/пускай-let) verb constructions). Indirect imperativeness is reflected through infinitive forms of a verb (call for action, command), elliptical constructions in which verbs in the imperative form are omitted, nominalization constructions, the subjunctive mood of verb, modal verbs expressing request, command, advice, suggestion, and utterances containing other parts of speech.

In the fourth paragraph called *“The linguorhetoric argumentation strategies in political discourse”*, it is stated that the communicative-linguistic strategies used in argumentation process are based on causality, influence and analogy.

With reference to rhetorical methods, Aristotle groups them into ethos, pathos and logos. Traditionally, ethos and pathos involve

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<sup>53</sup> Бондарко, А.В. Теория функциональной грамматики. Темпоральность. Модальность / А.В.Бондарко. – Ленинград: Наука, –1990. – 263 с.

non-argumentative means of persuasion, while *logos* involves argumentative means of persuasion. Argumentation means requires adherence to logical rules at the result level, and is called a “logic demonstration tactic”. Non-argumentative device is considered the paralogical demonstration tactic because it is neither related to result, nor follows the rules of analogy<sup>54</sup>.

Demonstration of logic is presented through S.Toulmin’s functional-argumentative model<sup>55</sup>. Paralogical demonstration involves the use of figures of speech in order to “decorate” individual style, accomplishing an argumentative function in the process of thesis substantiating. Paralogy (intentional logical errors) are expressed through the medium of following stylistic devices<sup>56</sup>:

- 1) syntactic figures (inversion, chiasm, antithesis);
- 2) lexical figures or tropes (metaphor, metonymy, allegory, irony, sarcasm, etc.);
- 3) figures of thought (exaggeration, litotes, gradation).

Paralogical tactics are based on *ethos* – a method of persuasion based on general moral-ethical qualities of addresser and addressee, and on *pathos*, which evokes feelings and emotions. According to the communicative-pragmatic approach, *ethos* is widely used in argumentation to convince that the expressed opinion is acceptable. In accordance with this, some researchers argue that the argumentation aimed at persuading audience is a paralogical technique<sup>57</sup>. Accepting opinion of those researchers, argumentation is not based on logic, but on audience characteristics. This point of view contrasts with the position of pragmalinguistic school representatives, who do not accept equation of argumentation to rhetorical means.

When we take a look at the topic from pragmalinguistic

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<sup>54</sup> Карнеги, Д. Учись выступать публично и влиять на широкий круг людей / Д.Карнеги. – Москва: Знание, – 2000. – 358 с.

<sup>55</sup> Toulmin, S.E. The Uses of Argument. / S.E.Toulmin. – Cambridge University Press; Updated edition, – 2003. – 262 p.

<sup>56</sup> Воробьёва, О.И. Политический язык: семантика, таксономия, функции: / Дисс. докт. филол. наук / – Москва, 2000. – 382 с.

<sup>57</sup> Ключев, Е.В. Риторика / Е.Ключев. – Москва: Издательство ПРИОР, – 1999. – с.113

standpoint, we witness the direct role of various linguistic units in the implementation of argumentation strategies enfolding various speech act aspects at all language levels. Language strategies used in political speech are a key element of speaker's linguistic behavior. These strategies include "...speaker's series of decisions, his selection of certain communicative activities and language means, or the implementation of a number of goals in the structure of communication"<sup>58</sup> and they are directly related to communicators' intentions. If intentions are global, then actual discourse strategies are implied. If the main goal is to achieve personal goals within a certain discourse genre, then either local strategies or communicative tactics are considered.

According to communication theory, the range of argumentation strategies included in political discourse includes attack, defence, neutralism, negligence, initiative taking, and so on. However, it is also possible to strengthen or weaken emotional response and degree of persuasion by combining several strategies.

The main argumentation strategies developed by Aristotle include persuasion through logical arguments (logos), persuasive arguments based on addressee character and reputation (ethos), and emotional arguments (pathos). Given that persuasive arguments are divided into two types, unmediated and mediated, politicians use both types actively. Indirect arguments carry out a purposeful communicative obligation through the categories of modality and imperativeness, which promote a certain opinion or action:

*"Biz təhlükəni də yaxşı anlayırıq. Siz minaları qeyd etdiniz, bu, ən böyük təhlükələrdən biridir. Eyni zamanda, biz hər şeyi lazımı qaydada etmək istəyirik. Proses mümkün qədər tez keçməlidir, lakin fikrimiz ondan ibarətdir ki, burada ən yaxşı memarlıq təcrübəsi və ən yaxşı texnologiya, o cümlədən yaşıl texnologiya tətbiq edilməlidir ki, yaşayış üçün ən yaxşı şərait yaradılsın"*<sup>59</sup>.

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<sup>58</sup> Макаров, М.Л. Основы теории дискурса / М.Макаров. – Москва: ИТДГК «Гнозис», – 2003. –с.37

<sup>59</sup> İlham Əliyev. "Qarabağ: 30 ildən sonra evə dönüş. Nailiyyətlər və çətinliklər": [Elektron resurs]. Forum. ADA Universiteti. 6 Dekabr 2023. URL: <https://president.az/articles/view/62400>

Indirect arguments involve factual-existential argument type, expressed indirectly through facts, essentially asserting existence or emanation of something:

*“Beləliklə, bir gündən də az sürən antiterror əməliyyatı biza imkan verdi ki, suverenliyimizi bərpa edək. Yeri gəlmişkən, əməliyyat elə tərzdə aparılmışdır ki, mülki infrastruktura zərər dəyməyib və dinc əhali arasında itkilər olmayıb”<sup>60</sup>.*

Playing a direct role in the implementation of argumentation strategies in modern political discourse, linguistic tools express this meaning in a context-free manner. These are, first of all, expository verbs, commissives, adverbs, negative pronouns, exclamations and negative phraseological units.

In the last paragraph of Chapter IV titled *“The fallacies in political discourse and their linguistic expression”* it is stated that all stages of speech acts must follow dialectical rules that reflect basic principles of critical discussion.

Violation of these rules poses a potential threat to conflict resolution process and leads to false arguments: *“An error in argumentation/reasoning owing to faulty premises, presumptuous conclusions, or a misconception is called a fallacy.”<sup>61</sup>* Thus, inaccuracy in the argumentation process is related to the rules of critical discussion implementation and manifests itself as a speech act which partially or completely blocks participants’ attempts of the act to resolve disagreement.

First of all, let’s answer the question: “What is a fallacy?”

Actually, it is a euphemistic term. Because these arguments, called “false”, in most cases, are not logical mistakes, but are consciously made errors, aimed at audience bewilderment. This concept is named by the word “fallacy” in English, and semantically it is not the same as the words “error” (səhv) and “mistake” (xəta) in Azerbaijani language. This word is interpreted as “a false belief based on unreliable evidence”, “an invalid argument resulting from failed reasoning”, “a false reasoning” etc., in various English

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<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> Zeynalova, S. Introduction to Rhetoric. / S.Zeynalova, A.Allahverdiyeva. – Baku: Mutarjim, – 2017. –p.121

dictionaries.

The word fallacy is derived from two Latin words “fallax” (deceptive) and “fallere” (to beguile). Fallacies contain the concepts which prevent the two-sided open exchange of ideas being the basis of critical debate, and attempt to manipulate audiences’ minds with vested interests far against common sense. They are a deliberate trap for audiences, and since they are created according to common argument schemes, they give the impression of a valid argument at the outset. For this reason, it is mentioned that fallacies are not mistakes of fact or belief, but errors of thinking or reasoning involved in the process of thinking<sup>62</sup>. There are more ideas, like: *“False argument is an improper use of arguments as a result of mistake or confusion.”*<sup>63</sup>

A fallacy is also an argument, and this fact substantiates that it also consists of premises, reasons, claims, and a conclusion derived from these premises. In evaluating arguments, both - premises and conclusion must be considered. Premises must be complete and precise, and a clear, irrefutable conclusion must be drawn from evidence(s), because a fallacy is a criterion to judge whether an argument is false or reliable, even if it may give the impression of a true conclusion. All the mentioned leads to the conclusion that false arguments should also be analyzed from the point of view of argumentation theory. Argumentation theory defines argument as: *“a verbal and social act of reasoning aimed at increasing (or decreasing) acceptability of a contested point of view.”*<sup>64</sup>

Sources list up to 150 types of false arguments. They are mainly divided into two categories: formal (as per the structure) and informal (as per the content). Aristotle also divided fallacies into two groups: verbal and non-verbal<sup>65</sup>. The verbal ones are the arguments

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<sup>62</sup> Almosawi, A. An illustrated book of bad arguments. / A.Almosawi.– New York: Jasper Collins, – 2014. – 57 p.

<sup>63</sup> Santos, J.M. A Fallacy analysis of the arguments on the first US presidential debate between Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump // K@ ta Kita, – 2017. 5(2), – p.66

<sup>64</sup> Boukala, S. European Identity and the Representation of Islam in the Mainstream Press: Argumentation and Media Discourse: – Springer, 2018. – p.92

<sup>65</sup> Aristotle. On Sophistical Refutations. CreateSpace Independent Publishing

that arise when ambiguity or inaccuracies are made while using language, while the non-verbal ones are the arguments that result from incorrect or flawed reasoning. On the whole, Aristotle presented 13 types of fallacies.

Fallacies are frequently encountered in the language of politicians who base their speeches on groundless appeals<sup>66</sup>. In political discourse, in many cases, false arguments are generated through employment of various linguistic units, at which point the rhetorical argumentation phenomenon is manifested.

False manipulative argumentation tools in political discourse were included in the analysis during research. Since argumentation is based on mutual communicative relationship between addresser and addressee, as the classification criteria, three levels of information interpretation having maximum effect on addressees are appropriate: 1) interpretation of factual content;

2) interpretation of text structures;

3) linguistic-expressive means.

At all three levels, appeal to an authoritative source, discreditation, metaphor, comparison, irony, repetition, exclamations, national lexicon, dichotomy of “we-they” were found to be the most active false argumentation strategies, and each of them was analyzed on the basis of examples.

To permeate theoretical and methodological foundations of the review of argumentation in political discourse in accordance with the purpose and objectives set in the dissertation, the propositions put forward, first of all, evaluation of the concepts “discourse” and “political discourse” with reference to pragmalinguistic and socio-cognitive approaches, and at the same time analysis of the main propositions of theory of argumentation and their reflection in political discourse were carried out. As a consequence of the scientific-theoretical literature analysis, it was concluded that political discourse is verbalization of mental process, based on the categories of intentionality, argumentation and dialogism which

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Platform, – 2012, – 52 p.

<sup>66</sup> Whorf, B. *Language, Thought, and Reality: Selected Writings of B. Whorf.* / Ed. by J. Carroll and S. Chase. – Eastford, USA: Martino Fine Books, – 2011. – 294 p.

occurs in the context of social interaction between communicants.

It was conceived that appeal to the argumentation category is not only the evidence to addresser realization of their abstract motives and intentions by using appropriate strategies as a means of persuasion or manipulation, but also to the fact that addressee is a logical side. Argumentation strategy, which is a mutually planned social activity, consisting of verbal expression of argumentation, includes a number of contextual-pragmatic propositions aimed at convincing addressees of the entailment to adapt their world map model to defend the main thesis. In particular, manipulative potential of argumentation made it possible to identify a number of verbal strategies that are the means of influence in political discourse.

The **conclusions** obtained during the analysis carried out in the research are concluded as follows:

1. The main plight for the implementation of political communication is its discursive-linguistic nature. Political discourse is a verbal act shaped in the process of communication and manifested directly through language, consisting of a set of linguo-pragmatic, semiotic, cognitive-psychological, social characteristics, and the communicative purpose of which is to penetrate the world map of the addressee, and is carried out in an institutional environment by the addresser using argumentation strategies.

2. The intertwining of semantic vagueness with nominative precision is characteristic of the “special-purpose professional sublanguage” used in political discourse. Semantic vagueness, which suppresses nominative precision in the process of fulfilling the pragmatic function, manifests itself in the form of semantic relativity, semantic abstraction, semantic expansion, complex semantics, and gradual semantics.

3. The conceptual elements that make up the cognitive model of political discourse are the addresser, addressee, utterance, and subject of utterance, time of the act, place of the act, situation of the act, social relations, participants’ roles, individual characteristics, and characteristics of the linguistic space (text).

4. The communicative structure of political speeches is formed by various thematic blocks of concentric, hierarchical, parallel and

mixed types. In order to establish a connection to the main idea, emotional equivalence, create emotional contact with audience and strengthen the impression made on audience, the functions of phaticness and informativeness are used in these blocks.

5. The pragmatic aspect of political discourse has the property of evoking necessary attitude(s) in addressees towards information and realizing a purposeful influence on it. This valuable reflected in the addressee intention, manifests itself both explicitly and implicitly. Explicitness is expressed through recurrent, coordinate, juxtapositional connectives and the word-referents combining two or more political discourse components. Implicitness in political discourse includes the manifestation of discourse components in elliptical, thesaurus and transitive forms at the grammatical, semantic and grammatical-semantic levels.

6. The impact in political discourse is possible at the linguistic, extralinguistic and paralinguistic levels. Here, such units as abstract words with socio-political connotations, political terminology, political lexicon, political neologisms, ideologemes, general lexicon, clichés, jargon, fixed phrases, borrowings, abbreviations, references and quotations are considered at the phraseological level.

7. Along with lexical-semantic means, grammatical means are also directly related to the map of world values in political discourse. Grammatical ideologemes are the linguistic markers which help underpin the ideological meaning expressed by morphological and syntactical means in political discourse. Mainly modal verbs, modality markers, imperative form of the verb, indefinite form of the verb, change of tenses, deictic pronouns and word order help to realize the strategy of distancing.

8. The elements of the root field that make up the conceptuality in political discourse build the mark field and influence the consciousness of the masses. The expression of concepts in the target field through lexical-stylistic units (metaphors, lexical units with positive and negative associations, paremiological units (proverbs and sayings), rhetorical questions, realia) is the indicator of speaker's political priorities (ethos), as well as his ability to emotionally influence the audience (pathos) and persuade (logos).

9. Argumentation is the communicative verbal activity aimed at convincing people of the acceptability of the propositions put forward in a social context, a macro-speech act containing a point of view(s) in political discourse. It includes the use of additional rhetorical and sophistic techniques which enable to persuade or manipulate, persuasiveness, which implies the involuntary acceptance of information by the recipient, suggestiveness, which implies special marker-components and structures that serve to indirectly implement the addressee goals at the linguistic level, and imperativeness, which includes promotion. Persuasiveness has a propositional-semantic character; suggestiveness is realized against the background of language units up to the proposition, where form or meaning is affected, and imperativeness is realized at the level of causal transformations.

10. Since argumentation is based on a mutual communicative relationship between addressee and addressee, during fallacy analysis aimed at manipulation in political discourse, three levels of interpretation of information that have the maximum impact on addressees were selected as classification criteria:

- 1) interpretation of factual content;
- 2) interpretation of text structures;
- 3) linguistic means of expression.

In the main, it was ascertained that the most active false argumentation strategies were appeal to an authoritative source, discreditation, metaphor, comparison, irony, repetition, exclamation, vernacular lexicon, and the “us/them” conceptual confrontation.

Since it is impossible to involve all types of argumentation and false argumentation strategies in different genres of political discourse in a single work, based on the goals and objectives of the dissertation, the present research may not fully cover the potential of argumentation in political discourse. Nevertheless, the work formed on the basis of the analysis of selected scientific-theoretical literature and political speeches allows us to obtain many important conclusions about the resources of strategic verbal behavior in the process of argumentation in political discourse.

Simultaneously, the extensive list of logical and false

argumentation strategies with unique linguistic characteristics indicates the existence of broad prospects for their future study in various genres of political discourse.

***The main provisions of the dissertation have been reflected in the following works of the author:***

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