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How politicians do things with words: Intentional analysis of pre-election speeches

Abstract. The article studies contact and distant perlocutionary effects achieved by pre-election propaganda speech producers while actualizing such manipulation targets as the emotions and instincts of a collective recipient.

Key words: Speech manipulation, Contact Perlocutionary Effect, Distant Perlocutionary Effect, Speech Producer, Speech Recipient

0) Introduction

The main peculiarity of political discourse is that it contains mostly those text types which have a manipulative intention as a prevailing one. Among the political text types of a manipulative kind we can see political interviews, slogans, announcements, articles in special party papers and certain messages in electronic mass media. Nevertheless, the most remarkable type of manipulative messages which function within political discourse is the text type of pre-election propaganda speeches.

As a rule, the texts of such speeches have some structural and intentional characteristic features which make it possible to consider the whole bulk of these speeches as a definite text type. All speeches contain special etiquette phrases (greetings and words of appreciation), they have prognostic character, the main communicative intention of such speeches is that of promise. In addition to that, pre-election propaganda speeches have one more interesting peculiarity: the collective recipient of the speech is fully or partly aware of the manipulative character of the message. In other words, recipients guess or understand which perlocutionary

effect is planned to be achieved by the producers of pre-election propaganda speeches before the election.

Voting for the speech producer and his party – this is the pre-planned perlocutionary effect of pre-election propaganda speeches – is the kind of some *distant* perlocutionary effect of a manipulative message. It is achieved (or not achieved) in some period of time after the speech is delivered and in the speech producer's absence. In order to make the collective recipient of the message vote for his party, the producer of the speech should achieve a series of some *contact* perlocutionary effects via actualizing the most productive speech manipulation targets. In our consideration, such targets are the collective recipients' instincts, peculiarities of human sensations, and basic emotions. Exactly these speech manipulation targets can be regarded as most effective, as they have such essential properties as *universality* (which makes the speech recipients' reaction similar) and *collectivity* (the targets are significant for all the representatives of the collective recipient).

At that the main task of the speech producer is the formation of intended associative links which are made, as in the following oppositions: we and our party – comfort (positive emotions, instincts' satisfaction guarantee) versus opponents and their party – discomfort (negative emotions, inability to satisfy the recipients' needs).

The analysis of pre-election propaganda speeches made by politicians of different countries shows that the intentionally integral texts of the speeches consist of certain pragmatic subunits which we call *microtexts*. We define a *microtext* as an intentional subunit of a manipulative message which is used to achieve a certain *contact* perlocutionary effect that is to form one definite manipulative association.

One of the most, so to speak, *productive*, targets of speech manipulation are ethological and physiological ones. They are connected with human instincts and the

peculiarities of human physiological sensation. In our opinion, this large group of manipulation targets can be divided into several subgroups which we name as this:

1) *Ethoreceptive* targets of linguistic manipulation (which comprise only human instinctive behavioral reactions, such as vital instincts, zoosocial ones etc.).

Information about the possibility of satisfaction or dissatisfaction of human instincts together with some positive or negative association connected with it is the main manipulative mechanism. If the producers of pre-election propaganda speech form the image of their party as being able to satisfy the main instincts of the speech recipient, they achieve the necessary perlocutionary effect. If the opponents' party is represented as unwilling or unable to satisfy these instincts (that means that this party threatens the species' existence), this effect is achieved as well. For example:

a) While the Government claims to be taking action it is obvious that the current strategy isn't working.

With so many children starting school already obese it's increasingly clear that we need to look beyond the playground walls to get our children active.

We need to introduce measures which improve diet and increase levels of physical activity in children. Until we are more successful at this, *the obesity timebomb will keep ticking*.

(Norman Lamb: Child obesity timebomb still ticking
<http://www.libdems.org.uk>)

Example a) shows how the pre-election speech producer actualizes the parental instinct as a manipulation target. Metaphor which is used in this microtext [*the obesity timebomb will keep ticking*] is aimed at achieving the contact perlocutionary effect of fear for the future of children in the country. Negative emotions connected with the image of a bomb are associated with the opponents' party.

b) The pre-Budget *report has set a tax timebomb ticking in the pockets of every family in Wales*.

Teachers, journalists, social workers, police officers, paramedics, office managers and professionals will all be worse off as a result.

Gordon Brown and Alistair Darling are gambling with the nation's finances and it is the people of Britain who will end up footing the bill.

However Labour wraps this up *this is still a Christmas tax bombshell*.

Families across Wales will be hit with rising tax and National Insurance bills. That is the reality of this give-away statement. To anybody in work this is going to mean higher taxes.

(Cheryl Gillan: Families pay the price for Labour's tax timebomb
<http://www.conservatives.com>)

The pre-election propaganda speech producer uses metaphor (*a tax timebomb ticking in the pockets of every family in Wales*) which brings to the recipients' mind some negative emotions and associations connected with the image of a timebomb. The so-called military metaphors are aimed at stirring up recipients' fears and alarming them. These emotions usually show up as a result of self-preservation instinct activation. Thus, the opponents' actions are shown as being dangerous for recipients.

c) We do not have to accept the world as we find it. And we have a responsibility to leave our world a better place and never walk by on the other side of injustice.

Freedom [nominating lexeme] and opportunity are precious gifts and the purpose of our politics is to expand them, for all our people

(Ed Miliband: The New Generation,
<http://www2.labour.org.uk>)

Microtext d) shows the way the speech producer actualizes the instinct of freedom.

2) *Exteroreceptive* targets of linguistic manipulation. The exteroceptive level of speech perception is connected with exteroceptive sensations which help people to perceive the information from the outer world via eyes, ears, skin, and other exteroceptive sense organs. On modeling speech acts which nominate or are associated with some of these exteroceptive sensations, the producers of a manipulative message achieve their pre-planned perlocutionary effects. In this case of linguistic manipulation we can talk about some kind of

synesthetic mechanism, as the verbal message being perceived by auditory receptors results in some *sensational image* of another modality (we imagine and *see* green, *feel* sour *taste* and *feel* something *round* and *smooth* on hearing the words *an unripe apple*). For example:

a) The story of the Special Relationship can be *depicted in light and attractive colours* [*pleasant visual sensation associated with the producer's party*]. The triumph of noble ideals. Sacrifices rewarded. Friendships forged and not forgotten. Together America and Britain have helped re-make much of the world in the image of liberty and democracy. The rule of law, rights of property, respect for individual rights – these formative ideas have transformed the prospects of nations that lived *in the darkness* [*unpleasant visual sensation associated with the opponents' party*] *of fear and despair*.

But the history of that Relationship deserves for the sake of realism *to be painted in darker shades as well* [*unpleasant visual sensation associated with the opponents' party*]. It was not just ideals, it was the force which lay behind them that eventually prevailed. The Cold War was cold indeed in Europe but it was hot and bloody in other continents.

(Liam Fox: Security and defence – Making sense of the special relationship
<http://www.conservatives.com>)

b) For 2010 is the year that will make the difference between whether we have sustained recovery, or whether we fall back into recession. Because the Conservative plans for an emergency budget to make immediate, wide and indiscriminate cuts within just 50 days if they take office on May the 6th – *should mean alarm bells ringing* [*unpleasant auditory sensation associated with the opponents' party*] *for every single user of the health service, everyone who has ever needed the police, every single parent for whom tax credits and the Child Trust Fund are the difference between going on and going under*.

(Gordon Brown: Fighting for your future
<http://www2.labour.org.uk>)

c) Our tax package offers a way forward: the means by which public support for his long and difficult process can be won and maintained. Tax cuts for millions will *sweeten the very bitter pill* [*the pre-planned perlocutionary effect is based on the opposition of gustatory associations*] with the largest fiscal contraction in modern history.

If we do not implement these changes...

It will be impossible to rally people behind public sector spending cuts...

And any serious attempt to cut the deficit will fail.

(Nick Clegg: Speech on winning people over for deficit reduction
<http://www.libdems.org.uk>)

Thus, appealing to this peculiarity of speech perception the producers of pre-election propaganda speech associate their party with some pleasant sensations and the opponents' party – with unpleasant ones.

3) *Proprioreceptive* targets of linguistic manipulation. It is known that with the help of proprioreceptors human beings obtain information about the position and balance of their body. The manipulative perlocutionary effect is achieved in the cases when recipients somehow *project* on their bodies the position of the image being suggested by the producer of the pre-election propaganda speech. At that the images which raise the sense of balance are necessarily associated with the producer's party, or on the contrary, the images which bring the association with something unstable and rickety with that of political rivals. For example:

a) So if we cut big government *back*. If we move society *forward*. And if we rebuild responsibility, then we can put Britain *back on her feet* [*the pleasant sensation of balance and stability associated with the producer's party*]. I know that today there aren't many reasons to be cheerful.

(David Cameron: Putting Britain back on her feet,
<http://www.conservatives.com>)

b) Young people, full of potential, have their futures blighted by drugs. Soft attitudes towards drug taking and easy access to drugs create *a slippery downward slope* [*the unpleasant sensation of unbalance associated with the opponents' party*].

(Lord Taylor of Warwick: Labour are sending mixed messages on drug use,
<http://www.conservatives.com>)

c) So let me set five fairness tests that go to the heart of our modern welfare society – and then test whether the Conservative policies can begin to match the fairness we offer, policies where I believe we can show that the Tories are hurting not just modest income Britain but middle income Britain and policies

where they are now being revealed to be intent on kicking away the ladder of social mobility for thousands of young people [*the unpleasant sensation of unbalance associated with the opponents' party*].

(Gordon Brown: Fight for a future fair for all,
<http://www2.labour.org.uk>)

Bank of Ireland *is* a shaky bank backed by shaky Government [*the unpleasant sensation of unbalance associated with the opponents' party*].

(Matthew Oakeshott, Commenting on the news that the Moodys rating agency has downgraded 12 Irish banks
<http://www.libdems.org.uk>)

4) *Interoreceptive* targets of linguistic manipulation. Human interoreceptive system is connected with the signals about inner physiological state of the organism. Those sensational images of some painful conditions and pain in the internal organs are created by the speech producer in order to be associated with the opponents' party. The producers' party is associated with the sensational images of healthy conditions and internal organs. For example:

a) People *are hurting* [*painful condition associated with the opponents' party*] now. The British economy is in meltdown.

People want to hear what we can do for them.

People are tightening their belts.

It's right that Government does as well.

Families are feeling the pinch [*painful condition associated with the opponents' party*].

(Tavish Scott: Conference in Bournemouth
<http://www.libdems.org.uk>)

b) Today I want to speak to you about what our approach to unemployment will be during this recession. Because before people hear your policies, they want to know what values and attitudes you bring to the table, and that's what I'm going to set out.

You don't need a long memory in this country to remember *the trauma* [*painful condition associated with the opponents' party*] of mass unemployment. As a recession sets in, hundreds of thousands of people are at risk of losing their jobs, and as recessions go on, long-term unemployment soars.

(David Cameron: We will not walk on by while people lose their jobs
<http://www.conservatives.com>)

5) *Spatial* targets of linguistic manipulation. The recipients' spatial perception has an anthropocentric character. It is oriented relative to the coordinate system which has a natural vertical position of a human being as a baseline point. Thus, the spatial coordinate system is conceived as something *high* or *low* for human beings [*everything which is kind and generous is comprehended as being high – e.g. high aims; everything which is base and mean – as being low – e.g. low tricks*]; events which are going to happen in future are perceived as those being *in front*; direction to the *right* is considered to be honest and true [*right roads*]; the top is perceived as culmination of some state [*to be/sit on top of the world*], and the bottom as the symbolic place of failing and sins [*to be at the bottom of the class*]. For example:

a) Nearly a quarter of the electorate took part, almost 17,000 people - that's more than some council elections, and about a hundred times the number that turn up to the typical selection meeting. Changing the Conservative Party has been *central* to my leadership...

...and *central* to that has been changing who we are, what we look like, where we come from.

(David Cameron: Labour are trying to rewrite economic history
<http://www.conservatives.com>)

b) It's about who we are, what we hope for, what we want for our families, what we aspire to for our children. And it's even *deeper* than that - it's about principles, it's about compassion, and it's about what's in our soul. Because I say you judge the strength of a country not by how it benefits the strong, but by how it strengthens the weak, and *how it lifts up those in the middle so they can look higher*.

(Gordon Brown: Vote for yourself, vote for your family vote for your future
<http://www2.labour.org.uk>)

c) Because, this year, the United Nations ranked Britain *bottom* of a league table of 21 developed countries on child well-being.

And Britain now wears the badge of shame as the country where your life chances are more determined by your parents' income than your own ability.

(David Laws: Speech in Brighton
<http://www.libdems.org.uk>)

6) *Temporal* targets of linguistic manipulation. The process of temporal perception is very complex, as is the very notion of time. There are several kinds of time: biological time, physical time, social time, and some others. As the analysis of the British politicians' pre-

election propaganda speeches shows, the associative perception of biological time becomes the most frequently used target of linguistic manipulation (here we can mention the cyclic recurrence of some natural processes – such as seasons of the year, and day and night, cycles which are stably connected in our mind with our own life rhythms). Sometimes the speech producers apply to the recipients' perception of social time as of the process of social development. For example:

a) We're living *at the dawn* of what I have called *the post-bureaucratic age* where true freedom of information makes possible a new world of people power, responsibility, citizenship, choice and local control.

(David Cameron: The power of social innovation
<http://www.conservatives.com>)

b) That you cannot prepare for the jobs of the future by robbing from the future to pay for tax giveaways to the richest estates.

You cannot equip Britain for the 21st century *by turning the clock back* on educational opportunity and denying *the next generation* the 21st century education skills they need to compete and win on a global stage.

And you cannot prepare Britain for the 2030s if your only policies are a throwback to the 1930s. And what sort of time has it been?

(Gordon Brown: Fighting for your future: vote for yourself, vote for your family, vote for your future
<http://www2.labour.org.uk>)

7) *Kinesthetic* targets of linguistic manipulation. On the kinesthetic level of speech perception the recipients evaluate the situation from the point of view of its motion, direction and speed relative to themselves as some central point. Traditionally, the feeling of moving *forward* is conceived as the sign of some positive changes. In contrast, a feeling of moving backward is associated with negative changes. The high speed of favorable and positive social changes is perceived with approval; the low speed of these changes with disapproval and alarm. For example;

a) I want to give everyone – no matter what their background or their circumstances – the chance to lift themselves up and make the most of their lives.

And an important part of that means tackling homelessness – giving everyone the security that a roof over their head brings.

The problem today is that *we're going backwards, not forwards*.

(David Cameron: Launch of the Homelessness Foundation
<http://www.conservatives.com>)

b) I believe politics can change the world – and that our Labour Party is the greatest fighting force for fairness our country has ever known. Because our country has been moving forward these last 13 years. We've come so far in your short lives – now it's up to you to ensure the country goes forward not back. So if you want a fairer Britain you have to vote for it. And you have to vote Labour.

(Gordon Brown: Fight for a future fair for all
<http://www2.labour.org.uk>)

c) But conference, the old politics was always looking *backwards*. And today I want to look *forward*. *Forward* to a Britain no longer suffocated by state intrusion. Forward to a Britain where local and individual power is restored. Forward to a Britain where individuals can live how they like, and love anyone they choose.

(Lynne Featherstone: Liberal Democrat Autumn Conference
<http://www.libdems.org.uk>)

Regarding negative basic emotions [2, 119-127] (*anger, disgust, fear*) as targets of speech manipulation is good manipulative tactics as well. The study of pre-election propaganda speeches shows that the speech producers appeal to the basic emotions of the collective recipient rather frequently. Toward this end, such verbal means as nominating lexemes (lexemes which directly nominate the pre-planned recipient's reaction or state), stimulus lexemes (lexemes which arouse some necessary negative or positive associations), metaphor, and some other means are used.

1) *Fear* as a contact perlocutionary effect.

The emotion of fear evolved to protect human organism from various dangers of primeval life [1]. Psychological experiments show that people remember the situations in which they feel pain or suffer better than those in which they feel positive emotions. The

emotion of fear connected with these painful moments makes people avoid similar situations. Fear is also connected with the probability that some need or instinct is not likely to be satisfied. Thus, the main task of the manipulative message producer is to form in the recipients associations like “the producer and their party – rescue from fear, stability” and “the opponent and their party – fear and dissatisfaction.”

a) This report puts clear blue water between us and Gordon Brown.

It is *hope versus fear* [*explicit opposition in which “hope” stands for the producer’s party and nominating lexeme “fear” for the opponent’s party*].

The current Prime Minister wants you *to fear* [*the repetition of the nominating lexeme “fear” emphasizes the idea*] the future, reign in your aspirations, share his cautious, suspicious view of the world and cling to Nurse Brown *for fear* [*the repetition of the nominating lexeme “fear” emphasizes the idea*] of finding something worse!

But that has never been the British Way.

The *threats* [*the stimulus lexeme “threats” is used to achieve the contact perlocutionary effect of fear and discomfort*] to our planet from Climate Change are unprecedented.

Within our lifetime, the consequences of global warming are potentially *catastrophic* [*one more stimulus lexeme is used by the manipulative message producer*].

But we do have a choice.

We can be players on the field, looking for solutions.....

(Greg Barker: We can meet the challenge of climate change and improve our quality of life
<http://www.conservatives.com>)

b) Labour has been just as guilty as the Tories of posturing on penalties and peddling *fear* [*nominating lexeme “fear” is associated with the opponent’s party*]. Labour and the Conservatives have indulged in a sentencing arms race in a desperate attempt to look tough, rather than back more police officers which is the best way to cut crime.

(Chris Huhne: Commenting on Gordon Brown’s speech on crime
<http://www.libdems.org.uk>)

c) In the days ahead we will be focusing relentlessly on the risk [*this stimulus lexeme is used by the manipulative message producer to achieve a pre-planned perlocutionary effect of fear associated with the opponent's party*] that David Cameron's Conservatives represent to family finances and communities across the country.

Our new election broadcast featuring Ross Kemp drives home this message, identifying the specific threat to the Child Tax Credit from the Conservatives.

(Douglas Alexander: A press conference on the Tory and Lib Dem plans on tax credits
<http://www2.labour.org.uk>)

2) *Anger* as contact perlocutionary effect.

Anger appears when people realize the presence of some obstruction which makes it impossible to achieve their aims or to satisfy their needs [1]. Besides, anger is a natural reaction to insult, a source of grief, or injustice. So various associations can cause the state of the collective recipient's anger [*the opponent – insult, the opponent – injustice, the opponent – outrage*]. For example:

a) For years, decades, *politicians have been treating the public like mugs* [*the association "the opponent – insult" is formed by the producer*], pretending that we have all the answers. Just give us some power we say, let us pass a few more laws, issue a few more regulations, spend a bit more of your money - and it will all get miraculously better. But change doesn't work like that.

If it did, we wouldn't need an election because we'd be living in utopia by now. If this whole leave-it-all-to-government approach had all the answers, *Wales wouldn't have been left so far behind, with the highest rates of unemployment and child poverty of any country in the UK* [*anger is planned to be aroused when national pride is touched*]. No. The idea that change comes from government alone is a lie. A big lie.

(David Cameron: Welsh Manifesto launch,
<http://www.conservatives.com>)

b) The tax system in Britain is *grossly unfair* [*the idea of unfairness is supposed to cause anger in the collective recipient*] and Labour ministers *have failed to change it so that it helps struggling families*.

We need big, permanent and fair tax cuts and increased access to free child care to help hard pressed families. Labour *is failing on child poverty* and a new law will not change that.

(Steve Webb: Child poverty in Britain inexcusable,
<http://www.libdems.org.uk>)

c) The way older people have to pay for care today is as great an *injustice* [*the stimulus lexeme “injustice” is supposed to cause anger in the collective recipient*] as health care before the NHS.

A cruel 'dementia tax' where vulnerable people empty their bank accounts and surrender their homes - not the British way.

(Andy Burnham's speech to Labour Party Conference
<http://www2.labour.org.uk>)

3) *Disgust* as contact perlocutionary effect.

The emotion of disgust evolved from primary gustatory sensation and the sense of hunger [1]. It is connected with the basic reaction of pushing away everything which can't be accepted by our organism. The emotion of disgust is often used by the manipulative message producers to create the opponent's negative image. To achieve this contact perlocutionary effect nominating lexemes (*disgust, detest, repugnant, repulsive* and the like) and some stimulus lexemes are used.

a) Last week we had the latest revelations from Parliament. The details might be new but the feelings they provoke are all too familiar. Disappointment. Despair. *Even disgust* [*nominating lexeme is used by the producer of the speech*].

(David Cameron: Rebuilding trust in politics,
<http://www.conservatives.com>)

b) The Chief Constable of Cheshire said earlier this week that anti-social behaviour in Britain is “out of control”. And most people agree. A recent poll showed that half of British people feel more frightened on the streets than they did a decade ago. And it's not just the fear that matters – it's the damage to our quality of life. *Vomit* [*stimulus lexeme*] and broken glass in the town centres. Graffiti and *litter and urine* [*stimulus lexemes*] in the stairways of blocks of flats. Fly-tipping in country lanes.

Aggression and foul language on the train and the bus ... general disrespect... all the little acts of aggression and ugliness that people have to put

up with in the course of a day. Is all this an inevitable feature of life? I don't believe so.

(David Cameron: Youth crime and measures to reduce it
<http://www.conservatives.com>)

c) "Vote for us", said the Tories, "and we'll put a stop to the SNP and separation".

"Vote for us", said the SNP, "And we will protect you from David Cameron".

And so they set off at each other like opposing protons in an alpine tunnel.

Faster and louder every day. But at the moment of glorious truth; when the noise stopped and we looked inside the box;

Far from spectacular, energetic conflict and destruction, those two parties had lumped themselves together.

Not quite in a quantum physics way - *more like lukewarm chewing gum* [a combination of stimulus lexemes is used by the speech producer to achieve the pre-planned perlocutionary effect of disgust]. But they've stayed stuck together ever since. You don't have to be Einstein *to be repelled* [nominating lexeme is used by the speech producer] by these unimaginable forces. And this is now getting serious. Just let me give you a glimpse of how it works.

(Tavish Scott: Conference in Bournemouth
<http://www.libdems.org.uk>)

As the analysis of pre-election propaganda speeches shows that negative basic emotions, human instincts, and other genetic behavioral reactions are most frequently used by the speech producers as manipulation targets. The manipulation targets being described in this article are supposed to be the most effective ones, as they possess the properties of collectiveness and universality. That means that the reaction to these targets being actualized is the same with all the recipients regardless of their age, nationality, race, culture, etc. That certainly means that politicians of different countries use the same manipulation targets and try to achieve quite the same set of contact perlocutionary effects during their pre-election campaigns. Let's see some examples from the pre-election speeches of the Russian politicians:

a) I am talking here of *freedom* in all its different manifestations: personal *freedom*, economic *freedom*, *freedom* of self-expression.

I think that achieving harmony between *freedom* and law and order is crucial at this stage. Empress Catherine the Great wrote on this subject: “*Freedom* is the soul of all things and without it all is as if dead. I want obedience to the laws, but not to the laws for slaves”.

(Dmitry Medvedev: Speech at the V Krasnoyarsk Economic Forum
<http://www.medvedev2008.ru>)

This microtext is the example of actualizing the instinct of freedom as a manipulative target. The perlocutionary effect which is planned to be achieved by the pre-election speech producer is intensified through the repetition of the key nominating lexeme (*freedom*). Besides, the pre-planned perlocutionary effect is intensified through the producer’s reference to the words of the respected Empress whose opinion may be very important for the collective recipient.

b) Moreover, a structured civil society — this process is still taking place — already exists. And in the future, and this is most important, it should be the culmination of our *stable* [*the pleasant sensation of balance associated with the speech producer’s party – using proprioceptive manipulation target*] and civilized development. This is one of the most important conclusions we came to in recent times.

(Dmitry Medvedev: Speech at the 2nd All-Russia Civic Forum
<http://www.medvedev2008.ru>)

c) Let’s vote for a person who loves this country. Who will do away with *anxiety, discord, insurrection, assault, inflation* [*the succession of negatively perceived stimulus lexemes is associated with the opponent’s party – planning fear as contact perlocutionary effect*].

(Vladimir Zhirinovskiy: The Pre-election Program
<http://ldpr.ru>)

d) Many people are ready to vote for Putin’s ‘stability’. They forget about our submarine *Kursk* which was killed ... About *Nord Ost* and *Beslan* [*anger is planned to be aroused when weakness of the Government in defending its people is implied*].

(Gennady Zjuganov: Pre-election program of the Russian Federation Communist Party, <http://kprf.ru>)

The study of pre-election speeches let us make a conclusion that they can be regarded as a definite text type which has its peculiar structure and intentional characteristics. This text type functions within the political discourse of many societal groups (countries which have the electoral principle of political system which makes the existence of such a text type necessary). The main peculiarities of the text type under study are as follows:

- it contains special etiquette phrases;
- it focuses upon the future;
- the main intentional unit of a pre-election speech is a manipulative microtext;
- it has two kinds of pre-planned perlocutionary effects (the contact perlocutionary effects which are achieved while actualizing basic manipulation targets and a distant perlocutionary effect which is achieved during the election process);
- the most effective manipulation targets to achieve the pre-planned contact perlocutionary effects are those with some biological foundation (instincts, sensation peculiarities and basic emotions);
- the most effective manipulation targets are universal (they are used by pre-election speech producers of different societal groups).

The main linguistic means of achieving the effects under study are supposed to be nominating lexemes and stimulus lexemes. Still, it is necessary to mention that the set of these means may be not limited to only lexical ones and needs further consideration.

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