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COGNITIVE RHETORIC OF EFFECT: RESPONSIBILITY IMPRESSION IN RUSSIAN AND UKRAINIAN PRESIDENTS' INAUGURALS

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Abstract: This paper reveals that in the inaugurals of Russian and Ukrainian presidents of the 21st century the overall pattern of creating a responsibility effect reconstructed in terms of compulsion image schema consists in a leader's progression from a submissive role of a target of answerability to its source or a vehicle of shared responsibility with one address ending up with impressions of over-responsibility and irresponsibility.

Key words: responsibility effect, compulsion, image schema, target of responsibility, source of responsibility, Agonist, Antagonist, force dynamics.

1. Introduction

Though the American tradition of inaugurating a president has been adopted by the countries of the former Soviet Union striving to demonstrate their acceptance of the civilised world's democratic rules, their incoming leaders enrich that framework with local ideas aimed at creating impressions shared by the audience. One of them is responsibility pervasive in Russian President Vladimir Putin's three inaugurals out of four, in the addresses delivered by Ukrainian Presidents Viktor Yanukovich and Volodymyr Zelensky. The popularity of this idea-turned-impression in the post-Soviet leaders' inaugurals seems to be brought about by two main causes. First, it is the

influence of Soviet-era discourse in general (Petlyuchenko & Chernyakova 2019: 117) and of the well-known trick called the 'Russian / Soviet solution' to the problem of political responsibility in particular. It is shuffled off, displaced, delegated, or otherwise vicariously attributed when nobody is answerable for anything except the President (Duff 2006). Second, reference to responsibility is meant to depict the presidents as worthy figures since when we are "responsible" others see us as individuals who do what they say they are going to do: it is less about what you DO and more about who you ARE (Tooley 2016). The incorporation of the local idea into the global framework of "inaugurals as symbols of democracy" (Mekouar 2021: 1) prompts the research question concerning analysis of the transformation of the concept of responsibility into the corresponding impression throughout particular speeches.

To uncover the way a president's responsibility idea is spelled out in the inaugural introduction transforms into the corresponding impression the paper draws on the cognitive-rhetorical approach. It combines Cognitive Semantics, seeking to understand how we conceptualise, imagine, and reason, on the one hand, and rhetorical theory, trying to understand how we conceptualise, imagine, and reason in particular situations, on the other hand (Oakley 2005: 444). Cognitive rhetoric studies linguistic devices and strategies, employed by the senders of "practical purpose" messages with the aim of affecting the recipients' viewpoint and way of thinking (Kwiatkowska 2012: 9). This approach relates verbal influence to a number of cognitive structures and procedures: image schemas (Turner 1991: 57), force dynamics (Oakley 2005: 445), conceptual metaphor (Hamilton 2012: 203), conceptual integration (Gomola 2012: 289), Ronald Langacker's construal theory embedded into the persuasion appeals of ethos, pathos, and logos (Browse 2018). However, in its current form the approach seems to lack a unified conception, which is supposed to combine the cognitive procedures with the traditional rhetorical canons of invention (selection of arguments), disposition (arrangement of content), elocution (verbalisation of arguments), memory, and delivery (Fedoriv 2016: 7) with the last two merging into a stage of performance due to the development of contemporary technologies.

The combination of the rhetorical canons with force dynamics and image schemas, i.e. the structures of sensorimotor origin underlying the formation of an individual's conceptual system, results in the emergence of the cognitive rhetoric of effect (Potapenko 2016), developing the traditions of ethos treated as self-representation (Baumlin 2006: 278). This type of rhetoric deals with the linguistic means forming a particular textual impression, which is usually named in the Introduction to a speech. The approach has been applied to the study of the impressions of modesty and determination in President Obama's first inaugural and the 2009 speech before a joint session of the Congress (Potapenko 2012: 245); effects of freedom celebration and freedom defence in the inaugurals by J.F. Kennedy and J.W. Bush respectively (Potapenko 2016: 245), etc. The **aim** of this paper is to unravel how the inaugurals of Russian and Ukrainian leaders of the 21st century create the impression of responsibility announced at the outset. The **tasks** of the paper are as follows: to define and point out inaugurals with an effect-forming structure; to outline the experiential method of cognitive linguistics; to formulate the cognitive rhetorical approach based on the combination of the experiential method with the rhetorical canons and to single out cognitive rhetorical variants of responsibility implementation in the inaugurals by Putin, Yanukovych, and Zelensky.

2. Methods and material

The rhetoric of effect **method** employs the stages of invention, disposition, elocution, and performance. The last one embraces two steps: preliminary, revealing the choice of speech genre and the intended idea-turned-impression affecting the subsequent stages of text production; and closing, determining the achievement of the planned effect.

The **material** of the research comprises three inaugurals by Putin (Путин 2000; 2012; 2018), one address by Yanukovych (Янукович 2010), and one speech by Zelensky (Зеленський 2019). The choice of these inaugurals at the preliminary step is explained by their effect-forming structure: the Introduction offers a responsibility statement,

which is pursued throughout the whole address. In other inaugurals, presidents may refer to responsibility once or twice relating it to a subtopic which is not involved in creating an answerability impression.

Among the speeches of the second type is Putin's 2004 address, which refers to responsibility twice, setting it aside by a participial construction. Instead, he focuses on the development of democracy and continuing transformations in his country:

(1) Rus. – *"Мы часто повторяем: в России глава государства отвечал и будет отвечать за все. Это по-прежнему так. Но сегодня, глубоко понимая меру собственной, личной ответственности, хочу подчеркнуть: успех и процветание России не могут и не должны зависеть от одного человека или от одной политической партии, одной политической силы"* (Путин 2004).

Eng. – "It is often said here that the head of state in Russia answers and will always answer for everything. This is still the case. But today, although I have a deep awareness of my own personal responsibility, I nevertheless want to emphasize that Russia's success and prosperity cannot and should not depend on one single person or one political party, or political force alone" (Putin 2004).

The noun *ответственность* "responsibility" occurs in the participial construction *глубоко понимая меру собственной, личной ответственности* "although I have a deep awareness of my own personal responsibility" which downplays the importance of his personal answerability. Instead, in one of the coordinate clauses the speaker focuses on the prosperity of the country expressed by the phrase *успех и процветание России* "Russia's success and prosperity".

Though throughout his inaugural, President Medvedev refers to the citizens responsible for their individual success and to the responsible political forces, the statement of his personal answerability opens up the conclusion with no further development of the idea:

(2) Rus. – *"Я хорошо осознаю, какой груз ответственности ложится на мои плечи, и рассчитываю на нашу совместную работу"* (Медведев 2008).

Eng. – "I am very conscious of the weight of responsibility that will fall upon my shoulders, and I count on our work together" (Medvedev 2008).

Similarly, the 5th president of Ukraine does not aim at creating a responsibility effect. He refers to answerability only twice promising to free some of the rebels from criminal liability (3) and reminds the audience that everybody is to blame for the statehood crisis (4) without positioning himself as a responsible politician:

(3) Ukr. – *"У відповідь гарантую, по-перше, звільнення від кримінальної відповідальності тих, на чийх руках немає крові українських воїнів та мирних людей"* (Порошенко 2014).

Eng. – "In response, in the first place, I am ready to exempt from criminal liability those who did not murder Ukrainian warriors or civilians".

(4) Ukr. – *"В тому, що Україна прийшла до кризи державності, є частка відповідальності кожного з нас"* (Порошенко 2014).

Eng. – "Each of us is in part responsible that Ukraine faces the crisis of statehood".

The English translations of Medvedev's and Putin's addresses necessary for interpreting the Russian originals are taken from the Kremlin site (Medvedev 2008; Putin 2000; 2004; 2012; 2018) while Ukrainian leaders' inaugurals are rendered into English by the authors of the paper.

The first – inventive – stage of analysis, concerning the study of the content of a speech, comprises two steps: perspectivational and relational. They are based on dictionary definitions of the words naming the idea-turned-impression with an application of the experiential method of cognitive linguistics, or experiential linguistics (Zlatev 2016: 568). It states that our abstract understanding and reasoning are based on the structures taken from experience (Johnson 1987: xvi).

The *perspectivational* step determines the point of view, from which particular content is represented. The relational step reconstructs the conceptual structure underlying the idea-turned-impression with an application of image schemas and force dynamics. Image schemas as recurring dynamic patterns of our perceptual experience help us make sense of that experience and reason about it (Johnson 2005: 19) while force dynamics as a fundamental semantic category allows us to think and talk about events and relations in the physical domain as well as in epistemic and social domains (Talmy 2000: 209). Force dynamics primarily underlying causal and concessive relations reflects the internal state of two entities traditionally named by terms beginning with capital letters: Agonist, i.e. the focal force, and its opposite, Antagonist. Both of them are characterised by tendencies either to rest or to motion, or, in more general terms, to action or inaction (ibid., 413). The comparison of those tendencies reveals differences between various entities in terms of dominance, subordination, or progress.

Being gestalt structures, which grasp a simultaneous interaction of several entities (Johnson 1987: xix), image schemas offer an external view of a depicted situation. Their comprehensive cognitive nature is enhanced by their arrangement according to the order of an individual's orientation in the environs and in the conditions of the task treated as the first phase of intellectual behaviour leading to the selection of a plan of action (Færch & Gabriele 1983: 23). From the orientational perspective the constituents of image schemas differ in the degree of salience triggered by their position in one of the four main sets arranged relative to the human body as the centre of conceptualisation: somatic, perceptual, spatial, and dynamic split into those for motion and force (Potapenko 2016: 246-248).

Unlike force dynamics rendering internal states of two opposing entities the image schemas for force – BLOCKAGE, RESTRAINT REMOVAL, ENABLEMENT, DISABLEMENT, ATTRACTION, COMPULSION (Johnson 1987: 126) – represent the external interaction of source and target with the vector indicated by the name of a schema. Nearly all the schemas for force reflect the source's dominance over the target.

The only exception is the COUNTERFORCE schema with two strong force centres colliding face-to-face with the result that neither can go anywhere (ibid., 46). In this case, the prominence of source and target seems equal representing an Agonist and an Antagonist with approximately equal tendencies to motion incurring an unpredictable outcome.

Prominent sources with vectors of differing directions underlie the formation of ENABLEMENT, ATTRACTION, and COMPULSION image schemas rendering an Agonist's inner tendency to motion. The source of ENABLEMENT schema defined as a sense of power (ibid., 47) is positioned inside a moving entity, with the COMPULSION schema the source is behind the target while with ATTRACTION it is ahead of the target. The BLOCKAGE source, associated with an Agonist's tendency to motion, is more salient than the target, related to an Antagonist's tendency to rest since its activity is hampered. The source of RESTRAINT REMOVAL renews the activity of the target, initially perceived as an Antagonist with a tendency to rest, while DISABLEMENT represents the least prominent target devoid of any energy or ability to act, i.e. an Antagonist inclined to rest.

The pre-conceptual relations discussed above are used at the perspectivational step of analysis to reconstruct the idea-turned-impression drawing on the dictionary entries of the nouns denoting responsibility in Russian and Ukrainian.

The definition of the Russian noun *ответственность* "responsibility" rests on the semantic features '*необходимость*' "necessity" and '*обязанность*' "duty":

(5) Rus. – "*Необходимость, обязанность отдавать кому-н. отчет в своих действиях, поступках*" (ОТВЕТСТВЕННОСТЬ 2017).

Eng. "Necessity, duty to give account of one's actions, deeds".

In image-schematic terms, the noun *ответственность* "responsibility" refers to the target of COMPULSION, which captures the experience of being moved by external forces (Johnson 1987: 45). This role is indicated by the semantic features '*необходимость*' "necessity" and '*обязанность*' "duty", with the latter understood as *круг действий, возложенных на кого-нибудь и безусловных для выполнения* "the range of actions assigned to someone and unconditional to perform" (ОТВЕТСТВЕННОСТЬ 2017).

Similar semantic features are found in the definition of the Ukrainian noun *відповідальність* denoting responsibility (6):

(6) Ukr. "*покладений на когось або взятий на себе обов'язок відповідати за певну ділянку роботи, справу, за чийсь дії, вчинки, слова*" (Словник української мови, *s.a.*).

Eng. "a duty to answer for a certain sphere of activity, one's actions, deeds, words somebody entrusted with or takes over".

The semantic features '*обов'язок*' "duty" and '*відповідати*' "to answer" portray a responsible subject as a target of external influence or his/her own will.

At the *relational* step of the inventive stage image schemas and force dynamics are used to explain the framing of a responsible subject from the opposite perspectives: internal, revealing a tendency to motion or rest, and external, representing him/her as a source or target of COMPULSION. In force-dynamic terms, the definitions of the units denoting responsibility in the two languages foreground reference to duty underscoring the responsible subject's actual Antagonist role with a tendency to secondary motion conditioned by the actions of the Agonist.

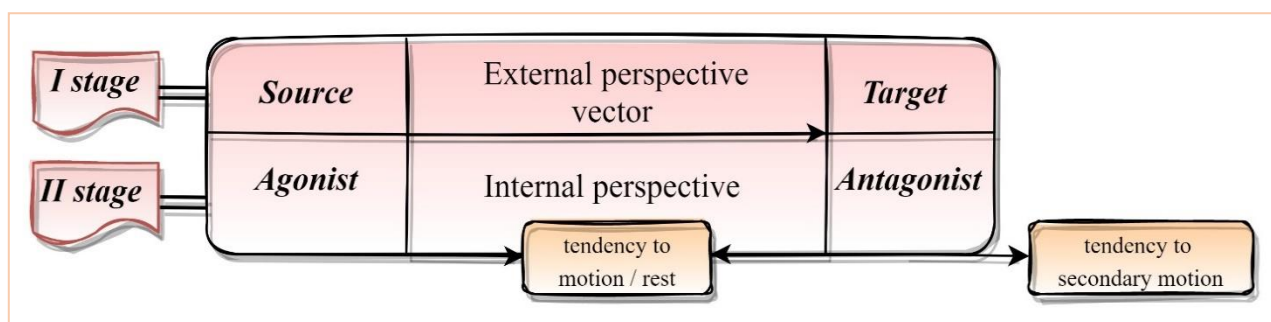


Figure 1. Procedures based on COMPULSION image schema

No doubt, the sensorimotor model of the conceptual structure of responsibility idea-turned-impression based on dictionary definitions is quite skeletal being enriched in the course of text production and its analysis.

The second – dispositional – stage of revealing impressions produced by the speeches under analysis consists in pinpointing the sections in which the intended effect is formed. It is done two ways: directly, i.e. by the nouns, verbs and adjectives referring to responsibility, or indirectly, i.e. by the verbs with the meaning of COMPULSION.

The third – elocutionary – stage of analysis deals with the distribution of the units, referring to the source and target of responsibility-COMPULSION in separate textual sections.

The closing step of the performative stage concerns drawing conclusions about the responsibility effect taking into account the speaker's source and target roles, their intensification, reflected in over-responsibility, or mitigation, rendered by shared responsibility.

3. Results

The combination of rhetorical canons with the cognitive structures of sensorimotor origin hypothesised by a number of renowned scholars (Johnson 2005: 15; Oakley 2005: 443; Talmy 2000: 409; Zlatev 2016: 559) is applied to the analysis in the following way. Invention as the choice of an idea transforming into an impression is

reflected in the Introductions while disposition and elocution are implemented in the text bodies drawing on the COMPULSION image schema and force-dynamic relations.

3.1 Responsibility idea in the Introductions

In the inaugurals under analysis, the idea of responsibility is usually outlined in the Introductions reflecting its importance for the speaker and giving clues about the way it is supposed to be implemented in the text.

The use of the personal deictic *Я* "I" implying responsibility (Stashko et al. 2020: 359) and leadership skill (ibid., 364) together with the verb *понимаю* "am aware" underscores Putin's Agonist role in the effect-introducing statement (7) of his first inaugural. This role seems less prominent in the introductions to the inaugurals of 2012 (8) and 2018 (9) because of the absence of the pronoun *Я* "I":

(7) Rus. – *"Я понимаю, что взял на себя огромную ответственность, знаю, в России глава государства всегда был и будет человеком, который отвечает за все, что происходит в стране"* (Путин 2000).

Eng. – "I understand that I have taken on a great responsibility, and I know that in Russia the head of state has always been and will always be the person who is responsible for everything in the country" (Putin 2000).

(8) Rus. – *"Вступая в должность Президента Российской Федерации, понимаю всю свою ответственность перед Родиной"* (Путин 2012).

Eng. – "As I take office as President of the Russian Federation, I am aware of my great responsibility before our country" (Putin 2012).

(9) Rus. – *"<...> особенно остро осознаю свою колоссальную ответственность перед каждым из вас, перед всем нашим многонациональным народом, ответственность перед Россией — страной грандиозных побед и*

свершений, перед тысячилетней историей российской государственности и нашими предками" (Путин 2018).

Eng. – "<...> I am keenly aware of the immense responsibility towards each and every one of you, and towards our entire multi-ethnic nation. I am aware of my responsibility towards Russia, a country of magnificent victories and accomplishments, towards the history of the Russian state that goes back centuries and towards our ancestors" (Putin 2018).

In the cited passages Putin's Agonist role is additionally underscored by qualifying *responsibility* as an Antagonist, i.e. an opposing force, by the units *огромный* "great", *весь* "great", and *колоссальный* "immense" in the introductory sections to his three inaugurals. The Antagonist's immobility implies its importance since entities of such enormous size move very slowly if ever. Moreover, further analysis of the speech reveals correlation between the meaning of the units characterising responsibility at the outset and the way the texts form the intended impression. The adjective *огромный* "great" from the Introduction to the 2000 inaugural (7) relates to one more reference to answerability by the verb *отвечать* "to be responsible" (7). The attribute *колоссальный* "immense" with a more intense meaning is linked to four other reiterations of the noun *ответственность* "responsibility" in the 2018 address (9). The pronoun *весь* "great" has no repetition support in the 2012 speech (8).

The interaction of modifiers with the number of repetitions of the units referring to responsibility also seems to reflect the leader's frame of mind. The big strain of being a novice is implied by the attribute *огромный* "great" in the year 2000 (7), which is quite natural because of being the first term in office. A bigger strain is rendered in 2018 by the attribute *колоссальный* "immense" (9). The pronoun *весь* "great" (8) expresses a more or less neutral stance in the 2012 address.

Another important change in the Introductions to Putin's inaugurals is the way the source of responsibility compelling the president to act is denoted. It is represented by

the country (Rus. *страна*) in 2000 (7), by the Motherland (Rus. *Родина*) in 2012 (8) though these distinctions are not retained in the translations, which apply the noun *country* in both cases. The three consecutive sources named in the Introduction to the 2018 inaugural (9) are the people denoted by the phrase *перед каждым из вас, перед всем нашим многонациональным народом* "towards each and every one of you, and towards our entire multi-ethnic nation" followed by history of Russia (Rus. *история российской государственности*), and ancestors (Rus. *предки*).

The portrayal of Putin's internal and external states in the Introductions is supposed to produce a favorable impression on the audience: externally he is poised as a target of an enormous responsibility-COMPULSION source while internally he is an Agonist with a tendency to motion ready to overpower the indicated source.

The Introduction to Ukrainian President Yanukovych's speech does not qualify the responsibility he undertakes by any modifiers. In lieu of it, he combines references to responsibility and humility (10), a popular sentiment in the Western political world, underscores his submission to the people and to God naming them as primary sources of his responsibility-COMPULSION:

(10) Ukr. – *"Що я відчував, тримаючи руку на святому Пересопницькому Євангелії? Відповідальність і смиренність. Перед народом України, який у ході вільного волевиявлення віддав за мою кандидатуру більшість голосів. Перед всевишнім, волею якого я вступаю на посаду Української держави в такий непростий час"* (Янукович 2010).

Eng. – "What did I feel, placing a hand on the Holy Gospel? Responsibility and humility. Before the people of Ukraine, who in free voting supported my candidature by the majority of votes. Before the Lord due to whose will I am entering office of the Ukrainian leader at such a complicated time".

The Introduction to the inaugural of the sitting Ukrainian President Zelensky intensifies his responsibility by the repetition of the term (11, 12) though without a return to it in the text body:

(11) Ukr. – *"Це не моя, це наша спільна перемога. І це – наш спільний шанс. За який ми несемо спільну відповідальність"* (Зеленський 2019).

Eng. – "This is not my victory. It is our common victory. And it is our common chance. And we bear our common responsibility for it".

(12) Ukr. – *"Від сьогодні кожен з нас несе відповідальність за країну, яку ми залишимо своїм дітям"* (ibid.).

Eng. – "Since now each of us bears responsibility for the country we are going to leave to our children".

It is in the Introduction that Zelensky refers to his responsibility-COMPULSION shared with the people, which comes later in Putin's inaugurals and occurs in the conclusion to Yanukovych's address. The current Ukrainian leader shifts responsibility onto his fellow-citizens by the adjective *спільний* "common" in the collocation *спільна відповідальність* "common responsibility" (11) and by the distributive quantifier *кожен* "each of us" (12). The latter sounds more involving than the adjective *спільний* "common" since it offers a zoomed-in perspective of the population picking out a single instance of a set (Radden & Dirven 2007: 125). In this respect, Zelensky appears close to the Russian leader with his tendency to shift answerability onto the people imparting them with the role of assistants. Moreover, the idea of common responsibility comes third in Zelensky's inaugural after common victory and chance (11), which implies its background role. It does not reemerge in the speech giving way to the ideas of unity and struggle against the establishment.

Therefore, this paper discusses the transformation of the responsibility idea into a textual effect in the speeches by Putin and Yanukovych drawing on the use of linguistic units referring to COMPULSION and their textual distribution.

3.2 Dispositional and elocutionary implementation of responsibility effect

With the inventive stage mainly reflected in the Introductions reconstructed above the analysis of the presidents' inaugurals in this section concerns two rhetorical stages discussed together: dispositional, aimed at the analysis of the composition of inaugurals drawing on the linguistic means referring to responsibility-COMPULSION; elocutionary, meant to single out the lexical units emphasising a responsible subject's source and target roles.

3.2.1 Russian president's strategy of responsibility

President Putin's three inaugurals under discussion differ in the order of primary sources of responsibility-COMPULSION identified in the section known in rhetoric as narration: it follows the Introduction and sets out the area of arguments and facts (Leith 2012: 82). The sources of responsibility-COMPULSION encouraging the president to act encompass abstract political notions with the needs of the people trailing behind in the 2000 and 2012 addresses though the 2018 speech foregrounds the units referring to his compatriots.

In the text body of the 2000 inaugural, further sources encouraging the president as a target of responsibility-COMPULSION include his predecessor's bequest (13) and his compatriots (14):

- (13) Rus. – *"Первый Президент России Борис Николаевич Ельцин, покидая Кремль, сегодня вспомнил об этом – произнес слова, которые многим запомнились. Он сегодня повторил в этом зале: "Берегите Россию". Именно в этом я вижу главную президентскую обязанность"* (Путин 2000).

Eng. – "The first President of Russia, Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, recalled this today, as he leaves the Kremlin, with words that many will remember. He repeated today in this hall: Take care of Russia. This is precisely what I see as the primary responsibility of the President" (Putin 2000).

(14) Rus. – *"Я также рассчитываю найти в этом патриотическом деле помощь сограждан России, всех, кому дорога судьба нашего Отечества"* (Путин 2000).

Eng. – "I also expect to get help in this patriotic effort from the citizens of Russia and from all those who hold dear the future of our Motherland" (Putin 2000).

The combination of reference to fellow compatriots and a group named by the phrase *всех, кому дорога судьба нашего Отечества* "all those who hold dear the future of our Motherland" with the noun *помощь* "help" (14) promotes the president from the target of responsibility-COMPULSION to the source of shared responsibility obliged to take care of Russia as well as an Agonist with a tendency to motion accelerated by the population's assistance. In addition, the sources encouraging the president to act include the country's past usually located behind the experiencer (Evans 2004: 193) being emphasized by a five-time reiteration of the noun *история* "history" and its derivatives (15-17) combined with the unit *память* "memory" (17):

(15) Rus. – *"Сегодня действительно исторический день, я хочу на этом еще раз сконцентрировать внимание. В самом деле, впервые за всю историю нашего государства, за всю историю России впервые верховная власть в стране передается самым демократическим, самым простым образом <...>"* (Путин 2000).

Eng. – "Today truly is a historic day; I want to draw attention to this once more. Really, for the first time in Russia's history, power is being transferred in the most democratic and simplest way <...>" (Putin 2000).

(16) Rus. – *"Путь к свободному обществу не был простым и легким, в нашей истории были и трагические, и светлые страницы"* (Путин 2000).

Eng. – "The road to a free society has been neither smooth nor simple. We have both tragic and great chapters in our history" (Путин 2000).

(17) Rus. – *"Здесь, в Кремле, – средоточие нашей национальной памяти, здесь, в стенах Кремля, веками вершилась история нашей страны"* (Путин 2000).

Eng. – "The Kremlin is a focal point of our national heritage. Here, within the walls of the Kremlin, the history of our nation has been made for centuries" (Putin 2000).

The president's pride in the country's present encouraging his responsibility indicated in the Introduction is underscored by the adverb *впервые* "for the first time" (15) emphasising the importance of the current moment in Russian history. The adverb correlates with the adjective *светлый* "great" in the collocation *и трагические, и светлые страницы* "both tragic and great chapters" (16). The semantics of these two units correlate with the meanings of the noun *путь* "road" (16) and of the verb *вершить* "make" (17) representing the country's history in terms of motion.

In the narration section of Putin's 2012 inaugural the encouraging sources of responsibility-COMPULSION span three utterances (18-20):

(18) Rus. – *"Её интересы, безопасность, благополучие граждан страны всегда были и всегда останутся для меня превыше всего"* (Путин 2012).

Eng. – "Russia's interests and the security and prosperity of our people have always been and always will be my utmost priority" (Putin 2012).

(19) Rus. – *"Сделаю всё, чтобы оправдать доверие миллионов наших граждан"* (Путин 2012).

Eng. – "I will do everything to justify the trust that millions of our citizens have placed in me" (Putin 2012).

(20) Rus. – *"Считаю смыслом всей своей жизни и своим долгом служение Отечеству, служение нашему народу, поддержка которого вдохновляет и помогает решать самые сложные и трудные задачи"* (Путин 2012).

Eng. – "I see the whole sense and purpose of my life as being to serve our country and serve our people, whose support gives me the inspiration and help I need to resolve the greatest and most complex tasks" (Putin 2012).

The first source of responsibility-COMPULSION in the narration section of 2012 inaugural is the abstract notion of non-specified Russian interests (Rus. *интересы*), followed by the security issues (Rus. *безопасность*) and prosperity (Rus. *благополучие*) of the people denoted by the noun *граждане* "people" (18). The sources of responsibility also comprise the citizens' trust denoted by the collocation *доверие миллионов наших граждан* (19), the Fatherland, and its people designated by the word combinations *служение Отечеству, служение нашему народу* (20). Against this backdrop, the transition paragraph (20) promotes the president from the target of responsibility-COMPULSION to a shared source due to the combination of the verb *помогать* "help" with the phrase *решать самые сложные и трудные задачи* "to resolve the greatest and most complex tasks".

The disposition of Putin's 2018 speech falls into three sections with each of them opened up by the noun *ответственность* "responsibility".

The first – narration – section (21) alters the order of responsibility sources, which encouraged the president in the preceding addresses. The citizens pop up in the first place being followed by an entire multi-ethnic nation and the state's history:

(21) Rus. – *"От всего сердца благодарю граждан России за вашу сплоченность, за веру в то, что мы можем многое изменить к лучшему. Еще раз хочу сказать спасибо – спасибо за тот уровень искренней поддержки, который вы, граждане России, оказали мне на выборах президента нашей страны. Считаю его огромным политическим капиталом и надёжной моральной опорой. В этой поддержке — вера и надежда на то, что Россия и дальше будет укреплять свое могущество, а люди будут жить лучше. Такая поддержка важна и для отстаивания наших позиций на международной арене, и для решительных действий ради глубоких позитивных перемен внутри страны"* (Путин 2018).

Eng. – "I would like to thank the citizens of Russia for their unity, for believing that together we can change many things for the better. Let me extend my gratitude to you one more time. Thank you for the sincere support I received from the citizens of Russia at the presidential election. I view this support as a huge political asset and a reliable moral backing. This support is a sign of faith and a sign of hope that Russia will continue to build up its strength while its people will live better. This support is also essential for asserting our positions on the international stage and for taking resolute action for promoting far-reaching, positive change within the country" (Putin 2018).

The importance of citizens as a source of responsibility-COMPULSION is spelled out by a three-time repetition of the appreciation speech act expressed by the verb *благодарить* "thank" and the noun *спасибо* "gratitude" (21). The gratitude speech act *спасибо за тот уровень искренней поддержки* "Thank you for the sincere support" is followed by a three-time reiteration of the noun *поддержка* "support". These speech acts gradually promote the president from a target of responsibility-COMPULSION to its source instead of the shared answerability, which in the previous speeches was expressed by the units denoting people's assistance.

Unlike the preceding inaugurals where Russia serves as a source of responsibility-COMPULSION the 2018 address endows the president with this role positioning the country as his target (22):

(22) Rus. – *"Россия должна быть современной и динамичной, должна быть готова смело принимать вызовы времени и так же энергично отвечать на них, чтобы последовательно наращивать свое лидерство в тех сферах, где мы традиционно сильны, и уверенно, кропотливо, собрав волю в кулак, работать там, где мы еще должны будем добиться нужных для нас результатов, там, где сделано еще явно недостаточно "* (Путин 2018).

Eng. – "Russia must be a modern and vibrant country ready to take up the challenges of time and respond to them with all its energy in order to consistently build up its leadership in areas where our positions have been traditionally strong. At the same time, we need to work with confidence and diligence and to harness all our willpower in areas where we have yet to achieve the results we aspire to, where a lot has yet to be done" (Putin 2018).

The president's promotion from the target of responsibility-COMPULSION to its source is indicated by the verbs with the meaning of obligation used in a number of consecutive word combinations (22): *должна быть современной и динамичной* "must be a modern and vibrant country"; *должна быть готова смело принимать вызовы времени и так же энергично отвечать на них* "ready to take up the challenges of time and respond to them with all its energy", *должны будем добиться нужных для нас результатов* "have yet to achieve the results we aspire to".

The second *responsibility* section of the 2018 inaugural addresses political forces and civil society movements called on to share answerability by the form *нами* of pronoun *мы* "every one of us". It positions the people as assistants with the president acting as a source of shared responsibility-COMPULSION underscored by the verb *требовать* "must":

(23) Rus. – "*<...> Перед нами напряженная работа, которая потребует участия всего российского общества, деятельного вклада каждого из нас, всех ответственных политических и гражданских сил, объединенных искренней заботой о России*" (Путин 2018).

Eng. – "*<...> Every one of us, all responsible political forces and civil society movements, united by the fact that they sincerely care for Russia, must be proactive in these efforts*" (Putin 2018).

In the extract above (23) and in the following paragraphs of the inaugural, which are removed from this paper for the sake of space, the president shares the role of the source of responsibility-COMPULSION together with political forces and civil society movements giving an impetus to the development of a free society capable of achieving breakthroughs; prepares to mark the 25th anniversary of the Russian Constitution and stresses the unconditional primacy and priority of the rights and freedoms of Russian citizens.

The third *responsibility* section addresses the local authorities:

(24) Rus. – "*Особая ответственность, разумеется, у государственной и муниципальной власти. Люди справедливо хотят, чтобы проблемы, которые их беспокоят, решались без проволочек, чтобы к их предложениям, замечаниям и требованиям относились с должным вниманием, чтобы такие понятия, как репутация, честь, отзывчивость, открытость, стали нормой жизни для представителей всех уровней власти*" (Путин 2018).

Eng. – "State and municipal authorities have a special responsibility. People have every right to expect matters that cause them concern to be resolved without delay, to have their proposals, observations, and demands treated with due attention, so that such things as reputation, honour, generosity, and openness become a norm of life for the officials at all levels of government" (Putin 2018).

The local authorities are depicted as the target answerable to three kinds of sources of responsibility-COMPULSION arranged with respect to the degree of their priority (24): population, indicated by the combination of the noun *люди* "people" with the predicative group *справедливо хотят* "have every right to expect"; their proposals, observations, and demands denoted by the units *предложения, замечания и требования*; abstract norms of life embracing reputation, honour, generosity, and openness referred to by the units *репутация, честь, отзывчивость, открытость*.

In the subsequent paragraphs (25, 26) the president serves as a transmitter of responsibility-COMPULSION from entrepreneurs to society and from the preceding generations to young people:

(25) Rus. – *"Мы должны расширять пространство свободы для предпринимателей и ученых, для людей творческого труда и активных, равнодушных граждан, для всех, кто стремится к обновлению"* (Путин 2018).

Eng. – "We must give more freedom to entrepreneurs and researchers, to creative and active people who care, and to all who want to reinvent the world" (Putin 2018).

(26) Rus. – *"Рассчитываю, <...> что молодые люди будут верны ценностям правды и справедливости, которые через всю свою жизнь пронесли наши старшие поколения, их знания, закалка, мудрость, опыт наставников, безусловно, будут востребованы"* (Путин 2018).

Eng. – "I hope that young people will remain true to the values of truth and justice that guided the older generation, and that the knowledge, experience and wisdom of the preceding generations will be relevant for today's young, for all people" (Putin 2018).

The verb *должны* "must" (25) transmits entrepreneurs' and researchers' urge to society while the predicate *будут верны* "will remain true" (26) positions young people as a target answerable to the president-intermediary and forefathers, referred to by the constructions *старшие поколения* "older generation" and *мудрость, опыт наставников* "experience and wisdom of the preceding generations".

It is evident that Putin's three responsibility inaugurals share one strategy: first he is portrayed as a target of COMPULSION and then promoted to the role of its source or a vehicle of shared answerability uniting him with the audience.

3.2.2 Ukrainian President Yanukovych's three types of responsibility

President Yanukovych's only inaugural (2010) is quite different from Putin's responsibility addresses. As has been noted, first he mingles answerability with humility (10) and then installs himself as a nation-wide source of responsibility-COMPULSION moving to over-responsibility and irresponsibility in the international affairs section with a single reference to shared answerability in the conclusion.

Unlike Putin, who in his first inaugural (2000) draws on the encouraging historical sources of responsibility-COMPULSION, the former Ukrainian head begins the narration section of his address with reference to negative sources, i.e. the country's deplorable plight implying its internal tendency towards rest and even demise:

(27) Ukr. – *"Країна перебуває у вкрай складній ситуації – відсутність державного бюджету на поточний рік, колосальні борги по зовнішніх запозиченнях, бідність, розвалена економіка, корупція – ось далеко не повний перелік бід, з яких складається українська реальність"* (Янукович 2010).

Eng. – "The country is in an extremely grave situation characterised by the absence of state budget for the current year, huge debts on the external

borrowings, poverty, tumbledown economy, corruption. It is an incomplete list of misfortunes Ukrainian reality consists of".

The tendency of the responsibility-COMPULSION sources to rest thereby creating a negative impression of the country is rendered by the attribute *вкрай складна* "extremely grave" in the construction *вкрай складна ситуація* "an extremely grave situation"; by the noun *відсутність* "absence" in *відсутність державного бюджету* "absence of the state budget"; by the adjective *колосальні* "huge" in *колосальні борги по зовнішніх запозиченнях* "huge foreign debts"; by the attribute *розвалена* "tumbledown" in *розвалена економіка* "tumbledown economy" (28).

However, Ukraine's tendency to rest and demise outlined in the narration section is confronted in the text body by a president who as a responsibility-COMPULSION source sets various targets at the national level into motion (28-32):

(28) Ukr. – *"Попри це, я вважаю, що державу можна не лише врятувати від соціально-економічного колапсу, але й швидко вивести на шлях прискореного розвитку <...>"* (Янукович 2010).

Eng. – "However, I believe that it is possible not only to rescue the state from a socio-economic collapse, but also to take it along the lane of speedy development".

(29) Ukr. – *"Першочергове завадання на цьому шляху – реформування системи влади і, перш за все, Кабінету Міністрів, перетворення його у команду професіоналів, а не політичних офіціантів <...>"* (ibid.).

Eng. – "The urgent task on this way is the reformation of the system of government beginning with the Cabinet of Ministers which must be transformed into a team of professionals instead of "political servants" ".

(30) Ukr. – *"У зв'язку з цим я закликаю Верховну Раду підтримати мої зусилля <...>. Це місце для сильної опозиції, яка повинна контролювати дії Уряду і Президента. Але, в першу чергу, це – місце для сильної і стабільної парламентської більшості"* (ibid.).

Eng. – "I call on the Verkhovna Rada to support my efforts. It is the place for a powerful opposition, which must control the activities of the Government and the President. It is the place for a powerful and stable parliamentary majority".

(31) Ukr. – *"Така співпраця матиме вирішальне значення для невідкладного реформування влади, судочинства, внесення змін до Конституції"* (ibid.).

Eng. – "Such collaboration will have a decisive role in the urgent reformation of government, law-making, and amending the Constitution".

(32) Ukr. – *"Ефективна співпраця між Президентом, Парламентом і урядом розчистить дорогу до швидкого економічного прогресу"* (ibid.).

Eng. – "An effective collaboration of President, Parliament, and Government will clear up a way for rapid economic progress".

The cited passage (28-32) suggests that Yanukovych is quicker in installing himself as a source of responsibility-COMPULSION than the Russian president and he does it without paying lip service to citizens' assistance. In the premise (28), the verb *врятувати* "rescue" positions the president as an Agonist with a tendency to motion passed over to the state he is going to lead. This role is rendered by the word combination *швидко вивести на шлях прискореного розвитку* "to take it along the lane of speedy development". The premise is supported by argumentative utterances (29-32) meant to prove the president's roles of the responsibility-COMPULSION source and of an Agonist with a tendency to motion. He sets different state institutions into motion: the Cabinet of Ministers (29), the Parliament (30), argues for the Constitution amendments (31), and attends to the country's economic progress (32).

The inaugural portrays the new Cabinet of Ministers as an Antagonist with a tendency to motion by the construction *команда професіоналів* "a team of professionals" (29) contrasting it with the previous government depicted as a target of COMPULSION and an Antagonist with an internal tendency to rest by the phrase *політичні офіціанти* "political servants" with the noun referring to submissive people. The Parliament (*Verkhovna Rada*) is positioned as a target of the president's responsibility-COMPULSION by the verb *закликаю* "call on" (30) while the construction *повинна контролювати* "must control" surprisingly represents the president as a target of responsibility-COMPULSION on the part of the opposition portrayed as a source. However, the construction *місце для сильної і стабільної парламентської більшості* referring to a powerful and stable parliamentary majority depicts the president as an Agonist with a tendency to motion, which is also underscored by the adjective *сильний* "powerful".

Yanukovych's impact on the state bodies is supposed to result in their consolidation expressed by the noun *співпраця* "collaboration" used twice (31, 32). The consequence of those institutions' tendency to motion is rendered by the adjectives *вирішальний* "decisive" and *невідкладний* "urgent" (31) as well as by the verb *розчистить* "clear up" (32) professing the expected outcomes by the units *дорога* "way" and *прогрес* "progress" related to motion.

The over-responsibility impression is left by the section (33-34) concerning Ukraine's international competition founded on the imaginary successes of the president's activities outlined above:

(33) Ukr. – *"Відповідно, ми зможемо успішно конкурувати в сучасному світі лише за умови, якщо впритул займемося індустрією знань <...>"* (Янукович 2010).

Eng. – "Accordingly, we will be able to compete in the contemporary world only on condition we engage in the industry of knowledge".

(34) Ukr. – *"Я розумію, що наздогнати індустріально розвинуті країни вкрай складно. Однак можливо"* (ibid.).

Eng. – "I understand that to catch up with the industrially developed countries is extremely difficult though possible".

The over-responsibility effect (33) results from Yanukovych's promotion to the COMPULSION source dealing with the target represented by the contemporary world (33). That target has a higher tendency to motion than Ukraine with its potential for rest and demise, which is acknowledged by the speaker (34).

The irresponsibility impression is created by a play on words in the section dwelling on the formation of a global entity named *Єдиний Світ* "One World" (35) which in the Ukrainian original is homonymous to the abbreviation ЄС "European Union":

(35) Ukr. – *"На мою думку, виклики, які стоять перед міжнародною спільнотою, диктують потребу об'єднуватися у якомога ширшому форматі. Людству, і Україні в тому числі, потрібен ЄС у глобальному прочитанні. Я маю на увазі Єдиний Світ як силу, здатну гарантувати планеті мирне співіснування різних цивілізацій, енергетичну, екологічну, продовольчу безпеку <...>"* (Янукович 2010).

Eng. – "In my opinion, the challenges facing the international community dictate a necessity to unite in a wider format. The humanity, together with Ukraine, requires an EU of global dimensions. I mean a Unified World as a force capable of providing the planet with peaceful coexistence of various civilisations, energetic, ecological, and food security".

The idea of consolidating in a wider format of a Unified World seems utterly utopian (35). This is not a proposal, which should be made by the responsible president of a country with a tendency to rest bordering on destruction.

It is only in the inaugural's conclusion (36) that Yanukovych turns to shared responsibility. He appeals to the nation's assistance, to the support of the international community, which reveals the weakness of his position, and again to God, a device borrowed from American presidents' inaugurals:

(36) Ukr. – *"Я сподіваюсь на вашу підтримку, а також на підтримку міжнародної спільноти, яка прагне бачити нашу країну сильною і стабільною. І нехай у цьому праведному устремлінні нас допоможе Господь!"* (Янукович 2010).

Eng. – "I count on your support as well as the support of the international community which looks forward to seeing our country strong and stable. And let God help us in this just aspiration!".

Throughout the entire speech, Yanukovych's Agonist role is characterised by a tendency to motion. It is emphasised by his self-representation as a source of responsibility-COMPULSION bringing into action all other national bodies of power. However, an attempt to expand that role to the international arena fails being in stark contrast to the deplorable state of the country. It results into an impression of over-responsibility when he hopes that Ukraine will catch up with the wider world and irresponsibility, or fake responsibility, when he suggests setting up new international bodies.

4. Discussion

In the inaugurals of Russian and Ukrainian presidents responsibility turns out to be a rhetorical topos, or "archetypal plot" (Sergeant 2020: 81), enabling the incoming leaders to tower over the background of total irresponsibility in their countries.

The inaugural implementation of the responsibility idea-turned-impression consists in naming it in the Introduction with a subsequent transformation into an effect in concert with the ancient ethos, or modern rhetoric of effect. This process is best captured by two cognitive structures of sensorimotor origin. First, it is the COMPULSION image

schema, coding the experience of being moved by external forces. Second, it is the Agonist's and Antagonist's tendencies to motion, or activity, and rest, or inactivity, representing an individual's inner state.

The overall pattern of implementing the responsibility idea-turned-impression in the discussed inaugurals consists in the presidents' progression from the submissive role of a target to the source or vehicle of shared responsibility with the arrangement of those components and their names brought about by the contemporary rhetorical canon of performance and the leader's personality.

The preliminary phase of the performance stage takes into account the place of the address in the sequence of inaugurals and the current state of the country. Out of the three first-time inaugurals discussed in the paper those of Putin and Zelensky draw on the encouraging sources of responsibility-COMPULSION. They encompass the history of Russia and a common victory with a common chance respectively. Yanukovych's address is based on the discouraging source of a ruined country with a tendency to rest. However, it is only Yanukovych who refers to God as a source of responsibility-COMPULSION blessing the president's activity.

At the dispositional level the speaker as a target of responsibility-COMPULSION is represented in the introductory and narration sections of Putin's and Yanukovych's inaugurals. The president's source role dominates throughout Yanukovych's entire speech, alternates in Putin's addresses with shared responsibility, which in its turn serves as the backbone of the responsibility section in the Introduction to Zelensky's inaugural.

The elocutionary level of analysis reveals differences in responsibility importance for the presidents, or rather their teams, rendered by the frequency of the corresponding units and their derivatives throughout the speeches. It turns out to be significant for Putin's 2012 and 2018 addresses with reference to responsibility occurring two and four times respectively. It also appears important for Yanukovych's speech full of the

units referring to COMPULSION, which results in an impression of over-responsibility and irresponsibility since it fails to match the state of a tumbledown country with the world's progress. The idea under discussion seems least important for Zelensky who dwells on it only in the Introduction, which gives grounds to believe that his address is not aimed at forming a responsibility impression.

From an ideological perspective the democratic form of an inaugural address tones down some features of the outlook of the presidents who were raised in totalitarian societies, which influences their modern idiogenres, a phenomenon borrowed from literary semantics (Ізотова 2014). Those features include Yanukovych's totalitarianism implied by the dominance of his source role in responsibility-COMPULSION and his attempts at over-responsibility and irresponsibility in the international section of the speech. Putin's authoritarian features are revealed by his preference for shared responsibility expressed by the units denoting help and by his four-time reference to responsibility represented as an independent entity throughout the 2018 address. Zelensky's discussion of answerability only in the Introduction to his speech reveals little interest in this remnant of the Soviet past on his part.

The construction of the responsibility effect in the presidents' inaugurals is summarized in Figure 2 in the Appendix.

5. Conclusions

Cognitive rhetoric of effect as a modern variant of ancient persuasion appeal of ethos concerning self-representation combines the pre-conceptual structures of sensorimotor origin with the traditional canons. They concern the selection of arguments (invention), their arrangement (disposition), verbalisation (elocution), and performance emerging due to the contemporary technological support of memory and delivery.

The experiential method of cognitive linguistics employed in the paper draws on the pre-conceptual structures of sensorimotor origin, which encompass image schemas and

force dynamic relations. The former reconstruct the transformation of the responsibility idea into an impression in terms of interaction between the source and the target of COMPULSION. The latter reveal the inner state of responsible individuals and enable us to compare their progress with that of other entities. The cognitive rhetorical procedures employed in the paper are applied to the inaugurals with an effect-forming structure: the Introduction offers a responsibility statement pursued throughout the whole address. The cognitive experiential methodology reveals the transformation of an idea formulated by the rhetor at the outset of his speech into an impression meant to linger with the audience. Three basic variants of responsibility implementation in inaugurals have been found: first, from the role of a target to that of a source of COMPULSION; second, from the source of COMPULSION to the vehicle of shared responsibility; third, from the source of national responsibility-COMPULSION to the global scale.

The three basic variants of responsibility implementation mingle differently in the effect-forming speeches under analysis. Putin's three responsibility addresses share one strategy: first, he is portrayed as a target of COMPULSION; second, he is promoted to the role of the COMPULSION source or represented as a vehicle of shared answerability being united with the audience. Yanukovych's address rests on four sorts of answerability: first, he mitigates it combining with humility; second, he installs himself as a nation-wide source of responsibility-COMPULSION; third, he indulges in over-responsibility and irresponsibility in the international affairs section; fourth he ends up with shared responsibility appealing to the population, the international community and God. Zelensky is least concerned about the responsibility idea dwelling on it only in the Introduction though from different perspectives: shared and zooming-in.

The analysis of linguistic rhetorical means creating responsibility impression in Russian and Ukrainian presidents' inaugurals reveals discrepancies between the democratic aims of the genre and the older leaders' authoritarian frame of mind with little interest in the ideas of the Soviet era on the part of the younger president.

Note

The translations of the extracts from the inaugurals by Petro Poroshenko, Victor Yanukovych and Volodymyr Zelensky have been performed by the authors.

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Résumé

This paper suggests a cognitive-rhetorical procedure of disclosing public speeches' intended impressions. On the one hand, it applies the experiential method of cognitive linguistics relating our abstract understanding and reasoning to the pre-conceptual structures of sensorimotor origin comprising image schemas and force dynamics. On the other hand, it draws on the rhetorical canons of invention (selection of arguments), disposition (content arrangement), elocution (verbalisation), and performance (speech delivery). The implementation of the responsibility idea in Russian and Ukrainian presidents' inaugurals consists in coming out with it in the Introduction with its subsequent transformation into an effect explained by cognitive rhetoric of effect rooted in ancient ethos. The underlying mental processes are best captured by two cognitive structures of sensorimotor origin: the COMPULSION image schema, coding an experience of being moved by external forces, and the tendencies to motion and rest of Agonist and Antagonist, representing individuals' inner states and allowing comparison of the energy applied by various entities. Being reconstructed in terms of image-schematic relation of COMPULSION the textual implementation of responsibility idea-turned-impression rests on the distribution of the units denoting pressure, its source, and target. The application of the procedure to the analysis of linguistic means of creating responsibility impression in Russian and Ukrainian presidents' inaugurals reveals that the leaders are depicted differently throughout the speeches. Introductory and narrative sections portray them as targets of responsibility-COMPULSION with the source represented by the state, its history or population at large referred to in a varying order. Meanwhile, text bodies endow the leaders with the role of a COMPULSION source shifting responsibility onto the nation, social groups, state bodies or sharing it with the audience with one address ending up with impressions of over-responsibility and irresponsibility.

Key words: responsibility effect, compulsion, image schema, target of responsibility, source of responsibility, Agonist, Antagonist, force dynamics.

Appendix

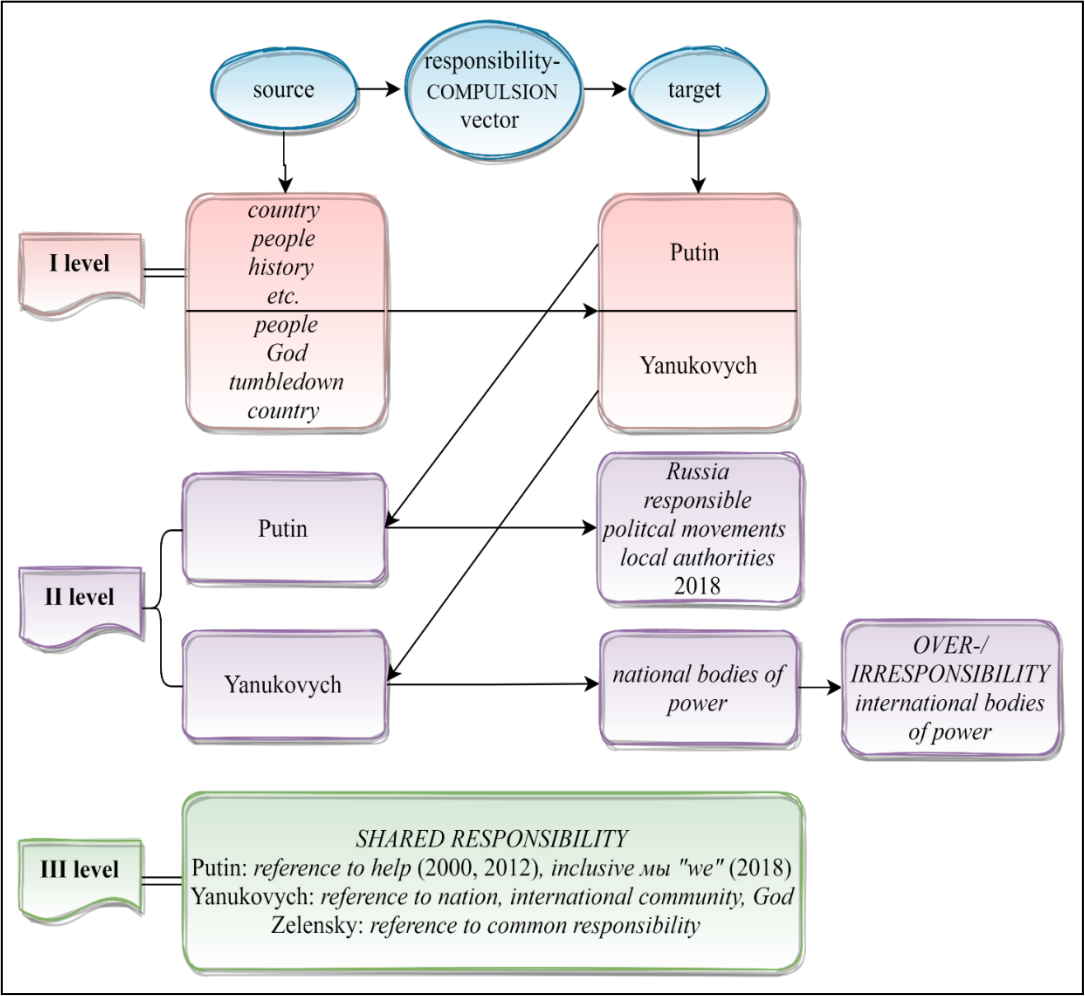


Figure 2. Construction of responsibility effect in the presidents' inaugurals

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