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The Role of Feminine Rhetoric in Male Presidential Discourse: Achieving Speech Purpose

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Abstract

Scholars have defined two gender-associated language styles as rhetorical tools that are used by men and women to achieve certain objectives. Masculine language is commanding and instrumental; it is considered conducive to politics. Feminine language is intimate and unifying; it is considered too passive for politics. However, women introduced feminine rhetoric into politics in the United States in 1920 when they were granted the right to participate. But since then, has feminine-style rhetoric played any role in men politicians' discourse? Specifically, do they use more feminine speech to establish unity and maintain relationships? By comparison, do they use less of it when displaying superiority? To answer these questions, I analyzed two Presidential speeches genres: Inaugural Addresses, which unify the citizenry and foster speaker-audience collaboration – goals feminine language accomplishes -, and Nomination Acceptance Speeches, which display the speaker as leader, expert, and agent – goals masculine language accomplishes. I hypothesize that feminine rhetoric is useful for achieving the Inaugural's speech purposes, so male politicians should use more feminine speech in Inaugurals than Acceptances.

Keywords

Disciplines

American Politics | Gender, Race, Sexuality, and Ethnicity in Communication | Mass Communication | Social Influence and Political Communication | Speech and Rhetorical Studies

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Male Presidential Discourse:
Achieving Speech Purpose

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Table of Contents

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I.   Introduction

Scholars in many academic fields have agreed that because of distinguishable evolutionary pressures, biological features, and socialization, men and women evolve different goals for social interactions, and distinct communicative styles to achieve them. First, men have always occupied the chaotic public domain, and developed preferences for establishing independence and superiority and showcasing aggression. Accordingly, their speech is competitive, dominating, and antagonistic.[1] For example, sociolinguists have shown that they use commands to show leadership.[2] Political communication scholars have recognized men politicians utilize examples unrelated to their audience to show exclusivity.[3] This language is especially conducive to political activity in the public sphere: it is useful to take aggressive stands, initiate action, handle competition, persuade, and display expertise.[4]

By contrast, women have always been confined to the private domain as caregivers, so they have developed preferences for establishing intimacy and maintaining unity. Thus, their speech is supportive and inclusive.[5] For example, sociolinguists have discerned they use inclusive pronouns to welcome the addressee into the conversation.[6] Political communication scholars have claimed women politicians disclose personal anecdotes to achieve unity with their audience.[7] This language is considered too weak and passive for political activities, such as conveying controversial topics and persuading ideas.[8] While men and women may have formed distinct language styles to accomplish their gendered goals, scholars have noted that they are not just reflections of gendered identities. They are also rhetorical tools that can be used by either men or women to achieve certain objectives.[9]

Until the twentieth century, women in the United States stayed out of the public sphere. They (and their language) were considered too fragile to handle the personal and linguistic exertion that political activity required. In 1920, however, American women acquired the right to vote, and therefore increased opportunities to run for public office. But a concern emerged – how were women to speak in public?[10] Tracing women's political communication from 1920, some have adopted the masculine speech traditionally appropriate to politics, but have been considered abrasive and asexual as a result. Others have maintained feminine speech, but have been considered defective and feeble.[11] This 'double bind' is "a theme that remains relevant for contemporary women who still must struggle to cope with these contradicting expectations."[12]

Due to women's recent admission into politics, and the consequent linguistic 'double bind,' a plethora of scholars have been interested in the use of gendered rhetoric

by women politicians. However, since masculine language is inherent to men and has always been advantageous in politics, fewer studies have asked, what role, if any, has feminine-style rhetoric obtained in men politicians' discourse since women carried it into politics? Those studies that have begun investigating this question have theorized that feminine rhetoric is useful for the men when communicating via television, discussing compassionate issues, wanting to appear caring, or appealing to women. This thesis aims to contribute to the growing literature by proposing an additional role that has not been considered. Although seemingly the most obvious, as it is its main function, researchers have yet to consider whether men politicians use feminine rhetoric to unify the audience to them and each other. I pose, do men politicians use more feminine speech when they seek to unify, cooperate, and maintain relationships? By comparison, do they use less feminine speech when they seek to arouse, persuade, or directive their audience?

Nomination Acceptance Speeches given by presumptive presidential nominees at their party's national convention and Inaugural Addresses given by presidents-elect at Inauguration Ceremonies seem to be fitting modes of application to find answers. The former serves to achieve purposes related to masculine language, such as justifying the nominees as leaders and rallying their party's base, whereas the latter serves to achieve purposes related to feminine language, such as unifying the nation's citizens and eliciting their respect. Therefore, I hypothesize that if men politicians use gendered rhetoric to methodically accomplish certain speech purposes, feminine rhetoric should be more abundant in Inaugural Addresses than Nomination Acceptance Speeches.

To begin this paper, I will discuss the general problem that this thesis addresses, by exploring the purposes of masculine and feminine speech, summarizing the history of

their applications and roles in politics, and outlining the gaps in previous literature on these matters. Having established both gendered language styles as rhetorical tools used by members of either gender to achieve distinct goals, I will denote the function of Nomination Acceptance Speeches and Inaugural Addresses, and hypothesize that masculine speech is conducive to the former while feminine speech is conducive to the latter. In other words, having established that feminine language is a rhetorical tool that can be used by both men and women to establish unity and respect between speaker and audience, and that Inaugural Addresses seek to achieve these functions, I propose that male presidents-elect in American history should use more of this rhetoric in these speeches. As a comparison, having established that masculine language is a rhetorical tool that can be used by both men and women to appear dominant and confident, and that presidents-elect seek to appear this way in their Nomination Acceptance speeches, they should use more masculine – and not as much feminine – rhetoric in these speeches. From there, I will detail the sociolinguistic and political communication experiments that I used to test my claims, followed by a discussion of the results. The results will contribute to existing literature regarding the role of feminine language in male politicians' speech.

Masculine and Feminine Rhetoric

Scholars have advocated that different evolutionary pressures, biological features, and socialization experiences have caused men and women to develop opposing personal aspirations and social roles, and distinct communication styles to accommodate them. First, they have claimed that biological features and evolutionary pressures cause men to

be aggressive and self-assertive.[13] Primitive evolutionary theory suggests that males

must compete with other males and display their strengths to win over females, pass on

their genes, and insure their self-preservation. Because females are biologically wired to

gestate and raise their offspring – a timely commitment – their reproductive success

hinges on finding a mate who will contribute strong genes to the few children they may

bear. For the males, participating in and winning the competitions takes courage,

competitiveness, and aggression. Correspondingly, men have the physical equipment for

toughness, such as powerful fists and sturdy chests.[14] In addition, young boys prepare for

these contingencies through socialization, engaging in individualistic and competitive

activities which further establish preferences for establishing independence and

superiority and showcasing aggression and dominance.[15] But regardless of the cause, the

point is that men overall are ambitious, controlling, competitive, and tough.[16] And in

modern society, these aggressive qualities are manifested as assertion in the public realm

through politics, a domain which provides men the opportunity to compete, persuade, and

dictate.[17]

To achieve their social and political goals of agency and domination, men

developed a rhetorical style characterized by directive and instrumental speech.[18]

Sociolinguists have categorized masculine speech as competitive, argumentative,

antagonistic, and insulting.[19] For example, studies have shown that men use interruptions

to portray power and control,[20] and strong expletives to demonstrate bravery and

aggression.[21] They also use commands (*Give me, I need*) to show leadership,[22] and non-

inclusive pronouns (*I, you, me*) to exhibit dominance.[23] Political communication scholars

have specified that men politicians use various rhetorical techniques to create distance

between themselves and their audience to emphasize their leadership.[24] For example,

they use impartial statistics and technical terms to affirm their own expertise, and

impersonal examples that are historical, hypothetical, and unconnected to the audience to

show exclusivity and professional authority. They also use language to persuade, and

legitimize their plans as absolute and opinions as right. For example, they utilize

deductive reasoning, asserting their conclusions before justifications, and factual

arguments, which leaves no opportunities for audience interpretation.[25]

By contrast, biological features and evolutionary pressures cause women to be

nurturing and cooperative. As mentioned, primitive evolutionary theory suggests that

females are burdened with long gestation periods, which limits their ability to mate often

or with multiple partners to produce numerous offspring. To attract a selection of worthy

mates from which to choose their possibly only partner, females must make themselves

appealing. Since males look for mates who will care for their children, females strive to

appear nurturing, caring, and cooperative.[26] Biologically, women have small physiques

and an emotional and understanding mentality to convey a delicate appearance.[27] In

addition, young girls perfect these skills through socialization, confining themselves to

the private sphere and engaging in cooperative activities that hone their abilities to

establish intimacy, maintain unity, and achieve group harmony.[28]

To fulfill their traditional caregiver role and socialized aspirations, women

adopted nurturing and inclusive linguistic behaviors.[29] Sociolinguists have characterized

female language as emotional, pleasing, supportive and conciliatory.[30] For example,

studies have proven that women use hedges (*I wonder, you know*), tag questions (*isn't it?*

can't you?), and inclusive pronouns (*we, us*) to invite addressees into conversations.[31] In

addition, they give minimal responses (*mmhmm*) to show support and attentiveness.[32]

They use suggestions (*let's*) and weaker expletives (*dear me, oh goodness*) to maintain

respect,[33] and they weaken their statements with adverbials (*maybe, probably*) and modal

verbs (*may, could*) to maintain equality and receive approval.[34]

Even while women are vying for authority in the political domain, political

communication scholars have noticed they have created rhetorical techniques that help

them maintain their female-associated goals, such as acquiring respect and facilitating

unity in a compassionate manner. Their language has remained sensitive and

cooperative.[35] For example, studied have shown that women use a personal tone

comprised of sincere language to appear nurturing and compassionate.[36] In addition, they

incorporate inclusive pronouns and phrases (*my fellow citizens*) to address the audience as

peers and signify a common identity with them.[37] Developed through women's activities

such as telling bedtime stories and gossiping in the community, women also use

descriptive anecdotes and visual examples to create feelings of shared experience. [38]

They discuss experiences their audience has also lived to help them better understand the

arguments, [39] and they include personal disclosure to foster feelings of shared intimacy. [40]

In sum, scholars have termed "masculine rhetoric" as language that is useful for

men to achieve the biological and social goals associated with their masculine identity,

such as taking aggressive stands, initiating action, affirming expertise, handling

competition, and persuading. However, these scholars have recently introduced the idea

that masculine rhetoric can also be used by women who wish to complete these same

endeavors (for example, in business or political settings). Therefore, masculine language

is not just an expression of the masculine identity, but a rhetorical tool to achieve certain

objectives. Likewise, what scholars have termed "feminine rhetoric" is appropriate to

express feelings and maintain group harmony, and parallels the soft and ornamental

feminine identity. But it too is not just an expression of femininity identity or exclusive

to women, but a rhetorical tool that can be used by men or women seeking to soothe,

please, garner respect, and unify addressees to each other and the speaker. [41]

Male and Female Rhetoric in Politics: A History

The same biological, evolutionary, and social forces that made women fitting for

the private realm also made them unsuitable for and even detrimental to the public realm.

Long ago, critics asserted that since women had small bodies, using their brains to speak,

debate, and persuade would have detracted the small amounts of energy they did have

from menstruation.[42] Aristotle and Hippocrates agreed that public speaking was too

strenuous for women, and would damage their ability to conceive and bear strong

children.[43] Others said that exhibiting the lustful and ambitious attributes necessary to

survive in politics would make women less pure and pious.[44] Therefore, engaging in

political activity, which meant risking reproductive capacity and exhibiting manly traits,

masculinized women and threatened their womanhood.[45] But in the private domain,

women's influence was modest, their nature submissive, and their activities relaxed and

cooperative. They could take spiritual and emotional care of their families in a pure

home setting, and be protected from the exhausting public world of "amoral capitalism

and dirty politics." [46]

Many men have not only believed that political activity would weaken women, but also that effeminate speech would hurt society. First, these men said that women's small brains and congenital, exclusive focus on progeny made them fundamentality irrational.[47] They maintained that women's speech was derived from emotion; it was excessive and disorganized. Thus, if given authority, it would corrupt social order because it invited people to support judgments based on emotion-driven appeals rather than reason. The New Testament even suggested that since women lacked reason to govern their speech and fortify their thoughts, the devil was able to penetrate them, making their messages seductive and sinful. Second, women's speech was too personal to speak on behalf of institutions, whereas, for example, clergymen spoke in the name of the church and lawyers spoke in the name of the law. For these reasons, female speech would challenge institutions, "drain the nation of its testosterone," and weaken the body politic overall.[48] So, women were to be silent and occupy the private domain.

American women did not contest these beliefs or their place in society until 1840, when they wanted to join the abolitionist movement. They realized they needed men's permission and respect to speak publically if they were to have any influence in the social movement. But their campaign for recognition did not accelerate until 1874, when decided to fight against alcoholism, a vice that threatened the home and family. People finally saw that if women could participate in the public sphere – attend college, own property, sue, or vote – they could help improve the domestic realm. On August 6, 1920, after an eighty year struggle to break into the public sphere, women got suffrage in the United States.[49]

Yet, with the right to vote came increasing opportunities to run for office, and women faced the challenge of figuring out how to speak in public.[50] Their natural speech was considered vulnerable, weak, and submissive, and therefore worthless for conveying controversial topics, expressing themselves in public, and persuading ideas, which political competition required.[51] Therefore, to become more assertive and venturesome, women adopted masculine rhetoric.[52] But this posed a second challenge: when women demonstrated the imperative masculine-associated traits, such as expertise, authority, and rationality, they were judged as unwomanly, aggressive, or cold. Labeled a 'double bind,' women who used masculine language were considered aggressive and asexual, but women who spoke traditional female language were considered unreasonable and ineffective.[53] United States Senator, Barbara Boxer, once said, "If I was strong in my expression of the issues I was strident…[and] ran the risk of being too much like a man; if I expressed any emotion…I was soft."[54] Scholars like Kathleen Hall Jamieson describe the 'double bind' as a manifestation or extension of the clashes between brain and womb, and politician and homemaker. The former clash refers to the ancient biologically-rooted belief that women are physically incapable of engaging in both intellectual and reproductive activities. The latter refers to the nineteenth-century sociologically-rooted idea that women cannot have successful careers and maintain their roles as mothers.[55] Like being intellectually or politically active, using masculine speech indicated an inappropriate masculinity for women. But like bearing or raising children, using feminine speech signaled femininity associated with irrationality and emotion. Indeed, women needed to exhibit masculine traits *and* incorporate evidence of femininity into their speech to escape the predicament.[56]

Many women strategically tweaked their speech style "to cope with the conflicting demands of the podium."[57] As mentioned, women adopted a feminine-style of political communication to achieve political objectives, while staying true to their traditional femininity. In addition to unifying the audience and generating respect, feminine-style rhetoric helps the speaker claim authority, persuade, and empower the audience, yet in a compassionate manner.[58] By giving examples, anecdotes, and practical wisdom, the speaker can claim legitimacy based on proof of experience, which is actually stronger than rhetorical claims, abstract generalizations, and dry statistics characteristic of masculine rhetoric.[59] It also shows that the speaker has gained strength and self-awareness through mature introspection. Concrete and relatable illustrations are more persuasive because they are easier to understand and help simplify complex arguments.[60] Self-disclosure and personal anecdotes, which help the audience relate to the speaker and empathize with their perspective, also adds to the persuasive effect of the message. They also provide proof by example that the speaker's arguments are valid. Last, using inductive reasoning and colorful narratives empowers the audience because it invites them to relate, draw conclusions, and make judgments.[61] This helps them realize they are equal participants of the speaker's decision-making process who have valued opinions and the ability to enact change.[62] Throughout the twentieth century and into the twenty-first, more and more women are succeeding politics, and it is likely because they found a rhetorical style that reconciled everyone's competing expectations.

Literature Review

Due to women's relatively recent admission into politics and the consequent linguistic struggle that remains relevant for contemporary women who still face contradictory expectations,[63] many scholars have been interested in the use of masculine and feminine rhetoric by women politicians.

Campbell labeled the concept of feminine rhetoric, based on an analysis of speeches by fifteen female reformists advancing social movements from 1840 to 1920. She outlined its characteristics and suggested its function as a solution to the 'double bind' and a rhetorical tool for women to advance their social agendas in the public sphere.[64] After studying the speech of former Texas governor, Ann Richards, Dow and Tonn declared that women still use the feminine rhetoric in contemporary discourse, as masculine communication strategies are still more valued in the public sphere and women still face the 'double bind'.[65] As the first study to recognize feminine rhetoric adapted to the political context, they concluded that the rhetoric is not just a strategy for unification or audience empowerment. It also validates an alternative mode to patriarchal political reasoning that reflects feminine values, such as making judgments based on parental experience over abstractions, celebrating strength through mature introspection, and assuming authority by displaying compassion and fostering personal growth.[66] Blankenship and Robson agreed after looking at speeches and utterances by 45 women holding or seeking public office. They also added that women use feminine rhetoric to advocate comprehensive policies and give women's issues more salience in politics.[67]

Herrnson, Lay, and Stokes revealed that because voters hold stereotypes of women candidates, perceiving them as more compassionate and competent at handling

women's issues, women are more successful when they "employ their identity as a strength" and prime the positive attributes that voters look for.[68] Looking back through the twentieth century, many studies document women using feminine rhetoric as a tool to emphasize their feminine strengths. For example, Benze and DeClercq established that women are twice as likely as men to use feminine rhetoric to stress compassion, warmth, honesty, and morality, thereby making their perceived strengths more salient.[69] Curtis et al. found that women in Congress use more personal tone and inductive structure than men do in their floor speeches.[70] DeRosa and Bystrom showed that women used personal tone in 94 percent of their 1996 Presidential National Convention speeches, addressed the audience as peers in 69 percent, emphasized their experience through personal anecdotes in 63 percent, and used inductive reasoning in 59 percent.[71]

However, studies by Rosenwasser and Dean and Huddy and Terkildsen both determined from public opinion surveys that American voters value toughness, aggression, and competence in their politicians. Accordingly, some women have used masculine rhetoric as a tool to portray these traits.[72] For example, Johnston and White discerned that women in their study were more likely to emphasize strength rather than warmth.[73] Bystrom et al. found that female U.S. Senatorial candidates mostly used logical appeals and stressed their own accomplishments in spot ads for mixed-gender races from 1992 to 2002.[74]

The evidence is contradictory because masculine and feminine rhetorical styles are both beneficial techniques. Studies even document women combining them. For example, although DeRosa and Bystrom found that many women gave personal and inclusive speeches using anecdotes and inductive reasoning, they also used expert

references and impersonal examples.[75] In their study of five Congressmen and five

Congresswomen, Curtis et al. found that eight out of the ten used both strategies in their

public addresses.[76] In her study of 1992 national convention speeches, DeRosa

recognized that women blended the strategies, as well.[77] Even Ann Richards[78] and

former Colorado congresswoman Patricia Schroeder[79] meshed formal evidence,

deductive structure, and linear modes of reasoning with feminine techniques.

As described above, masculine traits and language inherently thrive in the public

realm and help fulfill political aims. Hence, men have a consistent and unimpeded

rhetorical history of public persuasion dating back to ancient Greece.[80] To no surprise,

Benze and DeClercq found that men are three times more likely than women to use

masculine rhetoric as a tool because it primes their political strengths, including

knowledge, leadership, experience, and toughness.[81] Indeed, men emphasize their own

experiences and use deductive reasoning,[82] exercise more logical appeals and statistical

evidence, and stress their own accomplishments.[83]

However, when women entered politics, they introduced a second rhetorical

framework with a new and distinct function.[84] Scholars maintain that it is not exclusive

to women, and could be beneficial for male politicians to adopt.[85] So I reiterate the

question: what role, if any, does feminine rhetoric play in men politicians' discourse?

Scholars have only recently been interested in examining men politicians' use of

feminine rhetoric, and their studies are few in number. Jamieson suggests that it is more

appropriate for a male politician when communicating via radio and television. These

media stimulate intimate spatial relationships and seemingly private conversations

between the speaker and audience members. They invite the latter to personally evaluate the former, she maintains, by putting the voice or image of the politician right in the citizens' private living rooms. To appear favorably under such circumstances, it is beneficial to project a sense of private self by self-disclosing and expressing feelings, and engage the audience by discussing relatable narratives. To these ends, effeminate conciliatory and self-disclosive – rather than masculine, combative– discourse is most effective.[86] Jamieson maintains that such feminine rhetorical techniques become more prevalent in presidential speech as radio and television as modes of communication increasingly replace in-person public addresses to large crowds that require speakers to use projected voices, roaring tones, and fiery words. For example, the use of radio in Franklin Delano Roosevelt's presidency paved the way to his intimate and conversational addresses called 'fireside chats.' Later, scholars claim Richard Nixon lost the first Kennedy-Nixon joint television appearance because he spoke as if it were a heated debate rather than a calm televised discussion.[87] Looking at men's television spots in U.S. Senate races between 1992 and 2002, Bystrom discerned that they use inductive reasoning, personal tone, and address the audience as peers; she attributes this pattern to the intimate medium of television.[88]

Jamieson also proposes that feminine rhetoric that fosters intimate relationships helps men politicians appear caring and credible in ways that statistics and cliché phrases cannot.[89] Most constituents judge the President's legitimacy based on what kind of man he is, rather than the programs or acts he espouses. Thus, personal narratives move constituents to conclude that they know, like, and trust the President because they feel they have shared intimate moments with him. Ronald Reagan effectively used personal

narratives to sidetrack charges of incipient senility by refocusing the citizens' attention to his positive attributes: his caring and understanding nature. Self-disclosure is also useful, as some constituents even consider the President as more genuine and reliable when they feel they know him, period. For example, speaking in his resignation speech with self-revealing "personal conviction and honorable intention" (*"I have done my very best"*), Richard Nixon framed his character favorably and minimized the focus on his illegal acts.[90] Last, Bill Clinton used personal tone, emotional appeals,[91] and arguments based on lived experiences to portray himself as caring.[92]

In turn, Jamieson declares that a trusted and well-liked politician can more easily garner support for his programs.[93] Furthermore, Huddy and Terkildsen agree that a warm politician (perceived as such from the feminine rhetoric he uses) can more effectively deal with compassionate political issues.[94] Substance and style coalesce: encouraging economic competition and rallying support for military endeavors requires hostile and instrumental verbal behavior; but advocating child care and health benefits favors nurturing and incorporative speech.[95] For example, by projecting a gentle personality through his rhetorical techniques, Reagan deflected his critics' contentions that he was obsessed with military conquest and instead underscored his support for traditional values.[96]

Next, Parry-Giles and Parry-Giles assert that men politicians use feminine rhetoric to preserve politics as a patriarchal system.[97] In their study analyzing five presidential campaign films, they found that all used aspects of the feminine style – personal language, vivid anecdotes, inductive reasoning – to form bonds with the viewers. Once the links between the candidates and voters were established, however,

the films emphasized masculine themes, such as sports and the military, to tie the presidency with men-dominated institutions. Forming the connections first made these messages more credible, persuasive, and uncontestable. For example, Reagan revealed his personal feelings about inspecting American troops in Korea in his 1984 film, but this served to emphasize his military experience and associated himself with traits such as heroism and courage. Later, Dukakis employed an inductive, non-linear structure in his 1988 film to resemble a home-made autobiography and fit in pictures of him finishing a marathon, but this served to detail his athletic ability and associate himself with traits such as dedication and competitiveness.[98]

Last, according to the speech accommodation theory, a speaker can adjust his speech style to resemble that of his addressees to reduce dissimilarities between them, which helps him win approval, appear cooperative, and produce a more understandable message.[99] Banwart and Kaid suggest that Bill Clinton used inductive reasoning to appeal to female voters by matching his thought processes to theirs.[100]

Overall, studies have begun to show that a place exists for feminine rhetoric in men politicians' discourse. I aim to contribute to this growing literature by determining whether they also use feminine rhetoric to unify the audience to them and each other. Again, I hypothesize that if they do, feminine rhetoric should be more abundant when men politicians are trying to unify the audience, than when they trying to arouse, persuade, or direct the audience, which is better accomplished through their natural masculine rhetoric. To test this hypothesis, I will focus on two types of speeches: Nomination Acceptance Speeches, whose main purpose is to arouse, persuade, and direct, and Inaugural Addresses, whose main purpose is to unify.

Nomination Acceptance Speeches and Inaugural Addresses

A Nomination Acceptance Speech is given by the presumptive Presidential nominee at his party's national convention to formally accept the party's nomination for Presidential candidate.[101] Presumptive nominees accepted through letters or informal speeches until 1932, when Franklin D. Roosevelt became the first to personally deliver his speech at his party convention. Since then, Acceptances have become one of the most important campaign speeches, serving a variety of additional purposes that are crucial to running a successful race.[102] I argue that these purposes, which I now outline, are most effectively communicated through masculine rhetoric.

First, presumptive nominees use their Nomination Acceptance Speeches to justify their party's legitimization and supporters' faith that they are qualified to take the nomination.[103] They must prove they are noble, wise, and fit to represent their party.[104] Sometimes, this is accomplished using autobiography. For example, Dwight D. Eisenhower recounted his war experiences to prove he could end the Korean conflict and respond to challenges of the Cold War. John F. Kennedy discussed his age and religion to prove he would be a competent and fair leader.[105] Although biography is characteristic of feminine rhetoric, it is self-focused in this case and used to prove competence. In addition, many times they use autobiography to compare themselves with their opponents and prove they are more qualified for the job.[106] Therefore, components of masculine rhetoric, including competitive and confident tones, references to self-expertise and experience, and mentions of their future plans should be useful.

Second, presumptive nominees use Acceptances to assume the role of party leader – commanding, confident, and prepared.[107] Assuming leadership means taking control of

the party's campaign, giving directions regarding how the contest will proceed, and outlining the political agenda that they will emphasize. For example, in 1932, Roosevelt assumed authority over his party by insisting he knew exactly what needed to be done and that he was prepared to do it. Fields found that he used declarative sentences and first person pronouns to dictate a controlled, assertive, and action-oriented Acceptance Speech.[108] Making such assertions requires using instructive language, referencing self-expertise, and emphasizing future plans, which the masculine style achieves.[109]

Third, the speech serves to unify the party for a political battle against the opposing party and to prepare to secure victory on Election Day.[110] Perceptions of out-group threats typically strengthen in-group loyalty. Therefore, unification is many times accomplished by first labeling the opposition as menacing to the United States' success, and then by introducing superior alternatives, emphasizing the ideals and aspirations of the party, and telling the audience "who they are as Republicans or Democrats and what work their principles call them to perform."[111] For example, Ronald Reagan united the Republican Party in his 1980 Acceptance Speech by blaming Democratic President Jimmy Carter for the economic crisis and then outlining a conservative economic agenda, such as cutting taxes and deregulating businesses, which he promised would fix the problem.[112] This process requires rhetoric that is informative, offensive, competitive, boastful, and confident, which are characteristics of the masculine style.[113]

Last, presumptive nominees use Acceptances to arouse frenzy and motivation amongst the party for the campaign. They stress the urgency and crucial nature of the election, and that there is no choice other than participating in the campaign and supporting the party. In addition, they fill the speech with partisan statements suggesting

that their party's positions are clearly better than those of the opposing party, that their party is necessary to solve any problems confronting the nation, and that they will lead the country in the right direction.[114] For example, Eisenhower treated his 1952 Nomination Acceptance Speech as a battle cry, marshalling his forces, labeling the campaign "a fighting road," and calling for "total victory."[115] Therefore, harsh and uncompromising language, arguments rooted in principles, and hypothetic anecdotes that detail the future – all characteristic of masculine rhetoric – seem to be effective to achieve these objectives.

Overall, Nomination Acceptance Speeches are persuasive and arousing partisan messages that presumptive nominees give to assume leadership and rally their supporters against the opposition. Accordingly, I have suggested that masculine rhetoric, which is confident, competitive, and commanding, is most useful for communicating these purposes. Therefore, I hypothesize that there should be more masculine rhetoric in speeches of this genre than in Inaugural Addresses.

An Inaugural Address, given by the President-elect at the Inauguration Ceremony (which formally marks the beginning of his term) also accomplishes many goals beyond the primary one of accepting the oath of office of the Presidency. It serves to appreciate American values rooted in tradition, invite consideration for future guiding principles, accept the executive limits of the President position, and acknowledge subordination to the people's will. These objectives all foster the overarching goal of uniting the citizenry and soliciting their support.[116] I argue that an Inaugural's purposes can be most effectively communicated through feminine rhetoric.

Presidents-elect must use Inaugurals unify the citizenry as 'the people,' who have been divided by a hard-fought presidential election campaign. Simultaneously, the speech becomes an opportunity to harmonize a public divided from any other circumstances.[117] For example, George Washington and John Adams stressed wholeness and nationhood to reconcile not only party animosities resulting from their campaigns, but also district jealousies that lingered after the creation of the Constitution, which diminished state sovereignty. Later, Abraham Lincoln used his Inaugural to reconcile the North and South after the Civil War, Franklin D. Roosevelt used his to reconcile the rich and poor after the Great Depression, Eisenhower used his to reconcile the Republicans and Democrats during the Cold War, Lyndon B. Johnson used his to reconcile the blacks and whites during the Civil Rights Movement, and Bill Clinton used his to reconcile the generational gap between young and old people after the Vietnam and Cold Wars.[118]

First, Presidents- elect pursue unification by emphasizing shared traditions and experiences. Presidents-elect re-categorize the citizenry as Americans by reminding them of their common suffering and common achievements in the face of challenges in the past, their membership to a united nation, and their spiritual strength capable of transcending any shallow differences.[119] They recall great events that have defined the nation to show how fruitless are temporary material divisions in the context of a greater history, harmony and faith.[120] Speakers can fulfill these tasks by using a sincere tone, discussing shared experiences, validating audience emotions, and providing descriptive anecdotes that recall the past in a way everyone can relive in the present, which are all components of feminine rhetoric.[121]

Second, Presidents-elect use Inaugurals to unify the audience by setting forth principles for their presidency that call upon, stress, and recommit the nation to timeless American values. They remind Americans of their loyalty to common democratic principles, and assure that as the President, they will continue to advocate them as well. They thereby contextualize everyone's personal ideals within the greater goal of American nationalism. Again, recollection through narrative and persuasion along moral grounds, characteristic of feminine rhetoric, should be most useful. Furthermore, the Presidents-elect propose their principles for contemplation, not as practices for action.[122] Therefore, inductive structure and audience empowerment, techniques of feminine language, are inclusive and useful for inviting the nation to evaluate and hopefully support the proposals.

Last, Inaugural Addresses connect the Presidents-elect to their constituents. Presidents-elect understand that they were elected by and are representative of the citizenry, and are bound by its will and mercy. The citizenry must accept the Presidents-elects' outlined principles, ratify their ascents to power, and approve their oaths. Therefore, the politicians use Inaugurals to acknowledge they understand their subservient positions and commitments to serving the people.[123] Grover Cleveland stated, "…I am about to supplement and seal by the oath which I have taken the manifestation of the will of a great and free people."[124] They also emphasize that they are joined to their constituents through shared obedience to identical national principles and laws.[125] As Eisenhower declared, "I, too, am a witness, today testifying in your name to the principles and purposes to which we, as a people, are pledged."[126] Finally, the presidents-elect elicit from the people respect and trust as a leader, not by exuding

superiority, but by reassuring citizens they are merely a guide, limited by the Constitution and the democratic ideals it embodies, and sure against abusing their executive powers.[127] I hypothesize that because female rhetoric is inclusive and conciliatory, it should be used to achieve these ends as well. This process requires using nurturing and sincere tons, providing moral arguments, detailing shared experiences, and encouraging the audience to evaluate government, which are characteristics of the feminine style. Since the Inaugural's main purposes are most effectively communicated through feminine rhetoric, I hypothesize that they should contain more of it than Acceptances.

II. Experiment I: The Sociolinguistic Analysis

To recap, scholars have asserted that men and women have different behavioral goals and utilize different linguistic strategies to accommodate them.[128] This adaption has created two speaking styles: masculine rhetoric that is assertive and informative, reflects men's behaviors, and predominates in their speech, and feminine language that is cooperative and sensitive, reflects women's behaviors, and prevails in their speech.[129] However, both styles function as rhetorical tools useful to either gender, as masculine speech may enhance a speaker's authority, while feminine speech may help a speaker appear more nurturing. In fact, scholars have declared that "men and women both err if they cannot switch readily from one style to the other as the situation warrants."[130]

The study of gender as a variable in sociolinguistic research is predicated on an observation-based account by sociolinguist Robyn Lakoff and the politeness theory developed by sociolinguists Penelope Brown and Stephen Levinson. In 1975, Lakoff published a book entitled Language and Woman's Place, in which she declared women's

language a distinct speaking style.[131] She claimed it was hesitant, a reflection of

women's inferior status in society. It was characterized by questions, relative qualifiers,

adverbials, relative modal verbs, intensifiers, inclusive pronouns, requests, and hedges,

which all mitigate confidence in and attenuate the force of a speaker's claims (which will

be discussed in detail below).[132]

Brown and Levinson agreed that women spoke distinctively, but reframed it as

polite, rather than uncertain. According to their politeness theory, people have positive

face needs, or desires to be respected, and negative face needs, or desires to be free from

imposition. The strategies that Lakoff considered hesitant, they interpreted as politeness

strategies to save face. For example, inclusive pronouns make addressees feel welcomed

and save positive face. Requests that protect addressees' freedom to respond to

statements with discretion save negative face.[133] Brown found that Mayan women used

more face-saving techniques, which she attributed to their lower social status and intense

caution to respect their superiors.[134]

The Sociolinguistic Variables

The first sociolinguistic variable I observed and analyzed in my study is

questions, or expressions of inquiry that invite a reply. Questions signal that an idea is

not absolute and therefore provide opportunities for collaboration.[135] Sensibly, studies

have found that questions are more characteristic of the feminine repertoire.[136] First,

questions maintain audience involvement. They can invite listeners to participate in the

conversation or at least encourage independent thought.[137] Second, questions promote

equality between the speaker and audience.[138] They demote the speaker because he may

be requesting information and showing uncertainty, or requesting an opinion and not

committing to his assertion. [139] Instead, questions empower the audience by admitting the

members have information the speaker may lack, or by requesting the listeners' approval

and providing them the option to re-interpret or disagree with a statement.[140] Therefore, I

hypothesize that *questions* should be more prevalent in Inaugural Addresses.

In my study, *questions* included only those posed by the speaker to the audience

in the present time. Thus, it excluded questions posed between entities in a story ("He

seemed to be asking, like many Americans who struggle…'Is there hope for me?'…";[141]

"He asked him, 'If you're not going to use your army may I borrow it?'" [142]). The

questions included fell into three sub-types that I created. The first is *self-dialogue*

questions, which I define as questions that the speaker asks but then immediately

answers. For example, in George W. Bush's 2004 Nomination Acceptance Speech, he

asks "How can people so burdened with sorrow also feel such pride?" and then

immediately answers "It is because they know their loved one was last seen doing

good..."[143] This question type is emphatic because it calls on the audience's attention, to

actively consider a certain fact or piece of evidence. It is inclusive because it gives the

audience a brief second to consider their own answer.[144]

Second, I define *including audience questions* as those that solicit information or

opinions from the addressees and do not imply a particular answer. For example, in

George H.W. Bush's 1988 Nomination Acceptance Speech, he asks "We will surely have

change this year, but will it be change that moves us forward?"[145] While one can assume

what Bush would like the answer to be, he understands that it is ultimately up to the

citizens to vote the decision.

Last, I identify *rhetorical questions* according to the traditional definition: questions

posed for their persuasive effect and that encourage listeners to contrive the implied

answer. For example, in Barack Obama's 2008 Nomination Acceptance Speech, he asks,

"Why else would he define middle-class as someone making under five million dollars a

year?" to illustrate an earlier assertion that his opponent "doesn't know…what's going on

in the lives of Americans."[146] By asking instead of stating, Obama shows how rhetorical

questions are enthymematic: they lead the audience to contrive his answer themselves. In

addition to being inclusive, posing rhetorical questions reveals an assumption that the

speaker and hearer share a belief or attitude. The speaker trusts the listener to derive his

conclusion.[147]

The second sociolinguistic variable is *qualifiers*, or words that modify how certain

or generalized a statement is. There are qualifiers of quantity, time, certainty, and

quality. And, specific words within each subtype can be considered relative or absolute.

Relative qualifiers, such as *some, occasionally,* and *almost* make a statement less certain

and allow for interpretation, whereas absolute qualifiers, such as *all, never,* and *every*

make it more exact and decisive.[148] Because women's language invites input and men's

language is more definitive, studies have shown that feminine rhetoric uses more relative

qualifiers and masculine rhetoric uses more absolute qualifiers.[149] Therefore, I predict

that Inaugurals should include more *relative qualifiers* and Acceptances should

incorporate more *absolute qualifiers*.

The third category is *adverbials*, or words that make the ideas or proposals put

forth less definite. These words, such as *maybe*, *perhaps*, and *relatively* minimize

imposition,[150] mitigate the force of a statement, or call for joint collaboration by alluding

to the flexibility and vagueness of a belief or plan.[151] Accordingly, previous studies have

found adverbials to be characteristic of feminine language.[152] Therefore, I hypothesize

that Inaugural Addresses will have more of them.

The fourth variable is *modal verbs*, which express the degree of possibility or

necessity of a belief or event.[153] Like qualifiers, modal verbs can be relative or absolute.

The absolute modal verbs, such as *must, need,* and *will*, signal necessity, urgency, and

agency, and are studies have shown they are characteristic of masculine language.[154]

Therefore, I propose that more of them should be present in Acceptance Speeches. By

contrast, the relative modal verbs, such as *can, may,* and *would* convey indecisiveness

and reluctance.[155] They mitigate commanding phrases, which allows speakers to assert

their personal beliefs and wishes without being aggressive or demanding.[156] In turn,

speakers' beliefs and wishes appear more flexible, so audiences feel they are part of the

decision-making or opinion-forming process, and a climate of interpersonal closeness

naturally generates.[157] Therefore, studies have shown that they are characteristic of

feminine language and I hypothesize that more of them will be used in Inaugural

Addresses.

Fifth, I looked for *intensifiers*, or words that increase the strength and emotional

affect of a statement.[158] Intensifiers, like *extremely*, *really*, and *very* add emotional

content to the statement, thereby reducing the attention a listener pays to the cognitive

message.[159] In this way, speakers can use intensifiers to hedge potentially contentious

comments and portray their points in a moderated fashion.[160] In addition, they can

convey their affective involvement with their statements and, by their example,

encourage listeners to connect and feel just as passionate.[161] Overall, intensifiers are

characteristic of feminine language because they weaken statements to avoid upsetting

listeners and foster an emotional affiliation and equality between the speaker and

addressees.[162] Correspondingly, many studies have found that women use more

intensifiers than men. They also suggest that masculine rhetoric makes use of fewer

intensifiers because they detract from the primary content of a statement and make it less

persuasive or realistic by exaggerating and adding emotional content to it. [163] Therefore,

I hypothesize that more *intensifiers* should be used in Inaugural Addresses.

The sixth category in my study is *pronouns*, or words that replace nouns.

Specifically, I looked at inclusive and exclusive pronouns. First, *inclusive pronouns*,

such as *us* and *we*, are personal pronouns that refer to the audience and speaker as one

entity. Scholars have found that feminine language incorporates more inclusive pronouns

than masculine language because they help express a relationship with listeners by

inviting their participation in thought or collaboration in action.[164] The second category,

exclusive pronouns, such as *I* and *you*, creates distance between the speaker and audience

by alluding that their positions are separate. For example, *I* highlights the speaker's

ownership over certain actions or ideas.[165] *You* subordinates the audience as

subservient.[166] Scholars have found that these pronouns are more characteristic of

masculine language because they create hierarchy and enforce authority.[167] Considering

this literature, I speculate that Acceptances will include more exclusive pronouns,

whereas Inaugurals will include more inclusive pronouns.

The seventh sociolinguistic variable is *directives*, or speech acts that try to get

another to do something.[168] I separate this category into three subtypes that form a

continuum from most to least demanding. First, *command directives*, such as *Join me,*

are authoritative and forceful instructions given to achieve compliance from addressees. Command directives establish an asymmetrical relationship –the speaker claims power and subordinates his audience by ordering them to act.[169] Because they enforce hierarchy and prompt action, studies have shown they are used more by men and considered attributes of masculine language.[170] Therefore, I hypothesize that there will be more in Nomination Acceptances Speeches.

Second, *mitigated directives* solicit action in a more polite manner, by taking the form of requests and proposals for future behavior.[171] They hedge the force of commands. Some mitigated directives, like *I ask you to join me*, incorporate the language of questions, and give the audience an opportunity to reject them, thereby establishing a more symmetrical relationship between the speaker and audience. Others, such as *We could join*, utilize inclusive pronouns to acknowledge the speaker and audience as cooperating agents of action, motivated by causes that will benefit them both.[172] Sensitive and collaborative, studies have affirmed that this subtype is used more by women and is more characteristic of feminine language.[173] Therefore, I predict that Inaugural Addresses should contain more *mitigated directives*.

The least demanding subtype, which I label *call to action directives*, include questions that ask the audience to do something. Call to action directives, such as *Will you join me,* provide the audience with the greatest amount of autonomy in deciding how to respond. They portray most clearly that the speaker intends to act alongside the audience. I hypothesize that this directive subtype will also be more prevalent in Inaugural Addresses.

The eighth and final sociolinguistic variable is *hedges*, or mitigating devices that lessen the impact of an utterance and soften the force of a proposition. [174] For example, using hedges like *I think* and *kind of* allows a speaker to avoid imposing his viewpoints on the listeners because hedges emphasize the uncertainty or indefiniteness of ideas and leave room for modification and further discussion.[175] Hedges are also a form of cooperative speech. Using them gives the listeners authority to provide feedback, and accept or disregard the assertion.[176] Last, hedges such as *you know* and *we know* signal the speaker's confidence that he shares values with the audience and understand their beliefs.[177] Studies have shown that women use hedges more than men and that they are a more common in feminine rhetoric.[178] Under this logic, I hypothesize that there will exist more hedges in Inaugural Addresses.

See Appendix A for a chart of specific criteria for each of the eight sociolinguistic variables.

Methods

I chose presidential politics because it offers an office for which only men have run, and controls for speaker gender as a variable in my study. In addition, it is associated with two speech genres I have established as fundamental to my analysis.

To test my hypotheses, I first conducted a quantitative analysis of the eight sociolinguistic variables in Inaugural Addresses and Nomination Acceptance Speeches (of the winning Presidential candidates) from Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932 to Barack Obama in 2008. I chose 1932 as the starting date because this was the first time a

presumptive Presidential nominee gave his Acceptance Speech in person to an audience

at his party's convention.

I used a method called content analysis, which is common in sociolinguistic

experiments. Content analysis is performed by identifying particular features, such as

words or phrases, and then counting the number of times they appear in the data.[179] To

locate and count the *qualifiers, adverbials, modal verbs, intensifiers, pronouns*, and

hedges, I used the Find function in Microsoft Word 2003. This function finds and

highlights one entered word at a time in one speech at a time, and then displays the

number times the specified word occurs in the document. To locate the *questions*, I

entered a question mark into the Find function. I then read each question, and labeled it

as one of the three question subtypes. To locate the *directives*, I used the Find function to

locate words that were associated with *mitigated directives* (such as *should, going to, I

ask you to*) and then read the context surrounding each occurrence to determine whether

or not it was part of a proposal.[i] To find *call to action directives*, I entered a question

mark into the Find function and then read each question to determine whether it was a

call to action directive. To find *command directives*, I read through each speech looking

for the verb-subject word order characteristic of commands.[180] I also had to read the

context surrounding some other words, from other categories, that have multiple speech

functions.[ii]

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[i] Reading for context is important because a search word may fall under multiple parts of speech depending on the surrounding context. For example, *could* was a search word for the *mitigated directives* category. It is indeed a mitigated directive in the following context found in Ronald Reagan's 1985 Inaugural Address: "And I wonder if we *could* all join in a moment of silent prayer." However, it is an adverb denoting ability in the following context found in Barack Obama's 2008 Nomination Acceptance Speech: "How else *could* he propose hundreds of billion in tax breaks…?"
[ii] For example, I had to determine whether *too* was an intensifier and not an adverb each time it appeared in the text. In the sentence, "I am going, too," *too* is an adverb. In the sentence, "I am too busy," *too* is an intensifier.

The totals for each word or word phrase were added and recorded using word amount as the unit for calculation. Then, as the lengths of the speeches varied (especially between the speech types), the totals were divided into the word count of each speech and calculated as percentages. This allowed for better comparison.

III.   Experiment II: The Political Communication Analysis

There is also a difference between masculine and feminine rhetoric in the political realm, and each is used to satisfy different objectives. Masculine political communication is logical, instrumental, and used to command and persuade. Feminine political communication is sincere, accommodating and functions to unify and collaborate. Again, these two styles are not gender-exclusive, but act as rhetorical tools accessible for use by men and women alike.

The Political Communication Variables

The first variable used to distinguish between masculine and feminine political communication is tone, or the speaker's attitude. Feminine political communication has a *personal tone*.[181] The language feels natural, alive, and hopeful,[iii] which helps the speaker connect with the audience in the moment. [182] It is nurturing, compassionate, and sincere,[iv] so the audience perceives the speaker as caring and trustworthy.[183] It expresses

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[iii] For example, "I believe that as hard as it will be, the change we need is coming," from Barack Obama's 2008 Nomination Acceptance Speech.

[iv] For example, "There are still enough needless sufferings to be cured, enough injustices to be erased…" from Dwight D. Eisenhower's 1956 Nomination Acceptance Speech, or "Our party and our Nation will continue to extend the hand of compassion and the hand of affection and love to the old and the sick and the hungry" from Lyndon B. Johnson's 1964 Nomination Acceptance Speech.

emotion,[v] gratitude, [vi] and love.[vii] Clear examples of personal rhetoric include moral

arguments;[viii] the discussion of morals, beliefs, and ideals;[ix] the mention of values such as

democracy and freedom or traits such as honesty, courage, and dignity; and the proposal

to work together, achieve peace, and promote the American dream.[x] I hypothesize that

Inaugural Addresses will primarily have this tone.

Masculine language, however, elicits a more *impersonal tone*. The language

seems distant and rehearsed. Any speech communication that is informative,[xi]

instructional, or argumentative (stresses the candidate's or opponent's weaknesses)[xii] is

considered impersonal. Impersonal language is also characterized by logical and

formulaic arguments[xiii] that are rooted in facts, statistics, laws,[xiv] principles,[xv] or examples

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[v] For example, "Pouring hundreds of billions of dollars into programs in order to make people worse off was irrational and unfair" from Ronald Reagan's 1984 Nomination Acceptance Speech.

[vi] For example, "There are no words adequate to express my thanks for the great honor that you've bestowed on me" from Ronald Reagan's 1985 Inaugural Address.

[vii] For example, "…to Sasha and Malia – I love you so much…" from Barack Obama's 2008 Nomination Acceptance Speech.

[viii] For example, "Every American has the right to be treated as a 'person'" from Lyndon B. Johnson's 1964 Nomination Acceptance Speech.

[ix] For example, "We do not see faith, hope and charity as unattainable ideas…" from Franklin D. Roosevelt's 1936 Nomination Acceptance Speech.

[x] For example, "It is that promise that has always set this country apart – that through hard work and sacrifice, each of us can pursue our individual dreams but still come together…" from Barack Obama's 2008 Nomination Acceptance Speech.

[xi] For example, "Today, a working family earning $25,000 has about $2,900 more in purchasing power…" from Ronald Reagan's 1984 Nomination Acceptance Speech.

[xii] For example, "In that time, [John McCain has] said no to higher fuel-efficiency standards for cars…" from Barack Obama's 2008 Nomination Acceptance Speech.

[xiii] For example, "…there is no place in today's world for recklessness. We cannot act rashly with the nuclear weapons that could destroy us all" from Lyndon B. Johnson's 1964 Nomination Acceptance Speech.

[xiv] For example, Lyndon B. Johnson described the components of an American Covenant ("The third article is union…") to ground his beliefs in legal authority in his 1965 Inaugural Address.

[xv] For example, "The essential democracy of our Nation and the safety of our people depend not upon the absence of power, but upon lodging it with those whom the people can change…" from Franklin D. Roosevelt's 1937 Inaugural Address.

provided by a third party authority.[184][xvi] I predict that the Acceptance Addresses will have more of an *impersonal tone*.

Second, feminine language addresses the audience as peers through inclusive pronouns (*we*) and phrases (*together*, *my friends*),[xvii] which puts the speaker and all addressees on the same level and forges a common identity between everyone. It allows the speaker to include herself as a member of the audience, and the audience as a participant in her plans.[185] I speculate that Inaugural Addresses will include more *audience reference* through inclusive pronouns and phrases.

Through masculine language, by contrast, speakers can affirm their own competence to win, lead, and enact policies.[xviii] They might directly reference their or experience[xix] or authority position.[xx] They may also discuss their past accomplishments,[xxi] preach confidence grounded in privileged information,[xxii] or argue for the superiority of their plans and overall qualification over those of their opponent.[xxiii] This emphasizes the hierarchy and separateness between speaker and audience. I

[xvi] For example, "Lincoln, speaking to the Republican State Convention in 1958, began with the biblical quotation, 'A house divided against itself cannot stand,'" from Dwight D. Eisenhower's 1956 Nomination Acceptance Speech.

[xvii] For example, "Here again, my friends…" from Dwight D. Eisenhower's 1956 Nomination Acceptance Speech.

[xviii] For example, "…I intend to win this election and keep our promise alive as President of the United States" from Barack Obama's 2008 Nomination Acceptance Speech.

[xix] For example, "I've been campaigning long enough to know…" from Ronald Reagan's 1984 Nomination Acceptance Speech.

[xx] For example, "I report tonight as President of the United States and as Commander in Chief…" from Lyndon B. Johnson's 1964 Nomination Acceptance Speech, "…I accept your nomination for the presidency of the United States" from Ronald Reagan's 1984 Nomination Acceptance Speech, or "When I took this oath 4 years ago…" from Ronald Reagan's 1985 Inaugural Address.

[xxi] For example, "…a complete steel contract was negotiated and signed…" and "…the United States proposed its Atoms for Peace Plan in 1953, and since then has done so much…" from Dwight D. Eisenhower's 1956 Nomination Acceptance Speech.

[xxii] For example, "And let me make this clear" from Lyndon B. Johnson's 1964 Nomination Acceptance Speech, or "But know this, America: They will be met" from Barack Obama's 2008 Inaugural Address.

[xxiii] For example, "For while Senator McCain was turning his sights to Iraq…I stood up and opposed this war, knowing that it would distract us…" from Barack Obama's 2008 Nomination Acceptance Speech.

hypothesize that the *self-reference* and affirmation of expertise will occur more in

Nomination Acceptance Speeches.

Third, feminine rhetoric relies on descriptive and *personal anecdotes*,

experiences, and examples.[186] This category includes dramatic and evocative

anecdotes,[xxiv] usually experienced by the speaker and described in vivid detail, which

allows the audience to really imagine the story, feel the emotions it evokes, and sense that

they are truly part of it. In other words, concrete illustrations[xxv] make the arguments

tangible to the audience. This category also includes the disclosure of personal

experiences[xxvi] and feelings,[xxvii] which bond the speaker and audience because the

audience can see the speaker as one of them and feel they have shared moments of

intimacy.[187] Furthermore, this understanding helps the audience identify with the speaker

better. Self-disclosure also signals that the speaker trusts the audience with his or her

private memories.[188] Last, this category includes the use of examples, which usually

incorporate the audience, to illustrate a point.[xxviii] Overall, these components sustain a

communal identity among the audience and between the audience and speaker – everyone

unites in the common experience of a story, transcending differences and focusing on

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[xxiv] For example, "this picture of the future brings to mind a little story. A government worker, when he first arrived in Washington in 1953, was passing the National Archives Building in a taxi…" from Dwight D. Eisenhower's 1956 Nomination Acceptance Speech.

[xxv] For example, "Think of our world as it looks from that rocket…It is like a child's glove, hanging in space, the continent stuck on its side like colored maps" from Lyndon B. Johnson's 1965 Inaugural Address.

[xxvi] For example, "…I think about my mom, who raised my sister and me on her own while she worked and earned her degree…" from Barack Obama's 2008 Nomination Acceptance Speech.

[xxvii] For example, "I realize that I am not the likeliest candidate for office. I don't fit the typical pedigree" from Barack Obama's 2008 Nomination Acceptance Speech.

[xxviii] For example, "I see million of families trying to live on incomes so meager…I see millions denied education…" from Franklin D. Roosevelt's 1937 Inaugural Address to illustrate the America's domestic challenges that need to be fixed, or "This country is more generous than one where a man in Indiana has to pack up the equipment he's worked on for twenty years and watch it shipped off to China…" from Barack Obama's 2008 Nomination Acceptance Speech.

shared values.[189] Therefore, I hypothesize that these components will be more

widespread in Inaugural Addresses.

On the other hand, masculine rhetoric relies on abstract generalizations[xxix] and

impersonal anecdotes that may be historical, hypothetical, or referential.[190] They are

usually based on instances the speaker has not experienced because they occurred in the

distant past[xxx] or are mere sketches of the future.[xxxi] These anecdotes help to clarify

arguments so the audience can better comprehend them, although they lack emotive

appeal and the audience cannot relate. As a corollary, the speaker's authority is

strengthened, as they appear to know exclusive information, have a special connection

with history, or hold the exclusive expertise necessary to predict the future based on the

past. I propose that these components will be more prevalent in Nomination Acceptance

Speeches.

Fourth, feminine rhetoric fosters shared identity and unification by referencing

similar experiences from the recent past,[xxxii] shared and commonly understood

beliefs,[xxxiii] and aspects of the times that are affecting everyone.[xxxiv] The audience can

relate to familiar stories, so they can better understand the speaker's argument he or she

uses the story to convey. In addition, through such a discussion, the speaker highlights

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[xxix] For example, "Most Americans want medical care for older citizens" from Lyndon B. Johnson's 1964 Nomination Acceptance Speech.

[xxx] For example, "At that Convention our forefathers…created a strong government with powers of united action…" from Franklin D. Roosevelt's 1937 Inaugural Address.

[xxxi] For example, "Travel all over the world…will be fast and cheap. The fear and pain of crippling disease will be greatly reduced…" from Dwight D. Eisenhower's 1956 Nomination Acceptance Speech.

[xxxii] For example, Roosevelt recounts the events leading up to the Great Depression that affected the members of his audience ("The savings of the average family, the capital of the small business man…these were tools which the new economic royalty used to dif itself in.") in his 1936 Nomination Acceptance Speech, and Obama mentions the "…broken politics in Washington and the failed policies of George W. Bush" in his 2008 Nomination Acceptance Speech.

[xxxiii] For example, "…you and I are momentarily more interested in November 1956 than in 2056" from Dwight D. Eisenhower's 1956 Nomination Acceptance Speech.

[xxxiv] For example, "We are in the era of the thermo-nuclear bombs that can obliterate cities…" from Dwight D. Eisenhower's 1956 Nomination Acceptance Speech.

that she has had the same experience as her audience, and understands their values and personal circumstances.[191] In fact, the discussion is enthymematic and inclusive: it provides a common ground from which to analyze an argument, so the audience can form an identical perspective.[192] For these reasons, I hypothesize that the discussion of *similar experiences* will occur more in Inaugural Addresses.

Conversely, while a speaker's anecdote may be vivid or self-revealing, it may be one the audience has not lived. Like impersonal anecdotes, these are characteristic of masculine political communication because they highlight the speaker as different or supreme. Sharing exclusive experiences may signal the speaker is distinct. Sharing privileged experiences, like those from his political career, may emphasize he is elite.[xxxv] And, using un-relatable affairs to preach conclusions the audience lacks insight to challenge makes him authoritative. Accordingly, I propose that Presidential candidates will tell more *dissimilar experiences* in Nomination Acceptance Addresses.

Fifth, developed from women learning domestic activities incrementally and by example, the feminine-style has an *inductive structure*, providing examples before general principles.[193] For example, in Barack Obama's Nomination Acceptance Speech from 2008, he outlined and implicitly criticized his opponent's policy positions, getting the audience to conclude he is the better candidate before explicitly calling for his own election. This process provides a chain of reasoning for the audience to follow. It invites the audience to join the speaker, with more active consciousness, and find the conclusion.[194] So, I predict that Inaugural Addresses will have more of an *inductive structure*.

[xxxv] For example, "The high interest rates of 1980 were not talking about in San Francisco. But how about taxes? They were talked about in San Francisco" from Ronald Reagan's 1984 Nomination Acceptance Speech.

Alternatively, masculine-style communication has a *deductive structure*, providing general principles before examples.[195] For example, Dwight D. Eisenhower's entire Nomination Acceptance Speech from 1956 is structured deductively. He states at the beginning that he is setting out to "demonstrate the truth of a single proposition: The Republican Party is the Party of the Future." He then asserts multiple reasons and provides examples for each. This process gives the speaker authority to preach to his audience without providing them an opportunity to interpret. The speaker lays out the argument and then provides evidence, with the audience following. It is instrumental because the audience assumes the role of passive listener and the speaker can get his point across as a fact without disagreement. Therefore, I hypothesize the Nomination Acceptance Speeches will be structured more deductively.

The sixth goal of feminine political communication is to empower the audience to act[xxxvi] and inspire them to believe.[xxxvii] As described, the previous five tenets of feminine political rhetoric invite the audience to actively participate in the speech. But they also encourage them to participate in government and society. Feminine rhetoric may explicitly encourage them to evaluate government, reference democracy to reinforce their ability to produce change through acts like voting,[xxxviii] or ask them to do something specific to achieve a certain goal. In turn, the speaker may encourage the unity[xxxix] and

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[xxxvi] For example, "Republicans, Independents, discerning Democrats-come on in and help!" from Dwight D. Eisenhower's 1956 Nomination Acceptance Speech, or "Will you join me tonight…?" from Lyndon B. Johnson's 1964 Nomination Acceptance Address.

[xxxvii] For example, "It will require a renewed sense of responsibility from each of us…" from Barack Obama's 2008 Nomination Acceptance Speech.

[xxxviii] For example, "I thank you additionally and personally for the high honors you have accorded me in entrusting me once more with your nomination…" "We must see, as we do our civic duty, that not only do we vote…" from Dwight D. Eisenhower's 1956 Nomination Acceptance Speech.

[xxxix] For example, "Let us resolve that we, the people, will build an American opportunity society in which all of us-white and black, rich and poor, young and old-will go forward together, arm in arm" from Ronald Reagan's 1985 Inaugural Address.

confidence[xl] helpful to acting by validating their thoughts, feelings, or past actions.[196][xli] I

hypothesize that *audience empowerment* will occur more in Inaugural Addresses.

In contrast, masculine political communication places importance on the

speaker's agency over speaker-audience cooperation by stressing actions of the speaker.

For example, the speaker may outline his or her plans for the future[xlii] or his personal

beliefs that will affect his or her future actions.[xliii] It is important to note that although

speakers may outline plans for the nation or proposals for citizen action, I considered it

an example of *self-empowerment* (rather than audience empowerment) if the action can,

in practice, only be completed by him. I propose speakers will express *self empowerment*

more in Nomination Acceptance Speeches.

See Appendix B for a chart of specific political communication criteria for each

of the six variables.

Methods

I conducted a quantitative analysis of five of the political communication

variables. [xliv] However, this analysis was more subjective than the sociolinguistic

experiment. Reading through each speech, I located and labeled the rhetorical

components according to a coding scheme and list of criteria based on the analyses of

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[xl] For example, "If I know aught of the spirit and purpose of our Nation…we will carry on" from Franklin D. Roosevelt's 1937 Inaugural Address.
[xli] For example, "For eighteen long months, you have stood up, one by one, and said enough to the politics of the past…" from Barack Obama's 2008 Nomination Acceptance Speech.
[xlii] For example, "I will eliminate capital gains taxes for the small businesses and the start-ups…" from Barack Obama's 2008 Nomination Acceptance Speech.
[xliii] For example, "This Administration has faith in the rightness of the collective bargaining principle" from Dwight D. Eisenhower's 1956 Nomination Acceptance Speech.
[xliv] I did not analyze the speeches for inductive and deductive reasoning because the assignment process was too subjective. In addition, these arguments could not be calculated in a manner uniform to my other political communication variable calculations: word counts would not accurately reflect the prevalence of certain structures, as most of an argument is content rather than structure.

Ann Richards completed first by Dow and Tonn and later by Kaml (see Appendix B).[197]

The smallest unit of a speech that could receive its own variable assignment was phrases

(defined as enclosed by punctuation), but usually I assigned a variables by sentences or

subject blocs (pre-formatted by the official speech transcript).

I analyzed five Inaugural Addresses and five Nomination Acceptance Speeches

(of the winning candidates) between 1932 and 2008, which acted as a representative

sample. The chosen election cycles include Roosevelt 1936, Eisenhower 1956, Johnson

1964, Reagan 1984, and Obama 2008. The speeches were chosen methodically,

following the logic of Mill's methods of difference and agreement. A discussion of

Mill's methods will follow in the data analysis section, which will justify the selection of

the five specific election cycles.

The totals for each variable were added and recorded using word amount as the

unit for calculation. Then, as before, the totals were divided into the word count of each

speech and converted into percentages.

IV.   Data Analysis

Methods

The logic for analyzing the results follows John Stuart Mill's methods of

causation (*1843 book "A System of Logic"*). First, Mill's method of difference states that

"if an instance in which the phenomenon under investigation occurs, and an instance in

which it does not occur, have every circumstance in common save one…the circumstance

in which alone the two instances differ, is the…cause, or an indispensable part of the

cause, of the phenomenon."[198] In my study, the two speech types (the instances) have

different purposes (the main differing circumstance), which I theorize to be part of the reason for the selection of masculine or feminine language (the phenomena). Although audience demographics, national circumstances, and medium delivery may be similar for the Nomination Acceptance Speech and Inaugural Address in a given year, I cannot claim that speech purpose is the only difference between them or claim it is the only reason for any rhetorical differences found. However, the analysis may shed light on a relationship. Therefore, I compared the amount differences in feminine and masculine rhetoric between Acceptances and Inaugurals.

To further tease out any confounding variables (namely other possible reasons for using masculine or feminine rhetoric in a methodical way), I apply Mill's method of agreement. This method states that "if two or more instances of the phenomenon under investigation have only one circumstance in common, the circumstance in which alone all the instances agree, is the cause of the given phenomenon."[199] To investigate this, one should look at multiple cases of a particular instance where the phenomenon is present and note which circumstances are present and which are absent. Any properties which are absent when the effect is present cannot be necessary conditions for the effect.[200] For example, in relation to my experiment, previous studies have identified other factors, or uses for feminine rhetoric, including adjusting to intimate media of delivery, like television, and appealing to women in the audience.[201] Therefore, according to this method, I should compare speeches that differ according to these circumstances but have purpose in common. For example, television was not a factor when Franklin D. Roosevelt gave his Inaugural Address in 1932 but it was when Barack Obama gave his in 2008. However, the purpose of Inaugurals was the same in both years. If all the

speeches of one type show relatively equal occurrences of feminine-style language, I can

conclude a relationship between purpose and language. Like before, I cannot claim that

speech purpose is the only similarity among them or claim it is the only reason for any

rhetorical similarities.

One variable that could affect the use of feminine rhetoric is the use of television

to broadcast the speeches. Television creates a spatially and emotionally closer

relationship between the speaker and listener, and requires the intimate and conciliatory

speech of feminine rhetoric.[202] The first televised Nomination Acceptance Speech from

my study was given by Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1952,[203] and the first televised

Inaugural Address was given by Harry Truman in January 1949.[204] Although there is no

consistent pattern – increase or decrease – in the number of Americans who viewed

Inaugural Addresses from 1949 to 2009[xlv] and there has been a drastic decline in the

number of Americans who viewed party conventions (where the Presidents-elect gave

their Acceptance Speeches) 1952 to 2008,[xlvi] the viewing potential is always rising.[xlvii]

Therefore, it is important that I evaluate whether there was a considerable increase in

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[xlv] To see the scattered pattern, consider the following statistics: 29 million people watched Dwight D. Eisenhower's 1953 Inaugural, 41.8 million people watched Ronald Reagan's 1981 Inaugural, 21.9 million people watched Bill Clinton's 1997 Inaugural, and 37.8 million people watched Barack Obama's 2009 Inaugural. (Christopher Anderson, "I Love Lucy," The Museum of Broadcast Communication, 17 March 2009, <http://www.museum.tv/archives/etv/I/htmlI/ilovelucy/ilovelucy.htm>; "Nearly 37.8 Million Watch President Obama's Oath And Speech On TV," Nielson News, 21 January 2009, 17 March 2009, <http://blog.nielsen.com/nielsenwire/tag/historical-tv-ratings/>.)

[xlvi] While 70 million people watched the 1952 Republican Convention, only 30.2 million people watched the 2008 Democratic Convention. ("A Timeline of Television History," Pennsylvania State University Integrative Arts, 17 March 2009, <http://www.psu.edu/dept/inart10_110/inart110/110time.html>; Jonathan D. Salant and Michael White, "Democratic Convention Topped Olympics in Viewers, Nielsen Says," Bloomberg.com, 30 August 2008, 18 March 2009, <http://www.bloomberg.com/apps/news?pid=20601103&sid=aSQVj61p7tVk&refer=us>.)

[xlvii] During the 1952 campaign, 40% of households owned at least one television. In the 2008 campaign, 99% of house holds owned at least one television. (Angus Campbell, Gerald Gurin, and Warren E. Million, "Television and the Election," Scientific American, (May 1953) 46-49; "Fact Sheet," Federal Communication Commission, <http://www.fcc.gov/Bureaus/Mass_Media/Factsheets/factvchip.html>.)

feminine rhetoric after 1952, and consider that it could be due to the increasing

importance of communicating to citizens via television.

The women's voting bloc, as a substantial electoral influence, is another variable

that could affect the use of feminine rhetoric.[205] First, according to the speech

accommodation theory, speakers may adopt speech patterns that the audience uses to

make their image more representative of the audience and their message better

understood by them.[206] Second, women look for compassionate leaders who they feel

will support their softer issues, and feminine rhetoric helps project this image.[207] Women

did not become a cohesive voting bloc, or section of the electorate with a specific agenda,

until the election of 1980. For fifty years after women received suffrage, women failed to

form a distinct voting bloc and politicians continued to appeal solely to men's agendas.[208]

In the 1950s, women were still showing pre-suffrage habits, being 10 percent less likely

to vote and holding the same political positions as men. However, in the late 1960s and

by the 1970s, a new generation of women began forming organizations to promote

women's issues, support women leaders, and encourage women to vote.[209] In the 1976

election, the same percentage of men and women voted. And, since the Presidential

election of 1980, partially due to Ronald Reagan and George H.W. Bush's anti-feminist

agendas, a greater percentage of women have voted in each election and women have

been recognized as an influential political group. They also have developed a special

feminist agenda that is more aligned with the Democratic Party, which has produced a

"gender gap" that has also been growing since 1980.[210] With this in mind, it is important

that I consider that any increase in feminine rhetoric, especially any drastic changes

starting around the 1970s could be the result of women becoming an increasing majority of the voting audience, with a separate agenda and the power to enforce it.

Therefore, when selecting five particular election cycles to analyze, I chose speeches from election cycles before and after the introduction of television and before and after the introduction of the women's voting bloc: Roosevelt 1936 (before television, before women's bloc), Eisenhower 1956 (after television, before women's bloc), Johnson 1964 (after television, before women's bloc), Reagan 1984 (after television and women's bloc), and Obama 2008 (after television and women's bloc).

Results

After analyzing the Inaugurals and Acceptances for the feminine and masculine sociolinguistic and political communication variables, I was able to discern whether there was more feminine rhetoric in Inaugural Addresses and more masculine rhetoric in Nomination Acceptance Speeches by analyzing the differences in mean percentages of each variable between the two speech types for all speech years combined.[xlviii]

The takeaway finding for the feminine rhetoric variables was consistent with my hypothesis (see Appendix C): Inaugurals contained more of the feminine rhetoric variables than Acceptances. First, Inaugurals contained more of the eight feminine sociolinguistic variables combined (*FSC*)[xlix] than Acceptances in 90 percent of the "speech pairs" (an Inaugural and Acceptance from the same year) by a mean difference

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[xlviii] By subtracting the mean percentage amount of the variable in all Inaugurals from the meant amount of the variable in all Acceptances, a positive mean percentage difference denoted more of the variable in Acceptances, whereas a negative mean percentage difference denoted more of the variable in Inaugurals.
[xlix] "The eight feminine sociolinguistic variables combined includes *inclusive pronouns, mitigated directives, relative modal verbs, adverbials, hedges, intensifiers, questions,* and *relative qualifiers.*

of 2.35 percent.[l] In addition, four of the eight feminine variables were more prevalent in

Inaugurals. Inaugurals had more *inclusive pronouns* in 100 percent of the speech pairs by

a mean difference of 2.22 percent and more *mitigated directives* in 75 percent of the

speech pairs by a mean difference of .39 percent.[li] They also had more *adverbials* in 70

percent of the speech pairs by a mean difference of .04 percent. Last, Inaugurals had

more *relative modal verbs* by a mean difference of .06 percent, but only in 40 percent of

the speech pairs. This is because the mean percentage difference for the eight speech

pairs in which Inaugurals had more was great enough to compensate for the smaller

differences in the other twelve speech pairs in which Acceptances had more.

Second, Inaugurals contained more of the five feminine political

communications variables combined (*FPC*)[lii] than Acceptances in 80 percent of the

speech pairs by a mean difference of 10.4 percent (see Appendix C). In addition,

Inaugurals had more *personal tone* in 60 percent of the speech pairs by a mean difference

of 7.13 percent, more *audience empowerment* in 40 percent of the speech pairs by a mean

difference of 7.78 percent, and more *audience reference* in 100 percent of the speech

pairs by a mean difference of 1.8 percent.

However, four feminine sociolinguistic variables and two feminine political

communications variables were less prevalent in Inaugurals (see Appendix C).

Inaugurals had fewer *questions* in 65 percent of the speech pairs by a mean difference of

.04 percent and fewer *hedges* in 60 percent of the speech pairs by a mean difference of

.09 percent. They also had fewer *intensifiers* in 75 percent of the speech pairs by a mean

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[l] This result is statistically significant.
[li] These results are statistically significant.
[lii] The five feminine political communications variables combined includes *personal tone, audience empowerment, audience reference, personal anecdotes*, and *similar experiences*.

difference of .10 percent and fewer *relative qualifiers* in 85 percent of the speech pairs by

a mean difference of .13 percent. In addition, Inaugurals had fewer *personal anecdotes*

in 60 percent of the speech pairs by a mean difference of .78 percent and fewer *similar*

experiences in 80 percent of the speech pairs by a mean difference of 2.52 percent.

Despite these results, Inaugurals still contained more total feminine rhetoric. For the

feminine rhetoric found more in Inaugurals, the mean percent differences was great

enough to compensate for the smaller differences of feminine rhetoric found more in

Acceptances and pull up the mean percentage for all feminine rhetoric combined.

The takeaway finding for the masculine rhetoric variables was also consistent

with my hypothesis (see Appendix D): Acceptances contained more of the masculine

rhetoric variables than Inaugurals. First, Acceptances contained more of the four

masculine sociolinguistic variables combined (*MSC*)[liii] than Inaugurals in 70 percent of

the speech pairs by a mean difference of 1.10 percent.[liv] Acceptances also had more

exclusive pronouns in 85 percent of the speech pairs by a mean difference of 1.55

percent.[lv] Second, Acceptances contained more of the five masculine variables combined

(*MPC*)[lvi] in 80 percent of the speech pairs by a mean difference of 8.61 percent. In

addition, Acceptances had more *impersonal tone* in 80 percent of the speech pairs by a

mean difference of 5.11 percent, more *self empowerment* in 60 percent of the speech pairs

by a mean difference of 3.32 percent, and more *self reference* in 80 percent of the speech

pairs by a mean difference of 2.55 percent.

[liii] The four masculine sociolinguistic variables combined includes *exclusive pronouns, absolute modal verbs, absolute qualifiers*, and *command directives*.
[liv] This result is statistically significant.
[lv] This result is statistically significant.
[lvi] The five masculine political communication variables combined includes *impersonal tone, self empowerment, self reference, dissimilar experiences,* and *impersonal anecdotes*.

By contrast, three masculine sociolinguistic variables and two masculine political communications variables were less abundant in Acceptances (see Appendix D). Acceptances had fewer *absolute modal verbs* in 60 percent of the speech pairs by a mean difference of .30 percent,[lvii] fewer *absolute qualifiers* in 65 percent of the speech pairs by a mean difference of .11 percent, and fewer *command directives* in 55 percent of the speech pairs by a mean difference of .06 percent. In addition, Acceptances had fewer *dissimilar experiences* in 20 percent of the speech pairs by a mean difference of .21 percent and fewer *impersonal anecdotes* in 60 percent of the speech pairs by a mean difference of 2.16 percent. Despite these results, Acceptances still contained more total masculine rhetoric because the mean percent differences for the masculine rhetoric found more in Acceptances was much larger than those for the masculine rhetoric found more in Inaugurals, and pulled up the mean percentage for all masculine rhetoric combined.

According to Mill's method of difference, these results that are consistent with my hypotheses prove that feminine rhetoric has an additional role in presidential speech: helping accomplish the goals of Inaugural Addresses. In contrast, masculine language, found less in Inaugurals and more in Acceptances, can be considered helpful to achieving the purposes of the latter speech genre.

The data also sheds light on which specific variables are most useful. The variables that have greater mean percent differences and are in line with the takeaway results played a greater role in shaping those results. In other words, it is evident by their large mean percent differences that *inclusive pronouns, mitigated directives*, *personal tone*, and *audience empowerment* are the driving forces behind the combined result that Inaugurals have more feminine rhetoric, while *exclusive pronouns* and *impersonal tone*

[lvii] This result is statistically significant.

are the driving forces behind the result that Acceptances have more masculine rhetoric.

This may reflect that these variables are (or Presidential politicians believe them to be)

the most useful rhetorical tools for accomplishing the objectives of the different speeches.

For example, using *inclusive pronouns* and explicitly labeling the audience and speaker

together as *we* or *us* may be the most obvious and understood way for the speaker to

constitute them as a unified entity, so crucial to Inaugurals. Likewise, using *exclusive*

pronouns may be the most obvious and best understood way for the speaker to create a

hierarchy and separate himself (*I)* as expert from the audience (*you*) as followers, so

crucial to Acceptances.

Alternatively, variables that went against the takeaway results did not have a

significant enough impact to affect them and should not be given as much weight. This

may reflect that the usage of such variables was not methodical, and that Presidents do

not consider them to be useful rhetoric tools, if considering them at all, when crafting

their speeches. For example, politicians may not recognize that intensifiers can add

emotional content, detract from and moderate cognitive messages, and weaken

statements. Thus, they may not recognize that intensifiers are useful for fostering

flexibility and audience input, fundamental to Inaugurals, but a hindrance to appearing

authoritative and instructive, necessary in Acceptances. Of course, specific words (from

any category) may have been selected by the speaker or may affect the listeners

subconsciously, but the results show which aspects of feminine and masculine language

are more or less likely to have been methodically chosen to accomplish the different

speeches' goals.

Having analyzed the big picture differences between Inaugurals and Acceptances,

a closer look at the sociolinguistic trends over the studied time period reveals that speech

purpose is not the most influential factor in the selection of masculine or feminine

rhetoric and any influence it has is decreasing. Most striking, the absolute difference in

variable amounts between the two speech types for nine of the twelve sociolinguistic

variables (masculine and feminine)[lviii] plus *FSC* decreased (see Appendices E and F).

That the gaps are closing suggests that the Acceptances are becoming less masculine and

Inaugurals are becoming less feminine. In fact, this count includes all five of the

feminine sociolinguistic variables that were found more in Inaugurals, which stands as

further evidence that Inaugurals are becoming less distinctly feminine.

A nearly 50 percent split in the patterns of amount differences shows that while

there is no clear pattern suggesting that Inaugurals are becoming more feminine or

Acceptances more masculine, speech purpose still plays a small role in speech selection.

It may be that 46.2 percent of all feminine variables[lix] and *FPC* increased in Acceptances

(see Appendices I and J), and 55.6 percent of all masculine variables[lx] plus *MPC*

increased in Inaugurals (see Appendices K and L). But the remaining 53.8 percent of all

feminine variables[lxi] plus *FSC*, increased in Inaugurals (see Appendices I and J), and the

remaining 44.4 percent of masculine variables[lxii] and *MSC* increased in Acceptances (see

Appendices K and L). These trends show that some aspects of feminine rhetoric are still

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[lviii] This includes *all feminine rhetoric combined, relative qualifiers, adverbials, relative modal verbs, inclusive pronouns, questions, mitigated directives, command directives, absolute modal verbs,* and *absolute qualifiers.*

[lix] This includes *relative modal verbs, inclusive pronouns, questions, hedges, mitigated directives,* and *personal anecdotes.*

[lx] This includes *command directives, absolute qualifiers, impersonal tone, impersonal anecdotes,* and *dissimilar experiences.*

[lxi] This includes *relative qualifiers, adverbials, intensifiers, personal tone, audience reference, similar experiences,* and *audience empowerment.*

[lxii] This includes *exclusive pronouns, absolute modal verbs, self reference,* and *self empowerment.*

associated with and considered useful to Inaugurals, and that some aspects of masculine rhetoric are still associated with and considered useful to Acceptances.

If speech purpose is not the sole guiding factor for methodically incorporating gendered speech, there must be others at work. The data shows there is still some role for feminine language, as *FSC* and 46.2 percent of the individual feminine variables[lxiii] increased over time (see Appendices M and N). Yet, the absolute differences between the two speech types for every feminine variable included in this calculation except for *audience reference* and *personal anecdotes* decreased (see Appendices E and G). This suggests that these aspects of feminine rhetoric are increasing for both speech types, so it must be for reasons other than speech purpose. It is difficult to assume what these reasons could be. There was no sudden increase surrounding any particular year, such as 1952 or 1980, when television was introduced and women became an official voting bloc, respectively. The differences between the means of all feminine variables in Inaugurals before and after 1952 (.95) or before and after 1980 (.41) were so small that one cannot conclude that these factors had any significant impact on the use of feminine rhetoric, at least not right away. Additionally, in accordance with Mill's method of agreement, since feminine rhetoric was present in almost equal amounts when these factors were absent, they must not be a necessity for using it.

Last, the data highlights that masculine rhetoric may still be considered more beneficial than feminine rhetoric in politics, regardless of the speech type. A look at the total means of both speech types over time for each variable shows that most of the masculine rhetoric increased, while a lot of the feminine rhetoric decreased. In particular,

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[lxiii] This includes *inclusive pronouns, questions, mitigated directives*, *personal tone, audience reference,* and *personal anecdotes*.

a substantial 77.7 percent of the masculine variables,[lxiv] *MSC,* and *MPC* increased (see

Appendices O and P), while the remaining 53.8 percent of the feminine variables[lxv] plus

FPC decreased (see Appendices M and N).

V.   Conclusion

I conducted the sociolinguistic and political communications experiments to

determine whether there was a role for feminine rhetoric in men Presidential politicians'

discourse. Sociolinguistic scholars have suggested that feminine rhetoric fosters unity,

cooperation, and intimacy between speakers and addressees. Political communication

scholars have suggested it is useful in politics to communicate via the intimate television

medium, discuss compassionate issues, appear caring, and appeal to women. I wanted to

investigate whether feminine rhetoric is also considered useful when men politicians wish

to unify, include, and build relationships with his audience. I hypothesized that if it is,

feminine rhetoric should be used in Inaugural Addresses, because this speech genre's

main purposes are to transcend differences and unify through common ideals and

experiences, which scholars have suggested feminine rhetoric accomplishes. To give

context for comparison to my findings, I also analyzed Nomination Acceptance

Speeches, whose main purposes are the opposite: for the politician to prove his expertise,

display leadership, and stir competition, which scholars have suggested masculine

rhetoric accomplishes. If feminine language is useful to achieve an Inaugural's speech

purposes, I proposed it should be found more in Inaugurals than Acceptances. As a

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[lxiv] This includes *exclusive pronouns, command directives, absolute modal verbs, impersonal tone, impersonal anecdotes, dissimilar experiences,* and *self empowerment.*
[lxv] This includes *relative qualifiers, adverbials, relative modal verbs, hedges, intensifiers, similar experiences,* and *audience empowerment.*

corollary experiment, I also analyzed the speeches for masculine rhetoric, and hypothesized that it should be used more in Acceptances than Inaugurals.

To investigate my queries, I performed a content analysis of the winning Presidential candidates' Nomination Acceptance Speeches and Inaugural Addresses from 1932 to 2008 for masculine and feminine sociolinguistic rhetoric, and a subjective analysis for five methodically chosen speech pairs within the timeframe for masculine and feminine political communication rhetoric. Overall, my hypotheses proved correct: there was more feminine rhetoric in Inaugural Addresses and more masculine rhetoric in Acceptance Speeches. Some variables had a stronger affect on these trends, which implies they may be considered more effective gendered rhetorical tools for accomplishing objectives in line with the distinct speech purposes. This information illustrates which variables politicians should incorporate in their different speeches.

Yet while speech purpose is a factor affecting the use of feminine (and masculine) speech, its influence is decreasing and there are other factors involved. This is best illustrated by the observation that the amount differences of feminine rhetoric between the speech types decreased. In addition, feminine rhetoric increased in both Inaugurals and Acceptances, showing no overwhelming association for one particular speech type. Feminine language is therefore still valued, but for purposes that may be irrespective of speech type. However, the fact that other aspects of feminine rhetoric decreased, while most of the masculine rhetoric increased, suggests that overall, masculine rhetoric is still highly valued in politics.

The results provide insight on many trends, but they cannot be considered absolutely conclusive. First, the mean differences between the speech types and the

slopes of changes in variables over time are very small and cannot be given too much weight. Second, there is not overwhelming evidence that feminine or masculine rhetoric is or is not becoming more prevalent in Inaugurals and Acceptances, respectively, as there exists a nearly 50 percent split in the data – half the variables are and the other half are not. Third, this study did not completely isolate speech type as a variable from other variables. For example, although I took into account that television and women voters may have affected trends over time, I did not account for all influences, such as environmental context.

However, my research presents a new idea that feminine (and masculine) language can helpful rhetorical tools for achieving different political speech genres' purposes and that feminine rhetoric, specifically, should be considered for use in political speech. My research also reinforces the suggestions that there are many other influences affecting the use of gendered rhetoric. Determining what these other factors may be is beyond the scope of this thesis, but provides a prospect for future research. For example, one could consider the nature of the race – do politicians use more masculine language in Acceptance Speeches when the race is more competitive? Do they use more feminine language in Inaugurals after a fierce race when they need to patch a greater bipartisan rift? Some of the factors are ideas that have been put forth as theories, and my hope is that this research will prompt others to test these theories. I would suggest looking at the influence of party – do Democrats use more feminine language because they count on women for support more than Republicans do? One could also look at politician personality – do those who seek to appear caring use more feminine language? The political environment is another consideration – do politicians use more feminine

language when the main issues are compassionate ones like health care, rather than war? Other political offices and speech types may provide useful case studies.

Feminine rhetoric was introduced into politics by women who were struggling to communicate and succeed in a sphere dominated by men and characterized by aggression and competition. Since, it has become a rhetorical tool that should be used by men or women to achieve many objectives necessary to prevail in politics. Any studies that support this idea, such as this one, contribute to proving that there is a role for feminine language to be used by men in politics.

VI.   Appendices

Appendix A

<u>Sociolinguistic Criteria</u>

Category	Feminine	Masculine
Questions	More	Fewer
Qualifiers	Relative • *Quantity: Some, most, many, a lot, a few* • *Time: occasionally, sometimes, usually* • *Certainty: almost*	Absolute • *Quantity: All, none, everything, nothing* • *Time: always, never* • *Certainty: every* • *Quality: best, worst*
Adverbials	More • *Conceivable, conceivably, general, generally, maybe, merely, only, perhaps, possible, possibly, probably, probably, relatively*	Fewer
Modal verbs	Relative • *Can, could, may, might, should, would*	Absolute • *Must need,, shall, will*
Intensifiers	More • *Absolutely, awfully, bit, ever so, extremely, fairly, incredibly, interestingly, pretty, quite, rather, really, so somewhat, such, too, very*	Fewer
Pronouns	Inclusive • *Each other, our, ours, ourselves, us, we*	Exclusive • *I, me, mine, my, myself, you, your, yours, yourself, yourselves*
Directives	Mitigated • Proposal for future action: *Let's, going to* • Future action: *going to*	Explicit commands • *Give me, I want, I need*
Hedges	More • *I believe, I don't know, I feel, I guess, I know, I mean, I propose, I suppose, I think, I wonder, it appears, it could be, it may be, it seems, kind of, sort of, we know, you know*	Fewer

Appendix B

Political Communication Variables and Criteria

Category	Feminine	Masculine
Tone	Personal • Natural, sincere, alive, nurturing • Moral arguments	Impersonal • Logical arguments, distant, rehearsed, statistics, examples/evidence provided by third party, legal arguments • Informative, instructional • Argumentative – opponents inferior plans

Reference	Addresses audience as peers
	• Inclusive pronouns
	   o *We, us, you*
	• Inclusive phrases
	   o *Together, my friends, my fellow Americans*
		Affirming own expertise
		• Past accomplishments
		• What they can do better than opponents, offering counter plan

Anecdotes	Personal anecdotes & experiences Examples & brief narratives • Dramatic, descriptive, evocative, detailed • Mature introspection • Concrete illustrations & examples • Proof by example • Visual descriptions • Self-disclosure (about self, family, personal life) • Examples to illustrate a point	Impersonal, incomplete anecdotes, examples • Historical, hypothetical • Abstract generalizations
Experiences	Discussing similar experiences • Using past events audience experienced or remembers	Discussion dissimilar experiences • Experiences speaker has had but audience hasn't • Mentions without describing, doesn't fully illustrate point
Structure	Inductive structure • Examples before general principles	Deductive structure • General principles before examples
Empowerment	Invite audience participation, empowering audience • Validate audience feelings, thoughts (to encourage them & give them confidence to partake in government & make a difference) • Encourage audience to evaluate government • Argue along moral lines • Telling audience what they can do • Empowering Congress	Personal action • Present or future plans

Appendix C

Feminine Sociolinguistic Variables

Differences in Means (%), All Years Combined

Positive Bars: Means of Acceptance Speeches Greater
Negative Bars: Means of Inaugural Addresses Greater
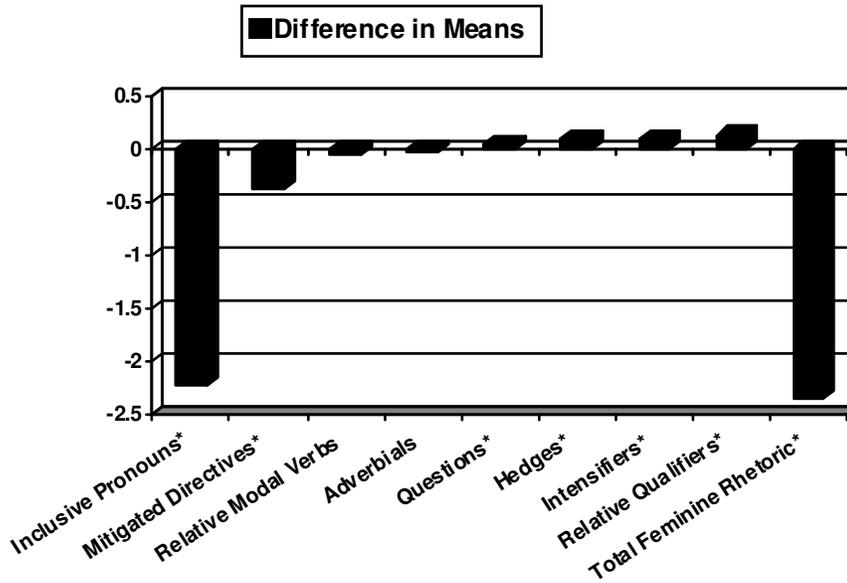
Number of Speeches with More of Variable Each Year

Feminine Political Communication Variables

Differences in Means (%), All Years Combined

Positive Bars: Mean of Acceptance Speeches Greater
Negative Bars: Means of Inaugural Addresses Greater

■ Difference in Means

Number of Speeches with More of Variable Each Year

■ Acceptance   ▦ Inaugural
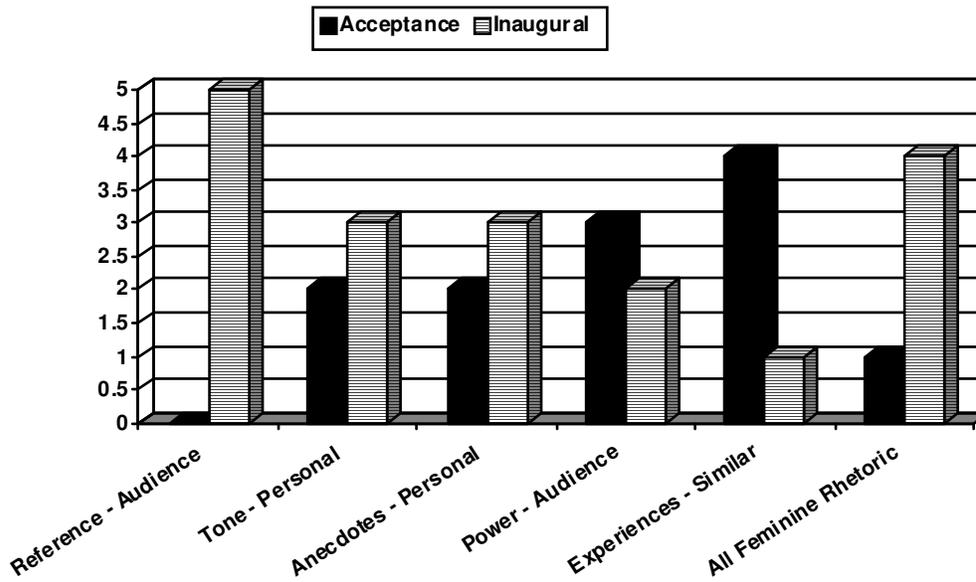
Appendix D

Masculine Sociolinguistic Variables

Differences in Means (%), All Years Combined

Positive Bars: Means of Acceptance Speeches Greater
Negative Bars: Means of Inaugural Addresses Greater

■Difference in Means

Number of Speeches with More of Variable Each Year
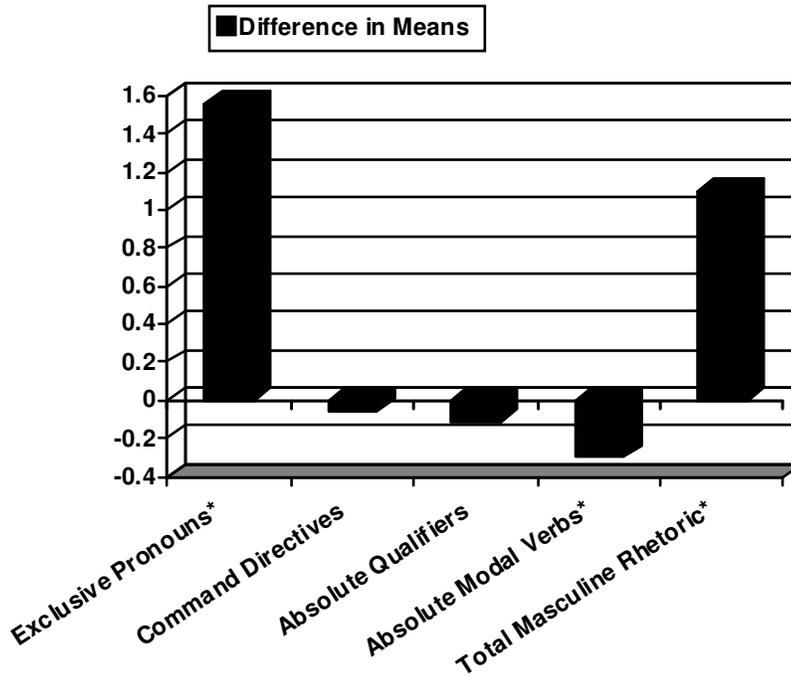
■Acceptances ▦Inaugurals ☐No Variable
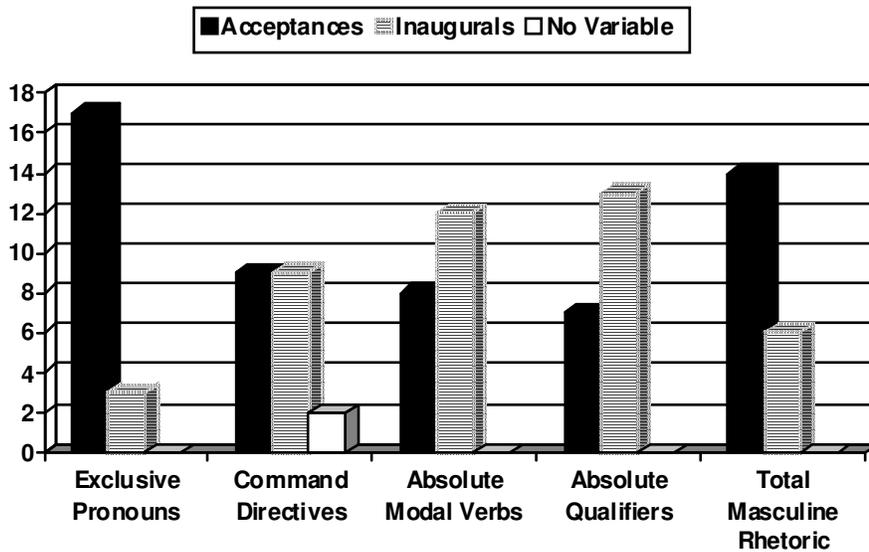
Masculine Political Communication Variables

Differences in Means (%), All Years Combined

Positive Bars: Mean of Acceptance Speeches Greater
Negative Bars: Means of Inaugural Addresses Greater
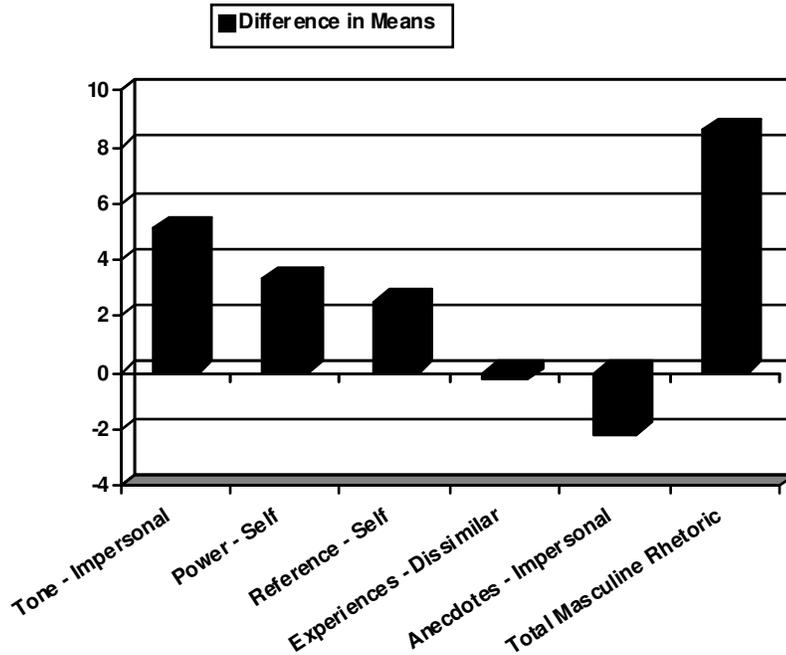
Number of Speeches with More of Variable Each Year
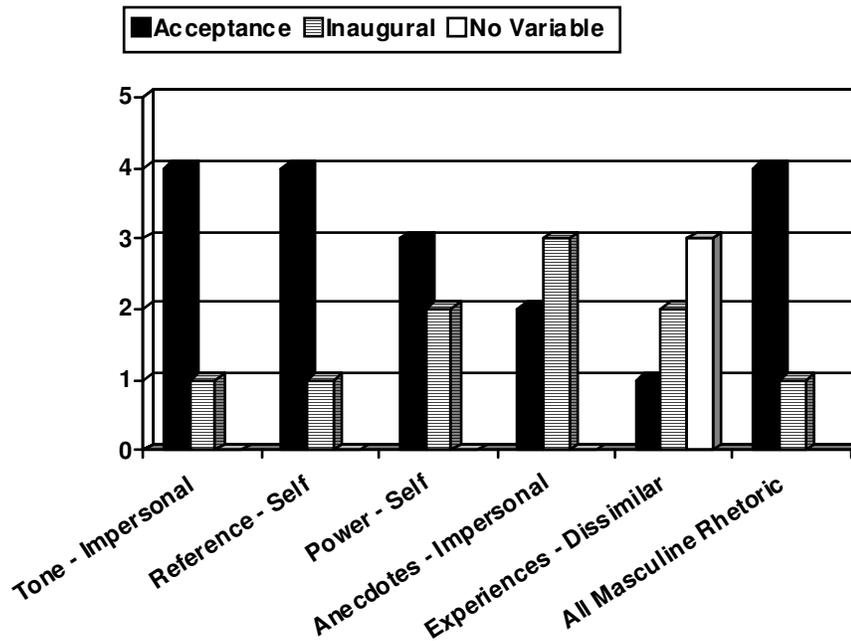
Appendix E

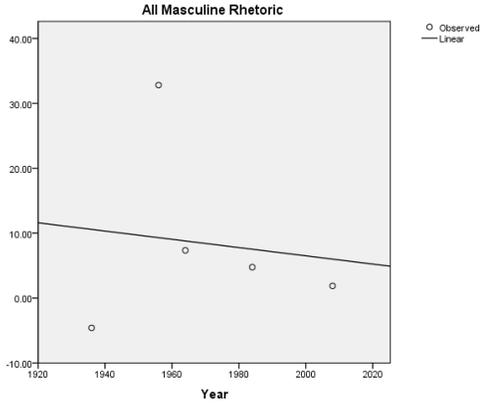<u>Feminine Sociolinguistic Variables: Absolute Difference Between Speech Types</u>

Key: ↓ slope = speech types became less gendered
      ↑ slope = speech types became more gendered

All Feminine Rhetoric

Relative Qualifiers

Relative Qualifiers

Mitigated Directives

Questions

Inclusive Pronouns

Relative Modal Verbs

Intensifiers

Hedges
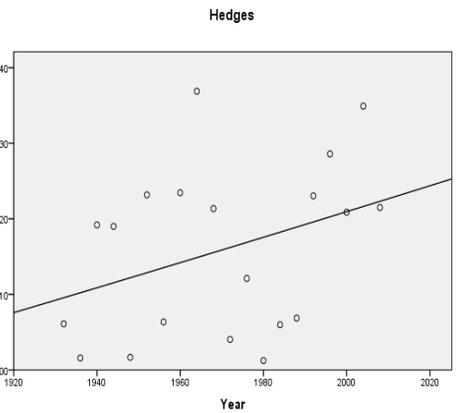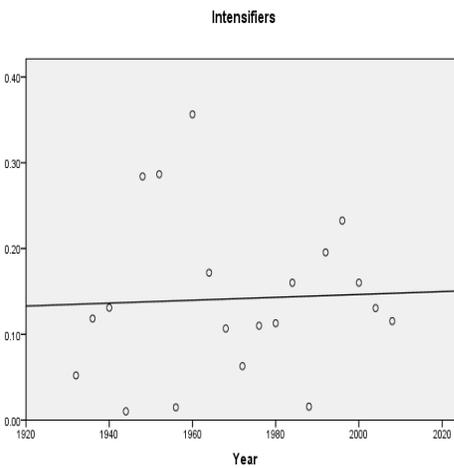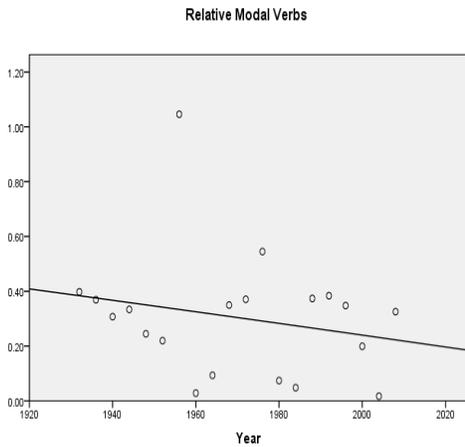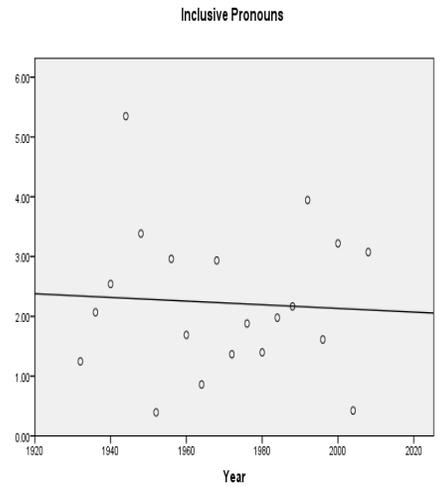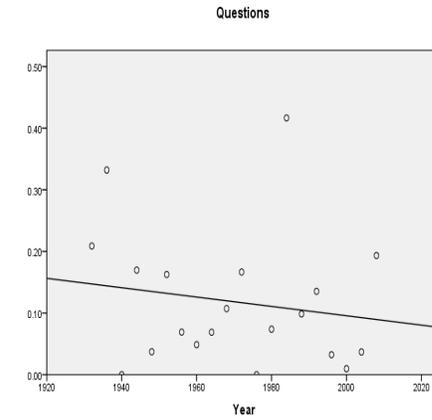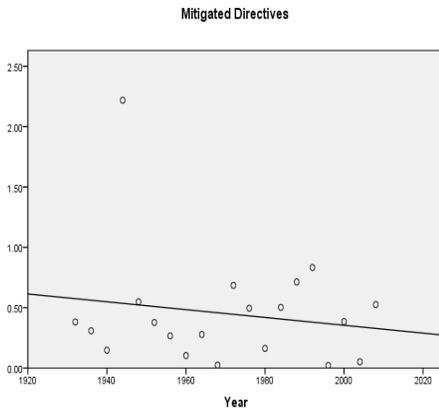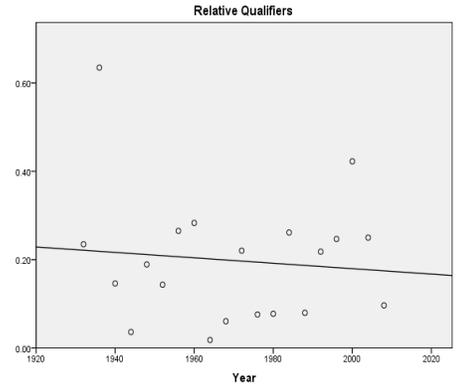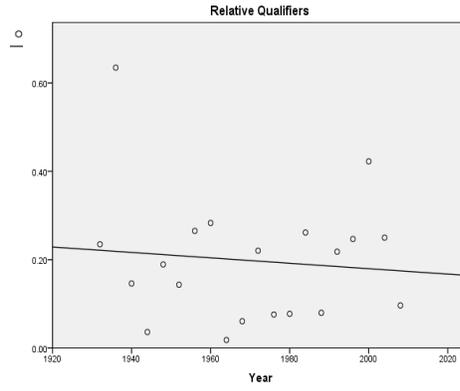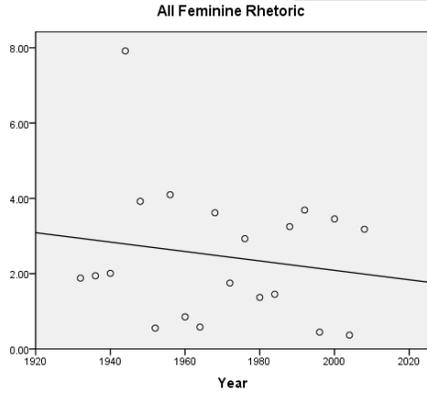
Appendix F

Masculine Sociolinguistic Variables: Absolute Difference Between Speech Types

Key: ↓ slope = speech types became less gendered
       ↑ slope = speech types became more gendered
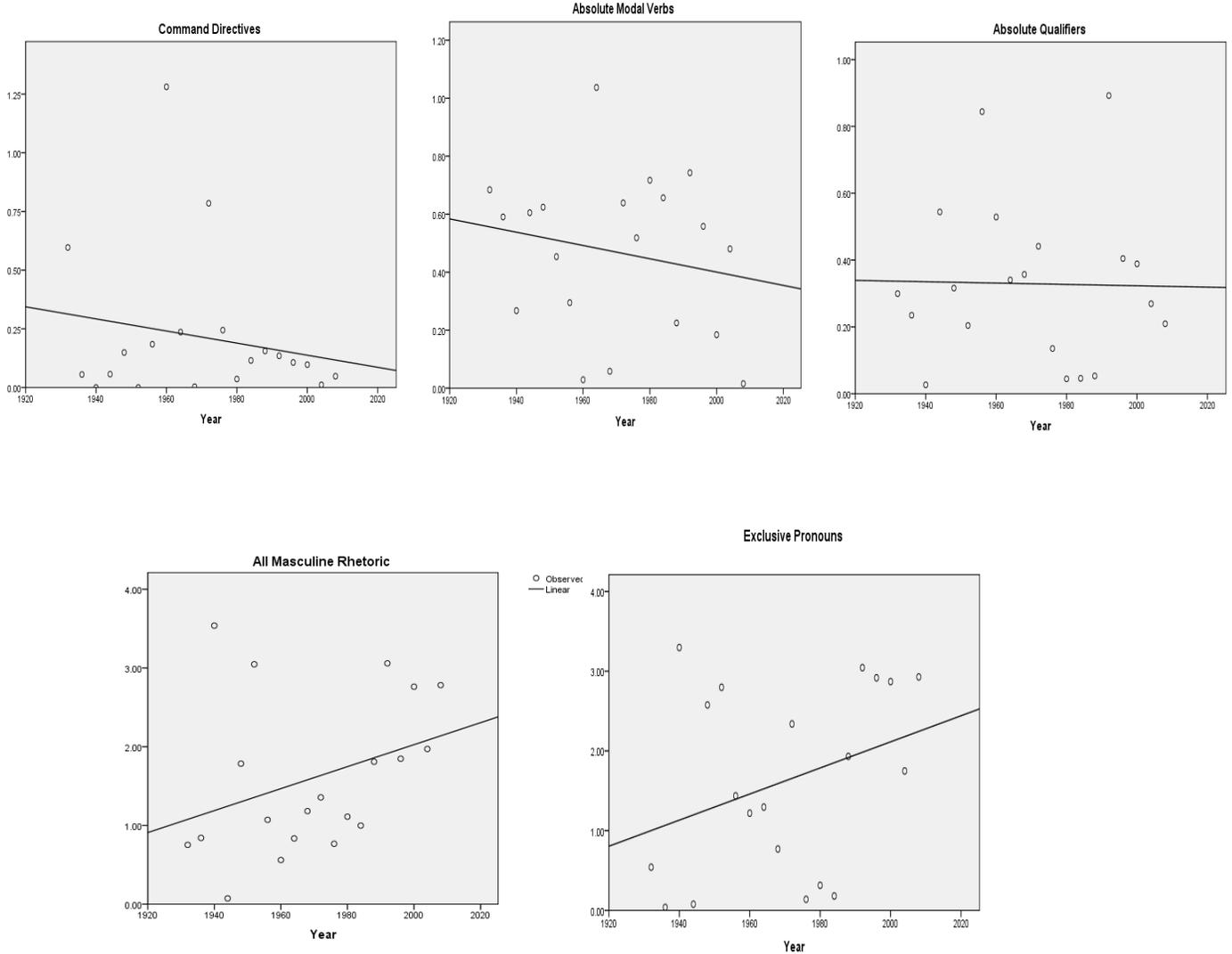
Appendix G

Feminine Political Communication Variables:
Absolute Difference Between Speech Types

Key: ↓ slope = speech types became less gendered
        ↑ slope = speech types became more gendered
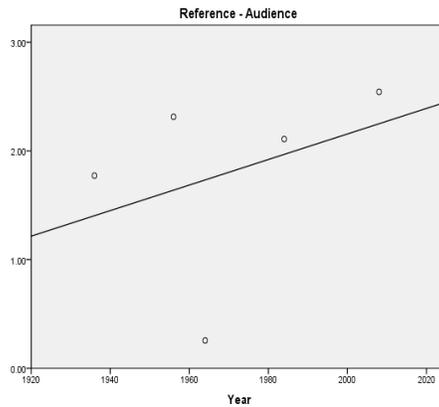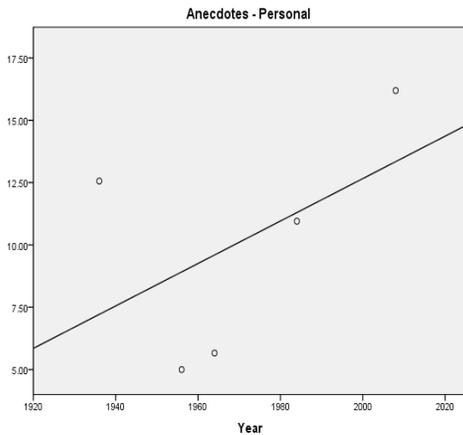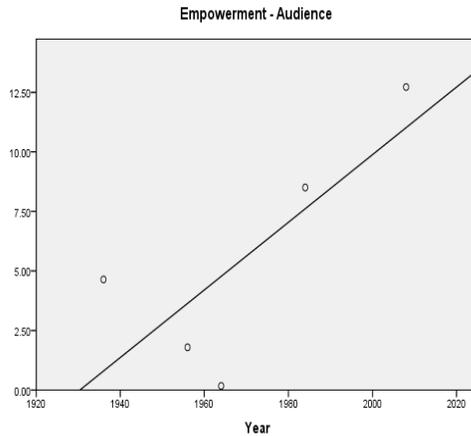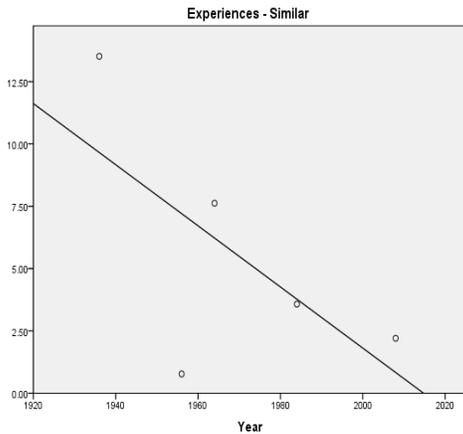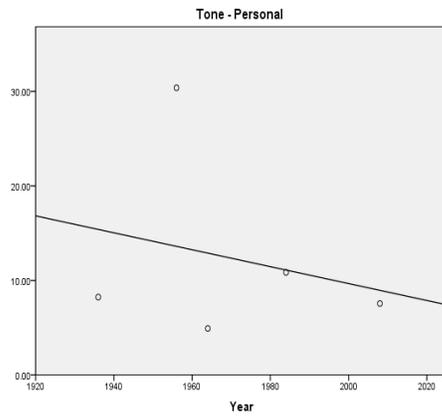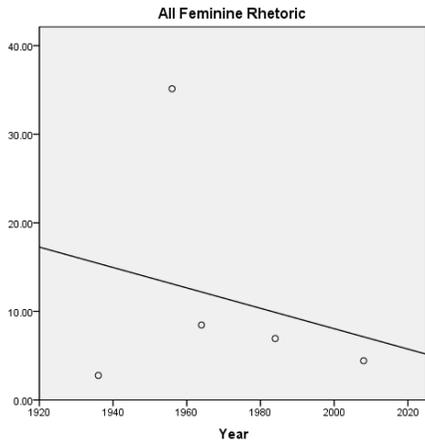
Appendix H

Masculine Political Communication Variables:
Absolute Difference Between Speech Types

Key: ↓ slope = speech types became less gendered
         ↑ slope = speech types became more gendered
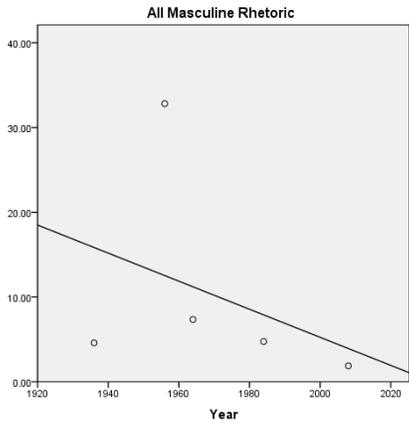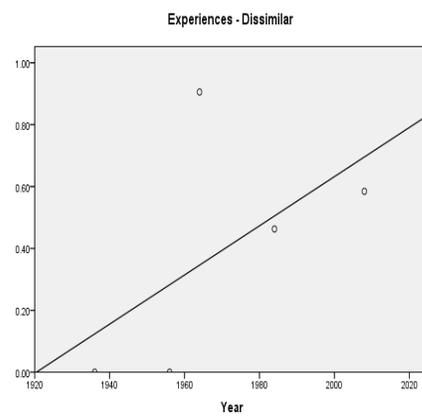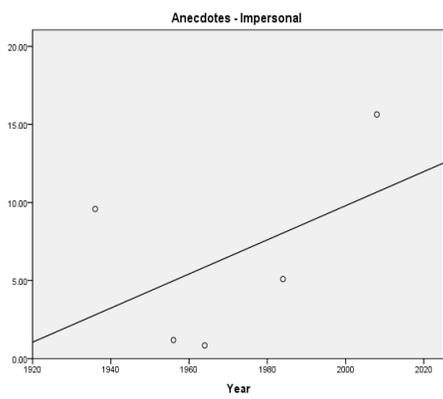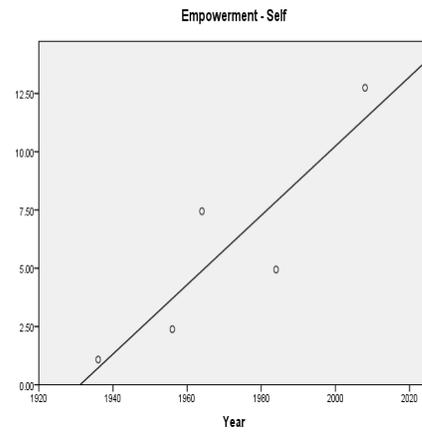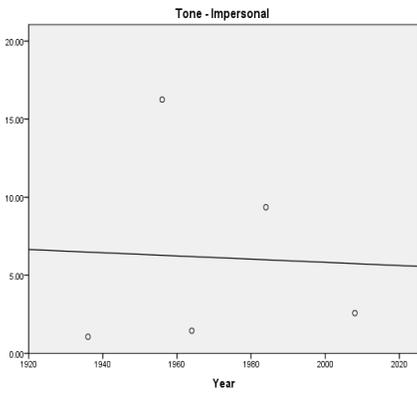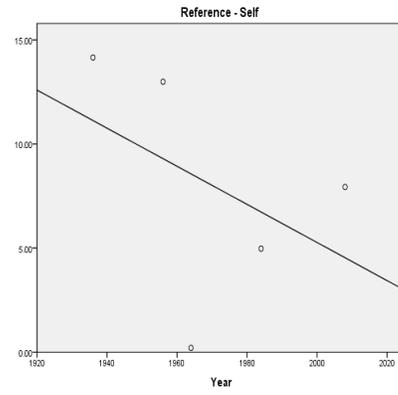
Appendix I

Feminine Sociolinguistic Variables: Difference Between Speech Types

Key: ↓ slope = more of variable in Inaugurals
        ↑ slope = more of variable in Acceptances
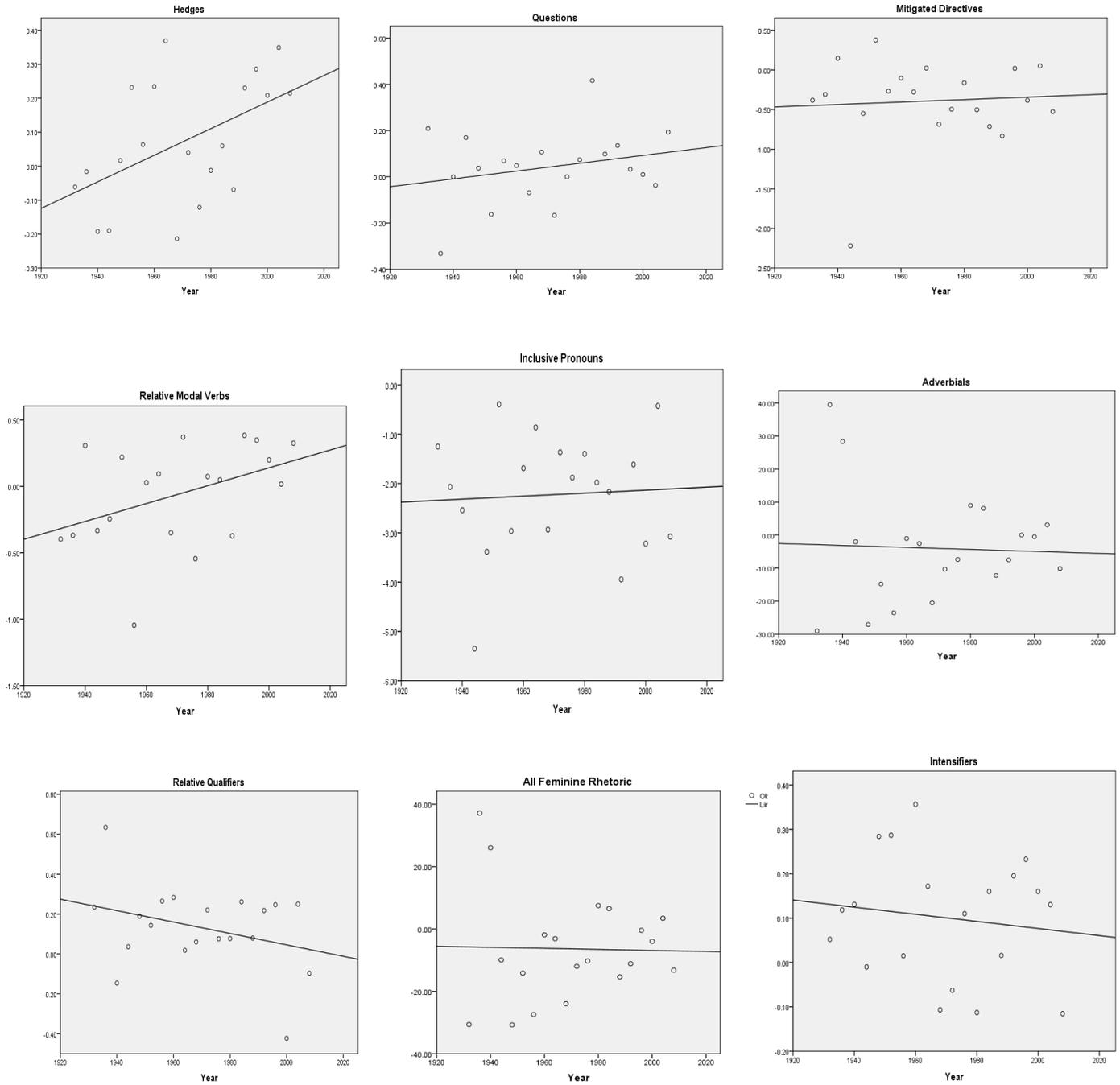
Appendix J

Feminine Political Communication Variables: Difference Between Speech Types

Key: ↓ slope = more of variable in Inaugurals
        ↑ slope = more of variable in Acceptances
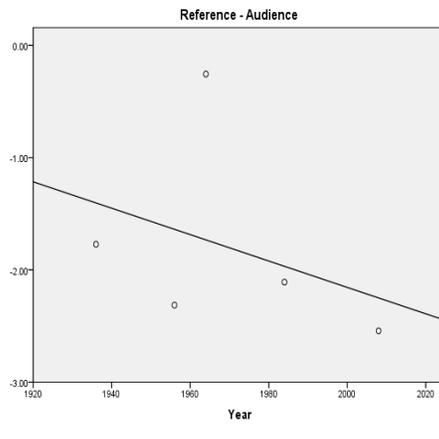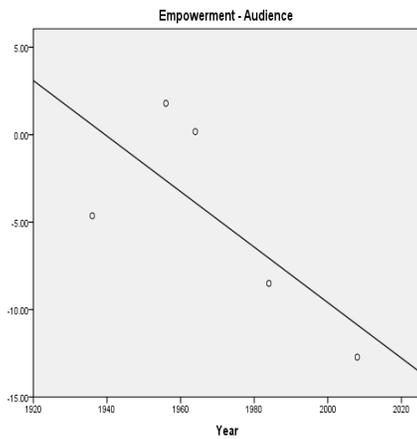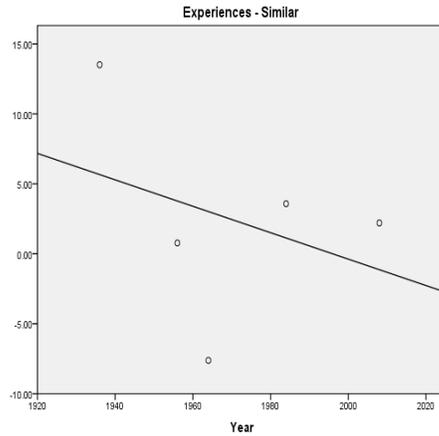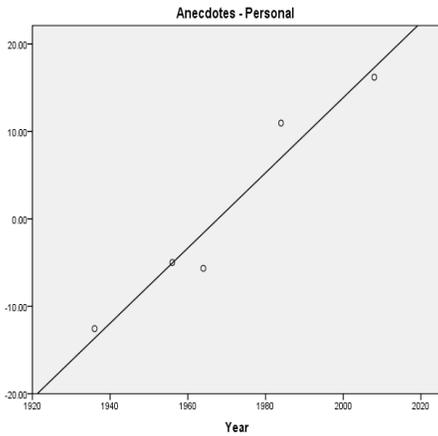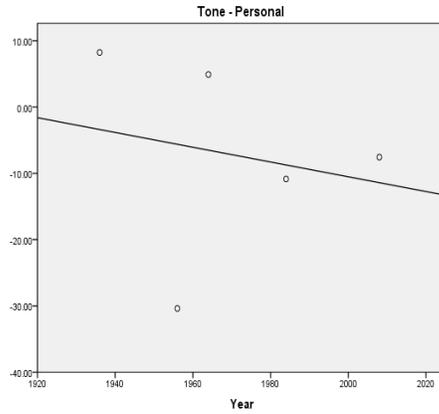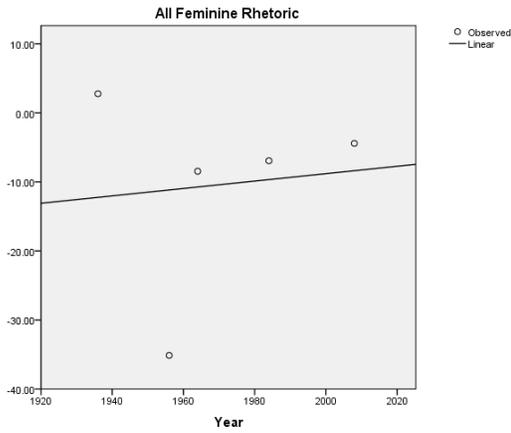
Appendix K

Masculine Sociolinguistic Variables: Difference Between Speech Types

Key: ↓ slope = more of variable in Inaugurals
        ↑ slope = more of variable in Acceptances
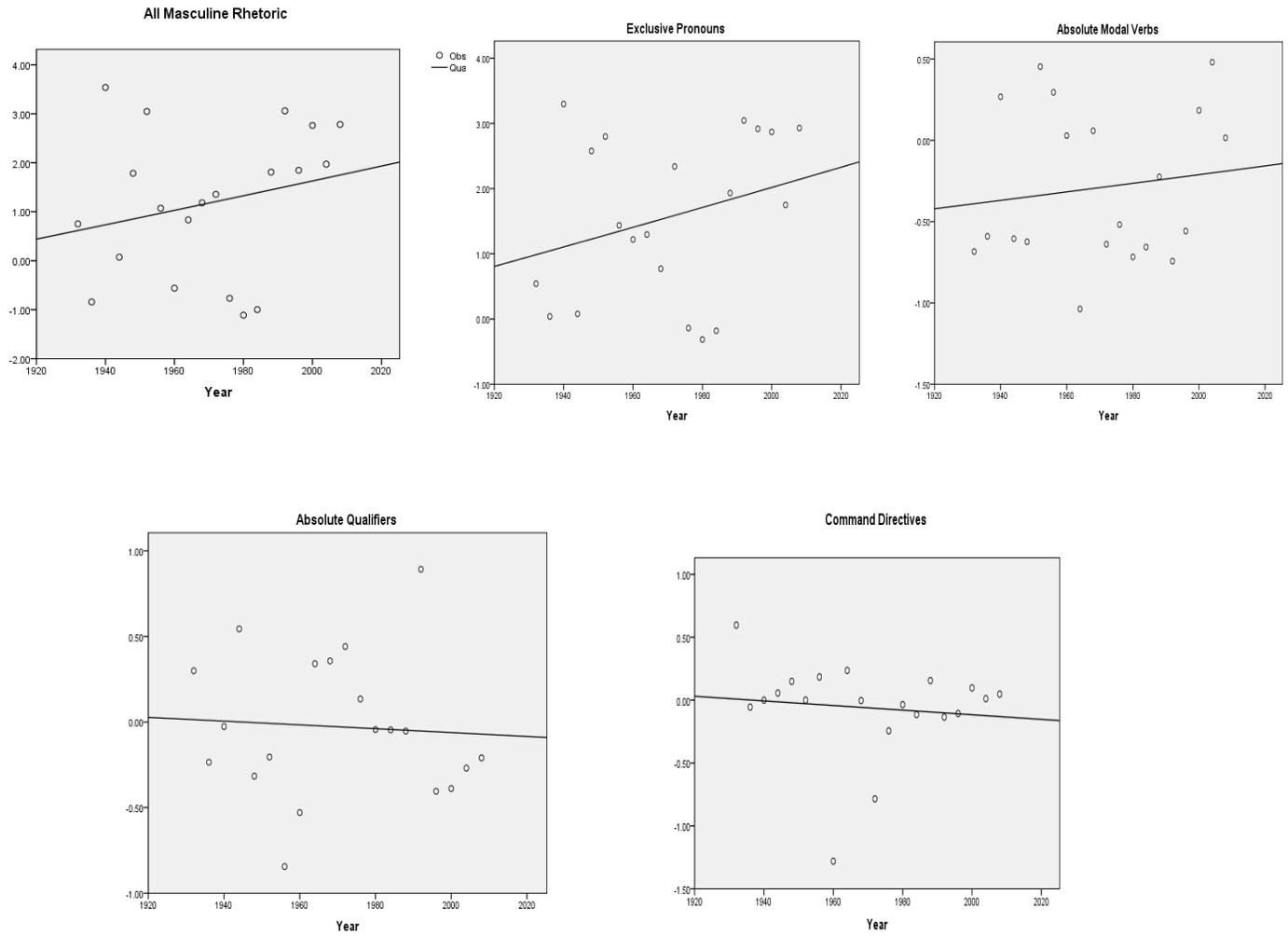
Appendix L

Masculine Political Communication Variables: Difference Between Speech Types

Key: ↓ slope = more of variable in Inaugurals
        ↑ slope = more of variable in Acceptances
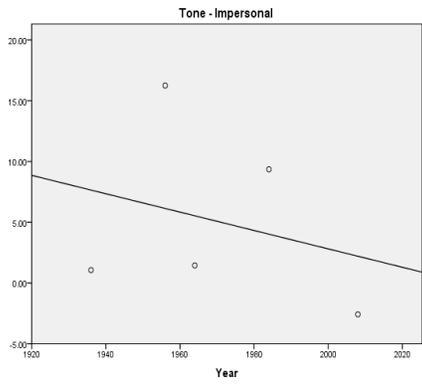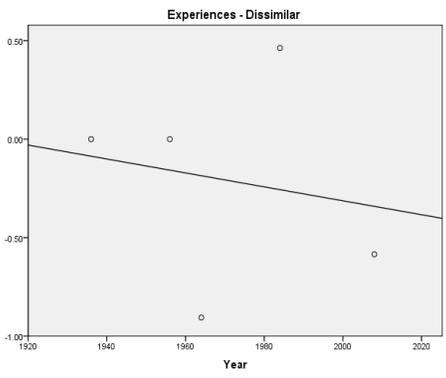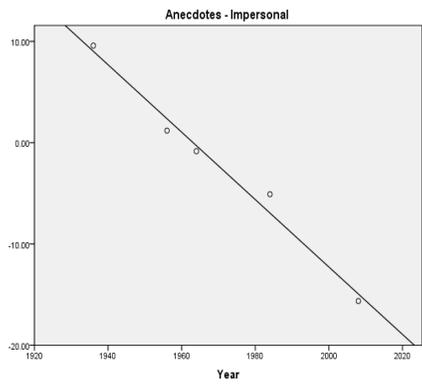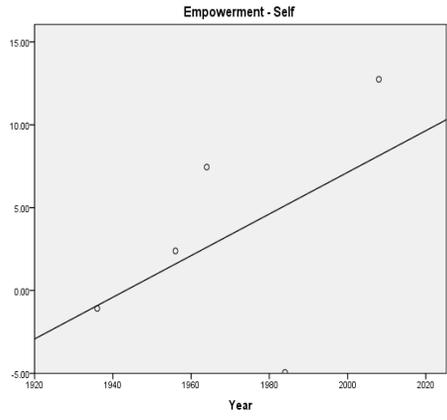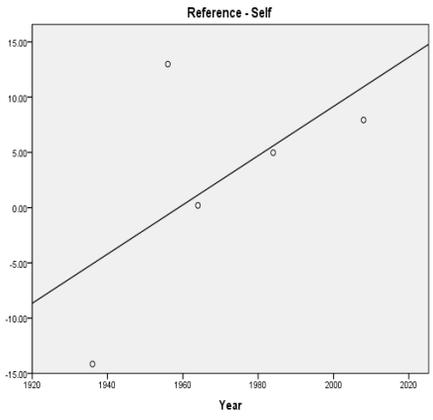
Appendix M

Feminine Sociolinguistic Variables: Sum of Variables, Both Speech Types
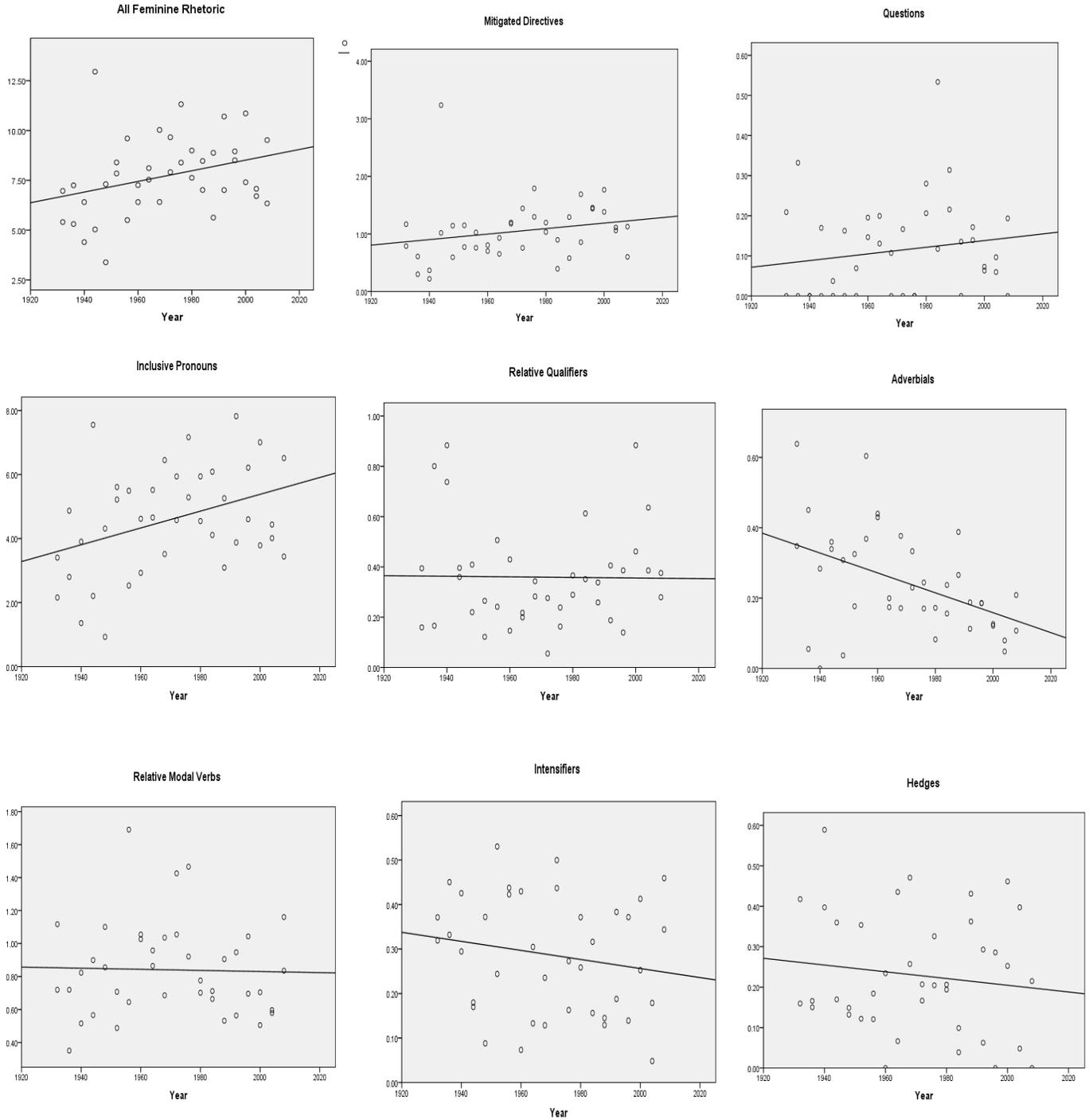
Appendix N

Feminine Political Communication Variables: Sum of Variables, Both Speech Types
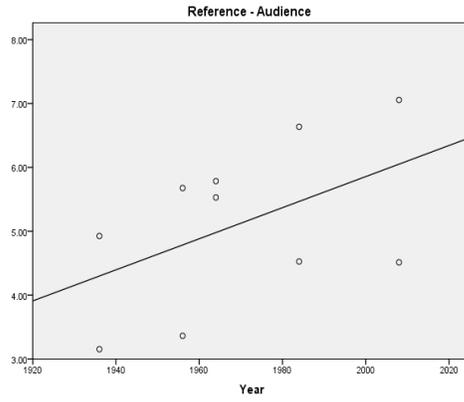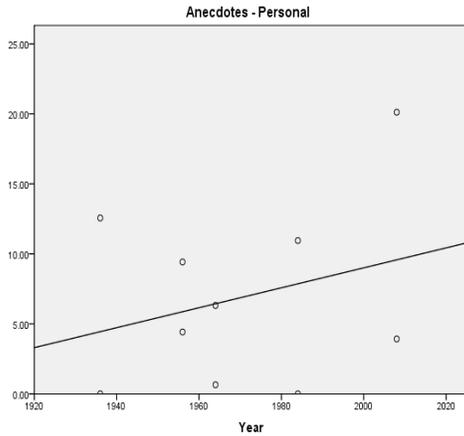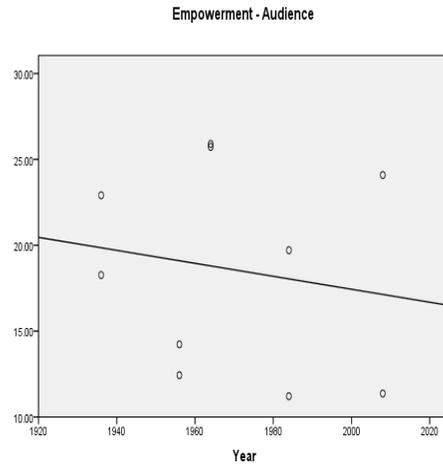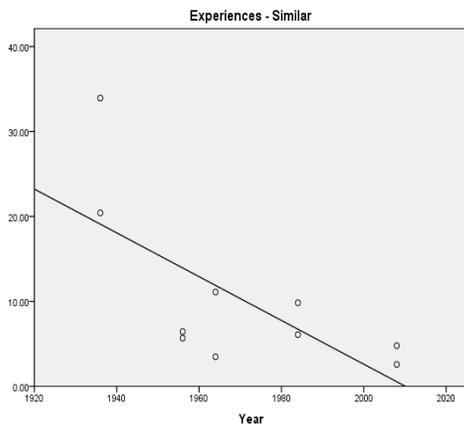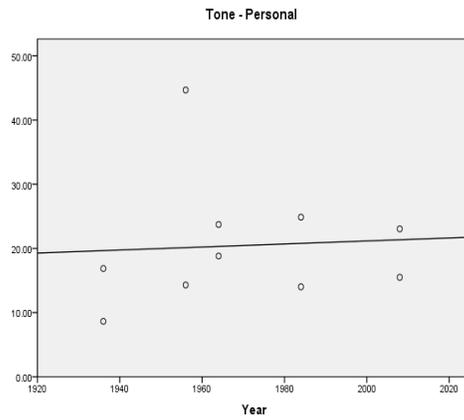
Appendix O

<u>Masculine Sociolinguistic Variables: Sum of Variables, Both Speech Types</u>
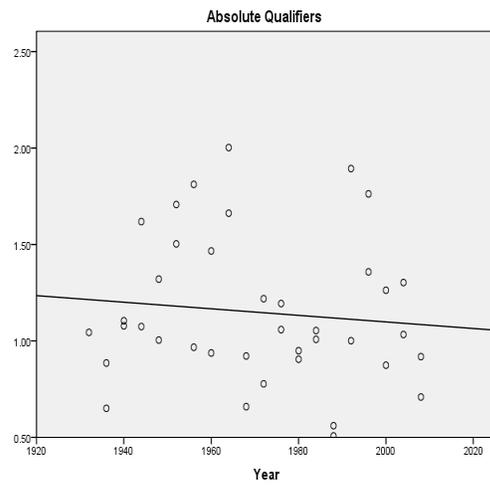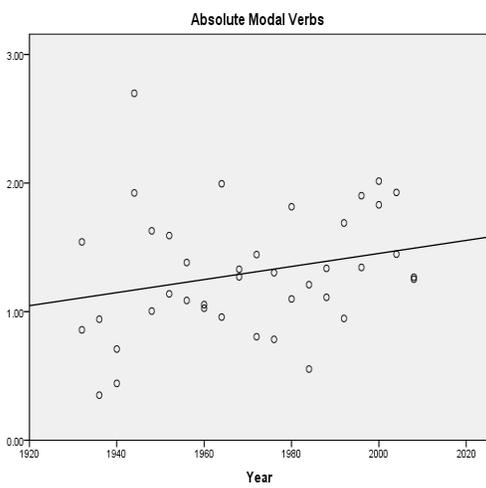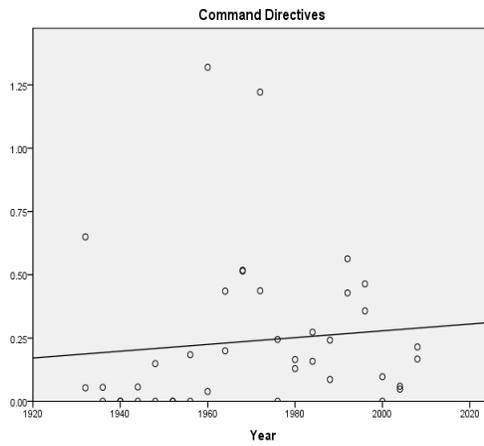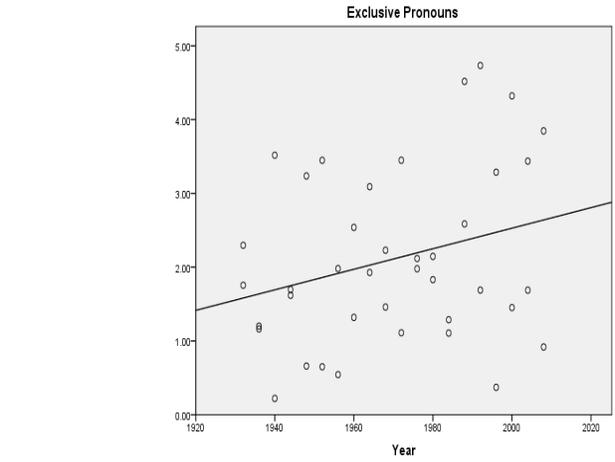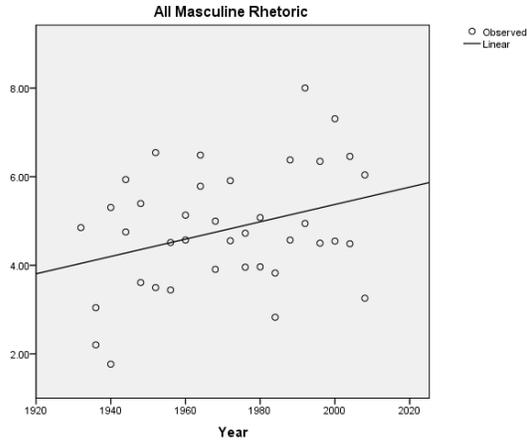
Appendix P

<u>Masculine Political Communication Variables: Sum of Variables, Both Speech Types</u>
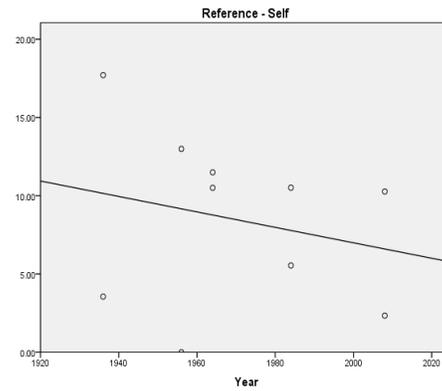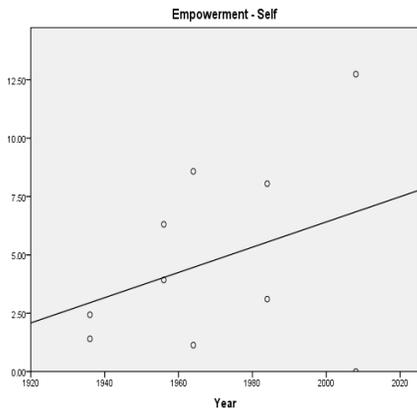
VII.   Endnote Citations:

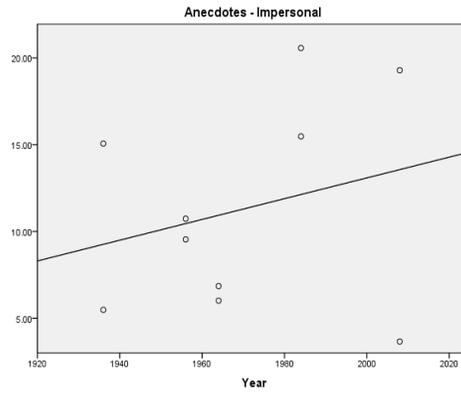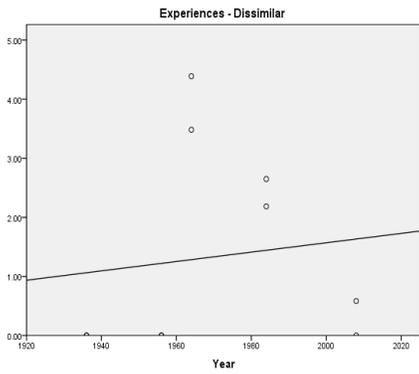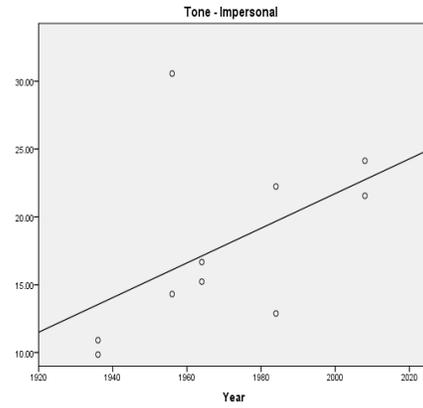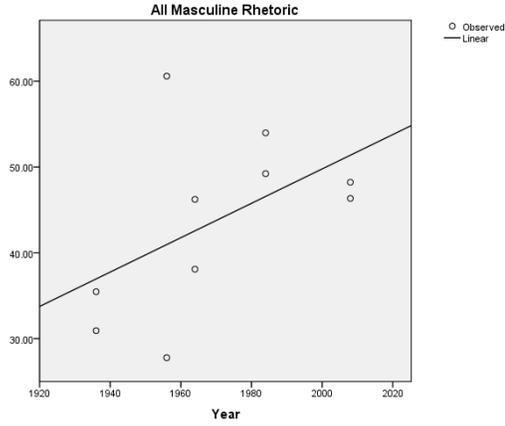[1] Daniel N. Maltz and Ruth A. Borker, "A cultural approach to male-female communication," <u>Language and social identity</u>, ed. John J. Gumperz (New York: Cambridge Univesity Press, 1982) 195-216.

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[3] Kathleen Hall Jamieson, <u>Eloquence in an Electronic Age: the transformation of political speechmaking</u> (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988) 173.

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[11] Jamieson, <u>Eloquence</u> 122.

[12] Campbell, <u>Man</u> 11.

[13] Mansfield.

[14] Mansfield 42,44.

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[16] Jamieson, <u>Eloquence</u> 78.

[17] Mansfield 50.

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[39] Campbell, <u>Man</u> 159.

[40] Jamieson, <u>Eloquence</u> 141.

[41] Campbell, <u>Man</u> 10-11.

[42] Campbell, <u>Man</u> 11-12.

[43] Jamieson, <u>Eloquence</u> 68,72.

[44] Campbell, <u>Man</u> 10.

[45] Jamieson, <u>Eloquence</u> 69.

[46] Campbell, <u>Man</u> 10.

[47] Campbell, <u>Man</u> 11-12; Jamieson, <u>Eloquence</u> 77-78.

[48] Jamieson, <u>Eloquence</u> 70-77.

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[57] Ibid.

[58] Ibid.

[59] Dow 292.

[60] Dow 290-291,295.

[61] Kaml 65,67.

[62] Dow 289, 287.

[63] Campbell, <u>Man</u> 11.

[64] Campbell, <u>Man</u>.

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[66] Dow 292,295,298.

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[81] Benze.

[82] Bystrom, "The Voice" 103-104.

[83] Banwart, Gender 34-35.

[84] Jamieson, Eloquence 88.

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