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# COGNITIVE AND RHETORIC MODELLING OF POLITICAL METADISCOURSE: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF B. JOHNSON'S AND V. ZELENSKYY'S ADDRESSES TO THE UK AND UKRAINIAN PARLIAMENTS CORRESPONDINGLY

Yaroslava Gnezdilova

### **ABSTRACT**

The research indicates the interrelation between such terms as "political discourse", "mass-media discourse", "rhetoric discourse" and "public speeches". The article explains and compares the stages and the schemes of English and Ukrainian political metadiscourse formation; consequently, it identifies "cognitive and rhetoric model of political (meta)discourse" as multilevel scheme which represents both "intrablock and interblock relations", realized vertically and horizontally correspondingly. It distinguishes two stages of cognitive and rhetoric modelling: a cognitive and a rhetoric blocks. Notably, a cognitive block comprises a static constituent, which marks the chain of such cognitive operations as intention, target and language means selection, achieved through the prism of metapragmatic awareness with its mental, emotional and social factors; and a dynamic one represents the choice of cognitive, stylistic and metadiscourse devices. The article confirms that the strategic use of those devices results in a well-built persuasive speech which evokes co-thinking, co-feeling and co-acting, causing that rhetoric effect.

### **KEYWORDS**

Political (meta)discourse modelling, rhetoric (emotional / social / mental) influence, stylistic / cognitive / metadiscourse devices, public speaking, persuasion.

"Political discourse" is, in terms of Dijk, T. [1], an ambiguous notion, and, consequently, it is defined in various ways, i.e.:

- a) as a type of interaction, mainly a conflict one [2];
- b) as both political communication and rhetoric [1, 3];
- c) as a dominant metaphoric discourse [4], close to media one [1];
- d) as a variety of public discourse [1], which includes both (mass)media and rhetoric ones.

Therefore, politics and media create nowadays one mass-media political space that is a specific platform where political actions are performed and social opinion is formed, where one competes for the control over the people's reactions on the political decisions and processes, over the possibility to interpret some political events. The latter is realized via various political genres, used by the politicians to influence the society. Traditionally, political genres are classified within such criterion as the form of speech, i.e., oral vs written or monologue vs dialogue.

Political dialogues or talks about politics are typical of media discourse and include debates [1, 5], interviews with politicians [5, 6], talk shows, programmes or interactive shows [7–9]; whereas political monologues mostly represent institutional communication and, except political adverts and propaganda, are introduced by different types of political rhetoric, namely, political speeches [10]. Political speeches differ in the event periodicity (cyclic / ritual, calendar / current, spontaneous), as well as in the nature of intention (ritual / epideictic / phatic, informative etc.) [11]; consequently, they include announcements, slogans, introducing and closing-up speeches, promotional, campaigning, mass-meeting / rally, parliamentary, diplomatic, inaugural, anniversary, dedicational, memorial, congratulatory, persuasive, motivational / inspirational etc. It is the political persuasive and inspirational speeches that are in the focus of this article.

Thus, the **objective** of this research, i.e. cognitive and rhetoric metadiscourse modelling of political speeches, is achieved by fulfilling the following **tasks**:

- (i) to specify the rhetoric influence of political metadiscourse;
- (ii) to build a cognitive and rhetoric model of political metadiscourse;
- (iii) to compare its realizations in the English and Ukrainian languages.

The *object* of the research is English and Ukrainian political metadiscourse, while its *subject* is their cognitive and rhetoric models.

The **research materials** are limited here to (i) President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy's address to the Parliament of Great Britain (8 March 2022) [12] and (ii) Prime Minister Boris Johnson's address to the Ukrainian Parliament (3 May 2022) [13]. Such a choice of a case study material has been made due to its "comparability" or "comparative validity" as, firstly, both speeches were pronounced within one and the same time period; secondly, they are similar thematically, both referring to the Ukrainian-Russian war; then, they mirror each other in an addresser-addressee perspective, i. e., the speaker is the head of the country (Prime Minister and President) and the audience is the MPs of the Parliament; and, finally, these two speeches are closely knit and resemble an address and its reply. This research has been performed within the metacommunicative and manipulative modelling **methodology**, well described in the doctoral thesis [14], due to which the cognitive and discourse model of manipulative metacommunication — defined as a scheme that reflects both manipulative and metacommunicative interaction - was built in accordance with a few specified steps, aimed at identifying its (i) static constituents, (ii) dynamic constituents, and (iii) metadiscourse characteristics. Yet, if one takes into account that political speeches are under study here with the focus on their rhetoric influence and metadiscourse characteristics, then it seems logical to transform the aforementioned model into a cognitive and rhetoric model of political metadiscourse (Fig. 3.2.1). It should also be noted that cognitive and rhetoric models of political discourse have long been investigated by Lykina, V. [15] within the methodology of cognitive and rhetoric mediadiscourse analysis, developed by Potapenko, S. [16], but, firstly, in reference to concept DEMOCRACY only and, secondly, beyond its metadiscourse characteristics.

Political discourse has now turned into an effective tool of influence due to functional entity of its three main inherent components: propositional (informative / cognitive), social (metadiscourse)

and influential (rhetoric). As a matter of fact, they mark three main theories that build the conceptual background of political rhetoric, that is, the persuasive theory [17], metapragmatics [18, 19] and the theory of influence [20] or force [21].

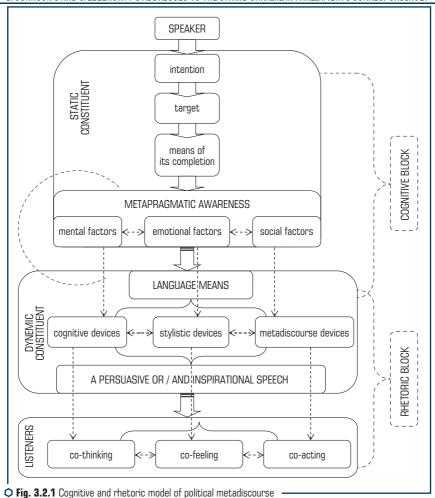
The presentation of cognitive information is closely connected with "rhetoric influence" as noted by Golodnov, A. [22]. The latter was singled out as an outcome of studying rhetoric within the persuasive theory. Consequently, modern rhetoric is being viewed as new rhetoric which combines social communication and specific mental and speech influence on listeners in some communicative situation in order to promote the recipient to some post-communicative activity [22].

At the same time, rhetoric influence is intertwined with metadiscourse via metapragmatic awareness [14, 19, 23]. Firstly, rhetoric influence presupposes the sequence of actions, different in their nature, i.e., mental (cognitive) when the speaker supports co-thinking, as a result, the addressee agrees with his / her point of view; emotional when the speaker tries to influence on the addressee's emotional state in order to evoke co-feeling; social when the speaker inspires the addressee to some co-acting. Secondly, metadiscourse rhetoric is based on solidarity; the latter includes strengthening social relations, creating the atmosphere of trust between the interlocutors or psychological unison etc. And finally, political metadiscourse as a "platform monologue" [24] is characterized as stereotypic, ritualized, formal, standardized, time regulated, prepared in advance, monosubjective and one-sided in expressing one's viewpoint, mass addressing, socially meaningful, both sophisticated and comprehensive, both rationally persuasive and emotionally attractive.

So, political speeches are, in fact, metapragmatic in their influence which is additionally proved by the research focuses on the strategic use of metadiscourse devices in political communication, e.g., metacommunicative stimulating questions and metacommunicative replies [18], salutations [25], speech acts expressing gratitude [7], rhetoric reconstructions [26], strategic maneuvering [6], lexical and morphosyntectic markers expressing (un)certainty [27], ironic structures [9], modal, temporal, space, coherent discourse markers, the use of personal pronouns we / our / us, active and passive structures [1, 5, 28] etc.

An attempt to highlight rhetoric influence and metadiscourse characteristics of political speeches results in schematizing political metadiscourse via its cognitive and rhetoric model (Fig. 3.2.1).

So, cognitive and rhetoric model of political metadiscourse, as well as the aforementioned cognitive and discourse model of manipulative metacommunication, consists of two components: static and dynamic. But it is where the different starts. The **static component**, which actually constitutes the **cognitive block** of the model, includes not only the speaker's intention, the target of the speech and the ways of its realization, but also metapragmatic awareness (with its mental, emotional and social factors) of both the speaker and the listeners. In fact, the speaker's and the listeners' metapragmatic awareness should, at least partially, overlap, so the main task of the speaker is to foresee what language means to use to persuade the listeners logically, to touch them emotionally and to promote them to act afterwards. So, metapragmatic awareness equals background information and knowledge shared by both sides.



The **dynamic component**, which makes the **rhetoric block**, is reliant on the speech behavour of the speaker who, as a politician, possesses a high level of communicative competence and is professionally connected with public speaking; moreover, his/her speech is a decisive factor in creating his/her image. Yet, speaker's speech behavour depends on the received results during the information analysis within the metapragmatic awareness of the speaker about the massaddressee; consequently, the speaker focuses not on some individual characteristics of the listeners, but their social features typical of the group, i. e., in accordance with the occupation,

likes and dislikes, expectations, location, etc. Though mass and heterogeneous, the addressee remains generalized and specified.

The metapragmatic awareness includes the speaker's experience, norms and registers of communication, possible (emotional) reactions of the audience. It is used by the speaker as a basis for making an effective and efficient speech, the effectiveness of the latter being checked via the impact it causes on the audience and, consequently, its feedback in the form of some laugh, applause etc. And it brings us to the techniques of influence (the choice of which is also regulated by metapragmatic awareness), that deal with persuasion, as well as the most accurate language means the speaker selects to create a speech that motivates the audience. Those carefully and strategically chosen language means are rhetorical devices which include stylistic devices (phonetic, semantic, and syntactic), cognitive (conceptual metaphors and stereotypes) and metadiscourse devices (sentential adverbs, metabasis, metanoia, rhetorical questions, meta-means, citations, an example / a story etc. [14, 29].

Finally, let us highlight which "meta" characteristics are realized in this model of political discourse. And here we come to what is explicit and what is implicit if we take its meta-level. On the one hand, it is explicitly seen via, firstly, metapragmatic awareness; secondly, metadiscourse devices, and finally, an outcome with co-thinking, co-feeling and co-acting. On the other hand, the implicit meta-level is perceived via "intrablock relations", realized vertically, as well as "interblock relations", realized horizontally: mental factors > cognitive devices > co-thinking; emotional factors > stylistic devices > co-feeling; and social factors > metadiscourse devices > co-acting.

### 2.1 COGNITIVE AND RHETORIC MODEL OF V. ZELENSKYY'S ADDRESS TO THE UK PARLIAMENT

Now, let us see how the cognitive and rhetoric model of political metadiscourse is realized in Zelenskyy's speech [12] (**Fig. 3.2.2**).

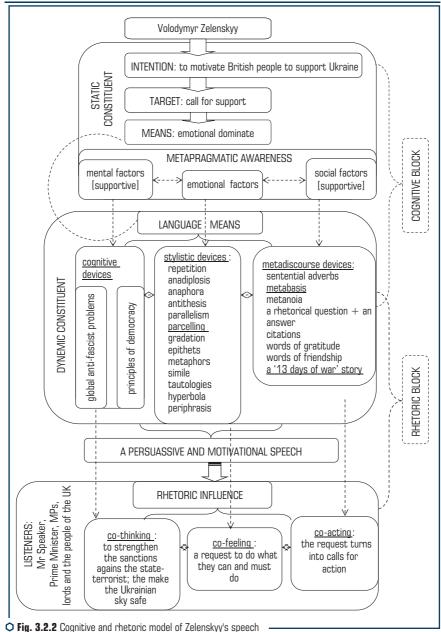
President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy (<u>the speaker</u>) addresses Mr Speaker, Prime Minister, MPs, lords and the people of the UK, yet specifying the people of Great Britain (<u>the listeners</u>), with the call for support — <u>the target</u> of the speech (the **static component**), outlined in its end (З вашою підтримкою, за яку ми вдячні і на яку ми дуже розраховуємо [With your support, for which we are grateful and on which we rely]). V. Zelenskyy reaches that goal via carefully built speech (the **dynamic component**), the positive effect of which is achieved by influencing the listeners on mental, emotional and social levels (*see* factors in metapragmatic awareness) with emotional influence as a dominant one.

"Mental" influence is realized via cognitive devices, meant to highlight the global problems the whole world fights against: nazism (коли нацисти готувалися розпочати битву за вашу велику державу [when the Nazis were preparing to start the battle for your great power, the battle for Britain]; Це місце, де нацисти стратили 100 тисяч людей у роки Другої світової війни [This is the place where the Nazis executed 100,000 people during World War II]), genocide (I це геноцид

[This is genocide]), terrorism (I світ почав розуміти, що це терор проти всіх [And the world began to understand that this is terror against all]. Це великий терор [This is a great terror]. Україна, яка рятує людей попри терор окупантів [Ukraine that saves people despite the terror of the invaders]; держава-терорист [the terrorist state]); and moral values and the principles of democracy that every civilized society fought for but which are not followed by the aggressor: humanity (ми не втратили гідності. І не знущалися над ними. Ми ставимося до них, як до людей. Бо ми залишилися людьми [we have not lost our dignity. We didn't abuse them. We treat them like people. Because we remained human]; бомби на будинки, на школи, на лікарні [bombs on houses, on schools, on hospitals] <...> на Бабин Яр [Babyn Yar] <...> навіть церкви [even the churches]; Вони не знають святого й великого [They do not know the holy and great as we know]; померла дитина. Від зневоднення [a child died. Died of dehydration] <...> Я думаю, всі чують: там у людей немає води [I think everyone hears: people don't have water there!] <...> вбито 50 дітей [50 children were killed]), safety (І тому гарантії безпеки у Європі треба будувати з нуля [That is why security quarantees in Europe must be built from scratch]), justice and international criminal responsibility (I це дало нам упевненість: за всі злочини, за всі ганебні накази все ж таки буде відповідальність. Міжнародного суду або української зброї [And this gave us confidence: for all crimes, for all shameful orders there will still be responsibility before the International Court or Ukrainian weapons]), freedom (Яка захищає свободу попри удари однієї з найбільших армій світу [Defends freedom despite the blows of one of the world's largest armies]). All this is targeted to evoke **co-thinking** via such requests as Посилюйте санкції проти державитерориста. Визнайте її нарешті державою-терористом. Знайдіть спосіб зробити безпечним наше українське небо [Increase sanctions against the terrorist state. Recognize it as a terrorist state finally. Find a way to make our Ukrainian sky safe].

"Emotional" influence is realized via various stylistic devices, i. e., repetition ("великий/ велич [great / greatness]" repeated 17 times, "бомби [bombs]" repeated 6 times), anadiplosis (Я хочу розповісти вам про наші 13 днів. 13 днів міцної війни, яку ми не розпочинали й не хотіли [I want to tell you about our 13 days. 13 days of fierce war, which we did not start and did not want]; показало світу, хто  $\varepsilon$  хто. Хто великі люди, а хто [showed the world who is who. Who are great people and who are] <...>; з вашою допомогою, допомогою цивілізації великих країн [with your help, with the help of the civilization of great countries]), anaphora (Яка захищає свободу попри удари однієї з найбільших армій світу. Яка обороняється попри відкрите небо [Defends freedom despite the blows of one of the world's largest armies. <u>Defends</u> despite the open sky]; <u>Ми</u> не здамося — <u>Ми</u> підемо до кінця — <u>Ми</u> будемо боротися ми будемо захищати нашу землю, хоч би якою була ціна — Ми будемо битися — І ми не здамося [We shall not give up and shall not lose! — We shall go the whole way — We shall fight we shall defend — whatever the cost may be — And we shall not surrender!]; з вашою допомогою [with your help] <...> 3 вашою підтримкою [With your support]), antithesis (13 днів міцної війни, яку ми не розпочинали й не хотіли. Але ведемо [13 days of fierce war, which we did not start and did not want. But we are waging it]; Хто великі люди, а хто — просто звірі

[Who are great people and who are just savages]; Замість 50 всесвітів, які могли б жити, але вони їх забрали [Instead of 50 universes that could live, they took them away]), gradation / climax (Так, що всі прокинулися — ми, діти, всі ми, живі люди, вся Україна. І відтоді не спить [So that everyone woke up — we, the children, all of us, living people, all of Ukraine. And we haven't slept since]; Ми усвідомили: українці стали героями. Сотні тисяч людей. Цілі міста. Діти, дорослі— всі [We realized: Ukrainians became heroes. Hundreds of thousands of people. Entire cities. Children, adults — all]), but most characteristic here is parcelling (До всіх людей Великої Британії. Великого народу. З великою історією [I am addressing all the people of the United Kingdom, a country with a big history. Great people. With a great history]; 3 великою мрією. І великою боротьбою [With a great dream. And a great struggle]; Але ведемо [But we are waging it]; Ми всі стали до зброї. Ставши великою армією [We all took up arms becoming a large army]; І ми відчули силу. Велику силу нашого народу, який до кінця гнатиме окупанта [And we felt the power. Great power of our people who will persecute the invader to the end]; На третій день російські війська не ховаючись били просто по людях, по житлових будинках. Артилерією. Авіабомбами [On the third day, Russian troops openly fired at people and apartment buildings without hiding. Used artillery, air bombs]; На п'ятий день терор проти нас уже був відвертим. Проти міст, проти маленьких містечок. Зруйновані райони. Бомби, бомби, бомби, знову бомби на будинки, на школи, на лікарні. І це геноцид. Який не зламав нас. Мобілізував кожного й кожну з нас. І дав нам відчуття великої правди [On the fifth day, the terror against us has already become outright. Against cities, against small towns. Ruined districts. Bombs, bombs, bombs, again bombs on houses, on schools, on hospitals. This is genocide. Which did not break us. It mobilized each and every one of us. And it gave us a sense of great truth] etc.); and figures of speech, i. e., epithets (Великої(-ого/ою/у/і/ий) Британії / народу / історією / країни / мрією / боротьбою / державою / армією / силу / правди / люди / терор [Great Britain / people / history / country / dream / fight / state / army / power / truth / terror], російський(-i/их/ими/е) корабель / ракети / ракет, літаків, гвинтокрилів / танки / військами / вторгнення [Russian ship / cruise-missiles / aircraft / helicopters / tanks / forces / invasion], міцної війни [fierce war], героїчні прикордонники [heroic border quards], ганебної(-і) війни / накази [shameful war / orders], беззбройні українці [unarmed Ukrainians], окупованих містах [the occupied cities], українське(-ої) небо / зброї [Ukrainian sky / weapons]), metaphors (вбито 50 дітей > 50 великомучеників > 50 всесвітів [50 children were killed > 50 great martyrs > 50 universes]), comparisons / simile (як до людей [like people], найбільшій у Європі [the largest in Europe], однієї з найбільших армій світу [one of the world's largest armies]), tautologies (маленьких містечок [small towns]), hyperbola (коли полонених ми вже почали брати десятками [when we have already begun to take dozens of prisoners]; Зупиняючи бронетехніку голіруч [Stopping armored vehicles with bare hands]), euphemism / pariphrasis (Так міцно, як не можна сказати в парламенті [As firmly as one cannot say in the parliament]). All this is targeted (i) to strenghen the "mental influence" and the key ideas of the speech, highlighted above; and (ii) to evoke **co-feeling** via such requests as Зробіть те, що ви можете. Те, що ви повинні [Do what you can. Do what you have to].



"Social" influence is realized via metadiscourse devices, i. e., sentential adverbs (На десятий день беззбройні українці в окупованих містах повсюдно протестували, масово [On the tenth day, unarmed Ukrainians protested everywhere in the occupied cities]; <u>Очевидно</u>, що бути. <u>Очевидно</u>, що бути вільними [Obviously, to be. Obviously, to be free]; Звичайно, з вашою допомогою, допомогою цивілізації великих країн [Of course, with your help, with the help of the civilization of great countries]), metabasis in the form of short summurising simple sentences (Але ведемо [But we are waqinq it]; Ставши великою армією [becominq a large army]; І дав нам відчуття великої правди [And it gave us a sense of great truth]; Це великий терор [This is a great terror]; Ми стали незламними [We have become unbreakable]; Діти, дорослі— всі [Children, adults — all]; Міжнародного суду або української зброї [the International Court or Ukrainian weapons]; Просто забрали [They just took them away]), metanoia which weakens the declaration (Так ми відчули це— я не хочу нікого образити ми відчули, що альянси не діють [That's how we felt — I don't want to offend anyone — we felt that alliances don't work]) and strenghens it (Я думаю, всі чують: там у людей немає води! [I think everyone hears: people don't have water there!]); a rhetorical question ("Бути чи не бути?" — ви добре знаєте це шекспірівське питання ["To be or not to be?" — You know this Shakespearean question well]) with an answer (13 днів тому це питання ще могло прозвучати про Україну. Але зараз — уже ні [13 days ago, this question could still be raised about Ukraine. But not now]); a citation of Churchill, W. (I де, як не тут, нагадати вам слова, які Велика Британія вже чула. І які знову актуальні. Ми не здамося й не програємо. Ми підемо до кінця. Ми будемо боротися на морях, будемо битися в повітрі, ми будемо захищати нашу землю, хоч би якою була ціна. Ми будемо битися в лісах, на полях, на узбережжях, у містах і селах, на вулицях, ми будемо битися на пагорбах... [And if not here, where should I remind you of the words that Great Britain has already heard. And which are relevant again. We shall not give up and shall not lose! We shall go the whole way. We shall fight in the seas, we shall fight in the air, we shall defend our land, whatever the cost may be. We shall fight in the woods, in the fields, on the beaches, in the cities and villages, in the streets, we shall fight in the hills]) and separately introduced and implemented modification of that citation (I я хочу від себе додати: ми будемо битися на териконах, на березі Кальміуса та Дніпра! І ми не здамося! [And I want to add: we shall fight on the spoil tips, on the banks of the Kalmius and the Dnieper! And we shall not surrender!]), an address to Prime Minister as to his friend (Борисе, мій друже [Boris, my friend]), the use of "we", and words of gratitude (3 вашою підтримкою, за яку ми вдячні і на яку ми дуже розраховуємо. І я окремо вдячний тобі, Борисе, мій друже! [With your support, for which we are grateful and on which we rely. And I am especially grateful to you, Boris, my friend!]). Moreover, there should be mentioned the logical and coherent structure of the speech, as Zelenskiy, V. describes, day-by-day, thirteen days of war, marking every passage with the corresponding metadiscourse marker (На перший / другий / третій / четвертий / п'ятий / шостий / сьомий / восьмий / дев'ятий / десятий / одинадцятий / 12й / 13-й день... [On the first / next / third / fourth / fifth / sixth / seventh / eighth / ninth / tenth / eleventh /  $12^{th}$  /  $13^{th}$  day]). All this is targeted to evoke **co-acting** via a final request ( $\square o$  voro зобов'язує велич вашої держави і вашого народу [Do what the greatness of your state and your people obliges to]), which, actually, intensifies the previous ones and turns the request into calls for action.

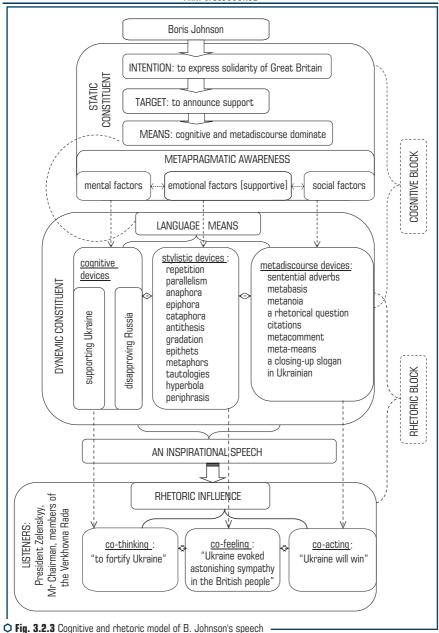
## 2.2 COGNITIVE AND RHETORIC MODEL OF PRIME MINISTER BORIS JOHNSON'S ADDRESS TO THE UKRAINIAN PARLIAMENT

Let us consider how the cognitive and rhetoric model of political metadiscourse is realized in Johnson's speech [13] and compare it with the previous one (**Fig. 3.2.3**).

Prime Minister of UK Boris Johnson (the speaker) addresses President Zelenskyy, Mr Chairman, members of the Verkhovna Rada (the listeners) in reply to announce support and express solidarity of Great Britain — the target of the speech (the **static component**). Johnson, B., as well as Zelenskyy, V., achieves that goal via carefully built speech (the **dynamic component**), the positive effect of which is carried out by influencing the listeners on mental, emotional and social levels (see factors in metapragmatic awareness), yet emotional influence here is supportive. If Zelenskyy's target is to draw sympathy and, as it was said above, emotional influence prevails in his speech; consequently, stylistic devices (especially parcelling) as well as cognitive and metadiscourse ones are used to cause emotional impact via emotional reasoning; then Johnson's speech is, first of all, persuasive, logical, and argumentative because his aim is to ensure support. Therefore, one cannot but agree that it is both influential (via cognitive devices) and expressivelly (via stylistic devices) supportive (via metadiscourse devices). Let us analyze the aforementioned devices used by Johnson, B. in more details.

"**Mental**" influence is realized via **cognitive devices**, meant to highlight the key points of his speech, the latter being divided into two types:

1. Supporting Ukraine, i. e., fight for freedom (in spite of a barbaric onslaught on your freedoms; Ukraine will be free; and seen the tributes to those who had given their lives to protect Ukraine against Russian aggression; and I've seen enough about Ukrainian freedom; Ukraine would fight and Ukraine would be right; your indomitable populations turned out to protest; against the moral force of a people determined to be free; a nation fighting for its independence), democracy (because we are democracies, and because we have a free media, the rule of law, free elections and robust parliaments, such as your own; What he has done is an advertisement for democracy), courage (I salute the courage; they fought with the energy and courage of lions; terrible price that Ukrainians have paid and are paying for your heroism), a belief in success (Ukraine will win; Your children and grandchildren will say that Ukrainians taught the world; They will say that Ukrainians proved by their tenacity and sacrifice; that is why I believe that Ukraine will win), glory (you have written one of the most glorious chapters in military history and in the life of your country; This is Ukraine's finest hour, that will be remembered and recounted for generations to come), patriotism (the immoveable object of Ukrainian patriotism and love of country), critics on Europe's failure to prevent what has happened (we were too slow to grasp what was really happening and we collectively failed to impose the sanctions then), UK aid (And I can announce today from the UK government a new package of support totalling £300 million, including radars to pinpoint the artillery bombarding your cities, heavy lift drones to supply your forces, and thousands of night vision devices etc.).



2. Disapproving the deeds of Russia: illegal campaign (Putin continues with his grotesque and illegal campaign to take and hold Ukrainian soil; a barbaric onslaught on your freedoms; Putin was planning an invasion; we could see his Battalion Tactical Groups — well over 100 of them — gathering on the border), war crimes (And his soldiers no longer have the excuse of not knowing what they are doing. They are committing war crimes; We in the UK will do whatever we can to hold them to account for these war crimes), atrocities (and their atrocities emerge wherever they are forced to retreat — as we've seen at Bucha, at Irpin, at Hostomel and many other places), miscalculation (the Kremlin was making a fundamental miscalculation, a terrible mistake; who believed the Kremlin propaganda that Russian armour would be like an irresistible force going like a knife through butter and that Kyiv would fall within days; And today you have proved them completely wrong, every one of those military experts who said Ukraine would fall; You exposed Putin's historic folly, the gigantic error that only an autocrat can make; Putin's mistake was to invade Ukraine, and the carcasses of Russian armour littering your fields and streets are monuments not only to his folly, but to the dangers of autocracy itself), debunking (You have exploded the myth of Putin's invincibility; The so-called irresistible force of Putin's war machine has broken on), critics about the regime (Because when a leader rules by fear, rigs elections, jails critics, gags the media, and listens just to sycophants, when there is no limit on his power - that is when he makes catastrophic mistake; When an autocrat deliberately destroys these institutions, he might look as though he is strong and some people might even believe it, but he is sowing the seeds of catastrophe, for himself and for his country). All this is targeted to "mark co-thinking", established in:

"We will carry on supplying Ukraine, alongside your other friends, with weapons, funding and humanitarian aid until we have achieved our long-term goal, which must be so to fortify Ukraine that no-one will ever dare to attack you again" (Johnson, 2022).

"Emotional" influence is realized via various stylistic devices, i. e., repetition like your populations, your indomitable populations ("mistake" repeated 5 times, "Ukraine will / must win" repeated 3 times), parallelism (that Ukraine would fight and Ukraine would be right; And it is precisely because we understand this danger in Britain and in Ukraine — precisely because we are democracies), anadiplosis (and I told anyone I knew, anyone who would listen; to prevent him committing another terrible mistake Putin's mistake was to invade Ukraine), anaphora (you will see Ukrainian flags flying from church spires and in shop windows. You see Ukrainian ribbons on the lapels of people up and down the country; This / It is about the right of Ukrainians), epiphora (and you have written one of the most glorious chapters in military history and in the life of your country. <...> has broken on the immoveable object of Ukrainian patriotism and love of country), cataphora (And today you have proved them completely wrong, every one of those military experts who said Ukraine would fall), antithesis (a sense of horror but also of puzzlement; that the brute force of an aggressor counts for nothing against the moral force of a people determined to be free), including the opposition via against or versus (It is about Ukrainian democracy against Putin's tyranny. It is about freedom versus oppression. It is about right versus

wrong. It is about good versus evil); gradation / climax (atrocities emerge wherever they are forced to retreat — as we've seen at Bucha, at Irpin, at Hostomel and many other places); and figures of speech, i. e., epithets either complimenting Ukrainians (crucial moment in history; the innocent people of Ukrainie; wonderful country / city; the lovely streets of your capital; the immoveable object of Ukrainian patriotism; a horrifying fact; such astonishing sympathy) or anticomplimenting Russians (a barbaric onslaught; his grotesque and illegal campaign; historic folly, the gigantic error; catastrophic mistakes; another terrible mistake), metaphors (missiles and bombs continue to rain on; Ukraine's finest hour; he is sowing the seeds of catastrophe; people left in clutches of this invader; the masters of your fate), comparisons / simile (like an irresistible force going like a knife through butter; they fought with the energy and courage of lions; one of the most glorious chapters in military history; the greatest feat of arms of the 21st century), tautologies (a fundamental miscalculation, a terrible mistake; Here in the UK, in my country), hyperbola (thousands of weapons of many kinds; thousands of night vision devices), euphemism / periphrasis (to hop as we say, although they may have used more colourful language). All this is targeted to evoke co-feeling, which is explicitly illustrated bellow:

"Here in the UK, in my country, you will see Ukrainian flags flying from church spires and in shop windows you see Ukrainian ribbons on the lapels of people up and down the country.

There are many reasons your country has evoked such astonishing sympathy in the British people" (Johnson, 2022).

"Social" influence is realized via **metadiscourse devices**, i. e., sentential adverbs (I also, I remember a sense of horror; Today, at least one Ukrainian in every four has been driven from their homes), metabasis in the form of short summarizing simple sentences (and that Kyiv would fall within days; and I refused to believe it; You have beaten them back from Kyiv; We cannot make the same mistake again), including a message (Ukraine will win. Ukraine will be free), structurally specified with the introducing utterance (I have one message for you today); metanoia which strengthens the declaration (and we could see his Battalion Tactical Groups - well over 100 of them - gathering on the border; And though your soldiers were always outnumbered - three to one it is now - they fought with); a rhetorical question (Do you remember they said that?), followed by the answer Volodymyr Zelenskyy gave, used as a quote (and he said - no thanks); a citation of an old English proverb (You have proved the old saying - it's not the size of the dog in the fight, it's the size of the fight in the dog — which is an old English saying), accompanied by a metacomment on its translation into Ukrainian (I'm not sure how well that translates in Ukrainian but you get what I'm trying to), intensification of "Ukraine will win" via reflexives "And I tell you why I believe you will succeed; and that is why I believe that; we know that" and other meta-means [30] like and I told anyone I knew, anyone who would listen; as we say; The so-called irresistible force; that will be remembered and recounted for generations to come; Your children and grandchildren / They will say that; And it is precisely because we understand this danger in Britain and in Ukraine; I know so much about the terrible price that; So no outsider like me can speak lightly about; We know what happens to; I am proud to say, I think, what Volodymyr mentioned to me in our most recent call, the use of temporal marker "In the coming weeks" to mark the nearest future, assumption about unrealized plans (On a day when Putin thought he would be in charge of Kyiv), the declaration of social relations of friendship (we who are your friends; We in the UK will be guided by you and we are proud to be your friends), words of gratitude (Thank you all very much for listening to me today). And separately there should be mentioned the patriotic closing-up slogan, pronounced in Ukrainian (and slava Ukraini!). All this is targeted to highlight **co-acting** via expressing an assurance argument in "And that is why Ukraine must win", on the one hand, and stressing the actions they are going to take in support via the pronoun we, as illustrated below, on the other:

"And when we look at the heroism of the Ukrainian people and the bravery of your leader Volodomyr Zelenskyy — we know that Ukraine will win.

And we in the UK will do everything we can to restore a free sovereign and independent Ukraine" (Johnson, 2022).

### CONCLUSIONS

As indicated in the present study, a cognitive and rhetoric model is a multilevel scheme, which consists of two blocks. The cognitive block deals with some mental operations, mostly based on metapragmatic awareness with its mental, emotional and social factors (the static component); while the rhetoric one depends on the rhetoric influence of the speaker on the listeners via well-built persuasive and inspirational speech (the dynamic component). Moreover, this model is characterized by both "intrablock and interblock relations", realized vertically and horizontally correspondingly in political metadiscourse. What is more, a cognitive and rhetoric model is differently presented in English and Ukrainian political metadiscourse.

The distinctive features of Zelenskyy's speech modelling are connected with its main focus on emotional influence via various rhetorical devices, especially parcelling, which serve to intensify mental influence and support key ideas of that speech such as nazism, genocide, terrorism, democracy, humanity, safety, justice, criminal responsibility, and freedom. Supported by social influence via metadiscourse devices, especially citations of Shakespeare, W. and Churchill, W., Zelenskyy, V., achieves his goal in managing to create co-thinking, co-feeling and co-acting, which is proved by Johnson's reply to Zelenskyy's Address.

On the contrary, in Johnson's speech prevail the mental and social types of rhetoric influence, both supported by emotional, especially via epithets, metaphors, simile, repetition, and antithesis. His persuasion is built upon praising Ukrainians' fight for freedom, courage, democracy, glory, patriotism, his strong belief in success, highlighting UK aid and support, and declaiming Russians' illegal campaign, war crimes, atrocities, and regime. Whereas due to social influence and various metadiscourse devices, especially reflexive meta-lexicon, citations, sayings, a slogan in Ukrainian etc., Johnson, B. establishes and declares friendship between the UK and Ukraine, as well as underlines the "exact amount" of the UK aid.

The present study does not answer all the questions we may have with respect to the specifics of cognitive and rhetoric modelling English and Ukrainian political metadiscourse. A call for further inquiries might refer to metamodelling in discourse analysis with reference to applied linguistics methods. Moreover, a point for discussion might also be manipulative, not rhetoric, influence of public speeches within the ideas of political correctness.

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