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THE ROLE OF LANGUAGE IMAGE IN CREATING A FAVORABLE IMAGE OF UKRAINIAN POLITICIANS: ANALYSIS OF NEW YEAR'S SPEECHES OF THE PRESIDENTS

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Abstract. The article is dedicated to the research of the role of the language image in shaping the political image of a politician, in particular the Ukrainian President. The author focuses on the analysis of the President's New Year's addresses to the Ukrainian people as one of the markers, showing the politician's image and the main directions of their activity for the previous year and the tasks for the next year. The relevance of the study is that political technologists and consultants place one of the main emphasis on language image in building, shaping, changing the image of politics. Properly constructed language image can not only present the whole image, but also «sell» it to voters. It is because of the language aspect that the significance of discursive manipulations of the past and the future as a means of shaping political beliefs is at issue. The results of the survey revealed micro-roles (images) of Ukrainian presidents. It is stated that the Presidents adhered to these images in their New Year's addresses throughout their presidency until 2019.

Key words: language image, political image, Ukrainian Presidents, micro-roles, public images.

Introduction. In order to create a complete, functioning political image, a politician must not only have a strong visual appearance and be able to communicate non-verbally, but also transmit and translate this image through language, which is the main tool for various speeches, addresses, meetings, etc.

The purpose of the research is to study new year's speeches of the Ukrainian Presidents and to identify the politician's image, which is conveyed through the presented text.

Main part. A politician can be judged by his/her language behavior and language image. That is why creating a positive language image is one of the first tasks of a public relations specialist, a political consultant who deals, among other things, with the problem of building the language image of a politician. Regretfully, the number of papers dedicated to the language image problem is not great in our country, although attempts have been made. For example, the works by D.V. Yakovlev, I.V. Shamsh, and L.I. Yakovleva sought to analyze the President's addresses as a Soviet state practice, which is still being preserved in the former Soviet Union. (Yakovlev, Shamsha & Yakovleva, 2020) Ukrainian researchers O. Naumova and A. Akayomova worked on the research of language image as a political image technique. Particular problems of the language image are considered in the monographs of foreign researchers, including O.S. Issers, E.V. Budayev, A.P. Chudinova, M.M. Ivanova, and E.V. Osetrova.

The tasks of the study are: 1) to identify the role of language image in the building of a politician's political image; 2) to conduct a content analysis of the Ukrainian presidents' new-year addresses; 3) to analyze the text of new-year addresses and to compare them with the politicians' images.

Methods. During the research we used the following methods: content analysis, system analysis, comparisons, summaries, communicative and reputational analysis. Content analysis of the texts of presidential speeches enabled us to analyze the first New Year's addresses and compare them with the subsequent ones, revealing certain peculiarities of the later addresses as compared to the early ones.

Results and discussion. We may agree with the researcher E. Osetrova that the basis for the description of the language image was laid down by Aristotle, who wrote that language is composed

of three elements: the speaker, the subject he speaks about, and the person he addresses. You can find Aristotle's view of the elements of language image in any description of the language communication structure. (Osetrova, 2004: 15)

Analyzing the speeches and interviews of politicians, we find two ways to create an image. In the traditions of ancient rhetoric, they can be identified through the concepts of Ethos and Persona. On the one hand, the author can accentuate specific peculiarities of their own personality (verbal intonations of V. Zelenskyi, quick speech of Y. Tymoshenko, impulsiveness of O. Lyashko); on the other hand, the politicians sometimes choose a role (or roles) for themselves and a «mask» corresponding to their language. The choice is the basis for predicting the audience, their expectations and is indeed a communicative strategy. The techniques chosen for the implementation of these strategies are defined as the language tactics. (Osetrova, 2004:56)

E.V. Budaev emphasizes that the political scene in the former USSR has revealed certain image preferences of politicians and state figures. The most popular roles are «Patriot» and «Statesman» (it is essentially the same role, which can be noticed by synonymous usage). The dominant element «Patriot» does not exclude, but rather suggests other image components, or micro-roles. For example, «People's Choice» aka «People's Servant», «Voice of the People» (Leonid Kravchuk). The «People's Choice» is supposed to be like everyone else, while the voters are usually designated as «ordinary people». Accordingly, there is an «ordinary man» semantic component in the elected politician's image. [Budaev, 2006: 201]

The next block of micro-roles is defined by the dominant element «Boss» or «Strong Hand». The «Boss» and the «Strong Hand» (Leonid Kuchma) can be accompanied by the role of a «Non-Politician» that has been forced into political games. Another block of micro-roles is focused on the system of moral values, on the emotional sphere. It can be defined by the dominant element «Fighter» for social justice (Viktor Yushchenko). Thematic chains such as: the elderly, pensioners, low-income groups, the unemployed, families with many children mark the image of «Fighter». In addition to protection of the poor, the «Fighter's» energy is focused on the fight against the mafia and corruption.

In addition, the following micro-roles should be noted as optional components of the image: «Wise Hetman», «Warrior», «Family Man» (Petro Poroshenko). Each of these micro-roles performs the tactical task of adding volume to the image, building a trustworthy model of a personality (the dominant element itself does not ensure that the person is seen as real; it requires specific touches and colors that make the portrait look like the original). (Budaev, 2006: 202-203)

All these micro-roles can be identified from the rhetoric and speeches of politicians. For the study, we chose the New Year's speeches of the Presidents of Ukraine, given that they briefly describe the achievements and directions in which the President's team is working, and most importantly – how the President appears before us and what public image he has.

The New Year speech of the first President of Ukraine Leonid Kravchuk on December 31, 1991 was a landmark for the Ukrainian state. Mr. Kravchuk addressed Ukrainians with the following words: «Dear citizens of Ukraine! People of all generations, of all ethnicities! I address you on the eve of one of our most romantic and fabulous holidays». (Kravchuk, 1992) It was in the first New Year's greeting that it was necessary to emphasize that society had become citizens of an independent state and to address all nationalities living in the country, not to single out only Ukrainians. Kravchuk mentioned the holiday in order to make his speech more informal, and to talk to the people as if they were sitting together with him at the holiday table.

Further on in his speech, the first president says: «The most important thing is the independence of Ukraine. The age-old dream of many generations of our people has become a reality. The people have stood up from their knees and risen spiritually. They have become the owners of their own land. From now on our future depends on us. We must build a new state with its own open economic system, its own army, its own security service, a democratic, law-governed, civilized and wealthy state. And we

will achieve it. The world already recognizes us today. We are becoming a full member of the international family». (Kravchuk, 1992)

With these words, Kravchuk marks his greatest achievement - independence - and thus presents his image as a «Statesman» and a «Patriot». At the same time, he does not only assume the responsibility, but notes: «But we must not feel any euphoria. Freedom and independence do not last long unless they are supported by a healthy economy, order and harmony. History has taught our predecessors many painful lessons on this topic. The present warns of this, too». (Kravchuk, 1992) That is how he shows his primacy, but he can shift the responsibility to the people themselves in case of failure.

With the following words L. Kravchuk presents his micro-roles of «people's servant» and «people's voice», showing himself to be like everyone else: «Although we understand well: everyone is concerned first of all about the real prospects for improvement of life right now. Empty store shelves, tiresome queues to buy essential goods, an understandable fear of the social consequences of price increases, rampant crime, and moral decay – all these cause justifiable discontent among the people. This is true. But we can only overcome this trouble together, too». (Kravchuk, 1992)

This «Statesman» image is confirmed by the president in his New Year's address in 1993. Mr. Kravchuk said: «There are still a number of important steps to be taken next year. I think the most important step is our political reform, the reform of the political system. The elections to the Verkhovna Rada will be held. And I, as the President, will do everything for these elections to be held, for decent people to come to power. Secondly, we must certainly submit the law on the government to a national referendum during the elections. We must do everything so that the people - the highest sovereign, it is you, dear citizens, the bearers of power, who will determine what the legislative power must do, what the executive power must do, what the judiciary power must do». (Kravchuk, 1994)

Continuing this speech, the President emphasizes the urgent political tasks that must be accomplished next year: «To be exact, we must solve the problem of nuclear weapons and all that is around nuclear weapons. We have to resolve the issue of the Black Sea Fleet, to remove this acute problem from the agenda since it is preventing the establishment of normal neighborly relations with Russia. I am convinced that we will have enough wisdom and goodwill to do that. I am convinced that our northern neighbors will also have enough wisdom and goodwill for that». (Kravchuk, 1994)

The words «state», «independence», «overcoming», «security», «problem», «reform», «will-power», «economic system» and «political system» are mentioned throughout the speeches of the first President of Ukraine, which undoubtedly confirms that his image as a «Statesman» and «Patriot», «People's Servant», «People's Voice» and «People's Choice» was adhered to throughout his tenure.

The roles of «Boss» and «Strong Hand» were played by Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma. In his New Year's greeting in 1994, he said: «1994 was marked by a decisive turn toward radical reforms. Transformations aimed at returning historical perspective to Ukraine have begun. We began the work of creating order and decency in our common home. We led the fight against bribe takers, embezzlers and criminals». (Kuchma, 1995)

The President continued: «And not by the force of the fist, but by the force of the law and only the law. The first tangible steps have been taken to overcome legislative uncertainty, to provide a legal framework for reforming the economy and other spheres of life. The constitutional process has been resumed. We tried to break the circle of national self-isolation, to enter the expanse of civilized coexistence, mutually beneficial cooperation with the East and the West». (Kuchma, 1995)

L. Kuchma's «Strong Man» image manifests itself not only in the fact that he shows achievements, but also understands how people live, knows all the problems of everyone, knows how to support and thank them: «Dear compatriots! ...Without succumbing to hopelessness and melancholy, without sharing the despair of those politicians and political forces who only talk about cataclysms, many labor collectives are working steadily and have tangible results. Confirming thereby that even difficult, critical conditions are no reason for pessimism, despair and a contemplative attitude. I sincerely

thank and bow to everyone for their honest and conscientious work, for their patience and endurance, and for their understanding of the situation». (Kuchma, 1995)

The second President adhered to his image in his New Year's greeting on January 31, 2003. It is very well shown by his words: «But the socio-economic outcomes, especially during the last three years, convincingly prove that the foundations of a full-fledged social state are being laid in Ukraine. The improvement of economic situation makes it possible to direct the main efforts of the authorities to the solution of social problems. I define overcoming the polarization of society by the level of income as the key issue. When observing what is happening with our distant and close neighbors, I dream and work to preserve this important and so precious stability in Ukraine». (Kuchma, 2004)

As a true representative of the «Boss» and «Strong Hand» image, Leonid Kuchma continues to emphasize economic problems and achievements in his speeches. This is confirmed by the recurrence of the words: «economy», «problem», «economic situation», «work», «steps», «process», «law» in his New Year speeches.

President Viktor Yushchenko began his New Year's address to the Ukrainian people in 2005 with these words: «Dear Ukrainian community! Ladies and Gentlemen! These are the last minutes of 2005. We gather with our families and friends around the holiday table. We look back at the road we've traveled during the year. We talk about successes, hopes and intentions. The past year has without a doubt added both glory and willpower to Ukraine». (Yushchenko, 2006) Such introductory words were quite unusual for Ukrainians at that time. We note that they differ from the address of the first President Leonid Kravchuk. Mr. Yushchenko addresses all Ukrainians rather than all ethnic groups living in the country.

As a traditional representative of the «Fighter» image, Mr. Yushchenko cannot help but mention the increase in childbirth allowances, the increase in the number of jobs and the reduction of military service period: «This year, children were born already in a new country, where the care for an infant is borne jointly by the parents and the state. Today, a young man joining the Ukrainian army will return home in a year, not in 18 months. Journalists have forgotten what censorship means... The Ukrainian families have become richer. In 2005, almost a million Ukrainians got new jobs. Real support from the state was provided to small and medium businesses. The authorities pay attention to dialogue with the businessmen and expect that the businesses in their turn will pay taxes honestly. We are on the right track, and this is only the beginning. There are still many people in need, who have not seen much change in their lives. To reach every Ukrainian, to take care of their well-being, decent education, adequate health care, protection of their rights and freedoms - this is the sacred duty of the authorities». (Yushchenko, 2006)

Another typical feature of the «Fighter» image is the focus on the system of moral values and the emotional sphere. Yushchenko ended his New Year's speech with the following words: «I appeal to all citizens - representatives of various ethnic groups and religions, supporters of various political forces – let us unite! United we will bring peace and tranquility, love and prosperity to our homes. United we will defend our freedom and independence and accelerate our irreversible advance toward democracy. United we will surely become a prosperous nation that will take its rightful place among the peoples of Europe. I believe in my people. I believe in each and every one of you. I believe in our common victory». (Yushchenko, 2006)

Viktor Yushchenko adhered to his image also in his greeting on December 31, 2008. He noted: «The daily victory. The victory of life and the victory of good. This row is endless. I am thinking about hundreds and thousands of our glorious - famous and non-public - names. I am talking about all those who triumphed over the circumstances: about tens of thousands of healthcare professionals, soldiers, law enforcement officers, miners, teachers, savers of lives and souls, rescuers of culture and memory, creators of the country – ordinary, honest and bright people. I am talking about you, dear compatriots. The New Year's Eve is a personal moment for everyone to recall their year and from each

good deed take the light for the next year. It is from this sentiment that living values emerge, higher than we are and more powerful than any trials». (Yushchenko, 2009) In this speech, the President focuses on low-income families, families with many children, and individuals who have contributed to the nation's history.

Viktor Yushchenko repeatedly uses such words as «people», «nation», «values», «family», «change», «Ukrainians» in his speeches, which confirms his public image as the «Fighter» for social justice.

The image of «Boss» and «Strong Man» was adhered to by Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovich. In his New Year's address on December 31, 2011 he said: «The passing year has been decisive for our country. We built bridges and roads, schools and hospitals, stadiums and airports. We gathered record harvests. We opened Ukraine to the world. Ukrainians have proved that our country is strong because of the people's unity. We will continue to cherish and strengthen this unity. We will continue to modernize our country, continue to build a modern democratic state with developed economy». (Yanukovich, 2017)

This image is confirmed in Yanukovich's speech on December 31, 2012: «The next year of 2013 should become the year of development and social justice. All branches of power must ensure the maximum social effect from economic growth and legislative changes. The beginning of work of the renewed Verkhovna Rada and Government creates the possibility for constructive cooperation of all leading political forces for the development of Ukraine. The main principle of our foreign policy must be the assertion of national dignity. And the key answer to the new challenges of the global economic crisis must be the consent and unity of the Ukrainian people». (Yanukovich, 2013)

The following words are repeated in Viktor Yanukovich's New Year's greetings: «we», «development», «economy», «foreign policy».

The «Wise Hetman» and «Warrior» micro-roles are taken up by Petro Poroshenko. In his first New Year's address to the Ukrainian people, Poroshenko clearly confirms these images: «My dear compatriots! The passing year has been the most difficult in the last seven decades since 1945. An vicious enemy encroached on our lives, our territory, our freedom and our independence. But the entire country, from young to old, stood up to defend our homeland. We are sure to win this Patriotic War, because it is fair for us. We have the truth on our side! God is with us!

Before we fill our glasses, a moment before the twelve chimes signal the New Year, and before we sing the Ukrainian Anthem, together, all of Ukraine, let us honor the memory of the soldiers who gave their lives for Ukraine and the civilians who died because of the aggressor. I thank everyone for their contribution to the defense of the country. I am proud to belong to such a great European nation as ours. The slogan of last year was «One Country». Difficult trials have made us stronger. As a nation, we have become inseparable, united even more firmly as a political Ukrainian nation. The year 2015 will not be an easy one. But I believe that it will remain in history as the year of the beginning of deep reforms that will open the way to European Union membership. It is our dream and we will make it come true». (Poroshenko, 2015)

Also Mr. Poroshenko confirms the image of «Family Man» already in his Christmas greetings, where he appears on TV seated at the table with the family dressed in vyshyvankas and singing carols.

The President's New Year's greeting on December 31, 2018 was shocking for Ukrainians: instead of broadcasting greeting by then-current president Petro Poroshenko, TV channel 1+1 broadcasted a greeting and announcement of comedian and actor Volodymyr Zelenskyi's intention to run for president in next year's elections. Poroshenko, on the other hand, maintained his «Wise Hetman» and «Warrior» images in his speech on the night of 2019 by saying: «We do not seek anything more than peace. And no one seeks peace more than we do. So let me, on your behalf, first of all, extend my greetings to the Ukrainian warriors. They are the ones who guarantee us peace and tranquility on this New Year's Eve. Let our gratitude and the warmth of our hearts be felt by the sailors in Russian captivity... I appeal to the millions of our compatriots in Crimea and across the Donbass. We will defi-

nitely return to you in peace, no matter how long the road may be. Our family will surely be reunited at the table at which the New Year is celebrated by Kyiv time». (Poroshenko, 2019)

The following words are recurrent in Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko's New Year greetings: «peace», «warriors», «war», «family», «enemy», «defense», and «people».

The speeches of all Ukrainian presidents before 2019 clearly show certain images of politicians. For their part, politicians, too, tried not to depart from the micro-roles they had chosen.

This cannot be said about the current president of Ukraine, Volodymyr Zelenskyi. Volodymyr Zelenskyi combines the images of «non-politician» and «People's Choice» (an ordinary man) in his New Year's address to the people in 2019: «Today is going to be different. Today, let everyone honestly answer the important question: who am I? The President of Ukraine, a successful lawyer, an ordinary housewife, a philosophy student from Mohylanka, an agronomist from the Cherkassy region. Who am I? A former photographer defending the country in the East? A former physicist washing dishes in Italy? Or a former chemist building a high-rise building in Novosibirsk? The Donetsk doctor who moved and started his own practice? Or a teacher from Lugansk who moved, drove a taxi for two years and finally came back? Who am I? The one who has been living abroad for ten years and loves Ukraine on the Internet? The one who lost everything in Crimea and started from scratch in Kharkov? The IT guy who dreams of fleeing the country? Or a prisoner dreaming of returning home?» It is with such words Zelensky shows himself to be like everyone else, a man forced into political games, and «a regular guy from the neighborhood». (Zelenskyi,2019)

In his New Year's Eve address at the end of 2021, which was a record-breaking 20 minutes long speech in the history of Ukraine, Volodymyr Zelenskyi not only retained the micro roles of «Non-Politician» and «People's Elect», but also added the images of «Warrior» and «Fighter for Social Justice». He confirms this by saying: «And, unfortunately, we have not yet ended the war in the East of our state. And that is my main goal. That's why I say 'yet,' because next year will definitely be better. I'm sure it will. The main thing is that all of you, all of us were alive and healthy... And that relatives come and visit us more often - from Donbas, from Crimea. Not as guests, but the ones who returned home. After all, we are all one family: both Donbas and Crimea». (Zelenskyi,2021)

In his New Year's greetings on December 31, 2019, 2020 and 2021 Vladimir Zelenski repeatedly used the following words: «we», «Ukraine», «Ukrainian», «our», «me». In his speeches in 2020 and 2021, the President began to use the words «peace», «Crimea», and «Donbass» more often. This confirms the change in the President's image.

Zelenskyi's New Year's speeches also differ from those of other Ukrainian Presidents by the locations and scenery against which the greetings were filmed. Zelenskyi filmed the speeches together with children, TV stars and athletes and at the table with famous Ukrainians.

Conclusions. The language image is about speech and paralinguistic features. Any language image is an image created in the minds of people, a form of influencing people through words. The language image is part of the structure of the politician's image and contributes to the main goal of politics: to gain power.

Political consultants and speechwriters choose the key words that should be spelled out in a politician's speech in order to draw the voters' attention or evoke any emotion, depending on the results of sociological surveys on the most urgent problems of the moment. For example, if war is in first place among the problems worrying the society, then the words that will be most frequently heard in the politician's speech will be: «peace», «war», «warriors», «volunteers», «Donbass». The main goal is to evoke any emotion. Then the politician will be remembered.

To summarize, it can be noted that political consultants or technologists keep track of which images of a politician the Ukrainian voters prefer. In the post-Soviet countries, the most popular are the roles of «Patriot», «Statesman» («People's Choice», «People's Servant», «People's Voice»), «Boss» («Strong Man»), «Non-politician», «Warrior», «Wise Hetman» and «Fighter» for social justice.

A political consultant or political technologist works with the following units included in the content of a politician's language portrait when building a favorable image: concepts used as keywords; slogans; a model of the present; a model of the future and a model of the past.

Public relations professionals actively use the category «Close Circle» when creating a politician's language image. The contrasting concepts «us»- «them» allow to establish the relationship between the speaker, listener and third parties, to show the politician's social position to the voters. They seek to have the voters evaluate the politician relying on the following categories: «able to talk»; «ready to engage in a dialogue»; «tells the truth», etc.

We can observe from the texts of New Year's addresses of the Presidents of Ukraine in different years of independence of our state that all politicians maintained and clearly adhered to their images during the period in power. But there is an exception: after 2019 this tradition was broken, because the current President of Ukraine Mr. Zelenskyi not only retained the images of «Non-politician», «People's Choice» (a simple man, a servant of the people), but also added such micro-roles as «Warrior» and «Fighter» for social justice.

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