The Self and Other Representation Ideology in Ukrainian President Zelensky's Speeches to the European and National Parliaments

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Abstract

The present paper employs a critical discourse analysis (CDA) research method, especially van Dijk's (2012) socio-cognitive approach. The objective is to explore the manifestation of the ideology of Self and Other representation in Ukrainian President Zelensky's speeches through the categories of ideological analysis. The analysis encompasses six speeches delivered by President Zelensky via video call to the European and National parliaments between March 1st and March 20th, 2022. The researcher utilizes van Dijk's (2012) ideological square theory as the analytical model and adopts a qualitative research methodology. The speeches chosen for analysis are specifically targeted at the European Parliament, British Parliament, Canadian Parliament, US Congress, the German Parliament, and the Israeli Knesset. Notably, the data used in this study is obtained from the official website of the Ukrainian government and reliable news agencies.

The research question guiding this study is: How is the Self and Other representation ideology in President Zelensky's speeches manifested in terms of the categories of ideological analysis? The findings of the analysis reveal a clear presence of the Self and Other representation ideology in President Zelensky's discourse, as evidenced by the ideological categories. Significantly, the analysis reveals a discernible bias in favor of in-group members over out-group members. Moreover, the study highlights President Zelensky and Ukraine being represented as Self, while President Putin, Russia, NATO, EU, Germany, and Israel are depicted as the Other.

Keywords: critical discourse analysis, socio-cognitive approach, Zelensky, European and National parliaments, ideological square theory, Self and Other representation.

1. Introduction

The ongoing conflict between Russia and Ukraine has attracted significant attention as a potential escalation of tensions rather than a precursor to a third world war. This crisis represents a major international upheaval following the global Covid-19 pandemic, which has tragically claimed the lives of millions worldwide. In many ways, it stands as a substantial military operation, capturing global consciousness for years, similar to the 2003 American invasion of Iraq. The Russia-Ukraine war erupted

on 24th February 2022, with Russian President Vladimir Putin and his allies leading the charge on one side, while President Volodymyr Zelensky and his Western allies are representing Ukraine.

The war was ostensibly triggered by Ukraine's persistent endeavors to join the National Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the European Union (EU), along with its expressed intent to acquire nuclear weapons. While these three causes are widely acknowledged in public discourse, it is important to note that other motives, both overt and covert, may also exist, subject to diverse interpretations and political contexts. Consequently, political speeches regarding this crisis, especially those delivered by the Presidents of the two nations, have proliferated. Concurrently, scholarly studies on this conflict have intensified.

Some researchers have approached the Ukraine crisis from a geopolitical standpoint, as exemplified by Shahi (2022), while others have undertaken linguistic investigations to illuminate the war's ideology, issues of identity, conflict, and power, as demonstrated by Mankoff (2022) and Seals (2022). However, this study aims to conduct a linguistic and critical analysis of Ukrainian President Zelensky's speeches to the National and European Parliaments, focusing specifically on the ideology of Self and Other representation. These speeches have seemingly rallied greater international support for Ukraine and increased sanctions against Russia. Adopting a critical discourse analysis (CDA) perspective, this research seeks to address a gap in previous studies that have not adequately explored this particular aspect of the crisis.

2. Review of Literature

Several studies have examined the representation of Self and Other ideologies in presidential speeches, including Akbar & Abass (2019); Oddo (2011); Vianica & Tanto (2021). All these studies have contributed to the perception of Self and Other ideology representation in presidential speeches.

First, Akbar & Abass (2019) analyze two groups in Donald Trump's speeches, which he delivers before and after the elections, the first group is the immigrants and the second one is the Syrian refugees. The researcher combines the strategies of van Dijk's (2011a) Critical Epistemic Discourse Analysis with van Dijk's (2011b) ideological square. The study's conclusion is that Trump's unfavorable image of two groups truly stems from the discriminatory mindset, he adopts against them instead of only being a persuasive tactic to win the 2016 presidential elections.

Moreover, Odd (2019) has studied the speeches of Franklin D. Roosevelt and George W. Bush, based on Thibault's (1991) intertextual analysis of legitimation, the writer examines how the speakers create Us and Them as superior theme categories that subtly justify conflict using polarizing linguistic resources. The results of the study

reveal that contrary to popular belief, Bush is not an abnormal President; rather, he is one of several who has deceived the nation into going to war.

Furthermore, Vianica & Tanto (2021) examine Joe Biden's speech at the "Democratic National Convention on 20 August 2020". This study applies van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), in which the misuse of social power and inequality in the social and political setting are the primary areas of examination. The main goal of the study is to determine how language influences the development of both positive and negative representations in speech. However, the study solely concentrates on the macrostructure, microstructure, and superstructure analyses used in the micro-level approach. The analysis's findings indicate that Biden as the Self has a favorable representation whereas Trump as the Other has a negative representation.

2.1 The Sociocognitive Approach

The Sociocognitive Approach (SCA) is one of the main approaches to CDA, which is proposed by Tuen van Dijk. Van Dijk (2016, p.2) states that "Critical Discourse Studies (CDS) typically goes beyond such a classical study of the structural properties of text or talk, and relates these structures to social structures". CDS may start to reveal the author(s) as newspaper editors, a strong media outlet with the ability to shape the opinions of hundreds of thousands of readers. Further, it explains how the political and media symbolic elites are able to shape public opinion and discourse, which may help to perpetuate racism and xenophobia in the nation. Van Dijk (2016) adds that CDS not only clarifies the fundamental function of mental representations but also demonstrates that many discourse structures themselves can only be (fully) defined in terms of different cognitive conceptions, particularly those of information, beliefs, or participant knowledge.

2.2 The ideological square theory

Van Dijk (1998, p.267) states that there are two key principles of ideological reproduction in discourse: the expression or suppression of information according to the speaker's or writer's aims, and the presence or absence of information in semantic representation generated from event models. This final principle is a component of an overarching ideological communication plan that includes the following key moves:

1. Emphasize or express information that is favorable to Us.
2. Emphasize or express information that is unfavorable to them.
3. Suppress or downplay positive information about Them.
4. Suppress or downplay negative facts about Us.

These four moves, which together make up what is sometimes referred to as the *Ideological Square* undoubtedly play a part in the larger contextual strategy of maintaining one's face or a positive self-presentation, as well as its outgroup counterpart, negative other presentation.

According to van Dijk (2011, p.396), one of the primary overarching tactics of ideological discourse management is the manifestation of the "Group Relation" category schema, which refers to how in-group and out-group are portrayed in texts and talk and are typified by the ideological pronouns Us and Them. It is anticipated that ideological discourse is significantly polarized, given that the category's underlying ideological structure is highly polarized. The ensuing process is described as the *ideological square*, which has this nomination for its four complimentary broad strategies.

Van Dijk (2012) modifies four principles or possibilities, which form the conceptual or the ideological square, saying that these possibilities can "be applied to the analysis of all levels of discourse structures. As to their content, they may apply to semantic and lexical analysis" (Van Dijk, 2012, p.34).

2.3 *Self and Other Representation Ideology*

Van Dijk (1998, p.69) points out that "positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation seems to be a fundamental property of ideologies. Associated with such polarized representations about Us and Them, are representations of social arrangements".

In a relevant context, van Dijk (2012, pp.48-65) proposes a list of moves under the title of the "categories of ideological analysis", which work as a key to decoding ideological discourse. In regard to the current study, the researcher is going to detect the data in terms of the following selected categories:

Actor Description

Several kinds of actor descriptions are included in any discussion of people and activity. Hence, actors can be categorized as individuals or as members of groups, by their first or last name, function, role, or group name, as specific or general, by their actions or (alleged) traits, by their position or relationship to others, and so on (van Dijk, 2012, p.48).

Authority

Many speakers in debates, including those in parliament, fall back on the fallacy of citing authorities to bolster their claims. These authorities are typically bodies or individuals that represent good examples for the audience, they are widely respected professionals or are moral authorities. For example, former leaders, international or local organizations the media, the church, etc. (van Dijk, 2012, p.48).

Comparison

Is the process of searching for parallels or differences in discourse "when speakers compare ingroups and outgroups". Like claims versus acts, right versus wrong, or west versus east. For instance, contrast past behavior with present behavior in order to prove *self* is right and the *other* is wrong (van Dijk, 2012, p.50).

Counterfactuals

Counterfactuals are defined by the common formula, "What would happen, if...". They are crucial in arguing because they enable individuals to show the ludicrous consequences of a proposed alternative or decision. Counterfactuals are important in political discussions in parliament because they illustrate what would occur if we did not take any action or do not create any rules or laws (van Dijk, 2012, p.51).

Evidentiality

Argumentative claims and points of view are more credible when speakers provide evidence or support their discourse or ideas. This may be accomplished by making references to authorized individuals or organizations or by using different types of evidentiality, such as how or where the information was obtained. As a result, speakers may have read something from the media, heard it from dependable sources, or witnessed something firsthand (van Dijk, 2012, p.53).

History a Lesson

It is a type of comparison that is frequently helpful in debates to present that the current condition may be appropriately compared to prior (good or bad) historical events. The purpose of such a comparison is to learn from past experiences, avoid repeating mistakes, and benefit from successful experiences (van Dijk, 2012, p.55).

Humanitarianism

Humanitarianism is the preservation of human rights, criticism of those who reject or abuse them, and the creation of basic standards and principles for treating others with compassion. Mostly, it is used by some politicians when they express empathy for the "refugees" or "immigrants", listen to their demands, condemn violations of human rights, and applaud those who have defended those rights (van Dijk, 2012, p.56).

Irony

The irony is the use of language to convey meaning other than, especially opposing to, that which is intended literally. It may be more effective to make accusations in apparent lighter forms of irony than outright, which would violate face limitations (van Dijk,2012, p.58).

Metaphor

A figure of speech in which a term or phrase that literally denotes one type of item or thought is substituted for another to imply a similarity or analogy between them (van Dijk,2012, p.59). For example, using the names of animals with bad connotations to describe others, *they are rats*, and in contrary names with good connotations to describe *self, we are lions.*

National Self-glorification

Positive self-presentation may frequently be employed by many forms of national self-glorification, especially in parliamentary statements or formal speeches. It is an allusion to or adulation of one's own nation, its values, history, and customs (van Dijk,2012, p.58).

Polarization

The use of semantic techniques in discussions about Others is as common as the voicing of polarized beliefs and the categorical separation of persons into ingroups (us) and outgroups (them). Moreover, "good" and "bad" outgroup subcategories, such as "friends and allies on the one hand", and adversaries on the other, may be subject to polarization. It should be noted that polarization can be rhetorically strengthened when it is visualized as an apparent contrast, that is, by attaching qualities to *us* and *them* that are their semantic opposites (van Dijk,2012, p.61).

Repetition

Repetition can obviously have a specific purpose in the overarching plan of highlighting *our* positive attributes and *their* negative ones. It places emphasis on the good issues of our in-group members and deemphasis the good issues of our out-group members (van Dijk,2012, p.63).

Victimization

This indicates that the *in-group* needs to be depicted as the victim of such a danger when the *others* or *out-group* are frequently portrayed negatively, particularly when the others are connected to threats (van Dijk,2012, p.64).

3. Methodology

The current paper applies a qualitative approach, which is known as "a means for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem". Where the processes of conducting a qualitative study include "emerging questions and procedures, data typically collected in the participant's setting, data analysis inductively building from particulars to general themes, and the researcher making interpretations of the meaning of the data" (Creswell,2009, p.1).

Moreover, the data collection process is internet-based. The researcher searches the most reputable and well-known global institutions for information that addresses President Zelensky's speeches in 2022. Among these agencies are the Washington Post, CNN, euronews, i24 news English, the Times of Israel, the official website of Ukraine's President and government, and the official website of the Russian Kremlin.

The data in this study is *purposefully curated*. According to Paton (1990, p.169), "the logic and power of purposeful sampling lie in selecting *information-rich cases* for

study in depth. Information-rich cases are those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the research".

Finally, the researcher has determined that it is proper to use the ideological square theory in data analysis since the latter is concerned with uncovering the hidden ideology of in-group members against out group-members. Besides, it provides a set of strategies that helps to decipher most ideological discourse.

4. Data Analysis

Data analysis includes detecting the categories of ideological analysis in President Zelensky's discourse in all six speeches, giving representative examples of Self and Other representation ideology for each category, and explaining the dark examples, which require informing the reader what is going on. For recalling the meanings of ideological categories analysis (*cf.* 2.3).

Actor description

1.   "Two cruise missiles hit Kharkiv, the city which is located to the borders of the Russian Federation. There were always many Russians there, and they're always friendly. There were warm relations there".

2.   "And it finally showed us, showed the world who is who. Who are great people and who are just savages".

3.   "That means more needs to be done. Much more! For peace. We all have to do more to stop Russia. To protect Ukraine and protect Europe from this total evil that is destroying everything: memorials, churches, schools, hospitals, neighborhoods, and all our businesses".

4.   "Restrictions are needed for everyone on whom this unjust regime is based".

5.   "On February 24, a criminal order was issued to launch a full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine".

6.   "Just as you are still delaying the issue of Ukraine's accession to the European Union".

In example 1 Zelensky reviews the Russian violence at Kharkiv, a Ukrainian city near the borders of Russia where citizens of Russian origin live there, to show the atrocity of the Russian regime, which targets even the Ukrainian areas with the Russian population. He describes the Russian citizens' general behavior as friendly to send messages that he does not have a problem with Russian nationality and that Ukraine is united. Whereas, in examples 2,3,4, and 5, Zelensky describes Russia with bad words such as "savages", "total evil", and "unjust regime" and its decision to war is a "criminal order". However, in example 6 he accuses German of delaying Ukraine's

admission to the EU and NATO. Thus, Ukraine is the Self and Russia and Germany are the Other.

Comparison

7. *"we're giving lives for the rights, for freedom, for the desire to be equal as much as you are".*

8. *"Just like the same dreams you have, you Americans, just like anyone else in the United States".*

9. *"You see that our cities: Kharkiv, Mariupol are not as protected as your Edmonton and Vancouver. That Kyiv is under missile strikes".*

10. *"You were not killed from the sky as now in our country when we cannot even make an airlift!"*

11. *"Because we do not want to lose what we have, what is ours -- Ukraine. Just as you did not want to lose your island when the Nazis were preparing to start the battle for your great power, the battle for Britain".*

12. *"We are in different countries and in completely different conditions. But the threat is the same: for both us and you – the total destruction of the people, state, culture. And even of the names: Ukraine, Israel".*

In examples 7 and 8 Zelensky compares Ukraine to the EU's countries and US citizens for the sake of equality and human rights. However, in examples 9 and 10 he compares Canada and Germany to Ukraine out of jealousy, whereas in examples 11 and 12, he parallels Ukraine to Britain and Israel to create common ground and convergence with Britain and Israel against Russia. In this context, Ukraine, Israel, Britain, and America are the Self, and the EU, Canada, Nazi, and Germany are the Other.

Repetition

13. *"We have proven that at a minimum, we are exactly the same as you are. So do prove that you are with us. Do prove that you will not let us go. Do prove that you indeed are Europeans".*

14. *We do not ask for much. We ask for justice. We ask for real support that will help us endure and defend our life. Life of the whole world".*

15. *"Support us. Support peace. Support every Ukrainian".*

16. *"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 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".*

17. *"We saw delays. We felt resistance. We understood that you want to continue the economy. Economy. Economy".*

18. *"One can keep asking why we can't get weapons from you. Or why Israel has not imposed strong sanctions against Russia. Why it doesn't put pressure on Russian business"*.

In examples 13,14 and 15 Zelensky asks the EU's countries, especially Canada and Germany to prove on the ground that they are with Ukraine, he seeks support so he repeats words for emphasizing his demands. Whereas, in example 16 he repeats the clause we shall fight out of insistence. However, in example 17 he repeats the word economy to show his resentment and dissatisfaction because of Germany's continuing relationship with Russia. Similarly, in example 18 he repeats the wh-question word why to raise more than one question at the same time. Hence, Ukraine is the Self, and the EU, Germany, and Israel are the Other.

Victimization

19. *"Thousands of people who were killed. Two revolutions, one war and five days of full-scale invasion of the Russian Federation"*.

20. *"In 13 days of the Russian invasion, 50 children were killed. 50 great martyrs. This is dreadful! This is emptiness. Instead of 50 universes that could live, they took them away. They just took them away"*.

21. *"They have already killed 97 Ukrainian children!"*

22. *Russian troops have already fired nearly 1,000 missiles at Ukraine, countless bombs. They use drones to kill us with precision. This is a terror that Europe has not seen for 80 years.*

23. *"Thousands of Ukrainians died in three weeks. The occupiers killed 108 children. In the middle of Europe, in our country, in 2022"*.

24. *"102 years later, on February 24, a criminal order was issued to launch a full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine. The invasion, which has claimed thousands of lives, has left millions homeless. Made them exiles. On their land and in neighboring countries"*.

In all the above-mentioned examples Zelensky reviews the numbers of killed people to show victimization, have compassion from the audience, and incite them against Russia. Thus, Ukraine is the Self and Russia is the Other.

Authority

25. *"To be or not to be?" -- You know this Shakespearean question well"*.

26. *"The famous CN Tower in Toronto... How many Russian missiles will be enough to destroy it? Believe me, I do not wish this to all of you...But we predict every day how many more missiles can hit our TV towers. And they hit them"*.

27. *"I remember your national memorial in Rushmore, the faces of your prominent presidents, those who laid the foundation of the United States of America as it is today".*

28. *"Former actor, President of the United States Ronald Reagan once said in Berlin: Tear down this wall!*

29. *"That is why I want to remind you of the words of a great woman from Kyiv, whom you know very well. The words of Golda Meir".*

In example 25 Zelensky quotes Hamlet's famous saying before the British parliament while in example 26 he mentions CN Tower in Toronto before the Canadian parliament. However, in example 27 he praises American former Presidents, before the US Congress, whose faces are engraved on Rushmore Mountain. Whereas in example 28 he cites the sentence of former American President Ronald Reagan about the Berlin Wall before the German parliament. Similarly, in example 29, he glorifies Golda Meir before the Israeli Knesset, the former Israeli Prime Minister who is born in the Ukrainian capital Kyiv. All the above-mentioned examples serve ideologically in that Zelensky resorts to authority to stir the audience's blood when hearing the words of their greats are adduced. Subsequently, he manipulates the audience's emotions against Russia. Thus, Ukraine is the Self and Russia is the Other.

Evidentiality

30. *"More than 20 universities are there. It's the city that has the largest number of universities in our country".*

31. *"On the twelfth day, when the losses of the Russian army have already exceeded 10,000 killed, the general also appeared in this number".*

32. *"97 children were killed as of this morning".*

33. *"Russian troops have already fired nearly 1,000 missiles at Ukraine, countless bombs".*

34. *"The occupiers killed 108 children. In the middle of Europe, in our country, in 2022".*

In all the above examples, Zelensky gives the figures of killed people and death toll to make his discourse reliable and honest. In this context, Zelensky is the Self and Putin is the Other.

National self-glorification

35. *"Nobody is going to break us. We are strong".*

36. *"Ukraine did not strive for that. It did not seek greatness. But it became great during these days of this war".*

37. *"I'm proud to greet you from Ukraine, from our capital city of Kyiv, a city that is under missile and airstrikes from Russian troops every day, but it doesn't give up".*

38. *I am addressing you on behalf of our military. Those who defend our state, and therefore the values that are often talked about everywhere in Europe, everywhere - and in Germany as well.*

39. *"Ukrainians have made their choice. 80 years ago. They rescued Jews. That is why the Righteous Among the Nations are among us".*

Like other presidents, in all the aforementioned examples Zelensky *glorifies his nation's laurels* to call attention to his state and its sacrifices. Hence, Ukraine is the Self and Russia is the Other.

History a Lesson

40. *"Because we do not want to lose what we have, what is ours -- Ukraine. Just as you did not want to lose your island when the Nazis were preparing to start the battle for your great power, the battle for Britain".*

41. *"Remember Pearl Harbor — terrible morning of December 7, 1941, when your sky was black from the planes attacking you. Just remember it. Remember September the 11th".*

42. *"I am addressing you on behalf of older Ukrainians. Many survivors of World War II. Those who escaped during the occupation 80 years ago. Those who survived Babyn Yar".*

43. *When the Nazi party raided Europe………. They called it "the final solution to the Jewish issue".*

In example, 40 Zelensky reminds Britain of the Nasi occupation. However, in example,41 he recalls the events of *Pearl Harbor and September 11th before the US Congress. Whereas in example 42, he warns the German parliament that the survivors of the second world war may kill again by Russia. Likewise, in example 43, Zelensky informs Israel that Ukraine's case is similar to the Israeli one. Hence, Ukraine, Britain, America, and Israel are the Self and Russia and Nasi are the Other.*

Humanitarianism

44. *"On the fourth day, when we have already begun to take dozens of prisoners, we have not lost our dignity. We didn't abuse them. We treat them like people. Because we remained human on the fourth day of this shameful war".*

45. *"We propose to create an association, U-24, United For Peace, a union of responsible countries that have the strength and consciousness to stop conflict immediately, provide all the necessary assistance in 24 hours".*

In example 44 Zelensky shows humanitarianism to demonstrate that Ukrainian troops are human whereas Russian troops are brutal and savage. However, in example

45 he suggests establishing an association that specialized to run global crises and disasters. Thus, Ukraine is the Self and Russia is the Other.

Metaphor

46. *"All American companies must leave Russia from their market — leave their market immediately because it is flooded with our blood".*

Zelensky gives the features of water to Ukrainians' blood, saying that the perpetrators' markets sink with his citizens' blood.

Irony

47. *Yesterday, 16 children were killed. And again, and again, President Putin is going to say that is some kind of operation and we are hitting a military infrastructure, where children, what kind of military factories do they work at? What tanks are they going with or launching cruise missiles?*

Zelensky shows profound irony because of Putin's allegations that the war is a kind of operation, which targets the military faculties. Zelensky pronounces the killing of 16 children, asking how children die there.

Polarization

48. *You are like behind the wall again. Not the Berlin Wall. But in the middle of Europe. Between freedom and slavery".*

Zelensky draws a clear-cut line between those who stand with Ukraine and those who are viewers or stand against it. Thus, Ukraine and its allies are the Self and Russia and its proponents are the Other.

Counterfactuals

49. *"You saw Russian missiles hit Kyiv, Babyn Yar. You know what kind of land it is. More than 100,000 Holocaust victims are buried there. There are ancient Kyiv cemeteries. There is a Jewish cemetery. Russian missiles hit there".*

Zelensky hints at targeting Jewish religious places such as the cemetery of Holocaust victims to stir the religious emotions of the audience and provoke hostility against Russia. *Hence, Ukraine is the Self and Russia is the Other.*

5. Results Discussion

The analysis illustrates that the Self and Other representation ideology is amply apparent in President Zelensky's discourse in terms of the ideological categories. Besides, the bias toward in-group members against out-group members is blatantly obvious. Through the general observation of the researcher, she notices that *actor description*, *comparison, repetition, and victimization* are presented in all six speeches. However, categories like *authority, evidentiality, national self-glorification,* and *history a lesson* are used in most speeches, whereas categories such as *metaphor, polarization, irony*, and *counterfactuals* have been used a bit.

Below is a table substantiating the validity of this observation with numbers, it contains the repetition of ideological categories in all of President Zelensky's six speeches:

Table 1

The repetition of the ideological categories in all of President Zelensky's six speeches

No.	The category Type	The frequency	Speech No.
1.	Actor description	6	All six speeches
2.	Comparison	6	All six speeches
3.	Repetition	6	All six speeches
4.	Victimization	6	All six speeches
5.	Authority	5	All six speeches except 1
6.	Evidentiality	5	All six speeches except 6
7.	National self-glorification	5	All six speeches except 3
8.	History a Lesson	4	All six speeches except 1 and 3
9.	Humanitarianism	2	Speech 2 and 4
10.	Metaphor	1	Speech 4
11.	Irony	1	Speech 1
12.	Polarization	1	Speech 5
13.	Counterfactuals	1	Speech 6

Concerning President Zelensky's ideology, which is based on the detection of ideological categories, he employs the *actor description* strategy, where he characterizes Russia with bad qualities to make it an international pariah, and in turn, describes Ukraine with good traits to gain sympathy and support as in examples1,2,3,4,5 and 6. He uses the strategy of *comparison* with different ideologies, for example, to demand equality as in examples 7 and 8, feel jealous as in examples 9 and 10, and find convergence as in examples 11 and 12. He also resorts to the strategy

of *repetition*, which also serves different ideological purposes, for example, to make rhythm along with emphasis as in examples 13,14, and 15, demonstrate his resolve to fight the enemy as in example 16, show discontent as in example 17, or ask more than one question to get a convincing answer as in example 18. Moreover, he employs the *victimization* strategy to portray Ukrainians as victims because of revolutions, war, displacement, etc., as in examples 19,20,21, 22,23, and 24.

He as well as adopts the *authority* strategy to promote his discourse by mentioning the names of great people of the states who listen to his speeches, for example, he quotes "Hamlet's soliloquy" in Shakespeare's play, as in example 25, he refers to *CN Tower in Toronto*, the famous Canadian tower as in example 26. He mentions the "*national memorial in Rushmore*" in the US, as in example 27. Likewise, he quotes the famous sentence of former American President Ronald Reagan about the Berlin Wall, as in example 28, or Golda Meir's words, the Israeli former Prime Minister, as in example 29.

President Zelensky also uses *evidentiality* in his discourse, which ideologically strengthens his argument, for example, he always refers to the Ukraine death toll as in examples 30,32,33 and 34, or reviews enemy losses as in example 31. He also *glorifies* his nation as in examples 35,36,37,38, and 39. Further, President Zelensky resorts to *history as a lesson* strategy, and in this context, he has various ideologies, for example, to remind of past events as in examples 40 and 41, warn history may repeat itself as in example 42 or to connect past with the present as in example 43.

Moreover, he shows *humanitarianism* as in example 44, and calls for human rights preservation, as in example 45. He also uses *metaphor, irony*, and *polarization* categories to convey different ideological remarks as in examples 46,47, and 48. Lastly, he hints at targeting religious places by using the *counterfactuals* strategy to stir the religious emotions of the audience and provoke hostility against Russia as in example 49.

6. Conclusion

The analysis of President Zelensky's speeches reveals a prominent manifestation of the Self and Other representation ideology through various ideological categories. The bias toward in-group members against out-group members is blatantly obvious. Other than that, ideological categories such as *actor description*, *comparison*, *repetition*, and *victimization* are used in all speeches. Whereas categories such as *authority, evidentiality, national self-glorification*, and *history a lesson* are used in most speeches. However, categories such as *metaphor, polarization, irony*, and *counterfactuals* have been used a bit.

Concerning the different ideologies that ideological categories convey in the form of Self and Other representation. First, he employs the *actor description* strategy to characterize Russia with bad qualities and make it an international pariah, and in turn, describe Ukraine with good traits to gain sympathy and support. Along with this, President Zelensky uses the *comparison* strategy, which serves different ideological purposes, for example, to demand equality with other states and peoples, and parallel Ukraine with others out of closeness, sympathy, and jealousy.

Further, President Zelensky uses the *repetition* strategy to make rhythm, show resentment and dissatisfaction, and emphasize the message of his discourse. Moreover, through the *victimization* strategy, he portrays Ukrainians as victims because of revolutions, war, making sacrifices, dispersion, etc. to incite other states against Russia and garner more public sympathy for Ukraine.

President Zelensky's discourse also contains the *authority* strategy, where he mentions the names of great people of the states that listen to his discourse. Actually, the end of authority usage is to stir the audience's feelings because it is natural for lawmakers to feel powerful when hear the words of their past, and great leaders are glorified. Subsequently, they bias Ukraine against Russia.

 Plus, the speeches have the *evidentiality* category, which President Zelensky uses to refer to the death toll out of victimization and gain the public's sympathy or as a means for reviewing the enemy's losses to prove that Ukraine troops are achieving advance on the ground, as a result, they deserve more support from Europe and the West.

The speeches notably employ a *national self -glorification* strategy, a strategy which is used at a popular level to arouse citizens' excitement and stir their blood because glorifying gives moral support and triggers the audience to overcome tough challenges and internationally to call attention to Ukraine and its sacrifices.

Furthermore, President Zelensky utilizes the *history a lesson* strategy, which he employs to get a lesson from past experiences, warn that history may repeat itself, remind some states of their history and how once they have been disabled, occupied, persecuted, and victims of terrorism, and connect past events with recent ones. Besides, the speeches demonstrate the existence of a *humanitarianism* strategy, for instance, they show that Ukrainian troops are human whereas Russian troops are brutal and savage.

Additionally, strategies such as *metaphor*, *polarization*, *irony*, and *counterfactuals* are used, where President Zelensky gives the Ukrainians' blood the water's features and hints at targeting Jewish religious places to stir the religious emotions of the audience and provoke hostility against Russia. In short, President

Zelensky and Ukraine are represented as Self whereas President Putin, Russia, EU, NATO, Germany, and Israel are represented as the Other.

المستخلص

الورقة البحثية الحالية هي عبارة عن تحليل الخطاب النقدي(CDA) ، نهج فان ديك (2012) الاجتماعي المعرفي. تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى الكشف عن كيفية تجسيد أيديولوجية تمثيل الذات والآخر في خطابات الرئيس الأوكراني زيلينسكي من حيث فئات التحليل الأيديولوجي. يتضمن التحليل ست خطابات للرئيس زيلينسكي تم إلقاؤها في البرلمانات الأوروبية والوطنية خلال الفترة من 1 إلى 20 مارس 2022 عبر مكالمة فيديو. يختار الباحث نموذجا لتحليل البيانات هو نظرية المربع الأيديولوجي لفان ديك (2012)، في حين يعتمد الباحث في بحثه على منهجية البحث النوعي. في هذا الصدد، فان الخطابات المختارة موجه إلى: البرلمان الأوروبي والبرلمان البريطاني والبرلمان الكندي والكونغرس الأمريكي والبرلمان الألماني والكنيست الإسرائيلي. والجدير بالذكر أن البيانات أخذت من الموقع الرسمي لحكومة أوكرانيا وبعض وكالات الأنباء الموثوقة.

تحاول الدراسة الإجابة على السؤال التالي: كيف تتجلى أيديولوجية تمثيل الذات والآخر في خطابات الرئيس زيلينسكي من حيث فئات التحليل الأيديولوجي؟ تظهر نتائج التحليل أن أيديولوجية تمثيل الذات والآخر واضحة بشكل كبير في خطاب الرئيس زيلينسكي من حيث فئات التحليل الأيديولوجية وأن التحيز واضح بشكل جَليّ تجاه أعضاء المجموعة ضد الأعضاء الخارجيين. علاوة على ذلك، تم تمثيل الرئيس زيلينسكي وأوكرانيا على أنهما الذات بينما تم تمثيل الرئيس بوتين وروسيا وحلف شمال الأطلسي والاتحاد الأوروبي وألمانيا وإسرائيل على أنهم الآخر.

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Full text: Ukraine President Zelensky's speech to Israeli lawmakers | The Times of Israel