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Presidential Speech and Processes of Language Democratization in Contemporary Ukraine

1.0 Introduction

One of the most prominent political events in the life of modern Ukrainian society was the Orange Revolution that coincided with the 2004 presidential elections, events that attracted world-wide attention. Events during the revolution and those surrounding the elections were perceived as a challenge to democratic principles in an independent Ukraine. The presidential elections became a battle between the existing Soviet-style authoritarian regime of then-president Leonid Kuchma and the opposition movement in favour of democratic ideals led by Viktor Yushchenko.

Leonid Kuchma was elected president in 1994. Although he advocated democratic reforms during his campaign, the first term of his presidency (1994-1999) has been described more realistically as a bureaucratic, oligarchic, authoritarian, non-civil and non-democratic regime (Kubicek 2005, Kuzio 2005a, 2005b, 2002, Motyl 2001, Way 2005). In 1999 he was re-elected and his record in promoting democracy continued to regress significantly. After 2000 Kuchma's presidency was surrounded by mass corruption and political scandals, a period termed Kuchmagate. As Kuzio points out, '[t]he experience of popular protests during those four intervening years prepared and equipped Ukraine's opposition members to lead the Orange Revolution and to set their country on the path toward democracy and reintegration with Europe' (2005b: 129). According to Kuzio (2005b), the presidential elections of 2004 completed Ukraine's transition from a post-Soviet state to a European state. In 2004 Ukraine underwent a democratic revolution and the new president became associated with the return of democracy to Ukraine. When Yushchenko won the 2004 presidential elections he announced that the world had seen a 'genuinely different Ukraine ... a noble European nation, one that embraces genuine democratic values' (cited in Kubicek 2005) and he described his victory as a definitive end to Ukraine's post-Soviet period (cited in Kubicek 2005). The question whether the Ukrainian political system has really changed from authoritarian to democratic is still widely disputed or questioned by several scholars (Kuzio 2005, D'Anieri 2005, Harasymiw 2005, Christensen,

Rakhimkulov and Wise 2005). Nevertheless, Ukrainian society and Ukrainian political life have been undergoing changes on a variety of levels, among them the Ukrainian language.

The present study is linguistic in essence and aims at analyzing some discursive strategies in political language before and after the Orange Revolution. Specifically, an analysis is conducted of presidential speeches by Leonid Kuchma and Viktor Yushchenko during the celebration of Ukrainian independence on August 24 in 1999, 2004 and 2005, all years closely related to presidential elections. The linguistic analysis draws on the differences and similarities in the linguistic choices in relation to their specific context: the state of society in Ukraine during Kuchma's presidency and the state of society after the Orange Revolution under the presidency of Yushchenko. The study of linguistic resources and discourse practices are explored in relation to the social practice of the 'democratization' process, which became a foregrounded notion in the arena of political life in Ukraine, especially following the revolution. In other words, this study explores elements of political language and how transformations in this genre of discourse relate to wider changes in the society at large.

2.0 Methodology

The aim of this article is to study questions related to how language functions within specific institutional contexts, that is, how in many ways linguistic practices have come to define institutions and how the institutions have defined discourse practices. The institutional area for the analysis is politics, within which a sub-genre of political language, specifically presidential speeches, is analyzed. The reason for this choice is the fact that presidential language is viewed as a form of political and public discourse (directed towards people), as the language of authority, a language that is heard in one way or another by everyone in the society, and, as it were, as a mass-consumed text type, which may also be viewed as an example of an emerging standard. Therefore, presidential speech provides a framework within which important social and political questions are represented.

Specifically this study explores some discursive strategies in the political language employed by the presidents, Leonid Kuchma and Viktor Yushchenko. Three speeches are analyzed: two speeches by Kuchma during the election

years of 1999 (3,968 word corpus) and 2004 (5,634 word corpus) and one speech by Yushchenko in 2005, his first following his victory (2,169 word corpus). These texts can be considered 'parallel' texts, inasmuch as they have been delivered by a person occupying the same political post (the president of Ukraine), for the same occasion (Ukrainian independence) and directed to the same audience (the Ukrainian people). The reason for the inclusion of two speeches by Kuchma in contrast to one speech by Yushchenko is that the aim is not to show binary opposition between the two leaders, but rather to look into possible changes in the political language as a whole and ways of linking these changes to transformations in society.

One of the research questions is whether any changes in the language of presidential speeches can be identified that may lead later to questions of changes of political language in general and language changes in other domains of society. Another aim is to draw on and relate these changes in the language to wider discourse practices in society.

In the present study, presidential speech is viewed as a linguistic activity that establishes the relationship between the president, the society and its members. The structure of presidential speech is, generally speaking, narrational or linear: it includes congratulatory remarks, the historical past, the presentation of past achievements, the present state and future direction of society. The nature of presidential speech discourse is monologic in *form*, yet dialogic in *essence*. On the linguistic level, it does not have any exclusive linguistic features, but it may have some prototypical non-exclusive features, such as authorized forms of address. For the purpose of the present analysis, I will proceed from the assumption that there are no exclusive linguistic features of this discourse genre, but I will look at the high probability of the occurrence of particular features which combine in texts in distinct ways.¹ The analysis here is predominantly qualitative, supported by some statistical data on the assumption that a purely quantitative analysis would not necessarily yield reliable results (i.e. the use of 'we' by Kuchma and Yushchenko are very different contextually and functionally, see below). However, in order to make comparisons, some quantitative data are provided (Figures 1-6). The occurrence of linguistic features related to this analysis is presented as a

¹ For the purpose of linguistic analysis, each text was transcribed and marked for relevant linguistic features (see discussion below).

percentage of the word total of each speech. This method allows for an accurate statistical comparison of parallel linguistic features as they occur in the texts.

3.0 Theoretical Framework

The approach to discourse analysis used in the study is based on the theoretical position proposed by Norman Fairclough (1995a, 1995b, 2004). It is an approach which, I believe, is most suitable for use in research into social and cultural change. The essential premises of this approach foreground links between social practice and language, allowing the investigation of connections between the nature of social processes and properties of language texts.

The approach is based on a three-dimensional conception of discourse, and correspondingly a three-dimensional method of discourse analysis. Discourse is seen simultaneously as (i) a language text, spoken or written, (ii) discourse practice (text production and text interpretation), and (iii) sociocultural practice (Fairclough 1995a: 97). An analysis of text includes the study of the formal features of language (such as grammar, syntax, vocabulary and sentence coherence). The study of a discourse practice details the discourses and genres which are articulated in the production and consumption of a text. A genre here is understood as ‘a particular usage of language which participates in, and constitutes, part of a particular social practice’ (Jorgensen and Phillips 2002: 67), for example a political speech. A discourse practice, such as a political speech, is part of an order of discourse, which is understood as ‘the configuration of all the discourse types which are used within a social institution or a social field’ with discourse types consisting of discourses and genres (cited in Jorgensen and Phillips 2002: 67). An example of an order of discourse may be the order of discourse of politics. The study of sociocultural practice considers whether the discourse practice reproduces or restructures the existing order of discourse and what consequences this has for broader social practice. Therefore, the main principle of this theoretical approach is that ‘texts can never be understood or analyzed in isolation – they can only be understood in relation to webs of other texts and in relation to the social context’ (Jorgensen and Phillips 2002: 70).

4.0 Analysis and Results

4.1 Textual Analysis

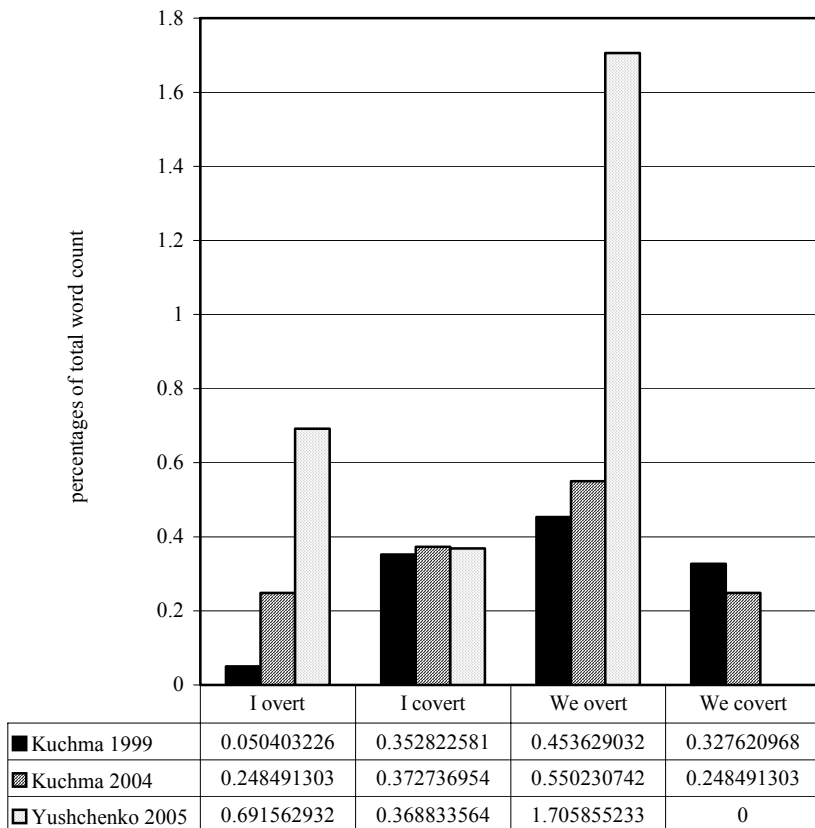
The analysis of linguistic features of texts can throw light on how discourses are activated textually and will provide background for an analysis presented later with respect to discourse practice. Tools for linguistic analysis include the following: how identities are constructed through language, interactional control or the relationship between the speaker and his/her audience, and two important grammatical notions – transitivity and modality. The elements of transitivity allow one to trace how events and processes are connected with subjects and objects. The elements of modality display a speaker's degree of affinity with or affiliation to his or her statement, or in other words, how speakers commit to their *own* statements.

4.1.1 Identities

The study proceeds with analytical properties of texts which are particularly connected to the interpersonal function of language and interpersonal meanings. As Fairclough (2004: 137) points out, the interpersonal function can be split into two components, namely the 'relational' and 'identity' functions. 'These have to do with the ways in which social relations are exercised and social identities are manifested in discourse, but also, of course, with how social relations and identities are constructed (reproduced, contested, restructured) in discourse' (Fairclough 2004: 137). Therefore, the study of identities and their construction in a text is a significant constituent in addressing a range of important sociocultural questions. In the present study, fundamental questions are: how relations are constructed between politicians and audiences, which is an important part of a general understanding of relations of power and domination in contemporary society, and how these relate to any possible changes in political language. Specifically, do they constitute a substantive democratization, or do they primarily have a legitimizing role with respect to existing power relations? To answer these questions I will concentrate on the construction of 'the self' and the construction of the audience and its identity in discourse, and how these constructions contribute, or not, to processes of social change, specifically in the domain of political discourse.

The first issue deals with how the identity of the speaker is constructed. There are options available to the speaker with respect to the construction of one's self-identity and a self-identity as related to the audience: overt 'I' and overt 'we', or covert 'I' and covert 'we', the latter stressing a distance from the information presented. Figure 1 illustrates that overt 'I' and 'we' predominate in Yushchenko's speech. In Kuchma 1999 the overt 'I' is almost completely lacking, while in his 2004 speech the overt 'I' shows more presence, but certainly does not dominate.

Figure 1: Identity

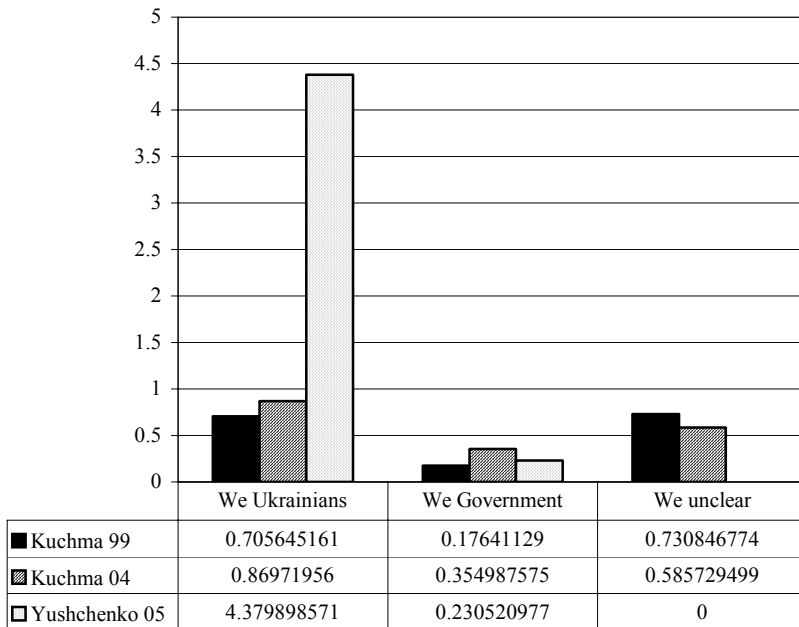


With respect to Figure 1, it is also worth noting the direct address of speakers to their audience. There are some important differences in how audiences are

constructed in the three speeches. Kuchma 1999 lacks any forms of direct address, there is really no audience present, and the Ukrainian people are referred to impersonally in the third person (*ukrajins'kyj narod* 'Ukrainian people', *vony* 'they' etc.). This may well reflect Kuchma's own belief that there does not yet exist a real Ukrainian nation, which signals that the society is still in transition. One could then conjecture that this may be the 'transition stage', full of unclear signals and meanings in his speech.

Meanwhile there are two instances of direct address in Kuchma's 2004 speech (*dorozi moji spivvityčnyky* 'my dear compatriots', *panove* 'ladies and gentlemen'), which may show his move to a more interpersonal discourse. Yushchenko's speech displays a far more considerable number of instances of direct address (his well-known *druzi* 'friends', *dorozi druzi* 'dear friends', *dorozi moji druzi* 'my dear friends', *šanojni ukrajinci* 'dear/respected Ukrainians', *šanojni hromadjany Ukrainy* 'dear citizens of Ukraine', *dorožyj ukrajins'kyj narode* 'dear Ukrainian people'; cf. Example 2 below). These direct forms of address create a relationship that approximates one between equals. In terms of presenter-audience relations, the mediating role of the presenter is accentuated through maintaining the audience as addressee throughout; the presenter is talking to the Ukrainian people, claiming co-membership. Such a relationship is reinforced by the use of and the meaning of 'we' in the three speeches. Consider Figure 2:

Figure 2: 'We'



It is important to note here that it is critical to analyze this feature not statistically but rather qualitatively, that is, in context. The meaning of 'we' used in the three speeches is considerably different and therefore purely quantitative data are futile. In his 1999 speech, Kuchma uses 'we' with the meaning of 'we Ukrainians' almost the same number of instances as 'we' with an unclear meaning, and on a few occasions 'we' is used in the meaning 'we the government'. In this speech, the use of 'we' projects contradictory identity, simultaneously managing the role of authority speaking as 'we the government', claiming some common identity as 'we Ukrainians,' but also making extensive use of the ambiguous 'we' mostly in contexts in which 'we' is portrayed as a victim of reality. For an illustration, consider Example 1, which is the final paragraph of Kuchma's 1999 speech:

(a) Tvorennya deržavy – sprava **kožnoho z nas**, sprava **vsjoho ukrajins'koho narodu**.

(b) Lyše razom, lyše spil'no **my** zmožemo zvesty i oblaštuvaty cju velyčnu sporudu.

- (c) **Nam** važko, **my** pomyľjalysja i pomyľjajemosja, zaznajemo vtrat.
- (d) Ale vodnočas uže [] zdolaly čy ne najskladnišu častynu cjoho šljaxu, nabuvšy bezcinnoho deržavnyč'koho dosvidu. **My** vže dostemenno znajemo, ščo i jak treba robyty.
- (e) [] Majemo vse neobxidne, ščo dovodyty namičene do zaveršennja.
- (f) Dlja cjoho sjohodni potrebne holovne – vpevnenist' v **syľax narody** i **svojix vlasnyx**, družna robota i vira v jiji uspix, u majbutnje Ukrajinu.

- [(a) The creation of a state is a matter for **every one of us**, a matter for **all Ukrainian people**.
- (b) Only together, only collaboratively will **we** be able to lift and equip this grandiose edifice.
- (c) It is difficult **for us**, **we** made mistakes and continue to make mistakes, **[we]** suffer losses.
- (d) However, at the same time **[we]** overcame probably the most difficult part of this path having gained priceless state-building experience. **We** already unequivocally know what to do and how it should be done.
- (e) **[We]** have everything necessary in order to bring everything planned to completion.
- (f) To do this, the most important thing today is confidence in **the strength of the people** and **our own strength**, collaborative work and confidence in its success, in Ukraine's future.]

In 1a and b, the 'we' is inclusive, suggesting 'we the Ukrainian people'. In 1c, the 'we' may be 'Ukrainian people', but at the same time it is unclear. In 1d, the 'we' gains the meaning of 'we the government'. In 1e, the 'we' is again ambiguous. Interestingly, 1f is an apogee of the ambiguity, in which *syľy narodu* 'people's strengths' and *svoji vlasni syľy* 'one's own strengths' are clearly separated. Moreover, *svoji vlasni syľy* 'one's own strengths' is ambiguous about whether reference is to an individual, Kuchma's own or his government's strength. This and several other examples in the text suggest that in his 1999 speech, Kuchma, for the most part, distances himself from the projected discourse, not constructing himself as a person sharing the life of the Ukrainian people. In this speech, institutional distance is maintained and institutional roles are foregrounded over personalities. In his 2004 speech Kuchma takes more personal responsibility for the message, the inclusive 'we Ukrainians' emerges more often than in the 1999 speech, signaling some changes in his portrayal of shared identity; however, the ambiguous 'we' remains quite prominent.

Yushchenko, in his speech, uses ‘we’ as inclusive, as ‘we Ukrainians’ for the most part, as Example 2 illustrates:

Dorohi moji druzi!

Nezaležnist’ – symbol **našoji** naciji. Vona nahaduje **nam** – jakoho **my** slavneho rodu dity. **My** zmožemo podolaty vsi trudnošči. **U nas** dosyt’ talantu i syly zdijsnyty zadumane. Holovne, moji druzi, buty jedynymy. Rozdileni **my** ne možemo ničoho. Razom **my** možemo vse.

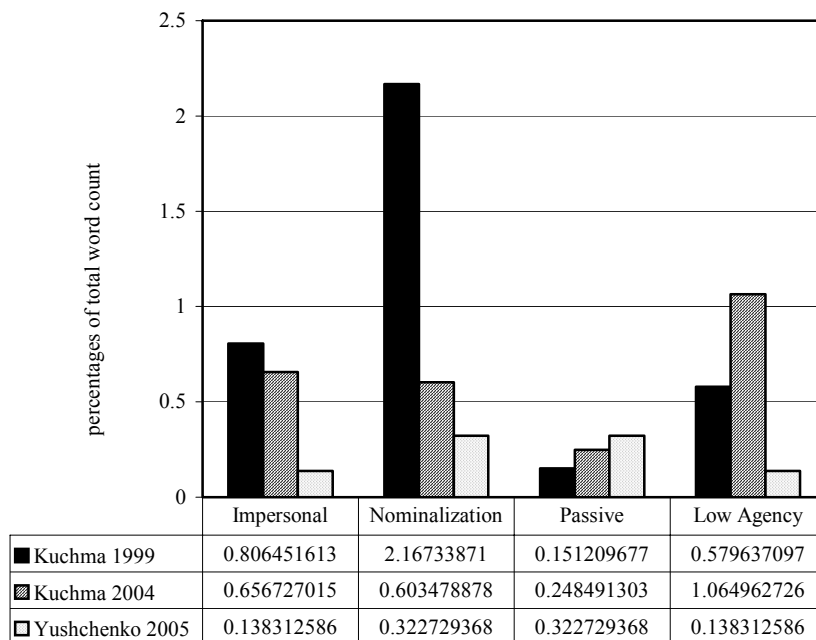
[My dear friends!

Independence is a symbol of **our** nation. It reminds **us** that **we** are descendents of glorious ancestors. **We** will be able to overcome all difficulties. **We have** enough talent and strength to achieve what is advocated. It is imperative, my friends, to be united. If separated, **we** will not be able to achieve anything. Together **we** are capable of everything.]

In Example 2, all references to ‘we’ are inclusive, which is strengthened by two direct forms of address (underlined). The use of an inclusive ‘we’ predominantly, as illustrated by Example 2, suggests that the speaker is claiming common identity, solidarity and co-membership with his audience, and by way of engaging directly with the audience as its member, takes more personal responsibility for the message being delivered. In a discourse of political speech, this signals a shift from broadly collective and institutional to broadly personal aspects of identity.

4.1.2 Transitivity

Transitivity is an important element of text analysis as its objective is to see whether particular process types and participants are favoured in the text, what choices are made in voice (active or passive), and how significant is the nominalization of processes (i.e. the use of verbal nouns or nouns in place of verbs). A major concern is agency and the attribution of responsibility (Fairclough 2004: 236). With respect to transitivity, there are four features that contribute to the promotion of an impersonal relationship between the speaker and the audience: impersonal sentences, passives, nominalizations and utterances which project low agency. In all of these four types of utterances, the agent is either lacking or downplayed, suggesting that responsibility for the action is not taken up overtly in the surface grammar. The quantitative presence of these features in the three texts is illustrated in Figure 3.

Figure 3: Transitivity

Kuchma's 1999 speech presents the most occurrences of nominalizations and impersonals. In this speech there are also a significant number of utterances with low agency and some passives. Consider Example 3:

Ne pidljahaje sumnivu, ščo do ključovyx oryentyriv u našij zovnišnij polityci majut' **buty vidneseni zberežennja** pozablokovoho statusu Ukrajinjy i vodnočas **unyknennja**, navit' suto hipotetyčno, perspektyvy staty buferom, "siroju zonoju" miž NATO i Rosijeju.

[**Without a doubt**, in our foreign policies, the key orientation points that **have to be taken into consideration** are **the preservation** of the unaligned status of Ukraine and simultaneously, even in a strictly hypothetical sense, **the avoidance** of the possibility of becoming a buffer or "grey zone" between NATO and Russia.]

Example 3, beginning with an impersonal clause, then continuing with a passive construction together with two nominalizations, among several other examples in this text, suggests the impersonal and distancing style of the

speech. In this text, for the most part, the Ukrainian people are presented as patients, contributing to the promotion of impersonal relations between the speaker and the audience. Kuchma's 2004 speech differs from his 1999 speech and scores the highest in low agency utterances with instances of impersonals, nominalizations and passives still being present. Examples of low agency are presented in 4:

Velykyj šans dlja demokratyčnogo pidnesennja daje polityčna reforma. Vona prevedbačaje **zaprovadžennja** takoji systemy deržavnoho upravlinnja, jaka zrobyt' nemožlyvoju bud'-jaku **restavraciju** odnoosibnoji **koncentraciji** vladnyx povnovažen'. Novyj zmist polityčnogo buttja vstupyv u rizke protyriččja zi staruju formoju deržavnoho ladu, jakyj **neobxidno zminjuvaty**.

[‘Political reforms give a great chance for democratic uplifting. They foresee an **implementation** of such a system of state administration that will render impossible any **restoration of the concentration** of governmental powers in an individual's hands. The new content of the political reality has entered into a sharp contradiction with the old form of governmental order, which **must be changed**.’]

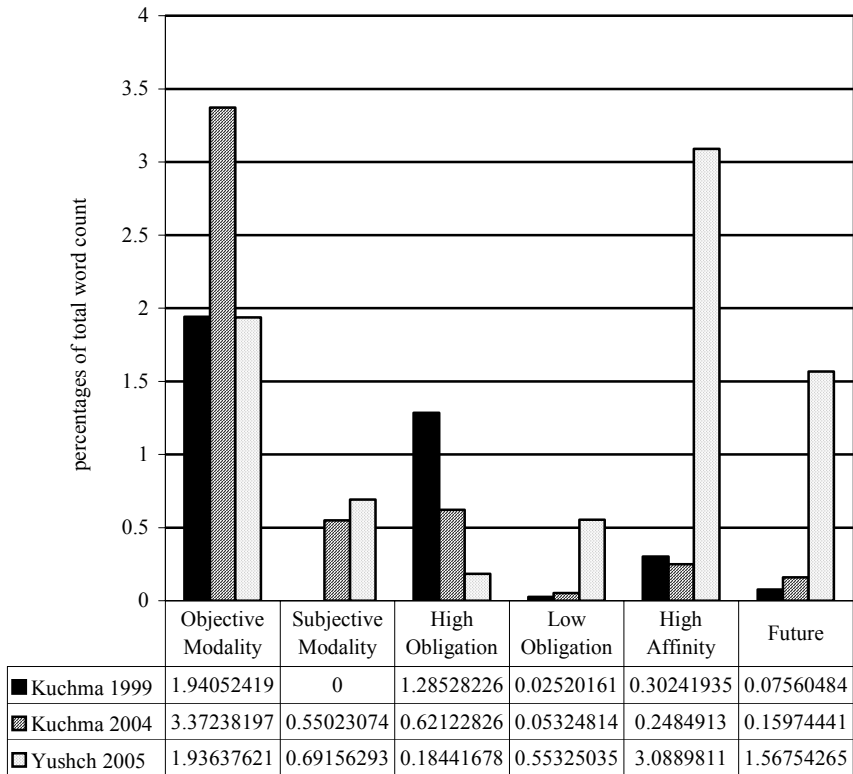
All three sentences in Example 4 demonstrate low agency, that is, there is no clear agent responsible for the outcomes. Note that the second sentence also possesses a nominalization and the last sentence ends with an impersonal construction. In this text, although impersonal relations still dominate, the difference specifically with respect to a lower number of nominalizations, signals a shift in Kuchma's 2004 speech. This suggests a certain departure from the common Soviet style with its abundant use of nominalizations in political speeches (such as *pryjnjattja* ‘acceptance’, *vvedennja* ‘introduction’, *zabezpečennja* ‘securing’, *zberežennja* ‘preservation’ etc.). Although the two speeches by Kuchma differ to a degree and signal a shift in political language, Yushchenko's speech departs even further. In his speech, the low transitivity features are insignificant (cf. Figure 3). In this speech, the Ukrainian people are foregrounded as agents, which in turn signals personification simulating the creation of a personal relationship between the speaker and his audience.

4.1.3 Modality

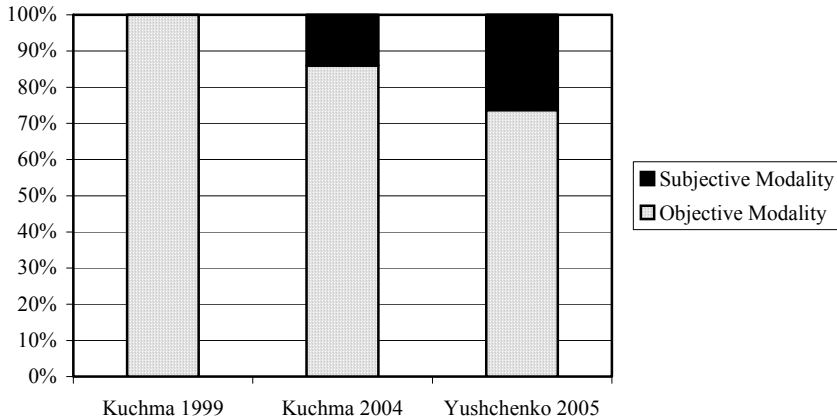
Another important grammatical element analyzed in this study is modality. Modality concerns the extent to which speakers commit themselves

to, or conversely distance themselves from, propositions (Hodge and Kress 1988 use the term ‘affinity’). According to Fairclough, modality ‘is a point of intersection in discourse between the signification of reality and the enactment of social relations...’ (2004: 160).

Specific linguistic features of modality are: modal verbs such as ‘must’, ‘should’; tense with simple present realizing a categorical modality; modal adverbs such as ‘probably’, ‘possibly’ and their equivalent adjectives; and hedges like ‘sort of’, ‘a bit’ and others. Modality may be subjective, when the subjective basis for the selected degree of affinity with a proposition is made explicit (i.e. ‘I think’) or objective, where this subjective basis is left implicit (i.e. ‘the earth is probably flat’). When objective modality is foregrounded, the speaker is projecting his or her own perspective as a universal one, implying some form of power, therefore this modality is closely connected to authority. When subjective modality is taken up, the personalized discourse is foregrounded and authoritative relations are downplayed. Consider Figure 4 which illustrates the distribution of modality features in the texts:

Figure 4: Modality

With respect to objective modality, Figure 4 illustrates an almost equal representation in Kuchma's 1999 and Yushchenko's 2005 speeches. Given the fact that objective modality translates into authority, these are not surprising statistics, as a presidential speech is expected to project authority. Kuchma 2004, on the other hand, stands out with respect to objective modality, implying the strongest form of power in this speech. Interestingly, with respect to subjective modality, Kuchma's 1999 speech scores zero percent, whereas his 2004 speech displays features of subjective modality. Yushchenko's speech possesses the greatest amount of subjective or personalized modality. Figure 5 demonstrates this distribution more clearly:

Figure 5

As seen in Figure 5, there is no expression of personalized or subjective modality in Kuchma 1999. In fact, in this speech Kuchma is lecturing, making assertions that are authoritative, often in point form, not attributed to himself, and tending towards the impersonal and universal. The modality in this speech is categorical, almost black-or-white, projecting assertions of truth or falsity. In contrast, his 2004 speech incorporates elements of personalized modality, demonstrated in Example 5:

Ale **na moju dolju** vypalo najvyšče šťastja, jake til'ky može v nahorodu otrymaty ljudyna, - vyvodyty na navkolozemnu orbitu sučasnoji cyvilizaciji **svoju ridnu krajinu**, koly za poklykom istoriji u zrusyfikovanomu serci syna černihivs'koho soldata vraz zahomonily netlinni heny velykyx i hordyx predkiv.

[But **I have been fated** with the greatest of chances, which can be graced upon a person, to present **one's own native country** to the globalized modern civilization, when I, with a historical calling of a Russified heart, the son of a soldier from Chernihiv, suddenly burst forth with the unquenchable genes of great and proud ancestors.]

Examples of personalized modality, as illustrated in Example 5, although present in Kuchma's 2004 speech, nevertheless appear at a lower percentage than in Yushchenko's text. Therefore, these results suggest a progression in the use of personalized modality in the three speeches. Other features of modality,

presented in Figure 4 are: obligational, high affinity, and future modality. As Figure 4 illustrates, the highest level of obligation is found in Kuchma 1999 text. Consider Example 6:

Treba ž, narešti, prysłuxatysja do svojeji vlasnoji istoriji, jaka včyt', ščo rozbrat, rozjednanist' – ce šljax u nikudy. Za vsijeji hostroty diskusij i superečok ščodo metodiv kerivnyctva deržavoju ta naprjamiv jiji ruxu isnujut' meži, jaki v demokratyčnomu suspil'stvi ne možna perestupaty.

[**It is**, finally, **necessary** to listen closely to one's own history, which teaches that fighting, separation – these are paths to nowhere. Regardless of the sharp discussions and contradictions regarding governmental administrative work, as well as its future directions, there are limits, which, in a democratic society, **one must not** overstep.]

In Example 6, markers such as *treba* 'it is necessary' and *ne možna* 'one must not' signal a high level of obligational modality. In Kuchma's 1999 text, these features of high obligation modality reinforce the objective, authoritative modality discussed above. In Kuchma's 2004 speech, the level of high obligation is halved. Yushchenko's speech presents contrasting results with explicit obligational modalities as practically absent. In his speech, the obligational modalities are toned down, thus underlining low obligation. This is illustrated by Example 7:

- (a) nas čekaje velykyj trud vsijeji **hromady, vlady i biznesu**.
- (b) Vin vymahaje vid nas cilesprjamovanosti, stabil'nosti, vzajemopohavy i jednosti.
- (c) Tak my peremohly na Majdani. Tak my budemo peremahaty i dali. U nas je pidstavy vpevneno dyvytysja v majbutnje.

- [(a) the great work of our entire community, government and business awaits us.
- (b) It requires from us goal-orientedness, stability, mutual respect and unity.
- (c) That is how we won on Maydan. That is how we will continue winning further. We have the bases to look into the future with confidence.]

Examples 7a and 7b show that the obligational meanings are backgrounded and that there are alternatives to obligational clauses. In 7a, 'great work awaits us' is used rather than the more obligational 'we must work hard'. In 7b, 'work requires from us ... unity' is uttered rather than an obligational 'we must be united'. Therefore, this and several other examples show that low obligation

features are foregrounded in Yushchenko's text, signaling that authoritative relations are downplayed. Interestingly, in Yushchenko's speech, 'futurity' or future modality is foregrounded, as illustrated by 7c ('we will continue winning'). The results of future modality and subjective modality presented in Figure 5 are supported further by occurrences of high affinity modality in Yushchenko's speech, which signals a high degree of affinity with a proposition that is expressed. Consider Example 8:

Ja pyšajusja nacijeju, do jakoji maju čest' naležaty. Nam vystačylo syly i jednosti zrobyty cej nezvorotnyj krok. **My** obraly deržavnist' jak pryznačennja **dlja svojeji zemli** i jak talan **dlja kožnoho z nas. Naš vybir** ne mih buty inakšym, bo za plečyma **u nas**, jak janholy-oxoronci, stojat' **naši** velyki predky.

[**I take pride in the nation, of which I have the honour to be a part.** We had enough strength and unity to make this irreversible step. **We** chose our statehood as a destiny for **our own land** and as a good fate **for every one of us. Our choice** could not be any different, as behind **us**, as guardian angels, **our** great ancestors stand.]

Several linguistic strategies, highlighted in Example 8, signal the author's high affinity with the expressed statements. Future, subjective and high affinity modalities all accord with the personalized, solidary and dialogic relationship discussed above. With respect to future modality in Kuchma's speeches, in his 2004 speech there is a more marked presence of the future than in the 1999 text, albeit lower compared to Yushchenko's text.

The analysis of modality features leads to the conclusion that Kuchma's 1999 speech projects a highly objective, institutionalized, obligational, conservative and distancing voice. His 2004 speech begins to incorporate elements of subjective or personalized modality with some traces of future modality, almost absent in his earlier speech. Yushchenko's speech, along with objective or authoritative modality, presents features of subjective, personalized, high affinity and future modality, all suggesting transformations in political language towards more personalized and personified discourse.

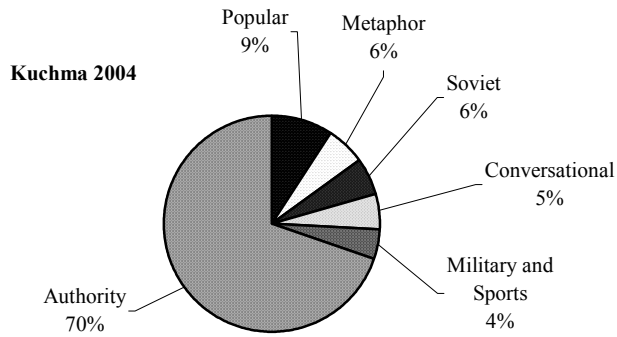
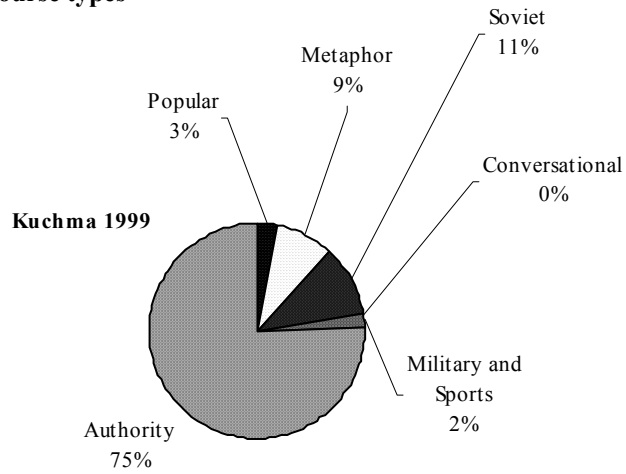
4.1.4 Summary of Textual Analysis

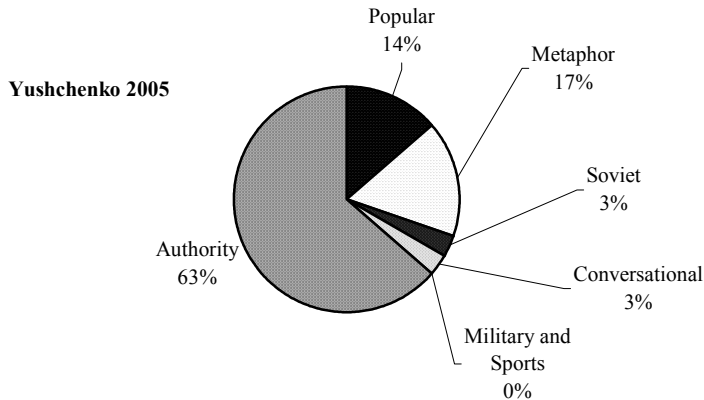
In the analysis of the text dimension, it has become clear that the texts represent three different discourses, each with its own linguistic features, which construct the social relations between presidents and their citizens in

different ways. Yushchenko's text actively constructs particular identities for both the president and the citizens, and simultaneously implies that the two parties have an equal and personal relationship. While still projecting presidential authority, the text also clearly demonstrates its subjective, future and high-affinity modality with the audience, supporting a personified and open relationship with it. Kuchma's 1999 speech presents a situation where the citizens are listeners only and should accept the information presented to them as fact. The linguistic features of this text demonstrate a high degree of impersonalization, objectivization and authoritarianism. Kuchma's 2004 text differs in that it almost serves as a bridge between his 1999 and Yushchenko's 2005 speeches. While still possessing numerous features of impersonalization, objectivization and a high degree of obligation, it introduces elements of personalized and personified language, thus suggesting the changing or dynamic status of the language of political discourse.

4.2 Discourse practice

Analysis of discourse practice focuses on how the text is produced and how it is consumed. At this point, the consumption angle will have to be put aside, as there are very few data available. Rather, the focus is on analysing the relationship of the discursive event to the order of discourse, and on the question of which discourse practices are being drawn upon and in what combinations. I utilize Fairclough's (1995a, 1995b, 2004) concept of interdiscursivity, which highlights either homogeneity of a text or the heterogeneity of a text, meaning combinations of diverse genres and discourses in a specific text. The questions here are whether a text sample is conventional in its interdiscursive properties or relatively innovative. With respect to political speeches, and congratulatory speeches, in a specifically Ukrainian context, one would expect a relatively homogeneous text with an authoritative discourse predominating. Along with the authoritative discourse (which relates to the objective modality discussed in the foregoing), in this section the analysis of discourse practices is carried out based on certain vocabularies that belong to separate discourses. Therefore, drawing on results from the textual analysis, I concentrate on elements that are associated with the following discourse types: popular, metaphoric, Soviet, militarized and conversational discourses. Consider Figure 6:

Figure 6: Discourse types



As Figure 6 demonstrates, all three texts present certain levels of interdiscursivity, albeit of different degrees and, most importantly, of different types of interdiscursivity. Note that authoritative discourse is the highest in the three texts. Kuchma's 1999 speech has the lowest level of interdiscursivity. The text draws predominantly on traditional authoritarian discourse, articulating the discourse in conventional ways. This text also shows a considerable number of Soviet elements of vocabulary or Soviet references, as in 9:

toržestvo istoričnoji pravdy [the triumph of historical truth]
 deržavi Ukrajinu-byty [for the state of Ukraine-to-be]
 berehty jak zincyju oka [to guard like the apple of one's eye]
 materializacija ideji [materialization of an idea]
 zavdannja iz zavdan' [the task of all tasks]

Kuchma's 2004 speech differs and presents an example of a greater degree of interdiscursivity. There is a mixture of different discourses. For instance, there are elements of military and sports discourses, as in 10:

na čotyr'ox frontax [on all four fronts]
 šerenhy ukrajins'kyx deržavotvorciv [ranks of Ukrainian state builders]
 zdijšennja social'no-ekonomičnoji "mertvoji petli" [realization of a social
 economic "hangman's noose"]

usi my vyjšly zi Stalins'koji šyneli [all of us came from Stalin's greatcoat]
 nezminnym je post služinnja Ukrajinu, na jakomu ty – vičnyj vartovyj [the
 post of serving Ukraine is unchangeable, at which you are
 everlastingly on guard]
 Ukrajina ne zamykala b turnirnu tablycju [Ukraine wouldn't have been last
 on the tournament score board]
 naroščuvaty social'no-ekonomični mjazy [to develop social-economic
 muscles]
 vyborčyj proces doxodyt' do svoho zenitu [the electoral process approaches
 its zenith]
 osnovne hal'mo na šljaxu do prohresu [main obstacle on the road to
 progress]

This text also demonstrates elements of Soviet discourse, as in 11:

pošuk misca pid soncem suverennyx narodiv [the search for a place under
 the sun of sovereign peoples]
 zaklavsja fundament majbutnjoho [foundation of the future has been laid]
 stratehija i taktyka [strategy and tactics]
 obezhlavlennyj režym [headless regime]
 narodni masy [people's masses]
 novojavljeni narodni komisary [latter-day people's commissars]
 my krokujemo do demokrats'noho idealu [we are marching towards the
 democratic ideal]
 na blaho našoji deržavy [for the benevolence of our nation]

Examples of metaphorical discourse are also present. Consider 12:

vyborči zemletrusy [electoral earthquakes]
 my vybyralysja z pusteli bezderžavja [we were getting out of the desert of
 statelessness]
 xrebet ukrajins'koji naciji [the backbone of the Ukrainian nation]
 sumnivna teza, navit' ja b skazav, - dymova zavis [a questionable thesis, I
 would even say, a smoke screen]
 revolucija pojidaje svojix vlasnyx ditej [revolution consumes its own
 children]
 ekonomika “vyjšovšy na volju”, odrazu ž “zabuksuvala” [the economy,
 released of its bonds, immediately ‘spun out of control’]
 šče žodna budova ne bula zvedena bez cementu, jakym dlja uspišnoho
 deržavnoho proektu je nacija [not one building has been erected
 without cement, as is the nation for any successful state project]
 my pidnimaly z kolin našu naciju [we were bringing our nation up from its
 knees]

Most interestingly, however, this speech also displays elements of popular and conversational discourses, the latter being absent from his earlier speech. A great number of expressions similar to those in 13 are found in this text:

hirka pravda [bitter truth]
 roztroščyv [smashed/destroyed]
 my vporalysja zi stvorennyam deržavnoho mexanizmu [we managed with
 the creation of the state mechanism]
 i tak pohano, i tak pohano [a no-win situation]
 nam ves' čas perepadaje na horixy vid “demokratyčnyx” staršyx brativ i
 sester [we always get the scraps from our “democratic” older brothers
 and sisters]
 demokratiji tjahnut' za volossja postkomunistyčnyj svit [democracies
 forcefully drag the post-communist world]
 varto povernutysja do toho “raju”, jak use znovu bude harazd [it is worth
 returning to that ‘haven’, when everything again will be okay]
 halasuje na ves' svit [raising a ruckus to the entire world]
 my z kozac'kym norovom [we with the Cossack's disposition]
 zapopadlyvo bje sebe v hrudy toj, xto ne vıryt' u sebe [one who does not
 believe in oneself is the one who beats one's chest the loudest]
 žyrynyj pljus [bold plus]
 vypovzannja z cijejı prırvy [crawling out of this abyss]
 nam vystačylo rozumu [we had enough smarts]
 nacija obovjazkovo vporajet'sja iz zavdannjam [the nation will definitely
 manage this question]
 vidkryvaje nam oči [opens our eyes]
 vystavljajut' sebe na hlum [they make fools of themselves]

Through popular and conversational discourse Kuchma in 2004 tries to construct his own identity as an ordinary person, similar to other Ukrainians. Yushchenko's 2005 speech may also be labeled as displaying a high degree of interdiscursivity. In his text, following authoritative discourse, popular and metaphorical discourses dominate. Examples of popular discourse in this speech are presented in 14:

procvitannja ne prynosyt'sja na bljudi [flourishing success is not presented
 on a serving plate]
 demokratija, dobrobut lipljat'sja miljonamy i miljonamy ruk [democracy
 and well-being are shaped by millions upon millions of hands]
 dıxaty na povni hrudy [to breath freely]
 stara systema peremeljuje novi kadry [the old system grinds down the new
 generation]

šljax do procvitannja ne vstelenyj kvitamy [the path towards prosperity is not paved with flowers]
 uvaha deržavy vidkryje nove duxovne dyxannja [the state's attention will breath in new spiritual life]
 ne klub vlasnyx polityčnyx partij [not a club of private political parties]
 my slavnogo rodu dity [we are children of glorious ancestors]

Metaphorical discourse is represented by expressions such as those in 15:

al'fa i omega demokratiji [alpha and omega of democracy]
 ljudy pobačyly svitlo v kinci tunelju [people saw the light at the end of the tunnel]
 vony zmožut' vpevneniše spyratysja na pleče deržavy [they will be able to lean on the state's shoulder more confidently]
 nam zavždy buty zi svojim xlibom [we can always feed ourselves with our own bread]
 zaxyščaty kul'turne pole vid "sirosti" [to defend the cultural field from 'stiltedness']
 stvorymo potužne pole demokratiji [we will create a powerful democratic field]
 doli tyx, xto pišov, tryvožnym dzvonom lunajut' v dušax tyx, xto zalyšyvsja [the fates of those who left us constantly harp on the souls of those who remain]
 deržavnist' dostyhl na kinec' lita, jak jabluko u Dovženkovomu sadu [our statehood ripened at the end of summer, as an apple does in Dovzhenko's orchard]
 til'ky svoboda vrjatuje narod, til'ky nezaležnist' vyvede joho na jasni zori i tyxi vody [only freedom will save the people, only independence will lead them towards bright stars and peaceful waters]

Note that in this speech, metaphorical references often evoke popular wisdom or cultural references, which reinforces the domain of popular discourse. In Yushchenko 2005, the clear presence of popular, including conversational, discourse is articulated together with traditional oratory discourse to create a complex interdiscursive mix. According to Fairclough (2004), a high level of interdiscursivity is associated with change, while a low level of interdiscursivity signals the reproduction of the established order. In view of this premise, Kuchma's 1999 speech may be considered an example of an established order with formal sounding authoritarian discourse, as well as his extensive use of Soviet expressions, which accords with the impersonality and distance of the political identity, established earlier by the text analysis.

Discourse practices found in this speech may be regarded as typical of political discourse in an authoritarian regime. Both Kuchma's 2004 and Yushchenko's 2005 speeches depart from such a model and display higher degrees of interdiscursivity, which, in my opinion, are a manifestation of wider societal changes. Specifically, these speeches present features of popular and conversational discourse. Noteworthy is the fact that although Kuchma introduces elements of popular and conversational discourse (as well as an extensive use of connecting devices in ways that are typical of conversation), the presence of Soviet and militarized discourse is still vivid. This speech is almost contradictory as it signals a societal change, while still preserving elements of an established order. Yushchenko departs from Soviet and militarized discourse, instead foregrounding elements of popular discourse. As Fairclough points out, the tendency of 'conversationalization' of institutional discourse

entails greater informality, and interactions which have a person-to-person quality in contrast with the interaction between roles or statuses which characterizes more traditional institutional discourse. It also entails more democratic interaction, with a greater sharing of control and a reduction of the asymmetries, which mark, say, conventional doctor-patient interaction. Conversationalization can be seen as a discursive part of social and cultural changes associated at some levels at least with increased openness and democracy, in relations between professionals and clients for instance, and greater individualism (1995a: 101).

In a wider context, Fairclough states that the communicative practices in media, broadcast in particular, may be taken 'as forming part of a substantive democratization of cultural life and cultural relations which has given value to popular culture and ordinary practices within the wider culture' (1995b: 148). Therefore, at this point it is possible to tentatively conclude that the variability in the three speeches can be seen from a historical perspective as change in progress. Kuchma's 1999 speech is representative of older practices of political speech. Kuchma's 2004 speech to a certain degree and Yushchenko's 2005 speech to a greater degree, by way of appropriation of conversational and popular discourses, signal processes of constructing a new political identity. These practices manifest societal change within the discourse order of politics representing the democratization processes that are taking place in the Ukrainian political language.

4.3 Sociocultural practice

In this section, questions of how text properties and various mixes of discourse practices relate to the sociocultural practices of contemporary Ukraine need to be discussed. This dimension of the analysis raises some difficulties, especially within the confines of a short article. A full analysis would require a more general discussion of contemporary political discourse as an order of discourse and political speech within that. The present article focuses on trends in one speech event, which is illustrative of one trend within a broader order of discourse. Transformations in the political speech discourse analyzed above are vivid and significant trends in political discourse, but may only be viewed as a hypothesis.

Based on the present analysis, I suggest that the discourse practices, as well as textual analysis of the speeches, form a significant part in a shift in social practice which involves transformations in the political sphere. One aspect of this transformation is a movement from public, formal, impersonal and demagogic practices toward populism, personalization and conversationalization of political discourse. There is also a clear restructuring of the order of political discourse with respect to identities; i.e. politicians are being reconstituted as ‘real’ individuals and personalities. With respect to political relations, politicians and the public are constructed as co-members of a private domain culture with values such as ordinariness, informality, authenticity and sincerity. As Fairclough points out, ‘the removal of inequalities and asymmetries in the discursive and linguistic rights, obligations and prestige of groups of people’ (2004: 201) means ‘democratization’ of discourse. Specifically, with respect to linguistic features, relevant for the present study, he notes that a reduction of overt markers of power asymmetry between those of unequal power and tendencies towards informality of language (2004: 201) relate to discursive democratization. Importantly this discursal democratization is linked to political democratization, and ‘to the broad shift from coercion to consent, incorporation and pluralism in the exercise of power’ (Fairclough 1995a: 80).

5.0 Concluding Remarks

The analysis above allows me to conclude that there are different tendencies in the Ukrainian political language during three different time

frames within a six-year period. The 1999 period is characterized by a highly institutional, obligational and formal language which supports several political science studies that this period in the history of Ukraine was marked by authoritarianism with democracy remaining unconsolidated. The 2004 text illustrates a type of political speech located in a society in transition. This relates very well to events crowned by the Orange Revolution in late 2004. And finally, Yushchenko's 2005 text creates a new interdiscursive mix, beginning to suggest processes of extensive societal democratization.

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