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## **Ukrainian Institutional Political Discourse in a Communicative–Cognitive Aspect**

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### **Abstract**

This study analyzes the communicative behavior of politicians and the features of the Ukrainian-language political discourse implementation in the political space of Ukraine. This work studied about 8,000 microtexts taken from the political texts of Ukrainian politicians such as Poroshenko, Tymoshenko, Yanukovych, and Yushchenko for the period between 2004 and 2018. The selected microtexts were then analyzed using general scientific methods and structural semantics, linguo-communicative and discourse methods, and quantitative and qualitative analyses. The results demonstrated that in the Ukrainian-language political discourse, the binary opposition “own↔alien” is employed for manipulative influence and various cognitive scenarios. On the basis of the communication features of each of the interviewed politicians, we managed to determine that Ukrainian politicians adhere to four types of communicative behavior: conflict (Tymoshenko), conflict-neutral (Yushchenko), conflict-cooperative (Poroshenko), and cooperative-conflict (Yanukovych). The study enabled determining the features of the Ukrainian-language political discourse and the political space of Ukraine and characterizing the tiers of the communicative behavior of politicians in modern Ukraine.

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## 1. Introduction

Today, politics affects all spheres of human life (Jalilifar et al., 2021), and political discourse is constantly in contact with other forms of communication, including advertising, scientific, pedagogical, legal, religious, sports, and military discourses, art, and everyday discourse (Sheigal, 2000). Political linguistics, one of the newest trends in modern linguistics, studies institutional political discourse, vividly reflecting the socio-historical process characteristics of a certain political, linguistic culture, the values declared within their limits, and the mode of relations between an ordinary citizen and the state (Wodak & Forchtner, 2017).

Institutional political discourse is a sphere where everything falls under the notions of “influence,” “evaluation,” and “value.” On the one hand, it reflects the characteristics of the general political life of the country, and on the other hand, it manifests the struggle for the power of individual politicians and pressure groups, thereby marking certain ideological guidelines, expressing the interests of certain political forces, and influencing the target audience consciousness (Abdelzaher & Essam, 2019; Kurmanova et al., 2021). In most cases, an author of an institutional political text is not one person: it is a corporate author because there is an institution of speechwriting. A corporate author possesses psychological and linguistic skills and abilities required for the implementation of linguistic manipulation and is well acquainted with other political process participants, thereby allowing them to influence the target audience.

Several studies have dealt with the archetypal opposition “own↔alien” (“friend or foe”) in the politics of various states, including pre-imperial China (Pines, 2002), post-war Austria (Wodak, 2002), Latin America (Huber & Schimpf, 2016). Positive self-presentation and othering are among the most essential strategies of political manipulation employed by American presidents (Trajkova & Neshkovska, 2019; Wiczorek, 2020). Of great research interest is the political discourse in a relatively young state like Ukraine, particularly in terms of the value orientation of politicians and their manipulation strategies based on the “own↔alien” opposition. This study aims to determine the characteristics of the

implementation of the Ukrainian-language institutional political discourse in the political space of modern Ukraine. It presents a model of linguistic manipulation based on the classification of communication strategies and tactics, and analyzes the types of communicative behavior (cognitive scenarios) inherent in political figures in modern Ukraine (P. A. Poroshenko, Yu. V. Tymoshenko, V. F. Yanukovych, & V. A. Yushchenko) through the realization of the “own↔alien” dichotomy.

## 2. Theoretical Framework

There is a wide range of approaches to the definition and methods of studying discourse: discourse as communication, discourse as a text (Van Dijk, 2009, 2014), discourse as a cognitive process (Kubryakova, 2000), discourse as speech in real time (discourse as a sociocultural phenomenon, and discourse as a sociolinguistic phenomenon (Reyes-Rodríguez, 2008). In our opinion, discourse does not exist separately from the speaker and its implementation in speech. Being an act of cognition, discourse serves as a carrier of the already acquired cognitive experience, and new ideas about the world are created on its basis. Furthermore, discourse reflects that the mental world of a person is his/her certain interpretation, which is considered a subjectively marked phenomenon.

Political discourse as one of the varieties of discourse has not yet received an unambiguous interpretation. According to Kondratenko (2007), political discourse is “a specific manifestation of political communication, which implies the actualization of the political text in the communicative act of interaction between a political subject (politician, political force, and power) and a political object (audience, electorate, and voter)”. Sheigal (2000) asserted that political discourse covers all the speech statements of the addresser and the addressee, correlating with the realm of politics. Political discourse is also interpreted as a complex of speech structures in a certain context of political activities, views, and beliefs (Oparina, 2002).

Political discourse acts as a direct manifestation of a communicative situation in a political activity, on the one hand, and as an author speech reflecting the socio-political beliefs and cultural experiences of the addresser and

representing the characteristics of the thesaurus and motivational–pragmatic levels of their linguistic personalities on the other hand.

In our opinion, institutional political discourse is the discourse of the political institution of state power. This discourse is confined to the institutional forms of communication and based on a certain standard of the behavior of politicians (a set of typical speech behavior models and communication topics), but it also expresses the individual characteristics of the speech of politicians (the President and the Deputy President).

Institutional political discourse is characterized by persuasive influence realized through various verbal means of argumentation and manipulation. The term *persuasias* comes from the Latin word “*persuadere*”: (1) assure and convince and (2) persuade, dispose to, and induce (Dvoretzky, 2008), and its semantics is manifested more clearly by the perfect form of *persuasi*, which means “I persuaded.” It is evident that persuasion is closely related to argumentation: “Persuasiveness is not identified and not opposed to argumentation; not reduced only to rhetorical techniques; and not identified with individual directive, appellative, and imperative speech acts, including implicitly” (Molodychenko, 2010). Thus, persuasion can be realized by means of logical arguments and the actualization of manipulative mechanisms, representing a “combination of logic and emotions.” At the same time, every message with a persuasive effect has its own specific set of structural components, distinguishing one statement from another statement of this type (Miller, 2002).

Thus, persuasion is not limited to argumentation: its mechanisms are more complex and large-scale. Persuasiveness correlates with the category of argumentation as a whole with a part because using argumentation, such a persuasive communicative effect, can be successfully realized; in fact, it is of a manipulative nature. Political manipulation is always implicit: “Politicians want to hide negative statements in a specific language so that the public cannot clearly see their true terrible nature” (Willson, 2015).

Having a long-standing mythological nature, the “own” and “alien” categories are ontologically biased by a binary connection, which is realized in nature and society. “Own”

marks belonging to a family or a clan and denotes everything that can describe the culture of the ethnic society, and “alien” functions outside the worldview of a group, to which an individual belongs. In archaic consciousness, *alien* is non-human, devoid of human nature, wild, strange, and incomprehensible (Artyukh, 2010). Additionally, “alien” in the cultural context is categorized as something unknown, unusual, sinful, and unacceptable, which is opposed to the characteristics of folk culture and customs, traditions, and everything that marks the categoric field of “own” (Belova, 2005).

Considering all of the above, it seems appropriate to present these categories in the following graphic design: “own ↔ alien” as only in the antinomy of oppositional relations, the semantics of each component of this opposition is fully revealed.

The existence of “own↔alien” is caused by the speakers’ categorization of the world in relation to themselves. This phenomenon is based on the speaker’s figure I, thereby determining the egocentric nature of such formation. As Kishina (2011) affirmed, understanding oneself as a kind of I, opposing to OTHER, is crucial for the determination of boundaries between “own” and “aliens.” Accordingly, the speakers differentiate their world along two vectors: “own” and “alien,” plotting them (vectors) on the basis of the specifics of their perception of the world. This dichotomy is axiologically marked and realized through certain thematic planes. Within the framework of institutional political discourse, the opposition “friend or foe” appears as an ontological, basic phenomenon and as a categorical epistemological relation. On the basis of this dichotomy, the required image of reality is created in political texts, and certain stereotypes take root in mass consciousness.

### 3. Methodology

#### 3.1. Materials

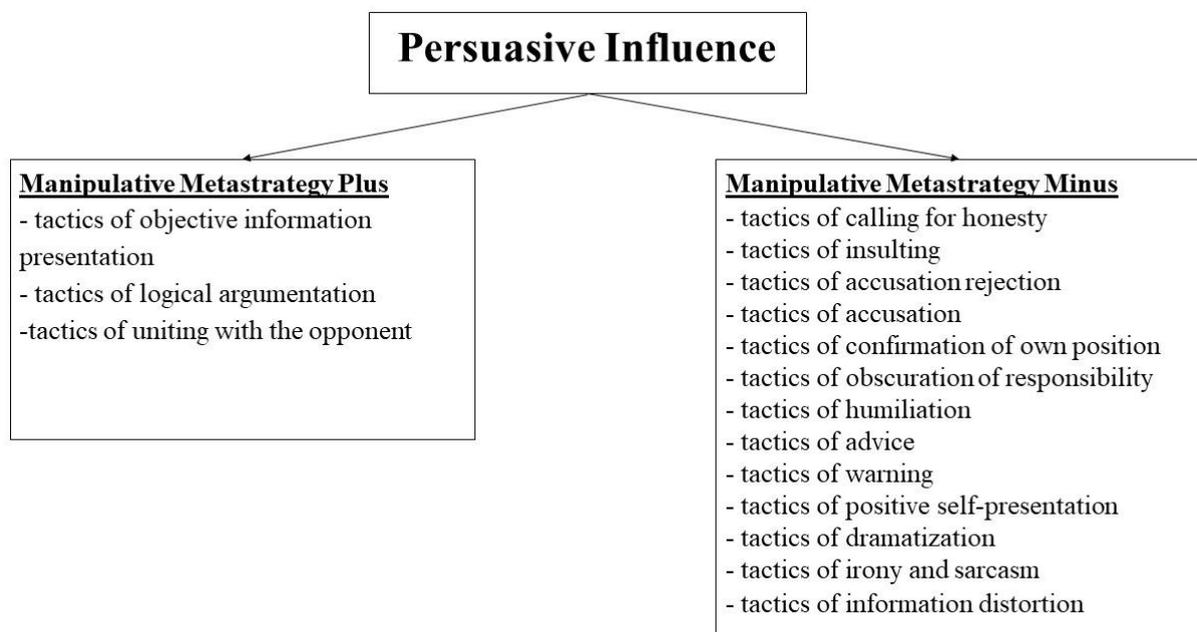
The research material comprises approximately 80,000 microtexts that represent Ukrainian institutional political discourse. They were extracted from political texts, specifically statements; debates; speeches; messages; letters, and video recordings of speeches; press conferences; and interviews with Ukrainian politicians such as P. A. Poroshenko, Yu. V.

Tymoshenko, V. F. Yanukovych, and V. A. Yushchenko for the period between 2004 and 2018. The texts selected as illustrative material for the present study are listed in the Annex.

### 3.2. Data Analysis

As a tool for the analysis of institutional political discourse as a communicative–cognitive phenomenon, an integrated approach was utilized involving general scientific methods (analysis, synthesis, induction, deduction, and modeling), structural semantics methods (component and contextual analyses), linguistic-communicative, and discourse methods, and quantitative and qualitative analyses.

In this study, we propose a model of persuasive influence as a basis for the analysis of the strategies employed by modern Ukrainian politicians to express the “own↔alien” dichotomy. Persuasive influence can be realized utilizing the manipulative strategies of diverse evaluativity signs, breaking down into a certain set of communicative tactics (CTs). Figure 1 exhibits the two classifications of communicative metastrategies (CMs), namely, manipulative metastrategy plus and manipulative metastrategy minus. Each classification comprises a set of CTs.



**Figure 1**  
*Persuasive Influence*

To influence the mass consciousness of voters, politicians use CMs and CTs, which must be combined within the framework of cognitive scenarios (CogS). Cog is a series of events that is predicted to occur. An example of a situation where an individual runs through all possible scenarios is when he/she goes through all of the probable outcomes of a conversation in his/her head. Cog reduces framing biases in decision making, and it has positive effects on decision quality.

## 4. Results

### 4.1. General Overview of Cognitive Scenarios

In politician texts, the previous government appears to be “alien”/“other” as it allegedly caused a conflict between the state and Ukrainian society, resulting in the collapse in the country: P.A. Poroshenko.

*... You will shudder to remember the state of the country after Yanukovych’s kleptocratic regime deliberately drove it to a national catastrophe for four years, as it confidently conducted the case until the end of*

*Ukrainian history. ... All those who oppose reforms and prevent Ukraine from succeeding, namely, the oligarchy, the corrupt bureaucracy, the aggressor country and its small fifth column, supported by the enemy in Ukraine, are losing (June 4, 2015; Message); V. Yanukovich. ... We got the country in a state of serious illness. The Orange government lost control of the processes in the state and was engaged mainly in resolving its own affairs and relations. It is no coincidence that Ukraine is among those most affected by the global crisis. The previous government was not ready for the crisis, did not know and did not understand what to do and how to do it (June 3, 2010; Message).*

Axiological guidelines emerge in thematic planes: the authoritarian↔democratic regime and the capacity↔incapacity of the government team.

War, corruption, and lies are essential thematic aspects of the “one↔alien” dichotomy. The war is considered one method of the ruling elite enrichment, which is the main reason for its continuation:

*And the war (started in 2014) will not end until the rotten top is removed from power and will not disappear because the government is fed by this war (June 17, 2017; Interview).*

Axiological semantics unfolds in the thematic plane of power incorruptibility↔corruptibility. Corruption and lies are the main obstacles to a democratic society: V. Yushchenko.

*We have to exorcise large-scale corruption in the country. ... I believe that the parliament will rise above party interests and support these documents (note: a package of bills). Then it will be a matter of honor for the Minister of Internal Affairs and the Prosecutor General to bring every corruption scandal to trial (August 24, 2006; Speech). We have to eradicate the field of deep corruption and deception to restore people’s faith in goodness and justice (June 6, 2005; Speech).*

Value vectors unfold in the thematic planes of moral duty↔immorality.

In the texts of Ukrainian politicians, the opposition of “own↔alien” appears in the form

of such antinomic sub-items as professionalism ↔non-professionalism, separatist↔conscious citizen, aggressive↔peaceful policy, and aggressor↔victim (P. A. Poroshenko); legality ↔illegality, democracy↔oligarchocracy, disorder ↔order, and right↔wrong, clannishness ↔clanlessness (Yu. V. Tymoshenko); transparency ↔corruption, trust↔distrust, stability↔dynamics, and Ukrainian↔European integration reforms (V. A. Yanukovich); and old post-Soviet↔new Ukrainian, friends↔enemies, and neighbor↔enemy (V. A. Yushchenko). The opposition reflection between “own↔alien” is utterly subjective. Hence, “own” in the discourse of various Ukrainian politicians are as follows: I—speaker, Ukrainian society, people with moral principles, the world, a foreign official, the Crimea, and Europe (P. A. Poroshenko); parties with similar ideas, the democratic world community, and international courts (Yu. V. Tymoshenko); the intellectuals, businessmen, European integration reforms, NATO, the Russian Federation, the USA, and China (V. F. Yanukovich); and new Ukrainian citizen, Poland, and Georgia (V. A. Yushchenko). “Alien” is represented by oligarchs, the fifth column, terrorism, murderers, the occupying power, and the Russian Federation (P. A. Poroshenko); previous presidents (V. F. Yanukovich and P. A. Poroshenko); judges, prosecutors, law enforcement agencies, and the top authorities in general (Yu. V. Tymoshenko), Yushchenko and his government, a divided parliament, debts, poverty, and a collapsed economy (V. F. Yanukovich); and traitors—politicians, corrupt people, the Yuliia Tymoshenko Bloc Party, the Party of Regions, and the Communist Party (V. A. Yushchenko).

On the basis of the analysis of the discourse of Ukrainian politicians, logical proof, positive self-presentation CogS, theatrical action CogS, and the CogS of the negative representation of the opponent, and combined CogS were identified. It also provided the basis for the identification of communicative behavior types inherent in Ukrainian politicians.

#### 4.2. Logical Proof

Logical proof CogS implement a manipulative metastrategy plus on the basis of appeals to the ratio of the addressee by logical argumentation. This CM is represented by an objective information CT, a logical proof CT, and a CT of uniting with an opponent. Additionally, it is

characterized by accuracy, the completeness of facts, the provision of statistical data, the reliability of arguments, and the impartial attitude of the author to the submitted information by the addresser: V. Yanukovych–V. Yushchenko (a CT of uniting with an opponent).

*But I would like to remind you that more than half of my voters supported me, and many voters also voted for you. If we do not agree with you on how to continue living in this country, it may happen that one of us will be elected, as they say, an incomplete president or president of one part of Ukraine. This is the question to be answered—this time will come (December 21, 2004; TV Debates).*

Using the official voting data for the 2004 elections (the following figures are reflected on the CEC website: in the first round, 39.26% of the votes for V.A. Yushchenko and 39.11% of the votes for V.F. Yanukovych) and using logical arguments, a politician calls on his opponent to unite to jointly address state issues.

#### 4.3. Positive Self-Representation

Positive self-presentation CogS perform a CM minus by means of the tactics of the confirmation of own position, advice, warning, the removal of responsibility, and a call to honesty. This Cog is characterized by an increased degree of emotionality. For instance, the increase in the intensity of emotions is realized through hyperbolization: Yu. V. Tymoshenko (warning CT).

*When the ribbon cut from the wreath by the pensioner causes the authorities to feel fear and hatred, when the paint thrown by the child into the portrait of the dictator on the billboard causes panic and hysteria, everyone understands that such power is doomed. Every dictatorship sooner or later commits suicide. This is the nature of all dictatorships. Our Ukrainian dictatorship is already in agony. Sooner or later it will decline. But the fact is that every extra day and every extra minute of this horde in power bears such losses and such damage to Ukraine that we will have to pay for their rule for years to come (January 22, 2012; Appeal).*

The use of the evaluative vocabulary of a negative nature contributes to the injection of

emotional tension: *fear and hatred, panic and hysteria, agony, dictatorship, and horde*, forming the effect of negative predictions.

The speech emotionality of the addresser can be veiled by the rudeness of advice, which sounds more like an order: Yu.V. Tymoshenko (advice CT).

*Remember, that the future of Ukraine, the security of Ukraine, its interests, and yours too, are in the European plane. But if you want to get back at least some political dignity, return Ukraine to the European development strategy (December 26, 2011; Letter).*

This tactic aims at motivating the addressee to take action, addressing the ratio of the President so that he can turn the course of the foreign policy of the country in the European direction. It is for this reason that the speaker uses the imperative mood—*remember, return*.

An important component of positive self-presentation CogS is the use of the communicative combination of three time segments (future, present, and past) and an appeal to the previous experience of the addresser: V.F. Yanukovych–V.A. Yushchenko (CTs of own position confirmation).

*I assert and have always asserted that we will only pay the pension that we have assigned, and we will only make distinctions on the working conditions of pensioners. This is my strong stand, because I know what poverty is. Therefore, this issue has been resolved for me, and I give you the answer (December 21, 2004; TV debates).*

The key figures here are the I-speaker as a presidential candidate (who comes from the poor) and pensioners (the people), and it implicitly unites both into one gestalt space.

#### 4.4. Theatrical Action

Theatrical action CogS take place where a situation favorable to the speaker is consciously modeled when there is a distribution of communicative roles and putting on of a mask corresponding to the communicative image of the politician. CogS are realized with the help of a CM minus due to the use of dramatization CT and the CTs of positive self-presentation. For instance, dramatization CT is characterized by the accumulation of either exclusively positive or purely negative information directed

in any case against the opponent: P. A. Poroshenko.

*We have done what no one has been able to do for 24 years. We have diversified the supply of natural gas to Ukraine. For now we have overcome the critical dependence on Russia, jumped off their gas needle. I have no doubt that this gas withdrawal syndrome, this blackmail, would doom the Ukrainians. We stopped it* (December 12, 2015; Speech).

The speaker seems to play the role of the hero (as if only with him the gas dependence on the Russian Federation was overcome), putting on the appropriate mask and verbally using the anaphoric partial syntactic repetition of the predicative nature: *we have done, we have overcome, and we have not let it happen*.

The speaker commonly uses the contrast to raise the statement pitch: Yu. Tymoshenko (dramatization CT).

*Political repression in Ukraine is reaching its climax. I do not remember such a scale even in the worst times: people are intimidated, searched, criminal cases are initiated, people are demanded to leave the Batkivshchyna party. That is why I am personally appealing to Poroshenko — stop large-scale political repressions on your behalf. It is going over the line! ... This government cannot be called democratic and pro-European if it is deep in corruption and political repression* (June 19, 2017; Speech).

The contrast marks negative actions resorted to by the government: political repression, intimidation, searches, the initiation of criminal cases, and the opposition to such positive possible characteristics of power as “democracy” and “pro-European”.

#### 4.5. Othering or Negative Representation of an Opponent

The CogS of the negative representation of the opponent realizes a CM minus, and accusation rejection, irony and sarcasm, insult, humiliation, and information distortion are actualized within the CTs of accusation. These CogS unfold in the conditions of the address of the addresser to the addressee in a raised voice, with transition to the rough, even aggressive tone of communication. The speaker seeks to

humiliate his opponent and create an exclusively negative image. For instance, V.A. Yushchenko–V. F. Yanukovich (CTs of insult).

*But I would like, Viktor Fedorovich, as an economist, to understand the nature of your mistakes: are they the mistakes of non-professionalism, or is it just an outright deception of voters* (December 21, 2004; TV debates).

This CT is realized by means of a communicative course of the accumulation of contextual synonyms with negative estimating semantics: mistakes, deception, non-professionalism, and an implicit comparison of the self-speaker as an expert in economics (V.A. Yushchenko, candidate of economic sciences) and his opponent, who, in the opinion of the I-speaker, is either a know-nothing or a morally defective person.

High negative expressiveness is another important component of the CogS negative representation of the opponent: Yu.V. Tymoshenko (accusation CT).

*On January 22, 1919, here, on Sophia Square, the Universal on a United Conciliar Ukraine was proclaimed. Then, in the anxious and turbulent days of the struggle for freedom, there was, in fact, the only Ukrainian state restored, which went through all the hardships, troubles and trials. Today, 93 years later, in Ukraine, unfortunately, we face anxious and turbulent times. The internal enemy is much more dangerous than the external one. We are not foreign invaders, but our own Ukrainian government that destroys Ukraine, mocks people, plunders our values, and tramples on our ideals. The mafia has seized the power in our country. But it is not just the mafia, not just bandits. This is a mafia that hates everything Ukrainian, is afraid of it and does not understand it. These are the bandits who set themselves the goal to ruin the independent Ukrainian state. But we will not let them* (January 22, 2012; Appeal).

The speaker creates a sharply negative image of the political opponent using parcelling techniques (accentuation division into simple sentences); the concentrated use of epithets “anxious” and “restless”; and the contextual synonyms of pejorative coloration: “mocks”, “plunders”, “tramples”, and “hates.” The

addresser correlates the concepts of the current government and the enemy. The government does not just act as an enemy, and it is stated that it belongs to bandits and mafias. It is also accused of Ukrainophobia, ruining the independent Ukrainian state. On the basis of the use of the communicative course of contrast, a clear image of the internal enemy emerges as one that destroys Ukraine and mocks people (“aliens”) and the image of those who will not allow it to do so (“their own”). In combination, it creates a high degree of the pejorative connotation of the text. For an even greater effect within the CogS of the negative representation of the opponent, the addresser may express aggression, deliberately humiliating him: Yu.V. Tymoshenko (humiliation CT).

*You will never be able to use contradictions between Europe and Russia, as you expected. They both know you and evaluate properly. Not with your natural abilities. ... Euro-2012 is not a treaty on European integration, you have been misled. This is football. Your deepest mistake is to curtail the process of unification with Europe* (December 26, 2011; Letter);

Yu.V. Tymoshenko (humiliation CT) *Mr. President, you have lost your memory. You have forgotten that, as with Saakashvili's arrest, it already happened. To paraphrase my friend, I will not say that you are not stepping on a rake. You have a rake instead of legs. (hereinafter accusation CTs of consolidation of power) In the 4th year of his reign, you became simultaneously president, prosecutor, parliament, government, court and general producer of all TV channels. (then comes humiliation CT) And now you throw behind bars of the opponents—as Yanukovich did. Remember what it came to. Rostov cannot hold you all (December 9, 2017; Statement).*

Using the communicative course of the mockery of the opponent's mental abilities and level of professionalism and the lexical and stylistic paths of sarcasm and hyperbole (when accusations are made that the addressee is the president, prosecutor, parliament, government, court, and general), the addressee creates a pejoratively colored image of the president-dictator and usurper of power, crowning his discourse with a communicative course of allusion to the mistakes of the previous

President of Ukraine (parallels and allusions to V.F. Yanukovich). Thus, the addresser points out to the addressee the wrong domestic policy while warning of its possible negative consequences.

#### 4.6. Combined Cognitive Scenarios

In the combined CogS, the positive self-presentation of the speaker occurs by lowering the political status of the addressee on the basis of creating an addressee positive image in parallel with the negation of the opponent image. A CM minus dominates and is actualized by combined CTs (simultaneous decrease in the opponent social status + increase of own) and the CTs of joint efforts (communicative course of intimation). For instance, P. A. Poroshenko disclosed about the old government (combined CT).

*You and I have established an international coalition. In the beginning, back in February, all Ukrainian were disrespected, they were not allowed or invited to any country in the world except the Kremlin, we created a strong international coalition to defend Ukraine and achieved effective economic sanctions against Russia as an aggressor* (December 12, 2015; Speech).

The author tries to humiliate the previous government, calling the former leaders of the country “disrespected,” implying their pro-Russian orientation. Thus, the communicative course of pinning labels in the framework of the CTs of disrupting the opponent's political status is realized. Conversely, the CTs of positive self-presentation actualize the communicative course of intimacy “together with you” and the use of the phrase amelioratively marked in the context of the current political situation in Ukraine by a *powerful international coalition in defence of Ukraine*.

In the combined CogS, the speaker seeks to create the illusion of an unbiased attitude to the situation, disguised by a logical description of the existing situation. Hence, the addresser tries, in fact, to impose his position on the audience: Yu. V. Tymoshenko (CTs of joining forces and calling for active actions).

*Today everyone comes to the squares with only one question: what is our goal and what is our plan of joint action? Our goal is the early immediate removal of Yanukovich from the post of the President of Ukraine. All*

*other representatives of both central and local authority — governments, golden eagles, zaharchenki, pshonki, klyuyevy, etc., everything else — are his metastases, which will die as soon as their inspiration disappears from the political map. Now focus all your plans, all your actions, all your strength on this. Now then we can just not cope with here is the ACTION PLAN that I offer you. Some important steps have already been taken! Of course, behind bars, I cannot take responsibility for the quality and effectiveness of this plan. Therefore, this is just advice, and to implement it or not — it will certainly be your joint decision (December 8, 2013; Statement).*

Employing the communicative course of intimacy, the addressee creates the illusion of parity communication and offers a plan to get out of the situation while abdicating responsibility due to the objective circumstances at the time.

As a result of the analysis of nearly 80,000 microtexts representing the Ukrainian institutional political discourse and with the involvement of the latest research frame (scenarios, metastrategies, CTs, and communicative moves), verifying qualitative analysis by quantitative, we proposed to distinguish four types of the communicative behavior of politicians: conflict-cooperative (P. A. Poroshenko), conflict (Yu. V. Tymoshenko), cooperative-conflict (V. F. Yanukovich), and conflict-neutral (V. A. Yushchenko).

We also determined that a politician with a conflict type of communicative behavior is characterized by a high frequency of communication tactics (44%), and conflict-neutral (24%) and cooperative-conflict (20%) types of behavior are characterized by a medium frequency. The least number of CTs is implemented in the speech of a politician belonging to the conflict-cooperative type of communicative behavior (12%).

## 5. Concluding Remarks

As a result of the research, the characteristics of the implementation of the Ukrainian-language political discourse in the political space of Ukraine were established.

Institutional political discourse is one of the most powerful means of influence and

persuasion in the modern political world. It also largely determines the mode of the perception of political realities by average citizens. Moreover, institutional political discourse is a communicative–cognitive subjectively marked phenomenon regulated by clear rules and is a kind of game and a strategic weapon aimed at exerting mudslides on the electorate.

The persuasive speech is a process whose end result is persuasion and the suggestion of certain views. It is realized by means of various methods and by argumentation and manipulation (including the actualization of the binary opposition “own↔alien”), the application of manipulative meta-strategies and tactics, and the manifestation of various types of communicative behavior.

The actualization of the binary opposition “own↔alien” in the speech of Ukrainian politicians testifies to the following general regularities: (a) profitable and (b) “others” appear in the semantic field of corruption, bureaucracy, non-compliance with laws, and the violations of moral and universal principles.

A new model of speech manipulation is proposed on the basis of CM and CT classification, considering the pragmalinguistic mode of their application in Ukrainian-language political texts. The CMs of politicians are divided into metastrategy plus and metastrategy minus, where each allocates a wide range of various CTs implemented within certain CogS.

As a result of a comprehensive contextual-discourse analysis, the dominant features were identified on the basis of features of the communicative behavior of a politician, and he could be attributed to the conflict (Yu. V. Tymoshenko), conflict-neutral (V. A. Yushchenko), conflict-cooperative (P. A. Poroshenko), and cooperative-conflict (V. F. Yanukovich) types.

We further determined that the politician, being the carrier of the conflict type of communicative behavior, uses the tactics of emotionally aggressive coloring. The conflict-neutral type is characterized by the use of such tactics that allow you not to cooperate with your opponent but, on the one hand, provide truthful information and, on the other hand, accuse, insult, and criticize your opponent. In the conflict-cooperative type of behavior, tactics are demonstrated that exhibit the dominance of

the self-speaker, directed against the opponent, although utilizing tactics focused on cooperation with him is possible. The carrier of the cooperative-conflict type of communicative behavior uses the tactics of rapprochement with the addressee, thereby relieving tension in communication, but is still in conjunction with the use of the tactics of domination over the opponent.

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