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LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF UKRAINIAN PRESIDENT VOLODYMYR ZELENSKYY'S POLITICAL RHETORIC: STRATEGIES & TACTICS

The purpose of the study is to characterize the discursive strategies and tactics of the Ukraine's President V. Zelenskyy. V. Zelenskyy's political discourse is mainly determined by the strategy for increase and the strategy of theatricality. The strategy for increase is used to create a positive mental space around oneself and one's political force, so it is implemented through the tactics of analysis-"plus", which involves analyzing the political situation without explicit approval of one's contribution, with gratitude to ordinary citizens. The strategy of theatricality is realized through the tactics of cooperation, which explains the intention to identify with the people. Techniques here are the use of vocatives-ethnonyms and the inclusive pronoun "we", which participate in the construction of "we-discourse" and "the communitization of responsibility"; reduced everyday communication in the format of storytelling; translingual speech practice. The tactics of irony is manifested in the use of irony against political opponents in order to self-position and create a "manipulative discourse of the positive". V. Zelenskyy's presidential discourse is a complex speech formation, the characteristic features of which are: the format of reduced everyday communication in addressing the Ukrainian people; intention to show solidarity with the people in solving common problems; representation of the values of the youth linguistic community; dissemination of public messages through social networks; actualization in speech of physiological and social needs of people; performative function of irony.

Keywords: *political discourse, strategy for increase, strategy of theatricality, "we-discourse", tactics of cooperation, tactics of irony, tactics of analysis-"plus".*

Problem setting. One of the functions of a person's language, like any other productive activity (in this case, products in the form of written or spoken text), is the function of influence. It is the one that is of particular interest to researchers and is considered from different points of view and in different contexts by linguists, sociolinguists, psycholinguists, psychologists, sociologists, political scientists, etc. The suggestive component literally becomes an air of political communication, without which it simply cannot exist and be successful.

Analysis of recent research and publications. Researchers' interest in the problems of political communication, which is manifested in a large number of publications devoted to various aspects of this topic [1–12], testifies not only to the theoretical significance of this field of knowledge, but also to the demand for results in many applied contexts related to the interests of entire states and individuals.

In the context of the formation of a qualitatively new geopolitical system, the development of the information society, the emergence of new threats in a rapidly changing world, special attention is paid to the figure of a political leader as the most influential communicator in the political world, awareness of how his verbal picture of the world is formed and improved, how it affects the use of various verbal strategies, tactics and techniques to ensure a conceptive and persuasive influence on his surroundings, opponents and associates, ordinary citizens of the country [13-19]. A political leader like Homo loquens is not an abstract, average reference native speaker, but a specific individuality immersed in the discourse that shapes the goal, the plan of verbal actions, the behavior in the discourse.

Of course, the most influential political leader in the presidential, presidential-parliamentary and even parliamentary-presidential republics is the president. Therefore, it is quite understandable that the task, which in 1979 set itself the American Association of Speech Communication – to investigate the presidential rhetoric as a means by which the president of the United States uses his power to govern the nation, to develop and communicate a strategic course for the development of the country, and to build popular support for it. In the American tradition, the subject of presidential rhetoric's research is the study of the genres of presidential discourse with the research of certain presidential speeches, rhetorical movements, speechmaking processes, the nature of presidential rhetoric and ethics, modern political language on the perception of new reality, social and political problems, politicians and influences of the present-day and the future [20–23]. Moreover, the study of the genres of presidential rhetoric is focused on comparing the statements of different presidents in similar situations, on the same topic and for different categories of listeners [24, p. 20].

It should be noted that in Ukrainian science there is a lack of thorough research of presidential discourse, and occasional studies in this field are mainly focused on identifying the specifics of implementation of the verbal influence in the discursive

practice of American presidents. Therefore, the relevance of our research is motivated by the need to study the rhetorical practice of Ukrainian presidents.

The purpose of the article is to describe the political discourse of President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy in the first year of cadence. The specific objectives of the proposed study are the analysis of those discourse strategies and specific tactics of the current President of Ukraine, which are the explication of a certain cognitive model and serve as the implementation of speech influence.

Paper main body. In the process of sociolinguistic research, a set of methods was used, which is due to the complexity and versatility of the Ukrainian President's speech activity.

First, discourse analysis was used to identify both verbal components (combination of speech marks, their distribution in speech) and pragmatic factors (situations of speech and perception, study of the context of a communicative event, communicative and pragmatic settings of the president). Michel Foucault, the founder of the cratological theory of discourse, who interpreted discourse as a powerful resource of power, said: "There is no power without rational use of discourse about the truth, which manifests itself in power, moves in the power and acts with the help of it. Under the influence of power, we are doomed to produce truth and can use power only through the production of truth" [25, p. 43]. Therefore, discursive analysis was used to understand how the president produces the truth and communicates it to the people through his discursive strategies and tactics.

Secondly, cognitive analysis was used to explain how people's knowledge about the world, including the political world, modern society and people's place in it, and how Homo loquens formed a verbal picture of the world, is revealed in the structures of language. Thanks to it, studying concepts, frames and metaphorical wordings, we tried to identify mental schemes or cognitive models, which form the basis of the president's discursive strategies in a particular speech.

Third, by exploring the conceptual space of presidential discourse, we tried to find out what concepts constitute the center and periphery of the worldview, what is the content of basic political concepts and how they change over time, taking into account the possible lacunarity of the concept or its individual components. The ideal model for the implementation of conceptual analysis, according to O. Selivanova, is "a mental-psychonetic complex based on the synergetic supersystem of intelligence, on the conceptual and engram nature of memory, quantum-wave ability of encoding and transcoding of information by the human brain" [26, p. 197].

Fourthly, any text is a product of mental processes, as it contains one or more intents of different conjugation. Due to the content analysis we tried to find out the approach senses of speeches, intentions and goals, which influence the presidential discourse, determining the choice of this or that strategy, as well as the tactics of verbal influence, that are inaccessible with other types of analysis.

Political discourse is aimed at creating a certain reality that verbalizes the appropriate mentality and is organized in a special way depending on the intensities of Homo loquens as a carrier of power. This virtual political reality, especially in the modern post-truth era, impresses with its extraordinary full-bloodedness and ability to intercede in people's minds the real practice of social and political communication. No doubt, the aim of political discourse has always been domination in the political space, discrediting the opponents, winning the approval of the authoritarian party. Thus, the political reality, which is constructed by political discourse, not only reflects the way of interpreting the social reality and represents the ideological position of the spokesperson, but also actively forms in the minds of people the desired social and political image of the world and the patterns of their social and political activity.

The discursive practice of the head political leader of the country – the president, who creates a system of interpretation of political reality in the name of the state, thereby offering official ideology and specifying politically correct activity for the recipients, is extremely important and demanding. Presidential discourse must be aimed at ensuring public consolidation and solving domestic problems, as well as at coping with the challenges of the modern world, which can pose a threat to national security. In the current solution the formation of social and political identity of the citizens of the country depends on successful communicative practice of the president of the country.

Political discourse involves using speech strategies as a set of planned producer's moves aimed at achieving the goal. In the process of implementing the strategy various tactics are used, i.e. specific speech acts necessary at the appropriate stage of deployment of the speech strategy. Any tactics, in turn, is carried out by means of techniques – ways of creating a text or an individual statement using the appropriate lexical means and syntactic constructions. The classification of strategies of verbal influence, carried out according to different criteria by many researchers, can be limited in principle by two main options (as done by the Netherlandish linguist Tion Adrianus van Dijk [27]: the strategy of positive self-presentation (based on the desire of the addressee of the message "to maximize the significance of the own status" [9, p. 52] and the strategy of negative representation of the opponent (aimed at discrediting the political opponent and destabilizing his position in the political arena). Besides this subset of speech influence's strategies Olga Mihaljova adds the strategy of theatricality, which is focused on performativity of political discourse, on the people's perception of political reality as a kind of spectacle, which is played specially for them. Thus, we believe that O. Mihaljova's classification is the most thorough, because it describes all possible strategies, as well as tactics of speech influence.

In our opinion, Volodymyr Zelenskyy exploits mainly the positive "strategy for increase" (according to Mihaljova's terminology) and the strategy of theatricality, which were chosen by him as the leading ones during the election campaign and continue to define (more or less consistently) his political discourse as the President of Ukraine. The main intension of the speech strategies in the context of political rhetoric of President V. Zelenskyy, from our point of view, is harmonization of communication with the citizens of Ukraine, namely the increase of communicative and performative acts, which maximally contribute to the elimination of cognitive contradictions of the assessment of the political situation. It should be added that the strategy of theatricality could not fail to be used by the Ukrainian President due to his past experience as an actor and successful entertainment manager, therefore, it is actively and productively implemented with the help of tested tactics and speech influence techniques.

1. The strategy for increase

1.1. The analysis-"plus" tactics. Using the verbal strategy for increase, V. Zelenskyy tends to create "positive mental space" [9, p. 57] around himself and the political party he has brought into power, emphasizing the constructive and vital role of the new political force. Most often the President uses the tactics of implicit positive analysis in his speeches (or, according to the classification of O. Mihaljova, analysis-"plus" tactics), which implies a fact-based analysis of the situation, which involves an implicit expression of the positive attitude of the producer of the statement to the situation under consideration. Without any pompous wordiness, as well as speech clichés, using wordy expressive means and trying to maintain the format of reduced casual communication with the Ukrainian people, the President tells the latter about the changes initiated by the government and the plans that have been implemented. This is a speech, not a statement or a report, so the distance between the communicants (the President and his people) in this case is reduced and the conditions of communication are intimated. We can say that V. Zelenskyy became the first Ukrainian president who "managed to explain politics to Ukrainians better than all deputies and presidents in 28 years" [28]. Not being a political expert and admitting it explicitly ("I went to the presidency without any political experience..." [29, 2020, March 4], the Ukrainian President is practicing in the eyes of his people, together with them and sometimes with them, while absolutely recognizing the mistakes and asking for support, which insanely ensures high ratings of his own popularity.

We will analyze the content of the presidential speeches related to the coronavirus pandemic. Throughout the spring months of 2020, starting with the appeal on March 13 for measures against the spread of the coronavirus in Ukraine, President Zelenskyy addressed his people regularly, several times a week. The analysis-"plus" tactics is used here through the fixation of the actions of the authorities to prevent

the spread of the disease and to help the population fight it: "we have received...", "we have intervened...", "we are working on this...", "the cargo from China has arrived", "sufficient supply of medical facilities is being decided..." etc. However, the producer of the statement in all contexts is kept from a positive assessment of the measures listed by him: he is limited to the position of the registrar of positive changes, moreover, practically avoids negative judgments regarding the actions of the previous government, which (unsuccessfully, by implicit assessment) implemented medical reform. Instead, in all his appeals, V. Zelenskyy expresses gratitude to all those ordinary people who helped in confronting a dangerous disease, for example:

I am grateful to the Ukrainian border guards... I am grateful to our military in eastern Ukraine... I am grateful to our ambassadors and diplomats... Our policemen and national guards... I am grateful to socially responsible businesses and our volunteers... The taxi services that provided free transport for the doctors to work... [29, 2020, March 23].

In this context the significance of the contribution of ordinary citizens of the country to the fight against the spread of coronavirus (the President is also grateful to them for their compliance with quarantine conditions) is evident, although, insanely, there is an implicit embarrassment of the Ze-authorities' actions.

2. The strategy of theatricality

2.1. The tactics of cooperation. The strategy of theatricality is realized in the political discourse of V. Zelenskyy mainly through the tactics of cooperation. Ukrainian President mainly through the tactics of cooperation, i.e. "this method of appealing to the addressee, through which the speaker constructs the image of the latter, appealing to those ideas and values, which he (in the opinion of the speaker) is" [9, p. 63]. The tactics of cooperation used by President V. Zelenskyy and which, in fact, ensured his victory in the elections, are manifested significantly in all public speeches of the politician, demonstrating his intention to identify himself with the people, to be in solidarity with them in solving common problems, to reveal almost family ties with every citizen of the country he has the honor to lead. A significant role in creating a positive image of the President as "his own guy", "native of the people", who perfectly understands and feels all the problems of the latter, was played purposefully created thanks to the successful marketing strategy of V. Zelenskyy and his team media content – the series "Servant of the People", which dedicated the Ukrainian people to all the subtleties and intricacies of Ukrainian politics. Masterfully filmed and significantly broadcasted on domestic TV, the film prepared the future electorate of V. Zelenskyy for the natural acceptance of the unprecedented event in the political life of Ukraine – the phenomenon of the president finding an ordinary person, a crossed schoolteacher, who has no experience in political administration. Voters and later supporters of the newly elected

President inertly perceived (and most continue to perceive) V. Zelenskyy as his movie hero V. Holoborodko – a simple, but principled and honest politician, who hates corruption, is not afraid of change and knows exactly how to be a real "servant of the people" in his high position of power.

2.1.1. The technique of creating "we-discourse". Let us consider in detail the tactics of cooperation. One of the techniques of its implementation is the vocatives used by the President in his public speeches addressed to the citizens of the country. "Dear Ukrainians!" is the most frequently used in the speeches of the acting president: of the 40 speeches we have analyzed, it is used 30 times (for comparison: "Dear ladies and gentlemen!" – 5 times, "Dear citizens!" – 3 times, "Dear compatriots!" – 1 time, "Hello everyone!" – 1 time). In addition to the fact that this form of address to the citizens of their country contains an expressive component (expression of a friendly, warm attitude), it also plays an important role in the design of the so-called "we-discourse", which "has an expression in integration strategies with any social group that closely correlates with the nomination strategies" [30, p. 79]. Analyzing the use of the vocative with a group relation (in our context it is the ethnonym "Ukrainians") in the context of the verbal techniques of creating "we-discourse", the researcher points out the irreversible connection of the latter with the notion of nation as a universal value in the political life [30]. The frequency of use of this very kind of address by President V. Zelenskyy is strategically conditioned: its referential juxtaposition with the "basic operator in the social classification system" as well as an important "element of the political and symbolic-ideological order" [31] provides the "identification" of the recipients of expression with the Ukrainian people and consolidates this nomination on the level of ideology. In addition, the call "Ukrainians" realizes the function of integration and positive experience of belonging to the Ukrainian people of all those who consider themselves Ukrainians regardless of the territory of residence and citizenship.

2.1.2. The technique of "translingual creativity". The peculiarity of V. Zelenskyy's political discourse is based on the intention to use the everyday language in the communication with the listeners' audience, orienting in this way (both purposefully and unconsciously, as a carrier of everyday consciousness) on the functioning of the world view in the everyday social practice. It should be noted that the use of the live practice of the people allowed the Ukrainian President to arouse interest to his person in the traditionally most inert part of the electorate – the youth – already at the stage of the election campaign. Similar to Barack Obama, who was called the "youth president" and two-thirds of Americans aged 18-29 voted for him, Zelenskyy also gained the support of young people under 30, among whom he received 57 % of the votes. The high media mobility of the acting president together with the creation of content in a (youthful) auditorium provided (and

provide) his adequate understanding of it. In this context, we would like to point out the characteristic of V. Zelenskyy's "translingual creativity", which represents the value orientations of young "linguistic community as the most sensitive to external influences and able to creatively put themselves to the potential of both own and foreign languages" [32, p. 142], for example:

*Such is the Ukrainian **doing business** [29, 2019, September 13]; These are not informational drives that are **"on-trend"** or **"off-trend"**. These are people's lives [29, 2020, February 15]; Customs should collect not **likes** on Facebook, but funds to the state treasury [29, 2020, March 4]; **Fakes** about it spread much faster from the virus [29, 2020, March 18]; In difficult times for the country to engage in political **hype** – in fact equal to looting [29, 2020, March 23]; ... the first **draft** of changes got into the public space" [29, 2020, March 29]; I say this to every **hater** who considered it his sacred duty to write abomination against Ukrainian teachers [29, 2020, April 10]; You can post as many happy **memes** as you like about guarantees of security of the Budapest Memorandum, but it will not return our territories, Ukraine is already becoming a world **IT-hub** [29, 2020, January 20].*

Therefore, the free service (as well as maintenance) by the hybrid translingual discourse relevant to the most progressive part of the Ukrainian society provides the acting president with the necessary level of "solidarization" with his electorate.

2.1.3. The technique for communicating with citizens through social media. Here we should also pay attention to the ways of content distribution, which is mostly used by V. Zelenskyy and which, in fact, ensured his victory in the elections. We are talking about the dissemination of public messages by the President through social networks against his opponents, who needed the help of mass media for this purpose. The American researcher C. Harris calls it a "social media strategy" and presidents B. Obama and D. Trump, who actively used this strategy, are "social media presidents" [33]. As for V. Zelenskyy, both during the elections and after coming to power, he was a leader in changing the logistics of political communication, making social networks rather than traditional mass media a tool of "delivery" of the necessary content to the addressee. "Instagram for Zelenskyy was like a twitter for Trump", says Ukrainian philosopher and journalist Volodymyr Yermolenko, one of the authors of the "Internews-Ukraine" study on the role of social media in the 2019 elections. "Zelenskyy not only won in Instagram, he defeated his opponents: 80 percent of the political publications on this platform were about him, he broke the barriers between politics and showbiz", says V. Yermolenko [34]. One can argue about how important offline and online media are today in supplying information to the public by the state authorities. However, the fact that V. Zelenskyy is a new type of politicians, who are becoming "virtual" in the sense that communication with the people is established without mediators, using Internet channels and messengers, is irrefutable. It is known that the acting president com-

municates with the audience through his YouTube channel, Instagram and Facebook (through which he broadcasted most of the electoral content). This form of political communication saves time on "delivery" of information to recipients, allows making content interactive, and ensures "personal involvement in the author's production of information and visual products" [35, p. 13], and most importantly – to give without filters media, from the first person understandable answers to complex questions. The research of the Ukrainian Agency for Strategic Communications and Reputation Management RMA "Communicating the President of Ukraine on Facebook and Instagram as compared to foreign leaders", conducted at the beginning of 2020, is very interesting. At that time, compared to 41 leaders of European countries (without Belarus and Russia), the U.S. and Canada, V. Zelenskyy "came in second place with more than 9 million followers… The number of his followers exceeds the total number of followers of Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau (3.3 million), French President Emmanuel Macron (1.6 million) and German Chancellor Angela Merkel (1.1 million)" [36]. The first place at that time was taken by U.S. President Donald Trump (17.3 million followers). Current data allows us to say that the President of Ukraine remains in the second place for the number of followers in Instagram (9.3 million), just behind the first American president Joe Biden (18 million). According to the results of the survey, V. Zelenskyy wins the rating of the heads of states in terms of the ratio of the number of followers to the number of followers in the country (83.64 %). Given the change in the number of Instagram users in Ukraine as of the end of 2020 (14 million), the percentage to the number of V. Zelenskyy's followers will be 66 %. In our opinion, this may indicate that the priority in this rating still remains with the Ukrainian President. According to the RMA agency, "Volodymyr Zelenskyy's indicator can be explained by his media popularity, which he achieved during his artistic career, as well as systematic work with campaigning in social networks during the 2019 presidential election" [36].

2.1.4. The technique for actualization of people's actual needs in the speech. The tactics of cooperation are also used by the President V. Zelenskyy through the adoption of a focus on life values – that is, actualization in the speech of physiological, security and social needs of people (health, family, housing, salary, personal security, etc.). The guarantor not only shows awareness of what worries the Ukrainian people in his daily ordinary life, but also promises concrete assistance. When the President says that only those "who have never had a child in a standard hospital" witness improvements in medicine [29, 2019, February 20], the recipients of this statement believe that he must have treated his child in such a hospital, and he has witnessed firsthand the presence of problems in the health care sector. Thus, the President, without taking upon himself the responsibility to operate with abstract notions of patriotism or community, at the same time appeals to the innermost feel-

ings of any person – love for his child and desire to always protect him. The tenderness toward your own little son, in whom the President is learning to see the world from a new perspective, extends to the younger generation of today's Ukraine: in his speeches V. Zelenskyy constantly talks about his desire to leave a livable country for the next generation, for example:

We have a lot of hard work ahead of us – to build Ukraine, which we want to pass on to our children [29, 2020, February 1]; *We must promise ourselves that we will pass on a new country to the next generation"* [29, 2020, February 28].

In a speech on the Independence Day of Ukraine 2020, the President used the reception of a detailed comparison, also based on family values: the mother-child relationship is compared with the relations between Ukraine and its citizens:

I think the main thing for every mother is the happiness of her children. The most important thing is that her children, Ukrainian citizens, are healthy. Today we are doing everything possible to stop the coronavirus in Ukraine... I also think every mom wants her kids not to quarrel. We are all children of Ukraine. And don't give anyone a chance to divide us ... Every mother wants her children to always be at home. Unfortunately, Donetsk, Luhansk and Crimea are missing at our family table today. But we're doing everything we can to make the day come, and they're back... [29, 2020, August 24].

And finally, the format of the President's New Year's greeting was chosen to communicate with the children, for whom the appropriate format of storytelling was created and they were given the opportunity to express their wishes and to promise (personally by a guarantor) to fulfill them. Such active exploitation of the topic of almost kinship with Ukrainians forms a tangible narrative of the "father of the nation", who cares, advises, protects against adversity, educates and quarrels his children.

2.1.5. *The technique of joint responsibility for a good perspective*. The tactics of cooperation are used in political discourse of V. Zelenskyy through the technique of joint responsibility for a good perspective. The President is consistent with the idea that only productive activity of each citizen for the good of the state determines its well-being and prosperity, for example:

This is a joint struggle where we will win only together [29, 2020, March 26]*; We are all guarding democratic values and freedoms* [29, 2020, April 7]; *Today is a situation where each of us can save the lives of people around us* [29, 2020, April 27]; *Each of us should be an integral part of a single army – and only then will we defeat the disease* [29, 2020, May 13]; *Who should make the development of each region? Just you. To the owner of his land. Because Ukraine is you. Ukraine starts with you. All yours. Your home, yard, street, village or city, your region, and therefore your country"* [29, 2020, August 24].

The modern domestic researcher Olena Chorna defines this technique as "the communitization of responsibility", that is, "forming in the minds of the audience

the idea that not only the authorities are responsible for the well-being of the state, but also every citizen of the country" [37, p. 14]. Although, according to O. Chorna, "politics want "to communitize" and to share with the addressee mainly problems, failures and responsibility for unpopular steps" [37, p. 14], we believe that the use of this technique in the context of political discourse of V. Zelenskyy is conditioned by another intension – tolerance of differences: "We are different. But equal. We are different. But relatives" [29, 2020, August 24] and initiate a sense of "Ukraine in itself", i.e. the perception of the troubles and joys of its neighbors and daughters as the own experience of each citizen, for example:

...this is our common dream. But we also have common pain. Each of us died in Donbas. Every day we lose each of us. And each of us is a displaced person... And each of us is a worker... [29, 2019, May 20]; *With the whole country we were cutting coupons and watching "The Rich also Cry"... With the whole country we were scraping the record height – 6 meters and 14 centimeters... With the whole country we made the giants of game football tremble... With the whole country, from Donetsk to Karpaty, we flew to the stars with Leonid Kadeniuk and rejoiced when "Shche ne vmerla Ukrainy…" sounded for the first time in history in the open space... With the whole country, on the internet and near television screens, we were riveted to the news from the east...* [29, 2019, August 24].

In this way, the President tries to create the widest possible circle of spiritual involvement, in which Ukrainian citizens will exchange vital energy and jointly experience defeats and victories, "regardless of age, gender, religion" [29, 2019, August 24]. In this way, the President also includes himself, demonstrating to every Ukrainian his intimacy, "homeliness", "normality" and, accordingly, his duty and vocation to take responsibility for the fate of the country he led.

As we can see from all the above examples, linguistically "we-discourse", created by President V. Zelenskyy due to tactics of cooperation, is expedated through the frequency use of the inclusive pronoun "we". The latter is expressed in the formula "we" = "me + you (recipients)", and thus it correlates with the speaker and his whole audience, i.e. "the Ukrainians", to whom the acting president is constantly addressing.

2.2. The irony tactics. In the context of the above it is worth characterizing another tactic of speech influence used by the President in the process of realization of the strategy of theatricality – the irony tactics. We have stated that V. Zelenskyy practically does not subject his political opponents to poor attacks, and if they do fall into the focus of critical analysis, they receive an ironic assessment similar to the practice of the "95th quarter", for example:

We have constantly heard about the economic leap, but there is an impression that the economy has taken overclocking, stumbled and risks passing face to face on the ground [29, 2020, March 4]; *Under the new mechanism, some hospitals will*

have enough money except for a door lock and a poster: 'We have closed. Stay strong. Good luck [29, 2020, February 4]; *The point is that a virus has become active in some political parties and it has been sitting in them for the last 28 years. This virus is called "slyness"* [29, 2020, February 6]; *We all started to get sick. It turned out that there was not much in the hospitals and pharmacies. Why? Simply, some people lost their sense of smell long before the "kovid"* [29, 2020, March 31].

We can see that in the above examples (as well as in all other similar cases) the criticism of the opponents in the aspect of political rhetoric of the acting Ukrainian president is carried out in the form of well-intended ironic mockery, and not an outright sarcastic mockery. At the same time, the function of irony is non-aggressive (when the speech act is aimed at destroying the image of a certain person), but rather performative: it is the self-presentation of the author of the statement, his positive self-positioning as a person with a sense of humor, erudite and smart, the main means of successful speech influence of which in his "pre-presidential" time was the humor itself. Therefore, we do not believe that a negative assessment is a necessary component of irony in the context of V. Zelenskyy's political discourse. Rather, we accept the opinion of those researchers (such as Iryna Shkytska) who consider irony to be a component of "positive manipulative discourse" because, being ironic towards his political opponents, V. Zelenskyy demonstrates by this both his desire to avoid aggressive opposition and his implicit recognition that he does not have enough political experience to be able to successfully criticize his opponents.

Conclusions. Thus, we can make a conclusion that the political discourse of Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy is represented mainly by two strategies: for increase and theatricality, the main intensions of which are the harmonization of communication with the citizens of the country and the maximum elimination of cognitive contradictions in assessing the political situation. Speech influence tactics that implement the above strategies are mainly tactics of implicit positive analysis, cooperation and irony. A direct manifestation of the use of these tactics is a whole range of verbal applications of the intentions of the head of state, i.e. the use of specific language tools which are used to construct the body of discourse in order, in turn, to generate political reality. Our research has shown that the presidential discourse of V. Zelenskyy is a complex and richly varied verbal creation, the characteristic features of which are: the format of reduced daily communication in addressing the Ukrainian people; the intention to identify oneself with the people, to cooperate with them in solving common problems, to reveal a near-family connection with every citizen; the representation of value orientations of the young linguistic culture; expansion of public messages by means of social media; actualization of people's physiological, security and social needs in the speech; acceptance of joint responsibility for a good perspective; performative function of irony.

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ЛІНГВІСТИЧНИЙ АНАЛІЗ ПОЛІТИЧНОЇ РИТОРИКИ ПРЕЗИДЕНТА УКРАЇНИ ВОЛОДИМИРА ЗЕЛЕНСЬКОГО: СТРАТЕГІЇ ТА ТАКТИКИ

Мета дослідження – схарактеризувати дискурсивні стратегії та тактики Президента України В. Зеленського. Політичний дискурс В. Зеленського багато в чому визначають стратегія на підвищення та стратегія театральності. Стратегія на підвищення використовується для створення позитивного ментального простору навколо себе та своєї політичної сили, тому вона реалізується за допомогою тактики аналіз-«плюс», що передбачає розбір політичної ситуації без експліцитного схвалення власних досягнень. Стратегія театральності реалізується за допомогою тактики кооперації, що експлікує намір ототожнити себе з народом. Прийомами тут є використання вокативів-етнонімів та інклюзивного займенника «ми», що беруть участь у конструюванні «ми-дискурсу» та «усуспільненні» відповідальності; знижене повсякденне спілкування у форматі сторітелінгу; транслінгвальна мовна практика. Тактика іронізації виявляється у використанні щодо політичних опонентів іронії з метою самопозиціонування та створення «маніпулятивного дискурсу позитиву».

Ключові слова: політичний дискурс, стратегія на підвищення, стратегія театральності, «ми-дискурс», тактика співпраці, тактика іронії, тактика аналіз-«плюс».

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ЛИНГВИСТИЧЕСКИЙ АНАЛИЗ ПОЛИТИЧЕСКОЙ РИТОРИКИ ПРЕЗИДЕНТА УКРАИНЫ ВЛАДИМИРА ЗЕЛЕНСКОГО: СТРАТЕГИИ И ТАКТИКИ

Цель исследования – охарактеризовать дискурсивные стратегии и тактики Президента Украины В. Зеленского. Политический дискурс В. Зеленского во многом определяют стратегия на повышение и стратегия театральности. Стратегия

на повышение используется для создания позитивного ментального пространства вокруг себя и своей политической силы, поэтому она реализуется с помощью тактики анализ-«плюс», предусматривающей разбор политической ситуации без эксплицитного одобрения собственных достижений. Стратегия театральности реализуется с помощью тактики кооперации, эксплицирующей намерение отождествить себя с народом. Приемами здесь являются использование вокативов-этнонимов и инклюзивного местоимения «мы», участвующих в конструировании «мы-дискурса» и «обобществлении» ответственности; сниженное повседневное общение в формате сторителлинга; транслингвальная речевая практика. Тактика иронизирования проявляется в использовании относительно политических оппонентов иронии с целью самопозиционирования и создания «манипулятивного дискурса позитива».

Ключевые слова: политический дискурс, стратегия на повышение, стратегия театральности, «мы-дискурс», тактика сотрудничества, тактика иронии, тактика анализ-«плюс».

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