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"Talk like a man" The linguistic appeal of Hillary Rodham Clinton

Abstract: Hillary Clinton is arguably the most prominent female in American politics today. How has she succeeded in a profession still largely dominated by men? What can Clinton's words teach us about communicating power in a male-dominated political system? Does Clinton talk more "like a man" (linguistically speaking) the more her political power has grown? This project uses Clinton's speech over the course of her public career to discover how her linguistic patterns vary according to her political role. I analyze Clinton's speech in 564 interviews and candidate debates between 1992-2013 and utilize a text analysis program, the Linguistic Inquiry Word Count (LIWC; Pennebaker, Francis, & Booth, 2007), to uncover the linguistic patterns of Clinton's speech over time. Results confirm Clinton's language has become more masculine over time. Clinton's career illustrates the conformities that women make in a profession still dominated by men and by a male model. Such insight has significance not only for women and members of other marginalized groups in American politics, but also for any citizen interested in promoting a more representative democracy in an age of new media.

The year 1992 was said to be "the year of the woman" because twenty-eight female candidates won election and would go on to serve in the United States Congress for the first time. Some of these women including Barbara Boxer and Dianne Feinstein, both Democratic Senators from California, continue to serve in these positions today. In this time, Hillary Rodham Clinton transitioned from First Lady of Arkansas to First Lady of the United States to a politician in her own right, having won election for US Senate in 2000 and again in 2006. She campaigned for president in 2008 and served as secretary of state from 2009-2013. Today she stands as a likely frontrunner for president in 2016. Yet Clinton clearly stands out among the cast of political elites vying for high office. Opinions aside, Clinton has achieved what very few women in this country have achieved politically. She has been successful despite the fact that men still greatly outnumber women in politically powerful positions. Are there concessions or conformities that a female politician makes in order to succeed in a profession still dominated by men? Do female politicians talk more "like men" linguistically speaking?

Clinton's career raises broader social questions about the prolonged impact that such a power imbalance might have on women who aspire to move up the political ladder. Clinton is a feminist in her own right— she kept her maiden name throughout most of her career, she took on non-traditional roles as First Lady (most notably, as the lead voice for one of President Clinton's

major initiatives, healthcare reform), and she has been a powerful voice for equal rights for women across the globe. Clinton's career provides a useful case study for understanding how successful female politicians present themselves given the power imbalances that exist in our political system today. Does Hillary Clinton talk more "like a man" the more her political power has grown? This paper examines what Clinton's words say about both her personality and the political domains she has occupied over the past two decades.

How are female leaders "supposed to act"?

Many scholars have noted that masculine norms of behavior, such as assertiveness, permeate political and cultural definitions of leadership, whereas feminine norms of behavior, such as agreeableness, conflict with expectations of leadership (Rhode and Kellerman 2007; Duerst-Lahti and Kelly 1995; Kathlene 1994; Sapiro 1991). Kathleen Hall Jamieson (1995) describes the Catch-22 that female leaders confront as "double binds." Women who enter politics or other leadership positions are challenged with the dilemma to prove themselves as both feminine and competent as if the two are mutually exclusive. Women are challenged by competing expectations: if she is not "tough" (like a man) she is not competent enough to lead; if she is "tough" (like a man), she is a "bitch" and disliked for violating expectations of women as warm, nurturing individuals (Carlin and Winfrey 2009). However, Brooks (2014) fails to find this double bind exists for female politicians today and argues to the contrary, that voters may actually receive female candidates who "act tough" more favorably.

To date, there is not unified consensus on the mechanisms that determine how a candidate's gender will influence perceptions among the electorate. Several studies have found that voters stereotypically assign female candidates with traditional gender traits and abilities, such as compassion, suggesting they are more competent when dealing with issues related to social welfare, but less competent on issues of crime, defense, and the economy, in which men are assumed to be more competent (Alexander and Andersen 1993; King and Matland 2003; Huddy and Terkildsen 1993). Yet others argue that partisan cues are a more potent heuristic for gendered attribution of competence on policy issues. Several studies find that voters attribute partisanship to a candidate based on sex, viewing men as more conservative and women as more liberal (Dolan 2004, 2008, 2013; King and Matland 2003; Winter 2010). Dolan (2004, 2008, 2013) finds that voters select candidates from their preferred party regardless of candidate
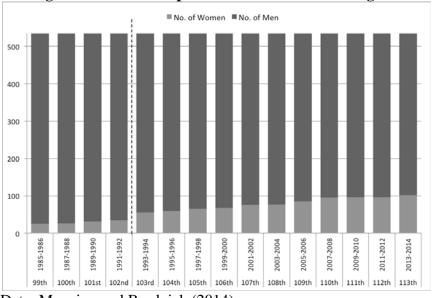
gender. Recently, Brooks (2014) conducted a large-scale survey experiment in which participants read identical descriptions of a hypothetical candidate that varied only by the candidate's first name (Karen or Kevin) and the gender-specific pronouns used to reference the candidate. Defying the logic of the "double bind," Brooks (2014) reports that survey respondents rated the two candidates about the same on traits like competence, empathy, and the ability to handle an international crisis. Brooks (2014) also finds that inexperienced female candidates are actually rated as stronger, more honest, and more compassionate than inexperienced male candidates. Clearly, there is some disagreement in the literature on female leadership styles and the interpersonal barriers that female politicians confront. Rather than look toward voters (and self-report measures) to understand how gendered power dynamics play out in politics, it is perhaps more fruitful to look at the institutional, procedural, and implicit pressures that shape the interactions within politics.

The consequences of politics as a male-dominated profession

Many scholars are interested in the various ways in which gendered power dynamics manifest in democratic institutions, popular media and other forms of political communication. Karpowitz and Mendelberg (2014) perform a series of experiments that reveal how the composition of deliberative, democratic bodies affect individual behavior and collective decision-making. They find that women display lower status, have less influence, and are more likely to conform to masculine norms of behavior when decisions are based on majority rule and when the number of men outnumbers women in the group. Even more disturbing is that this occurs even in settings where the topic of conversation is one that matters to women and one in which women have distinct preferences from men (Karpowitz and Mendelberg 2014).

Although the subjects in their experiments are sampled from a pool of average citizens, Karpowitz and Mendelberg (2014) also consider the extent to which their findings apply to elite women in leadership. Remarking on the dissimilarities between typical and elite women, they explain that elite women, who typically work in highly masculine environments, may be predisposed or socialized in ways that make them "comfortable with conflict at the start and relish engaging in it and winning," as well as more "inclined to use an assertive communication style" (p. 334). Karpowitz and Mendelberg (2014) also point to confirming evidence from interviews with female politicians who "believe they cannot get far with the feminine style" (p.

336). Similarly, in a study of Congressional speeches from the 101st to the 110th Congresses (1989–2008), Yu (2014) finds that a formal, masculine language style dominates the business of Congress and is characterized by a low percentage of pronouns, social words, swear words, and emotion words, and a high percentage of articles and long words. Research by Dodson (2006) and Lovenduski (2005) also support the idea that female leaders tend to adopt masculine styles in order to adapt to the predominately male environment.

Despite this, Karpowitz and Mendelberg (2014) study the minutes from public school board meetings, where women are most represented in the public sphere, and still find that when women comprised a minority of members on a school board (in which all members are publicly elected), females were much less likely to speak and make procedural motions at a rate equal to their presence on the board. This goes against the findings by Pearson and Dancey (2011) who analyzed floor speeches in the US House of Representatives and find that female members actually speak more often than male representatives. Regardless, Karpowitz and Mendelberg (2014) argue that even for these "elite" women, the gender composition and institutional rules of a group greatly impact the amount and ways in which women's concerns are represented. Their findings are concerning because men outnumber women in every state legislature as well as in the US Congress by a wide margin. According to a 2013 report by the Center for American Women and Politics, the total seats held by women in the 50 state legislatures range from 11.8% in Louisiana to 41% in Colorado. The reality of politics as a male-dominated profession is well illustrated in Figure 1, which depicts the number of women serving in both the House of Representatives and the Senate compared to the number of men since the 99th Congress (1985-86).

Figure 1 Gender composition of Members of Congress

Data: Manning and Brudnick (2014)

The dotted line in Figure 1 indicates the 1992 "Year of the Woman" election, in which 28 females were elected to Congressional office for the first time. The data described in this study are derived from this 1992 and post-1992 reality.

Question

The ways in which language is used and perceived by individuals has long been an interest to the scientific community. Harold Lasswell's (1949) timeless observation that "the language of politics is the language of power" is indeed an observation that rings true today (p. 8). The very essence of politics is debate, and language is fundamental to any debate in the pursuit of political power. In a very revealing anecdote, Deborah Cameron (2005) describes how Margaret Thatcher prepared herself for the United Kingdom's top post by undergoing a "linguistic makeover," which entailed her lowering the pitch of her voice by almost half of its normal range, flattening her accent and slowing her delivery.

Most studies of political language examine content words— words that express some shared meaning in and of itself, hence the label "content analysis." Content analysis has been used extensively in political science--to identify policy positions of party manifestos (Lavar and Garry 2000), moral appeals in presidential speeches (Shogan 2006), the dialogue among candidates, the press, and the people in elections (Hart 2000) and to measure public opinion in

political blogs (Hopkins and King 2007). Such research typically ignores or altogether removes common style or "function" words (e.g. I, you, my, the, it, and, from, etc.) because— at least on the surface— these words contain little lexical or semantic meaning. This research takes the inverse approach. Rather than looking at the content of Clinton's language, *I investigate her linguistic style.*

Clinton's career provides a useful case study for understanding how successful female politicians present themselves publically as well as how they respond to the dynamic pressures of politics. Specifically I ask, does Hillary Clinton talk more "like a man" (linguistically speaking) the more her political power has grown? This question is aimed at revealing what Clinton's words say about both her personality and the political domains she has occupied over the past two decades.

Epistemology

On many levels, such as verbal intelligence, there is no significant difference between men and women (Kimura 2000). However research in cognitive science, neuroscience, and psychology provides several examples into the ways in which men and women use and process language differently. Most of these differences are consistent with sociological accounts of gender with respect to power imbalances, but some of these differences suggest that male and female brains may process language differently. For example, females tend to outperform males in verbal fluency (e.g. the ability to generate a list of words starting with the letter 'a'), spelling, and verbal memory (Kimura 2000).

Linguistic style refers to the order and movement of one's thoughts. Arranging these thoughts requires the use of "function" or style words—articles, prepositions, pronouns, auxiliary verbs, etcetera. Function words help individuals to shape, connect, and communicate their thoughts into meaningful formats that may be understood by others (Pennebaker 2011). Function words are the most commonly written and spoken words in the English language, but they have little semantic meaning by themselves (Pennebaker, Mehl and Niederhoffer 2003). In the political arena, content words are highly susceptible to deliberative manipulation by speechwriters, media reporters, and politicians themselves. In contrast, function words are implicit and automatic in communication (Tausczik and Pennebaker 2010). Thus it is reasonable

to assume that most function words are not consciously manipulated, especially in natural language settings (e.g. interviews and debates).

Recent work in computational linguistics has dispelled (and confirmed) many common stereotypes about male and female language. Schwartz et al. (2013) and Newman, Groom Stone, and Pennebaker (2006; 2011) report reliable and consistent gender differences in linguistic style through analyses of hundreds of thousands of speech sample by both men and women. Pennebaker (2013), Schwartz et al. (2013), Newman et al. (2006) find that on average, women tend to use pronouns (especially 1st person singular pronouns), verbs and auxiliary verbs, social, emotional, cognitive and tentative words more frequently then men. I constructed an index of these variables and refer to it as "feminine language." Men tend to use nouns, big words (defined as words greater than 6 letters), articles, prepositions, anger and swear words more frequently than women. I also made an index of these variables and refer to it as "masculine language." Table 1 describes these variables.

Table 1 Differences in linguistic style

Feminine linguistic markers	**Masculine linguistic markers**
Pronouns, especially 1st person singular *Ex: I, me, you'll, her, this, everyone*	Big words (+6 letters)
Verbs and auxiliary verbs *Ex: need, listen, do, went, am, will*	1st person plural words *Ex: we, us, ourselves, let's*
Emotion words *Ex: happy, cried, agree, disagree*	Articles *Ex: a, an, the*
Cognitive words *Ex: because, think, believe*	Prepositions *Ex: to, above, with*
Social words *Ex: friend, child, talk, who, they*	Swear words *Ex: shit, bitch, bastard*
Tentative words *Ex: maybe, perhaps, guess*	Anger words *Ex: hate, kill, annoyed*

The important the to recognize here is that these differences are quite significant. Given speech samples from both men and women as well as the parameters for feminine and masculine styles (seen above), the computer will correctly classify the sex of the speaker about 76% of the

time, which is far superior to human guesses, which are about 55–65% accurate, with 50% being chance (Pennebaker 2011).

Hypotheses

Given the empirical observations described in the section above, I expect Clinton's language will become more masculine over time, as her entry and involvement into public office becomes more deeply rooted and as her power in the political world increases (**H1**). In addition, research by Dodson (2006) and Lovenduski (2005) support the idea that women tend to adopt masculine styles as an adaptation to the predominately male, masculine environment.

As discussed above, masculine norms of behavior permeate political and cultural definitions of leadership, especially in the political arena. Some commentators have noted Clinton in 2008 tried to combat these expectations by demonstrating her competence and "toughness." Carlin and Winfrey (2009) note Clinton was often portrayed in the media as not "feminine enough." Research suggests that female candidates often emphasize their own masculine credentials in their campaigns (Miller, Peake and Boulton 2010; Carrol 2009). For this reason, I hypothesize that Clinton's language will be most masculine during her own campaigns—in 2000, 2006, and 2008 (**H2**).

Procedure and measurement

I investigate Hillary Clinton's linguistic style using an original corpus[1] of 564 interview and election debate transcripts from 1992-2013. All interviews with Ms. Clinton made available on the Clinton Presidential Library's website were included in this analysis, and cover much of the 1992-1999 period. Similarly, all interviews (newspapers, magazines, broadcast and cable TV) available in news archive databases (LexisNexis, ProQuest, Factiva, Academic Search Premier, C-SPAN) featuring Clinton between 1992-2013 were also included. Additionally, all interviews and "town halls" or "townterviews" (a hybrid of a town hall and talk show using the Q&A format) featuring Secretary of State Clinton that available on the Department of State's website were also included. This corpus represents a comprehensive collection of interviews, broadcast, and debate transcripts featuring Clinton between 1992-2013.

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[1] By corpus, I mean a singular collection of text.

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Using Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count (LIWC), a text analysis program developed by Pennebaker, Francis, and Booth (2007) I sought to determine how Clinton's language has changed over time. LIWC analyzes text samples on a word-by-word basis and compares each to a dictionary of over 2,000 words divided into 74 linguistic categories. Most categories are defined in terms of grammar. For example, the "articles" category searches for instances of a, an, and the. Other categories, such as positive emotion words, have been internally validated by interceder reliability between independent judges and externally validated by Pearson correlational analysis which demonstrate that LIWC scales and judges' ratings are highly correlated (Pennebaker, Francis, and Booth 2007). Grimmer and Stewart (2013) provide an excellent primer on how automated methods can inexpensively allow systematic analysis and inference from large collections of political text.

In prior work, LIWC has been used to shed light on a number of relevant questions. Yu (2014) finds that a formal, masculine language style dominates member's speeches in Congress regardless of gender. Yu (2014) reports that congressional speech is characterized by a low percentage of pronouns, social words, swear words, and emotion words, and a high percentage of articles and long words, all of which are "typically masculine" constructs. However, there are many limitations to Yu's (2014) study because of the formality and rigidity of Congressional speeches. Slatcher et al. (2007) report high rates of articles, prepositions, positive emotions, and words over 5 letters in inaugural speeches by US presidents. Articles, prepositions, and words over 6 letters are also positively associated with masculine linguistic speech, which is not too surprising since every president has also been male. Further, Schultheiss (2013) has demonstrated the validity of LIWC word frequencies in predicting implicit motivational needs for power and affiliation. Schultheiss (2013) finds that that the relative frequencies of certain LIWC-based categories, such as those related to anger, achievement, and friendship, are positively associated with well-established motive measures and thus, are indicative of implicit motivational states.

In order to compare Clinton's speech over time, I calculated the ratio of feminine to masculine linguistic markers supplied by research findings from Pennebaker (2011; personal communication), Schwartz et al. (2013), and Newman et al. (2006).

$$\textit{Feminine} \big/ \textit{Masculine} = \frac{\text{pronouns} + \text{1st person singular} + \text{verbs} + \text{auxiliary verbs} + \text{social} + \text{cognitive} + \text{positive emotion} + \text{negative emotion} + \text{tentative}}{\text{words} > 6\ \text{letters} + \text{1st person plural} + \text{articles} + \text{prepositions} + \text{swear} + \text{anger}}$$

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Results

      LIWC output is expressed as a percentage of the total words in the text sample. First, I calculated the ratio of feminine to masculine linguistic markers in each document and then I calculated the weighted mean (using total word count per year) across all documents per year. Thus, estimates are not biased by word count in any particular document and yearly ratios are weighted equally in the time series model. Table 2 provides these weighted averages (expressed as a percentage) for 5 illustrative time periods in Clinton's career—her pre-candidate years (1992-1999), her first campaign (2000), her Senate years (2001-2007), her campaign for the Democratic nomination for president (2008) and finally, her Secretary of State years (2009-2013).
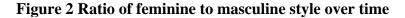
Table 2 Weighted average of all words (%)

	Examples	1992-1999	2000	2001-2007	2008	2009-2013
Feminine index						
Pronouns	*I, you, she, it*	18.63	17.40	17.36	18.16	16.32
1st person singular	*I, me, my*	4.31	5.34	4.16	4.86	2.78
Verbs	*Went, walk, listen*	17.51	16.97	17.40	18.28	16.61
Auxiliary verbs	*Have, is, will, I'm*	11.79	10.88	11.15	11.65	10.97
Social references	*Friend, we, talk*	11.57	9.86	10.37	10.15	10.78
Positive emotion	*Enjoy, nice, thank*	3.64	4.23	3.66	3.76	3.91
Negative emotion	*Worry, nasty, cried*	1.20	0.67	1.68	1.17	1.57
Cognitive mechanisms	*Because, think, believe*	20.08	19.06	20.56	19.11	20.09
Tentative	*Maybe, perhaps, guess*	3.13	2.25	2.54	2.16	2.18
Masculine index						
Words > 6 letters		16.55	17.60	18.92	17.72	19.59
1st person plural	*We, our, let's*	2.47	2.26	3.15	2.89	3.45
Articles	*A, an, the*	5.90	7.04	6.73	6.46	7.13
Prepositions	*After, to, for, of, by*	13.42	14.20	13.59	13.87	14.14
Swear words	*Ass, bastard, crap*	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00
Anger	*Hate, kill, annoyed*	0.27	0.24	0.45	0.39	0.59
Feminine/Masculine Ratio		2.43	2.20	2.13	2.34	1.89
	N	156	19	79	39	271
	Total word count	464,401	21,428	114,779	75,639	388,262

Note: Total N=564; Values expressed as a percentage of total words per year (or average % of total words per year) across years).

      Comparing Clinton's language in 1992-1999 to 2009-2013, I find her language shifts in the expected direction, supporting the notion that Clinton's language has become more masculine over time. Table 2 also indicates strategic shifts in language during her successful Senate campaign in 2000, as well as her unsuccessful bid for the Democratic nomination for President in

2008. During a campaign, it is reasonable to expect that candidates will talk about themselves even more frequently than usual and indeed, as seen in Table 2, Clinton uses more 1st person singular pronouns during her 2000 Senate and 2008 Presidential campaigns. In Table 2 as well as Figure 2 below, the ratio trends toward a more masculine style over time.

Figure 2 Ratio of feminine to masculine style over time

Note: Figure 2 gives a time-series plot of the ratio of feminine to masculine linguistic markers. Data are weighted by word count per year. The dotted lines represent election years in which Clinton actively campaigned for herself (2000, 2006, 2008) or Bill (1992, 1996). The blue line represents a smoothed generalized linear estimate (with confidence intervals) from the model presented below.

In 1992, Clinton's speech is characterized by many typical feminine linguistic structures. Here, the ratio displays higher values, indicating a higher percentage of feminine relative to masculine linguistic structures. Interestingly the ratio abruptly declines, indicating that Clinton's language became more masculine around 1993-94. This coincides with Clinton's bold yet

unsuccessful attempt to mobilize, influence, and ultimately pass health care reform through Congress. This was a major policy initiative that Hillary Clinton led on behalf of the President's administration, requiring her to speak to lawmakers and the public in order to garner support for the bill. The fact that we see a dramatic drop in her use of feminine language during this time (but not in 1995-99) suggests that she adopted more masculine norms of speech in response to the political context, not in response to a sudden change in personality or a sudden change in media strategy. By 1995, when Clinton is no longer charged with pushing the President's agenda, her language returns to a more feminine style. The ratio begins to decline again, but this time more steadily, from 2000 onward.

Table 3 Time series models

	Full model	Ratio model
(Intercept)	1931.53 ***	2050.53 ***
	(22.86)	(7.80)
pronoun	0.90	
	(0.75)	
i	0.44	
	(0.69)	
verb	0.31	
	(0.43)	
auxverb	0.63	
	(0.66)	
tentat	-2.55 **	
	(0.93)	
social	-0.57	
	(0.44)	
posemo	1.30 †	
	(0.72)	
negemo	-0.90	
	(1.07)	
cogmech	-0.41	
	(0.47)	
Sixltr	1.68 ***	
	(0.30)	
we	1.48 *	
	(0.70)	
article	1.47 †	
	(0.81)	
preps	0.81 †	
	(0.48)	
anger	8.15 **	
	(2.56)	
swear	-23.82	
	(16.05)	
Ratio		-21.86 ***
		(3.53)
N	87	22
AIC	472.33	126.17
BIC	630.15	134.89
$\log L$	-172.17	-55.08

Standard errors in parentheses
† significant at $p < .10$; *$p < .05$; **$p < .01$; ***$p < .001$

The generalized linear models in Table 3 provide additional insight into Clinton's language. The full model shows mixed results for the feminine variables over time, measured quarterly each year. A few feminine variables—cognitive mechanisms, tentative, social, and negative emotion words—show a negative relationship with time, but only tentative words are significant at the $p < .01$ level. Other feminine attributes remain positive and positive emotion words actually increase over time ($p < .1$). However, when looking at the masculine variables, a much clearer relationship emerges over time. Words over six letters ($p < .001$), 1st person plural pronouns (*we*; $p < .05$), articles ($p < .1$), prepositions ($p < .1$), and anger words ($p < .01$) are all positively associated with time. In essence, it is not clear that Clinton's language is decreasingly feminine, but it is clear that her language is increasingly more masculine. One need not come at the expense of the other. Thus in the Ratio model, the numerator remains relatively stable, but the denominator becomes larger over time, which explains its negative trend. The Ratio model is significant at $p < .001$.

Discussion

The data presented in the section above confirms H1. Results indicate that around the time Clinton was to launch her first major campaign for public office in 2000, her language increasingly relies on masculine linguistic structures, which is sustained for the next 13 years with one important exception--2008. I find this shift is not primarily due to a decrease in her use of feminine language so much as it is the result of an increased use of masculine language. The abrupt changes toward a more masculine linguistic style in 1993-94 support the notion that females may sub-consciously conform to a masculine style when engaging in politics (Karpowitz and Mendelberg 2014).

Evidence for H2 is mixed. Interestingly, when looking at the years Clinton campaigned for Bill Clinton in 1992 and 1996 as well as during her own campaign in 2008, she tends to speak with a more feminine style. This makes more sense in the context of 1992 and 1996 when Clinton is presenting herself as the wife of a presidential candidate or the sitting-President. However, it is unclear why this should be the case in 2008. The language seen from her campaigns in 2000 and 2006 do not display this same pattern. Although I cannot be certain, I find it unlikely that function words are strategically manipulated in the same way we would expect that content words are— for example, Clinton's strategy around the framing of "health

security" vs. "health reform" in 1993-94 (Skocpol 1994). Pronouns, articles, prepositions and the like are not the focus discussion about framing the agenda and even if they were, it would be very difficult to control one's usage of them in a conscious and strategic way. These function words constitute the vast majority of words we speak everyday and they are simply too frequent in communication to be consciously manipulated. Consequentially, I do not believe this is a conscious strategy, however it is unclear why Clinton would adopt a feminine style in her 2008 campaign (especially since this pattern is not evident during her successful Senate campaigns in 2000 and 2006). It is possible that the national campaign stage provides more opportunity for candidates to express their personalities, to talk about themselves, and their relationships with other people, which are all factors we would expect from a feminine linguistic pattern. Regardless, this finding contradicts much of the literature surrounding Clinton's 2008 bid, which generally supports the notion that Clinton made a concerted effort to downplay her femininity in order to look competent enough for the role of commander in chief (Miller, Peake and Boulton 2010; Carroll 2009).

The powerful voice in politics speaks with a masculine accent

Over the past two decades, when Clinton has occupied a political office or has taken on a major policy initiative (seen in 1993-94), her language conforms to a more masculine format. I argue that changes in her linguistic style reflect the reality of the political environment, the masculine norms of behavior that permeate our political institutions as well as our expectations of political leaders. I find this tendency to conform is seen most clearly when she occupies public office, and not when she's on the national campaign trail, as evidenced by Clinton's language in 2008. Rather, in a male-dominated political arena, female politicians may conform to male speech patterns implicitly as a result of the political environment that surrounds them. It is even possible that such conformity represents a desire to be seen by their *colleagues* as competent, but it is not necessarily a strategy to convince *voters* of their competence. The way we speak is intrinsically linked to both gender and the political climates we surround ourselves in.

One important factor not taken into account in this study is whether there is a party effect (as Winter 2010 finds) or a party X gender interaction with linguistic style. Similarly, another factor not accounted for her is the effect that age might have on one's linguistic style. This raises the need to expand such case studies to systematically investigate the linguistic styles of both

male and female politicians and how they change over time and in response to different political contexts. Such research would be able to determine the impact that parties, ideologies, age, status and other variables have, if any, on linguistic style.

This research utilizes a novel approach to gender to shed light on the more complex and subtle mechanisms that maybe reproducing inequality in contemporary political institutions. My findings contribute supporting evidence to prior research suggesting that women in powerful political positions assimilate to masculine norms of communication (Karpowitz and Mendelberg 2014; Dodson 2006; Lovenduski 2005). Clinton's career illustrates the contortions women undergo to yield power in a profession still dominated by men and by a male model. Such insight has significance not only for women and members of other marginalized groups in American politics, but also for any citizens interested in promoting a more representative democracy in an age of new media.

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