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**MEDIA IMAGES OF SLOVAK AND UKRAINIAN PRESIDENTS:  
'I/WE' BINARY PRONOMINAL OPPOSITION  
IN POLITICAL SPEECHES**

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**Abstract:** This article focuses on presidential images constructed by the presidents' social behaviour and skilfully structured political speeches further cascaded by mass media. The research results show that the presidents' gender, personal charisma, social and professional background contribute to their political charisma, replicated in the media. Linguistically, this synergy is reflected in the binary pronominal opposition, which illustrates both leadership skills and togetherness as a national idea.

**Key words:** image of president, media linguistics, media influence, binary pronominal opposition, personal pronouns, rhetoric, charisma, political speeches, text construction, text perception.

*When I is replaced with WE, even illness becomes wellness!*  
(Malcolm X)

## **1. Introduction**

Today our globalized world requires interdisciplinary synergy in order to find out answers to the questions related to how images are created on the political arena, how

the media mould public opinion, and why these two issues are interdependent. Successes and failures of present-day political leaders require analysis to proliferate their triumphant ideas among people or anticipate their consequent misinterpretation. Indeed, linguistics with its arsenal of tools appears handy when it comes to reaching out to people's hearts or manoeuvring amidst populist speeches and nationalist trends. Analysis of politicians' social behaviour as the nation's leaders and personalities through their oratory skills representation may dovetail contemporary developments of media studies into social and human sciences.

Political speeches have been viewed as a sign of democracy for ages. Bearing this point in mind, we believe that presidential speeches are tailored to trigger patriotic spirits in the realm of negatively charged news feeds; therefore, we develop the **hypothesis** that such speeches will be intensively used to cultivate positive thinking and trust; meanwhile a president's reputation and image are dependent on such messages and their perception by the audience. Besides, such image-related components as charisma, gender, social and professional background may play an important role on the political arena.

The image of a president is constructed by his/her social behaviour and skillfully structured political speeches. Thus, we focus our research on the use of personal pronouns (see Chapter 5.1 for details) in public speeches of two presidents **aiming** to see how they try to identify themselves with the interests, needs, and problems of the public and nation. Other contributory image-related components, such as charisma, social and professional background, gender, are viewed as complementary as they help intensify the 'I/we' binary pronominal opposition.

## **2. Theoretical background: Images and media**

In studying political issues, contemporary scholars have shown considerable interest to the media and language interface, personalities of political actors and their impact on global processes. According to Waterman, Wright, and Clair, "the presidency has

always been associated with images" (2018: xiv), which explains why nowadays, when the world is going digital, "presidents have put the public relations cart before the policy horse and carefully craft images for public consumption" (ibid.). Presidents show charismatic expressiveness in their speeches (Petlyuchenko & Chernyakova 2019), linguistically encode their beliefs, interests, biases, and points of view (Alexiyevets 2017) while speaking to the global audience and aiming at success (Fedoriv 2016). Undoubtedly, political communication is of a strongly pronounced rhetorical nature since rhetorical competence helps speakers convey their views, present them to a wider audience, make contact, position themselves in a favourable light, convince the audience of the correctness of their views and encourage specific action (Alexiyevets 2017), or spread manipulative electoral messages (Momoc 2018; Ponti 2020) and misinform (Bôtošová 2019).



Conversely, the interface between the text and image (Martynyuk & Meleshchenko 2019; Yaremko 2019) can be revealed, while content, worldview, and mind (Prihodko & Prykhodchenko 2018; Prykhodchenko 2019) are considered to have a reflection in people's thoughts. In addition, Erofeeva and Ushnikova (2017) claim that modern mass media are seeking efficient strategies, ensuring their high rating and thus help spread media texts representing a national worldview with their ability to support sustainable cultural meaning and provoke a mass response from the target audience. In turn, it is believed that audiences are more open to public personalities who use the media as a bridge to human minds (Stashko 2018). Furthermore, certain communicative devices appear effective instruments of manipulation used to encourage, impose, or incite the interlocutor to some particular behavior desirable to the speaker (Gnezdilova 2017; Izutsu & Izutsu 2017; Morozova 2013; Rigo 2018; Simon 2020). However, only accurate, truthful, and reasoned information inspires confidence (Prihodko 2019).

Bearing the spectrum of media and audience interaction modes in mind, we endeavour to analyse linguistic means, which shape presidential images when properly used in presidential speeches, interpret their respective usage, and see their pragmatic effect.

### 3. Material, data, and methodology

Taking into account the theoretical considerations on the issue, we selected the research material and methods to be applied in a comparative study of the spoken language of two presidents – Zuzana Čaputová and Volodymyr Zelensky (see Table 1 below).

Table 1. Personal and political data about Zuzana Čaputová and Volodymyr Zelensky

<b>Zuzana Čaputová,</b> 5 <sup>th</sup> President of Slovakia		<b>Volodymyr Zelensky,</b> 6 <sup>th</sup> President of Ukraine
 <a href="https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zuzana_%C4%8Caputov%C3%A1">https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zuzana_%C4%8Caputov%C3%A1</a>	picture available at	 <a href="https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Volodymyr_Zelensky">https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Volodymyr_Zelensky</a>
15 June 2019	assumed office	20 May 2019
45	age elected at	41
law	education	law
lawyer, project manager, deputy to the town mayor	career	comedian, actor, screenwriter, film producer and director
social-liberal political party "Progressive Slovakia"	political views and affiliations	big tent political party "Servant of the People"

Considering their personal and political data, it is obvious that the two presidents have a lot in common. They are young and new to politics featuring zero political experience but plenty of enthusiasm to fight corruption and develop their countries. Each of them got their law degree, but before becoming presidents, they gained their work experience in the spheres other than politics: whereas Čaputová worked as a lawyer, Zelensky operated as a producer in the film industry and show business. Both presidents are happy to get support and inspiration in their families. As the vast majority of voters supported them, it is clear that both presidents have charisma and characteristics of a leader.

In particular, one of the reasons motivating the choice of the personalities of these presidents as the subject matter of our analysis is the fact that their speeches were given during their first year of presidency, which ensures equal treatment of their personalities in this regard. Moreover, they are similar in their views on political issues, though different in gender.

It is also worth mentioning that the presidents have their own 'keys' to people's hearts and methods of influence, which originate from their social and professional background, gender, etc.

Our sample consists of 18 presidential speeches by Zuzana Čaputová (8578 words) and Volodymyr Zelensky (8196 words) delivered on official occasions in 2019-2020. They range from those addressed to the nation (parliament, government or linked to local public events) to the ones showing each president as a representative of the nation on the international arena. Table 3 in Appendix shows the list of the presidential speeches in Slovak, Ukrainian, and English, their thematic range, and corresponding links.

It is important to point out that an image of a political leader (here: president) is created on linguistic and media levels. In our research, the linguistic level is investigated to illustrate how words and their relevant usage may mould presidential images and their perception.

Relying on the methodological tools of media linguistics, we use the following methodological procedure to process the data:

Step 1. Creating research hypothesis to obtain accurate similar and/or contrastive results.

Step 2. Using scientific observation method, linguistic and computational analysis to spot, count, and group all personal pronouns in the speeches in question.

Step 3. Describing the functions of each group and interpreting their correlation with speech topicality, target audience, gender, and charisma issues with the help of perceptual, comparative, and qualitative content analyses.

Step 4. Revealing how these components (from major to minor) contribute to the images of both presidents with the tertium comparationis model applied.

Regarding the matter of the authors' personal subjectivity in descriptions, respective blurred considerations are therefore possible. However, linguistics and media have favoured individual perceptions of certain issues so far.

#### **4. Preliminary definitions**

To begin with, it is important to provide definitions and terms linked to the issue and emended to the research.

##### *4.1 Image and its definitions in media linguistics*

The scope of studies connected with the current research enables us to generate a cumulative definition of the 'image of president'.

The word 'image' originates from Latin *imāgin-*, *imāgō* meaning 'representation, reflection, apparition, semblance, copy, visible form' (MWOD, *s.a.*). According to Cambridge free English dictionary and thesaurus (CFEDT, *s.a.*), 'image' is "a) a picture in smb's mind or an idea of how someone or something is, b) the way that something or someone is thought of by other people, c) a mental picture or idea that forms in a reader's or listener's mind from the words that they read or hear". Besides, there exists a broader definition of an image as "a mental conception held in common by members of a group and symbolic of a basic attitude and orientation" and as "a popular conception (as of a person, institution, or nation) projected especially through the mass media" (MWOD, *s.a.*). In this research, however, we propose to define the term '**the image of the president**' cumulatively as a stereotypical mental picture of a president held in common by a nation projected through mass media and formed from his/her

social activities. Such activities are viewed as those activating mental pictures in people's minds.

#### *4.1.1 Image-related components: Charisma, gender, and professional background*

The proposed definition of the term 'the image of the president' suggests that a combination of primary and secondary image-related components will or may lead to a certain outcome. Furthermore, the image of the president, which is effectively constructed by the media, convincingly demonstrates what can be achieved if people elect this person for the post of the state leader. It is arguable which component is the most result-bearing or how many components the image of the president consists of. In order to address this problem, we focus on the most typical and, thus, important for our research components of the image of the president, i.e. his/her personal and political charisma, gender, and socio-political background.

Scholars have found out that presidents who go into more image-based rhetoric in their inaugural addresses were rated higher in [charisma](#) (Emrich et al. 2001). A charismatic leader uses charismatic rhetoric backed up by the kinetic component (gesture and mimic), making communication more effective. It complements his/her words and highlights the key points of his/her speech in order to achieve verbal charismatic appeal through which the leader exercises his/her influence on his followers and/or opponents encouraging them to commit actions aimed at achieving a particular goal (Petlyuchenko & Artiukhova 2015). The art of rhetoric has accumulated an extensive variety of principles and precepts for structuring a public speech, choosing vocabulary and visualisation devices, tone and place, and many other tools (Fedoriv 2016). Indeed, successful articulation and enactment of a leader's vision may rest on his/her ability to paint for his followers a verbal picture of what can be accomplished with their help (Emrich et al. 2001). Some scholars draw a distinction between personal and political charisma, though they obviously cross in the impact and fusion (House et al. 1991) (see Fig. 1).



contribution on this issue demonstrates how personal characteristics of political agents, i.e. their expertise, political experience, social and professional background, etc. influenced their political or economic outcomes. For instance, entrepreneurs, professional scientists, and trained economists are significantly more likely to implement market-liberal reforms than politicians with no university education or profession that provide the skills required to implement reforms (Dreher et al. 2006). Also, there is a connection between a politician's background and the regime he/she gravitates to. In general, democratic leaders differ from nondemocratic ones in terms of their educational, social, and career background (Baturu 2016). Other research showed that famous female speakers tend to start their speeches with stories about their family background and early childhood hardships to illustrate examples, which echo in the listener's heart and find the targeted reflection (Stashko 2018).

Overall, we may see certain tendencies of constructing politicians' images drawing on his/her background, experience in politics and careers prior to their presidency, which can cumulatively complement their presidential image. Together with other image-related components, these findings may turn out to be significant for image interpretation.

#### *4.2 'I/we' binary pronominal opposition*

Traditionally, a *pronoun* is defined as a word that is used instead of a noun or noun phrase. Pronouns refer to either a noun that has already been mentioned or to a noun that does not need to be named specifically (MWOD, *s.a.*). There are several types of English pronouns: personal, possessive, reflexive, indefinite, demonstrative, reciprocal, relative, and interrogative (*ibid.*).

Yet pronouns are not merely a way of expressing person, number, and gender as is suggested by traditional grammarians, nor do they only do referential and deictic work. Rather, they must be thought of in the context of interaction and in terms of the 'identity work' that they accomplish (Bramley 2001). Brown and Gilman (1960) state that a

man's consistent pronoun style gives away his class status and his political views. Besides, they suggest that the direction of change in pronoun usage expresses a will to extend the solidarity ethic to everyone.

The research conducted by Jones and Wareing (1999) revealed that the first person singular pronoun 'I', for instance, clearly declares who is responsible, while the first person plural pronoun 'we' makes the status of responsibility less clear.

Bramley's investigation (2001) reveals that a politician's pronominal choice indicates his/her varied identity, more specifically his or her individual or collective identity. The scholar also highlights that the primary concern of a politician is to create an image of the reality according to them, and pronouns are of major importance in doing so (ibid.). Thus, we may suggest that young unexperienced politicians may be more inclined to show a mixture of both in terms of their images.

Sedláková claims that "binary opposition often reduces the complexity of social reality to a clash of opposing social factors" (2014: 451). Images tend to be dependent on such oppositions regardless of spheres. Moreover, the binary opposition on which the language expression unit is built embodies the ideology of dominant discourse and contributes to the reproduction of hierarchical power relations and the strengthening of the existing status quo (ibid.).

The binary opposition is the basis of human orientation in the world, which helps organize it. There is always a hierarchy between the parties to this dichotomy, one of which is considered to be more important, better, or superior to the other, which is less important, incorrect, or inferior. However, none of them could exist alone as these categories would lose their meaning. There is a large number of these dichotomies and they are culturally specific. Individual parts of the world / groups / persons are always classified as belonging to only one of them (Lévi-Strauss 2006). Self-presentation in

politics seems more crucial for the charismatic leader's image in the short run while togetherness manifested in speeches is supposed to bond the image in the long run.

Personal pronouns are a key part of politicians' discourse because they provide a basis through which politicians try to identify themselves with the interests, needs, and problems of the public (Allen 2007). Politicians actively exploit the flexibility of pronominal reference to construct the different identities of themselves and 'others' and use them to create different alignments to, and boundaries between, their multiple 'selves' and 'others' (Bramley 2001). Binary oppositions using personal pronouns emphasize the positive societal aspects that policy seeks to identify. At the same time, they make it possible to point out the negative aspects of the actors to whom the policy seeks to define (Allen 2007).

Besides, the study conducted by Bramley (2001: 259) showed that politicians use the pronoun 'I' to present themselves as individuals and speak from their own perspective, preferably highlighting one's good qualities and accomplishments. On the other hand, the scholar argues (ibid.) that 'we' can be used to invoke a group membership or a collective identity, and create a separation between the 'us' and 'them'.

Bearing the above stated in mind, the study in question investigates the use of personal pronouns 'I' (and its variant forms 'my' and 'me') and 'we' (and its variant forms 'our' and 'us') in public speeches of the two presidents in order to compare differences based on thematic range, personal involvement, and target audience.

## **5. Results and discussion**

This chapter focuses on the interrelation of key research theme lines in media linguistics. Crossovers and exchanges between them are possible and even necessary because their synergy may show complexity of images and illustrate the needed plane or distinction.

However, it is worth mentioning that the results obtained and the conclusions made cannot be fully applied to the presidents in question as political leaders are usually assisted by their speechwriters, especially when they are invited to deliver their speeches at previously planned events.

### *5.1 Personal pronouns in public speeches of the presidents*

As it was mentioned in Chapter 4.2, the main emphasis in analyzing 'I/we' binary pronominal opposition is on determining who the two presidents refer to in their speeches when they opt for the pronouns 'I' ('my', 'me') and 'we' ('our', 'us') and comparing the differences in pronominal usage by the two presidents. Reflexive pronouns 'myself' and 'ourselves' as well as possessive pronouns 'mine' and 'ours' were excluded from the analysis because English, Slovak, and Ukrainian are morphologically different, and these pronouns may be situationally omitted or substituted with the personal pronouns 'me' and 'us', respectively. Besides, we should keep in mind that in Slovak the subject is omitted in sentences, which will be reflected in the specific way to spot the respective pronouns in the demo examples. The same selectively refers to some cases in Ukrainian, mainly with the Imperative Mood. Another important point to note is that 'my' and 'our' are actually possessive adjectives. However, as we refer to the 'I/we' binary pronominal opposition in order to spot the differences, which are connected with linguistic and extralinguistic issues, we dare include these adjectives into our research.

The results of this research show how pronouns are used to construct politicians' positive stance towards reality and how they determine people's perception of their images 'cascaded' by the media.

Both presidents have delivered their speeches on the main concerns and events in their countries, such as inauguration, main national holidays, economy and corruption, war and peace. Table 2 below shows the thematic range and quantitative counts of pronouns in the analyzed speeches.

Table 2. Use of pronouns  
in Zuzana Čaputová (pink) and Volodymyr Zelensky's (blue) public speeches: Thematic range

#	topic / event	pronoun											
		I		my		me		we		our		us	
1	Inauguration	37	24	1	8	2	2	50	21	35	12	11	11
2	New Year	17	3	2	-	-	-	51	17	16	6	8	8
3	Independence / Unity	17 <sup>1</sup>	8/7	2 <sup>1</sup>	2/2	- <sup>1</sup>	-	51 <sup>1</sup>	22/6	16 <sup>1</sup>	20/-	8 <sup>1</sup>	3/1
4	Economic Development	8	26	-	6	-	2	8	12	8	13	3	1
5	Fight against Corruption <sup>2</sup>	1/17	3/5	-/3	-/1	2/2	1/1	16/9	4/1	6/-	1/2	-/2	1/-
6	War / Peace / Security <sup>3</sup>	27/16	13/9	6/2	-/-	-/1	-/-	6/21	5/11	11/9	4/4	2/14	-/1
7	COVID-19	9	4	14	1	-	1	14	13	4	3	7	2

In particular, the figures in Table 2 clearly illustrate that the 'we' / 'our' / 'us' part tends to be more quantitatively represented in the reports of positive or neutral events (e.g., New Year or Independence Day). Besides, these pronouns are used in the speeches which convey ultimate support to the nation (e.g., pandemic or fight against corruption). The presidents address to their nations and emphasize they are part of it (see examples 1, 2, 4 below). All these details contribute to an image-making process. Togetherness (2, 3) created with the help of the pronouns 'we' / 'our' / 'us' is perceived as sharing (1) and supportive (5). Let us take some examples and see how it works in the speeches under study.

(1) Ukr. – "**Ми** з вами дуже різні. Але хіба **нас** мало що об'єднує?" (VZ 2019, New Year speech).

Eng. – "**We** are very different. But isn't there a lot that unites **us**?"<sup>4</sup>

(2) Ukr. – "Якщо **ми** бачимо майбутнє однаково, це повинно **нас** об'єднувати" (ibid.).

Eng. – "If **we** view the future in the same way, it is to unite **us**".

(3) Sk. – "**Myslíme** však na to, že aj po nich **budeme** všetci na Slovensku žiť spoločne" (ZC 2019, New Year speech).

Eng. – "**We** need to bear in mind that however much **we** argue, **we** will still be living together in Slovakia".<sup>4</sup>

(4) Ukr. – "*Так хто ж **ми**? **Ми** ті, хто говорить 'Я тебе кохаю'*" (VZ 2019, New Year speech).

Eng. – "So who are **we**? **We** are the ones who say 'I love you'".

(5) Sk. – "*Nezabúdajme na to, že **máme** dôvod byť hrdí*" (ZC 2019, New Year speech).

Eng. – "Let **us** not forget that **we** have reasons to be proud".

Considering the COVID-19 pandemic, both presidents show readiness to act together with their people and responsibility for the whole nation. Their messages were oriented towards every community member (6, 7) and every doctor (8, 9) with the appeal to support each other:

(6) Sk. – "*Ak sa **zomkneme**, **zvládneme** to*" (ZC 2019, Speech on COVID-19).

Eng. – "If **we** lock up, **we** can do it".

(7) Ukr. – "*Від кожного з **нас** дуже багато залежить. <...> **Ми** сильні і в **нас** все буде добре*" (VZ 2019, Speech on COVID-19).

Eng. – "A lot depends on each of **us**. <...> **We** are strong and **we** will be all right".

(8) Sk. – "***Svojou** zodpovednosťou a príkladným správaním najviac **pomôžeme** tým, od ktorých **naše** zdravie bude o pár dní závisieť najviac – **naším** zdravotníkom*" (ZC 2019, Speech on COVID-19).

Eng. – "With **our** responsibility and exemplary behavior, **we** will help most of all those on whom **our** health will depend most in a few days – **our** healthcare professionals".

(9) Ukr. – "**Ми** доручили органам місцевого самоврядування та місцевої влади запровадити додаткове матеріальне заохочення медичних працівників, які залучені до протиепідемічних та лікувальних заходів" (VZ 2019, Speech on COVID-19).

Eng. – "**We** have instructed local governments and local authorities to introduce additional financial incentives for health care providers involved in anti-epidemic and treatment activities".

However, financial and social issues (e.g., business and economy or security) are mentioned along the 'I' / 'my' / 'me' line. Presidents sound strong and reliable to their nations in order to stay identified with the controlling power and leadership capacity.

In June 2019, the President of Ukraine, for instance, met with the members of the YES Supervisory Board where he "informed the YES representatives of the key priorities of **his** activities, including the establishment of peace in Ukraine, the protection of its sovereignty and the restoration of territorial integrity, the implementation of system reforms, strengthening the defense capabilities of the state and ensuring the conditions for successful development of the country" (OWPU, *s.a.*).

Provided that at that moment Mr. Zelensky had been president for a month with no political experience but tremendous ambitions (10), the reason to opt for 'I' / 'my' / 'me' pronouns appears more than obvious: he wanted to show his leadership skills (12) and thus gain trust (10, 11), which can be illustrated by the following excerpts:

(10) Ukr. – "Знаєте, багато хто відверто дивувався: навіть **я** іду в політику. **Мені** казали: у тебе ж все є, ти – щаслива людина. <...> Зараз у **мене** та **моєї** команди є привід для щастя. Це – велика довіра громадян" (VZ 2019, Speech at YES forum).

Eng. – "You know, many people were genuinely surprised: why **I** go to politics. **I** was told: you have everything, you are a happy person. <...> Now, **my** team and **I** have a reason for happiness. It is the great trust of citizens".

(11) Ukr. – "Але **я** не раз казав: єдиний шлях до цього – дипломатія. <...> **Я** не втомлююся повторювати всім нашим світовим партнерам, які нам допомагають – **я** дуже їм вдячний" (ibid.).

Eng. – "But **I** have repeatedly said that the only way to do this is through diplomacy. <...> **I** am not tired of repeating it to all our world partners who help us that **I** am very grateful to them".

(12) Ukr. – "З вашого дозволу – декілька проектів, які **я** хотів би анонсувати. Це низка проектів, куди під **мої** особисті гарантії захисту **я** запрошуюю іноземний бізнес" (ibid.).

Eng. – "With your permission, there are some projects **I** would like to announce. They are a series of projects where **I** invite foreign business under **my** personal protection guarantees".

The analysis of Zuzana Čaputová's statement after the meeting with the Minister of the Interior, Police President, and First Deputy Attorney General revealed that she also used the pronoun '**I**' to present herself as the nation's leader and speak from her own perspective, highlighting her power and readiness to restructure the state (13, 14), e.g.:

(13) Sk. – "Ako prezidentka **cítim** povinnosť ozvať sa, keď **vidím** nespravodlivosť, zneužívanie moci alebo zanedbanie povinností kompetentnými orgánmi. Rovnako však **považujem** za **svoju** povinnosť vyzdvihnúť aj pozitívny prístup alebo upokojiť situáciu, keď je na to dôvod" (ZC 2019, Statement after the meeting with the Minister of the Interior).

Eng. – "As president, **I** feel obliged to speak up when **I** see injustice, abuse of power or neglect of duty by the competent authorities. However, **I** also consider it **my**

duty to emphasize a positive approach or to calm the situation when there is a reason to do so".

- (14) Sk. – "Zo  **svojej**  pozície  **mám**  možnosť pýtať sa zodpovedných činiteľov na skutočnosti, ktoré  **považujem**  za sporné, a z ich informácií si urobiť názor" (ibid.).  
 Eng. – "From  **my**  position,  **I**  have the opportunity to ask those responsible about the facts that  **I**  consider controversial and to form an opinion from their information.

The next investigation stage revealed approaches used by the presidents with regard to their  **target audience**  (see Fig. 2 and 3), i.e. their communication styles when speaking to and for their audience. In audience-based speaking, it is essential to determine the role the speaker plays and specify the level of involvement into the matter. In order to track these issues in the analyzed speeches, we focused on domestic and international arenas.

With this goal in view, in this paragraph we present the results obtained from the analysis of the army and security related state concerns (Fig. 2), which are of paramount importance for Ukraine and Slovakia.

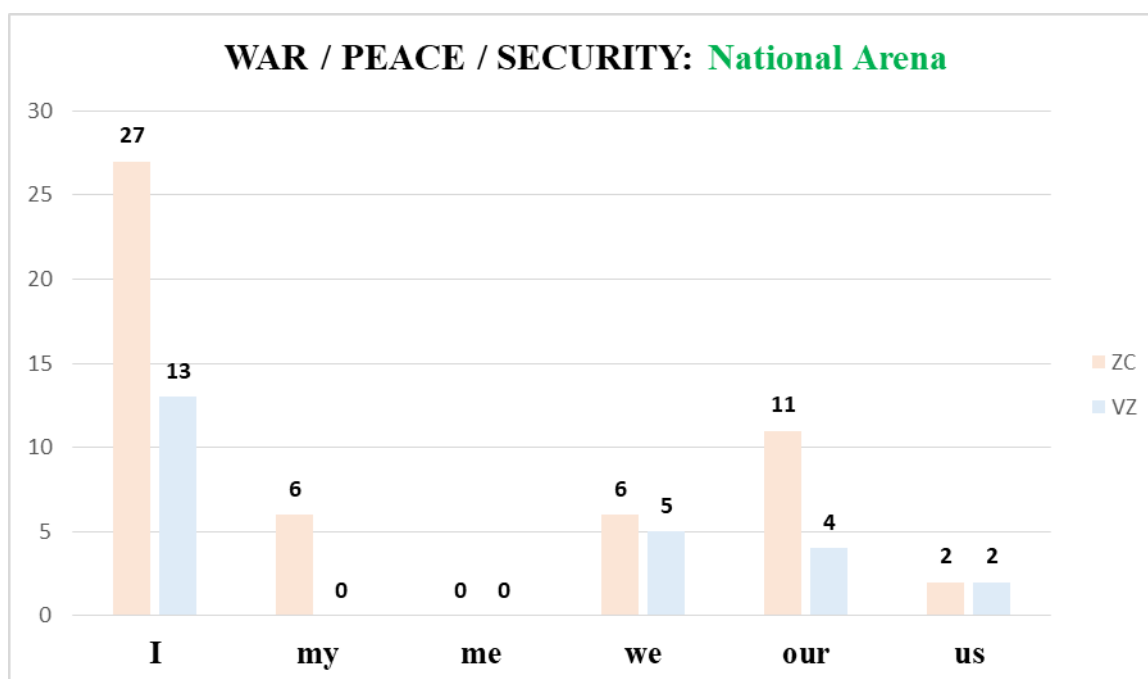


Figure 2. Use of pronouns in Zuzana Čaputová (pink) and Volodymyr Zelensky's (blue) public speeches on war, peace, and security: The national arena

As follows from the figures above, the pronouns 'we' / 'our' / 'us' are used in a very similar way in both presidents' speeches. Such tendency is wholly consistent with the issue of togetherness, which is central for this study. When the presidents speak to their nations, they do not separate themselves from their people and motherland, and therefore, from their armies (15). As an example to illustrate this, let us refer to Zelensky's speech on Defender Day:

(15) Ukr. – "<...> Українці будуть єдиними й згуртованими. Бо тоді – **ми** сильні. Бо тоді – **непереможні**. Тож на заздрість усім **доведімо**, що **ми**, українці, – вільний, цивілізований, а головне – мудрий народ. **Пам'ятаймо** про це" (VZ 2019, Speech on Defender Day).

Eng. – "<...> Ukrainians will be consolidated and united. Because then **we** are strong. Because then **we** are invincible. Therefore, to the envy of all, **we** shall prove that **we**, Ukrainians, are a free, civilized, and most importantly, wise nation. Let **us** keep that in mind".

The use of the pronouns 'we' / 'our' / 'us' is quite heavy in the beginning of the speech, which matches in terms with role sharing. The president is part of his nation and his heart belongs to his country.

In contrast to this, the pronouns 'I' / 'my' / 'me' are mostly concentrated in the middle part of the speech in question, when Mr. President gives several promises from the first person (16):

(16) Ukr. – "**Обіцяю** вам як Президент України і Верховний Головнокомандувач Збройних Сил, що і **я** ніколи цього (прим.: війни) не допущу. <...> **Я** знаю це і **запевняю** вас – тільки так і буде. <...> Бо 20 травня **я** присягнув усіма справами боронити суверенітет і незалежність України. **Я** вірний цій клятві і **залишатимуся** вірним їй завжди" (ibid.).

Eng. – "I promise you as President of Ukraine and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces that I will never let this (note: war) happen. <...> I know this and I assure you – it will be like this. <...> As on May 20, I took an oath of office to defend the sovereignty and independence of Ukraine. I am loyal to this oath and I will always be loyal to it".

The most likely explanation of this finding is theme-and-role congruence. According to the Constitution of Ukraine, the President is the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, which implies certain duties and responsibilities. In its turn, this position requires leadership skills and expertise to be respected by the Army. His image is conventional and firm, and his words are expected to appeal to each soldier. His involvement and promises are manifested in the beginning of each sentence (16).

Considering the speech by the President of Slovakia to the General Staff of the Army of Slovakia, we gained expected findings in terms of the pronouns 'we' / 'our' / 'us'. President Čaputová started her speech with an honorary mention of the soldiers (17), which sounded reasonable. Then, she turned to the point of reliability and safety embodied in the army focusing on togetherness of the army and the state (18).

(17) Sk. – "Po niekoľkých mesiacoch vo funkcii môžem s plnou vážnosťou povedať, že ozbrojené sily majú medzi **našími** obyvateľmi veľmi dobré meno. <...> Počúvam, že **naši** vojaci sú skutoční profesionáli" (ZC 2019, Speech to the General Staff of the Army).

Eng. – "After a few months in office, I can say with all seriousness that the armed forces have a very good reputation among **our** people. <...> I hear that **our** soldiers are real professionals".

(18) Sk. – "Ozbrojené sily Slovenskej republiky sú nielen jedným z najdôležitejších symbolov **našej** štátnej suverenity, ale sú aj zhmotnením **nášho** členstva v Aliancii" (ibid.).

Eng. – "The Armed Forces of the Slovak Republic are not only one of the most important symbols of **our** state sovereignty, but they are also the embodiment of **our** membership in the Alliance".

However, the results obtained for the use of pronouns 'I' / 'my' / 'me' were surprising, especially in contrast to hypothetical expectations. Unlike her Ukrainian peer, Mrs. Čaputová did not focus on promises but gave her critical feedback (19) on the defeatist situation in the armed forces emphasizing significant drawbacks:

(19) Sk. – "*Nedávno **som mala možnosť** prečítať si správu o operačnej pripravenosti našich ozbrojených síl. **Pýtala som sa** na dôvody a príčiny jej záverov. Odpovede, ktoré **som dostala**, sa zásade zhodovali: nedostatky sú spôsobené dlhodobým podfinancovaním, zanedbaním niektorých oblastí a v súčasnosti aj nerovnomerným rozdeľovaním prostriedkov*" (ibid.).

Eng. – "**I** have recently had the opportunity to read a report on the operational readiness of our armed forces. **I** asked for the reasons for the conclusions. The answers **I** received were in principle the same: the shortcomings are due to long-term underfunding, the neglect of some areas and, at present, the uneven distribution of funds".

Clearly, Čaputová's next appeal to the militaries shows her understanding of the problematic issues (19, 22) and criticism of the counter actions (20). The President's personal involvement in problem solving seems diplomatic, and her personal expectations sound sincere (21):

(20) Sk. – "***Priznám sa**, že nie celkom **rozumiem** tomu, prečo nemôžu generáli vystúpiť na verejnosti so svojimi názormi na obranu štátu a na potreby ozbrojených síl*" (ibid.).

Eng. – "**I** admit that **I** do not quite understand why generals cannot speak in public with their views on the defense of the state and the needs of the armed forces".

(21) Sk. – "*Nemám v úmysle a ani si nemyslím, že je to mojou úlohou, aby som teraz prechádzala oblasť po oblasti a pripomínala, čo sa za posledný rok podarilo viac a čo menej*" (ibid.).

Eng. – "**I** do not intend, nor do **I** think it is **my** job, to go from area to area now, recalling what has been more and less successful over the last year".

(22) Sk. – "*Nemyslím, že k tomu došlo preto, lebo niekto chce ozbrojeným silám úmyselne škodiť*" (ibid.).

Eng. – "**I** do not think this happened because someone wants to intentionally harm the armed forces.

Thus, it is evident that the two presidents feel part of the army they command and eagerly speak that out using the pronouns 'we' / 'our' / 'us' (ZC – 19 and VZ – 11) but they show their intentions, criticism, and suggestions differently. While the President of Ukraine speaks in the first person to share his hopes and promises, the President of Slovakia demonstrates sharp criticism and her personal wish to solve the specific problems they have in common. The evidence to support this contrast lies in the president's experience and her professional background (see Table 1 and Chapter 5.3). Indeed, Zuzana Čaputová (see OWPS and Chapter 5.3 for details) is from the jurisprudence field, and this suggests that she is practically aware of everything she wants to change in the state. In contrast, Volodymyr Zelensky (see OWPU for details), being a cinematography representative, lacks professional expertise in military affairs, which is reflected in the way of his use of pronouns. Nevertheless, both presidents have one common feature in their feedback – their speeches abound in the pronouns 'I' / 'my' / 'me' (ZC – 33 and VZ – 13) when they show their intention to act. Besides, they manifest their gratitude to their people using contrastive options (23, 24):

(23) Sk. – "*Za to všetko, čo pre Slovensko a jeho občanov doma i v zahraničí robíte, vám úprimne d'akujem*" (ibid.).

Eng. – "I sincerely thank you for everything you do for Slovakia and its citizens at home and abroad".

(24) Ukr. – "І завтра кожен свідомий українець висловить безмежну шану та подяку **нашим** воїнам, добровольцям, медикам і волонтерам" (VZ 2019, Speech on Defender Day).

Eng. – "And tomorrow every conscientious Ukrainian will express boundless respect and gratitude to **our** soldiers, unpaid helpers, doctors and volunteers".

Similarly, we analyzed the presidential speeches delivered on the international arenas (see Fig. 3) where the target audience is not focused on internal problem-solving of foreign partner states but where participants speak on behalf of their nations.

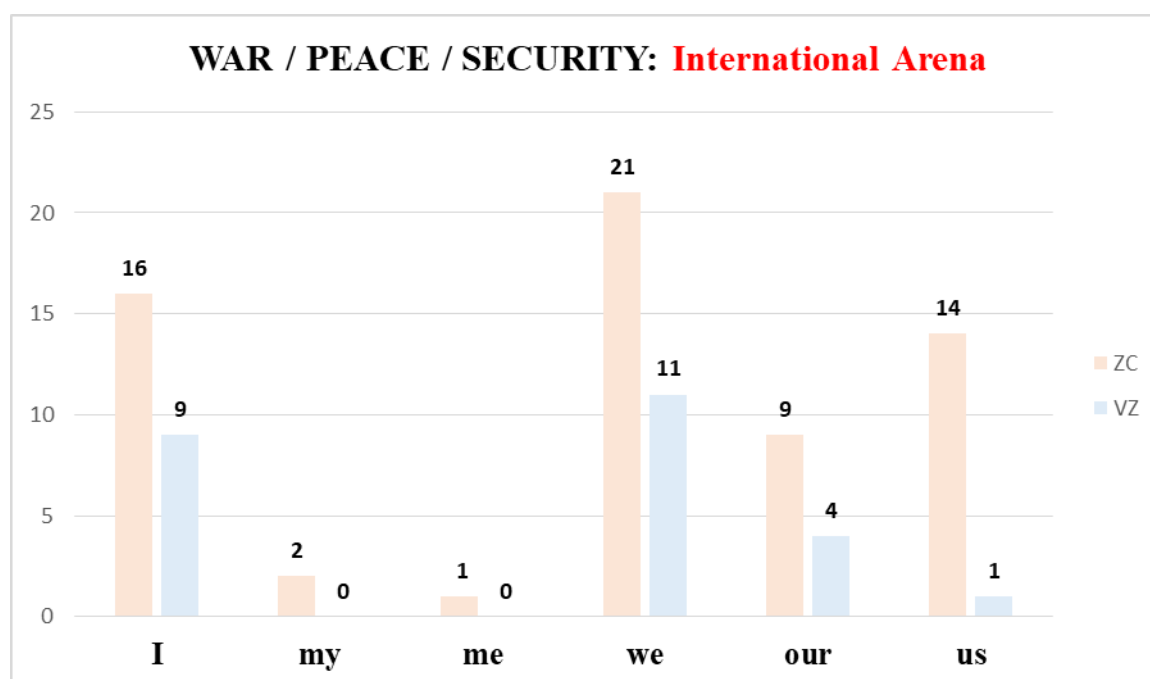


Figure 3. Use of pronouns in Zuzana Čaputová (pink) and Volodymyr Zelensky's (blue) public speeches on war, peace, and security: The international arena

On the whole, the analysis shows that the major focus in Čaputová's speech falls on the pronouns 'we' / 'our' / 'us' (44 in total), while Zelensky moderately uses both the 'I' / 'my' / 'me' and 'we' / 'our' / 'us' pronoun lines (9 and 16, respectively). In order to reveal

possible reasons for such differences, we can refer to the structure of the two speeches. Both presidents keep to similar storylines and emphasize similar points in their speeches.

The first message (25) sent to the respective world institutions was that the presidents ('I') represent their countries ('we'), which are part of the world community ('we'):

(25) Sk. – "Dnes sa bude veľa rozprávať o Európskej únii, ktorá chráni nielen **našich** občanov, ale aj **naše** hodnoty. **Prichádzam** z regiónu, kde – ak sa **pozrieme** iba na čísla – sa dnes **občania** majú lepšie ako **kedykoľvek** predtým" (ZC 2019, Speech at Munich Security Conference).

Eng. – "The theme of today's discussions is Europe that protects not only **our** citizens, but also **our** values. **I** come from a region where – if **we** look at the numbers alone – **we** live better than **we** ever have.

Another important message describes problems both countries are facing and difficulties in combating these problems (26). As long as the countries have acute challenges to overcome, they desperately need global support from those who have already managed to do that and are now keeping their standards high, respecting the rule of law. Inadmissibility of violating the law was the key message of both leaders, verbally supported with the pronouns 'we' / 'our' / 'us', which testifies to their common rhetoric:

(26) Sk. – "Prečo síce **vieme** ochrániť **naše** hospodárstvo, ale prečo s rovnakou vervou nevieme chrániť **naše** hodnoty? **Všetci čelíme** nárastu populizmu, extrémizmu, či nezodpovednej rétoriky, ktorá rozdeľuje **naše** spoločnosti a pomaly relativizuje, spochybňuje či **priamo** útočí na hodnoty a pravidlá" (ibid.).

Eng. – "Why can **we** protect **our** economies but lack the same determination to defend **our** values? **We** are all facing the rise of populism, extremism and irresponsible narratives that divide **our** societies and attack **our** rules and values".

The presidents spoke about their burning internal issues and the strong will to act since their domestic concerns may turn catastrophic for the world if neglected by the global community (27). Specifically, the pronouns 'we' / 'our' / 'us' contributed to a clearer appeal to the world for support and declarations to fight:

(27) Ukr. – "Усвідомлюючи всю небезпеку цивілізації, **ми** повинні генерувати інші смисли. <...> Сьогодні, коли існують тисячі сторінок міжнародного права та сотні організацій, покликаних його захищати, **наша**, саме **наша** країна зі зброєю в руках, втрачаючи **своїх** громадян, відстоює власний суверенітет і територіальну цілісність. <...> Але в сучасному світі, де **ми** з вами живемо, більше немає чужої війни. <...> Саме тому **ми** потребуємо світової підтримки" (VZ 2019, Speech at UN Assembly).

Eng. – "Being aware of all the dangers of civilization, **we** must generate other senses. <...> Today, when there are thousands of pages of international law and hundreds of organizations designed to defend it, **our** and only **our** country with arms in the hands, losing its citizens, upholds **our** own sovereignty and territorial integrity. <...> But in the modern world where **we** live, there is no longer somebody else's war. <...> That is why **we** need worldwide support".

Indeed, these examples illustrate the abovementioned conclusions and demonstrate that separate words can contribute to a general message delivered in speeches. The presidents use mostly the pronouns 'we' / 'our' / 'us' to attract attention to 'us' as people, to declare responsibility for 'us' as a nation, and share 'togetherness' messages regardless of their audiences.

Finally, we can now proceed to the issue of **gender** in the analysed presidential speeches. On the whole, it can be claimed that no speech, which underwent analysis, contains gender-related wordings. Thus, each president tries to act as a nation's leader rather than a male or female representative of his/her nation. Politics has no gender.

Leadership skills do not depend on gender in politics. Moreover, a female politician is expected to run her country the same effective way any male politician does.

However, the choice of pronouns may hint that a female politician is more flamboyant in terms of wordings, which may explain a higher counts of pronouns in the speeches by the Slovak president.

Taking into account the results obtained at this research stage, it can be stated that the pronouns 'I' / 'my' / 'me' and 'we' / 'our' / 'us' are heavily used in every speech by both presidents regardless of their gender. The latter aspect is not reflected by the 'I/we' pronominal opposition at all. The presidents typically use the pronouns 'we' / 'our' / 'us' to express their identity with their nation or their target audiences, particularly being a speaker on the international arena or referring to the nation on positive occasions. On the other hand, the pronouns 'I' / 'my' / 'me' usually occur when it is necessary to represent one's 'self' as a responsible leader, which is also manifested in the context. The presidents eagerly share their declarations to act responsibly and ask their people to follow them.

### *5.3 Synergy of linguistics and media studies in image making*

This chapter presents our findings on how media affect presidents and how their impact shapes the president's image perception by their followers and their nations. In the meantime, it is evident that the digitalized world can no longer exist without mass media and, therefore, will be influenced and manipulated by mass media to a certain extent. Conversely, mass media can help enhance or ruin images of politicians and show how effective politicians and their messages are.

Moreover, some findings revealed that not all politicians are likely to be influenced by the media in the same way (Helfer 2016; Kaltseis 2019). Since the media inform of events and news using their methodology and guidelines (Galtung & Ruge 1965; Panasenko 2016; Panasenko et al. 2017), their reports share common characteristics to

attract attention to politics and politicians. In its turn, it contributes to increasing personalization of political authority and polarization of media and society (Poguntke & Webb 2005). The role of journalism in digital media is gaining new trends (Višňovský et al. 2015) due to new technologies, environments, and marketing strategies (Čábyová 2006; 2010; 2012a; 2012b; Krajčovič & Čábyová 2016; Pravdová 2017). Media literacy is also in focus, which means questioning the media and interpreting its messages accordingly can help challenge the views media present to us (Aroldi et al. 2017; Hicks-Goldston & Ritchart 2019; Petranova & Vrabec 2016).

First, it is essential to say that the present study does not mean to rate politicians or evaluate political media coverage. On the contrary, we aim at zooming in on a list of image-related issues developed and scattered by media.

Second, in illustration of synergy of tools and techniques and their coherence in creating presidential images, we ponder how [media](#) help recognize and intensify a charismatic leader. In particular, Volodymyr Zelensky has tight links with cinematography, being a film producer, a comedian, and an actor. Before standing for presidential elections, he successfully starred in the popular television series "Servant of the people" where he played the President of Ukraine and promised to clean up politics and fight corruption in the country. The movie went viral and evoked hot discussions in social networks and mass media. As a result, Zelensky won the presidential runoff with 73.2% of the vote against Poroshenko's 25.3% (Ukraine elects local TV comic President, 2019). Being new to politics but popular as an actor turned out to be a winning situation. Over the course of time, it got obvious that it was a trick, but a media myth was presented like a real fact and soon it turned reality. A charismatic actor became a political leader.

The case of Zuzana Čaputová, also a political newcomer, proves that the [media](#) can not only frame a candidate's image but also be used as a show case in the victorious race for presidency. The future president structured her election campaign as a struggle

between good and evil following the murder of an investigative journalist a year before (Slovakia shocked by killing of journalist and partner, 2018). Ms. Caputova cited Mr. Kuciak's murder as one of the reasons she decided to run for president and won 58% of the vote, with Mr. Sefcovic trailing on 42% (Zuzana Caputova becomes Slovakia's first female president, 2019). She was heavily supported by the media, which added positive aspects to her image. Similarly, her **professional and social background** and **gender** significantly helped in image making of a new politician. As a lawyer, Ms. Caputova gained national prominence when she led a case against an illegal landfill lasting 14 years and being a mother of two kids she promoted adoption and showed liberal views on families (ibid.). As a result, she was supported by Slovaks and managed to gain 58% votes and became Slovakia's first female president (ibid.).

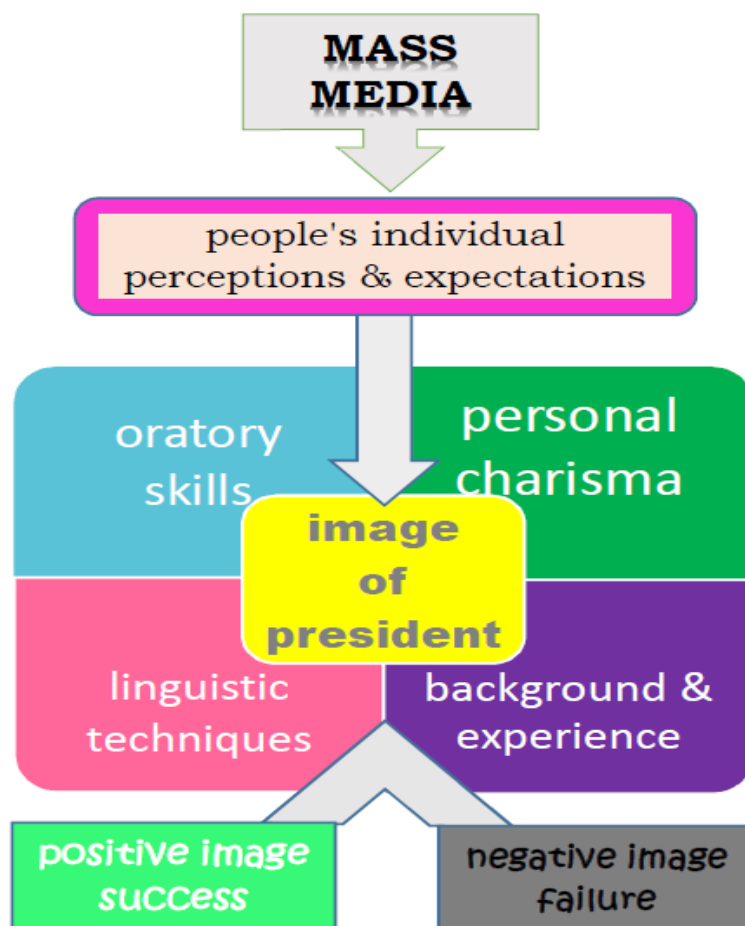


Figure 4. Synergy of tools and techniques and their coherence in creating the presidential image

To conclude, we may state that image-related components reveal different ways of influence on the images of both presidents (Fig. 4). It is rather a synergy of components starting from verbal messages and finishing with actions. The presidents' public speeches reflect hopes and thoughts of their nations. However, one should not forget that successful political leaders are always assisted by skillful speechwriters who help make their messages hit the target.

## **6. Conclusions**

To sum up, we can infer that the image of the president is largely dependent on a combination of factors and is a synergy of image-related components. The conducted comparative analysis of public speeches delivered by the two presidents – Zuzana Čaputová and Volodymyr Zelensky – testifies to the fact that there is a synergy of linguistic and media tools and techniques in creating the image of the president; their coherence on both levels produces the necessary effect.

On the linguistic level, it is noticeable that the use of personal pronouns in public speeches of the two presidents illustrates how they identify themselves with the interests, needs, and problems of the public and nation. The 'I/we' binary pronominal opposition targeted in the analysis has helped spot what messages are decoded in the presidential speeches.

The study has revealed that the pronouns 'I' / 'my' / 'me' are mostly used to speak about social security issues. Both presidents convey the ideas of reliability and responsibility to their nations, which emphasize their leadership skills and enthusiasm to act. Taking into account the presidents' zero experience in politics, the abovementioned pronouns also illustrate the leaders' promises to their nations.

Conversely, the pronouns 'we' / 'our' / 'us' are integrated in the presidential speeches more frequently and focus on togetherness as a national idea. Positive or neutral events

as well as national concerns are the topics in which the presidents emphasize that they are part of their nations, ready to share everything with their people.

National and international arenas did not show differences in the use of the pronouns 'we' / 'our' / 'us', which enabled the country leaders to demonstrate togetherness regardless of the thematic issue. While the pronouns 'I' / 'my' / 'me' appeared conventional when the presidents represented themselves as reliable leaders and eagerly shared their declarations to act responsibly and ask their people to follow them. The data obtained are broadly consistent with other studies, which have shown that the choice of pronouns may hint at how the presidents express their identity with their nation or their target audiences.

Undoubtedly, media zoomed in on image-related issues and helped the presidents be recognized in their messages. Namely, mass media promoted their images positively as both presidents had media-related background links prior to their presidency. In a synergy of all the components, media intensified charismatic leaders and their verbal messages.

## **Notes**

**1.** The Day of the Establishment of the Slovak Republic is an official state holiday in Slovakia celebrated on 1 January, i.e. on the same day as New Year. Thus, Zuzana Čaputová's New Year Speech covers both events and the respective figures are used twice. See Table 3 for more details.

**2.** The problem of corruption is developed in two speeches by both presidents: the first (1/17) to the people who either fight corruption or are ready to do it and the second (1/17) to their key state bodies (government and parliament). See Table 3 for more details.

3. War, peace, and security related alarming points are highlighted in two speeches from both presidents who represented their countries on the domestic (27/16) and international arenas. See Table 3 for more details.

4. Translation of Ukrainian examples is done by Halyna Stashko and Slovak ones – by Norbert Vrabec.

### List of abbreviations

CFEDT – Cambridge free English dictionary and thesaurus

MWOD – Merriam-Webster online dictionary

OWPS – Official website of President of Slovakia

OWPU – Official website of President of Ukraine

VZ – Volodymyr Zelensky

ZC – Zuzana Čaputová

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## Résumé

This paper presents a comparative analysis of public speeches delivered by two presidents – Zuzana Čaputová and Volodymyr Zelensky – and demonstrates how presidential images are constructed by their social and linguistic behaviour covered by the media. In the given research, the image of a president is referred to as a stereotypical mental picture of a president held in common by a nation; it is constructed by his/her social and linguistic activities that are made known to the public via mass media. Linguistically, the presidents' images are reflected and interpreted in the 'I/we' binary pronominal opposition, which illustrates both personal characteristics of the speakers, their leadership skills and togetherness as a national idea. In particular, the pronouns 'we' / 'our' / 'us' quantitatively prevail in positive events or when the nation requires

ultimate support. Togetherness created with the help of pronouns 'we' / 'our' / 'us' is perceived as sharing and supportive. However, social security issues are mentioned mostly along the 'I' / 'my' / 'me' pronoun line. Presidents sound reliable to their nations to stay identified with power and leadership. In audience-based speaking, togetherness is obviously demonstrated on the domestic arena whereas when seeking global support, the presidents use the pronouns 'we' / 'our' / 'us' to attract attention to 'us' as people, declare responsibility for 'us' as a nation, and share 'togetherness' messages to the world community. The data obtained have shown that artfully structured presidential speeches are tailored to kindle patriotic spirit and trust among the people, which, in their turn, contribute to the presidents' images constructed in such messages. Considering similarities the presidents possess, we emphasize political experience, social and professional background, and charisma. It has been found that these image-related components cumulatively contribute to political charisma and popularity, replicated in the media.

**Key words:** image of president, media linguistics, media influence, binary pronominal opposition, personal pronouns, rhetoric, charisma, political speeches, text construction, text perception.

## Appendix

Table 3. Thematic range of speeches of Zuzana Čaputová (ZC) and Volodymyr Zelensky (VZ)

#	topic/event/concern	speech/source
1	Inauguration	<b>ZC: Inaugural Speech</b> Available at: <a href="https://www.prezident.sk/article/inauguracia-prezidentky-zuzany-caputovej/">https://www.prezident.sk/article/inauguracia-prezidentky-zuzany-caputovej/</a>
		<b>VZ: Inaugural Speech</b> Available at: <a href="https://www.president.gov.ua/news/inavguracijna-promova-prezidenta-ukrayini-volodimira-zelensk-55489">https://www.president.gov.ua/news/inavguracijna-promova-prezidenta-ukrayini-volodimira-zelensk-55489</a>
2	New Year	<b>ZC: New Year Speech</b> Available at: <a href="https://www.prezident.sk/en/article/the-presidents-new-years-speech/">https://www.prezident.sk/en/article/the-presidents-new-years-speech/</a>
		<b>VZ: New Year Speech</b> Available at: <a href="https://znaj.ua/politics/286481-shcho-pobazhav-zelenskiy-ukrajincyam-u-novomu-roci-povniy-tekst-ta-video-emociynogo-zvernennya-prezidenta">https://znaj.ua/politics/286481-shcho-pobazhav-zelenskiy-ukrajincyam-u-novomu-roci-povniy-tekst-ta-video-emociynogo-zvernennya-prezidenta</a>
3	Independence / Unity	<b>ZC: see above (also see Note 1)</b>
		<b>VZ: Independence Day Speech</b> Available at: <a href="https://www.president.gov.ua/news/vistup-prezidenta-ukrayini-pid-chas-urochistostej-z-nagodi-d-56937">https://www.president.gov.ua/news/vistup-prezidenta-ukrayini-pid-chas-urochistostej-z-nagodi-d-56937</a> <b>VZ: Day of Unity Speech</b> Available at: <a href="https://www.president.gov.ua/videos/zvernennya-prezidenta-z-nagodi-dnya-sobornosti-ukrayini-1649">https://www.president.gov.ua/videos/zvernennya-prezidenta-z-nagodi-dnya-sobornosti-ukrayini-1649</a>
4	Economic / Business / Social Development	<b>ZC: The president has conferred state honours on 20 personalities</b> Available at: <a href="https://www.prezident.sk/en/article/the-president-has-conferred-state-honours-on-20-personalities/">https://www.prezident.sk/en/article/the-president-has-conferred-state-honours-on-20-personalities/</a>
		<b>VZ: Yes Forum Speech</b> Available at: <a href="https://www.president.gov.ua/news/vistup-prezidenta-ukrayini-volodimira-zelenskogo-na-16-j-sho-57257">https://www.president.gov.ua/news/vistup-prezidenta-ukrayini-volodimira-zelenskogo-na-16-j-sho-57257</a>
5	Fight against Corruption	<b>ZC: White Crow Awards</b> Available at: <a href="https://www.prezident.sk/page/prejavu/">https://www.prezident.sk/page/prejavu/</a>
		<b>ZC: Statement by the President after the meeting with the Minister of the Interior, Police President, and First Deputy Attorney General</b> Available at: <a href="http://www.pr-news.sk/rss/link/2019/10/1933325/video-caputova-to-co-sa-do-zvedam-presiahlo-absolutne-moju-predstavivost-tu-je-moje-stanovisko/">http://www.pr-news.sk/rss/link/2019/10/1933325/video-caputova-to-co-sa-do-zvedam-presiahlo-absolutne-moju-predstavivost-tu-je-moje-stanovisko/</a>
		<b>VZ: Speech on Corruption</b> Available at: <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=M1xrHskZvE4">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=M1xrHskZvE4</a> <b>VZ: Extraordinary Message to Parliament</b> Available at: <a href="https://www.president.gov.ua/news/pozachergove-poslannya-prezidenta-ukrayini-do-verhovnoyi-rad-56981">https://www.president.gov.ua/news/pozachergove-poslannya-prezidenta-ukrayini-do-verhovnoyi-rad-56981</a>
6	War / Peace / Security	<b>ZC: Speech to the General Staff of the Army of Slovakia</b> Available at: <a href="https://www.prezident.sk/page/prejavu/">https://www.prezident.sk/page/prejavu/</a>
		<b>ZC: Munich Security Conference Speech</b> Available at: <a href="https://www.prezident.sk/page/prejavu/">https://www.prezident.sk/page/prejavu/</a> <b>VZ: Defender Day Speech</b> Available at: <a href="https://www.president.gov.ua/news/prezident-u-zvernenni-do-gromadyan-ya-prisyagnuv-boroniti-su-57789">https://www.president.gov.ua/news/prezident-u-zvernenni-do-gromadyan-ya-prisyagnuv-boroniti-su-57789</a>

		<b>VZ: UN Assembly Speech</b> Available at: <a href="https://www.president.gov.ua/news/vistup-prezidenta-ukrayini-volodimira-zelenskogo-na-zagalnih-57477">https://www.president.gov.ua/news/vistup-prezidenta-ukrayini-volodimira-zelenskogo-na-zagalnih-57477</a>
7	COVID-19	<b>ZC: Speech on COVID-19</b> Available at: <a href="https://www.prezident.sk/page/prejavu/">https://www.prezident.sk/page/prejavu/</a>
		<b>VZ: Speech on COVID-19</b> Available at: <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WK0RMibS6O0">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WK0RMibS6O0</a>

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