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"WE'RE FAR FROM YOUR ONLY FRIEND": STANCE TAKING IN POLITICAL SPEECH

Background. *The research presents the analysis of Antony John Blinken's, the United States secretary of state, historic and significant public report on May, 16, 2024 during his visit to Ukraine. Politicians perform speeches mainly to outline the perspective for the nations, influencing the others and positioning themselves and the others through the discourse. The stance is defined as a social action which is realized through communicative strategies, and is equated to positioning.*

Methods. *The aim of the article is to study the communicative strategies of stance-taking and positioning and methods of their realization in the mechanism constructing of a political speech. The research applied Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as the research method relating structures of the discourse to social practices based on 'ideological square' (Van Dijk, 1998) of positive-self and negative other presenting.*

Results. *The stance-taking and positioning can explain the use of lexical patterns, constructions and discourse markers in the political discourse. This study argues the implementing of the stance-taking and positioning by the discursive strategies of polarization (positive in-group and negative out-group representation).*

Conclusions. *The stance-taking and positioning in the political speech are presented on three levels (self- (the first order), the other (the targeted audience) positioning (the second order) and the third order positioning, when the speaker demonstrates his attitude to the people (state) not involved in the present interaction). They are implemented by the discursive strategies of polarization that embody the social ideologies (positive in-group and negative out-group representation) including the strategies of group inclusion, self-glorification, positive and negative evaluation and contrasting strategies. The linguistic means of verbalising the strategies of stance taking and positioning include the lexical content of the utterance, grammar tenses and stylistic figures of hyperbole, litotes, metaphor, personification, etc. Metaphors as conceptual and framing device help to present the main political actors, make it possible for political actors to show their stances, achieve goals and have the impact on the value judgements that they make. They express the author's attitude to the message, his points of view, positions, value orientations in relation to the subject of discussion.*

Keywords: *political discourse, positioning, stance-taking, communicative strategy.*

Background

The research presents the analysis of Antony John Blinken's, the United States secretary of state, historic and significant public report during the visit to Ukraine on 14–15 May when he addresses students and professors of Igor Sikorsky Polytechnic University in Kyiv. The visit was also important as it is a part of the political process of relations between Ukraine and our main strategic partner. US Secretary of State Anthony Blinken paid an official visit to Kyiv in difficult times: a very long delay in the arrival of American aid to Ukraine, the Russian endeavours to seize the initiative on the battlefield, the problems in the Ukrainian energy infrastructure due to the lack of air defence systems.

The visit was important for assessment of the threat in the battlefield, identification of priorities to improve the situation and to accelerate the supply of weapons and ammunition. Three weeks have passed since the US president signed the package that includes aid to Ukraine. The Congress demanded to receive a plan for long-term support of Ukraine from the State Department and the Ministry of Defense of the United States of America, 60 days were allotted for this, so part of this period has already passed. Blinken's visit is important to direct the work on developing the plan for the US Congress in the right direction and give it an impetus. The visit was intended to demonstrate US solidarity with Ukraine amid massive Russian attacks on the country's north-eastern border and was paid after the approval of the long-awaited billion aid package.

This visit could have become historic and significant. The US Secretary of State arrived in Kyiv with an overnight stay, which is very unusual for Western and American visits, he became the first American official since the beginning of the full-scale war, whose visit was announced before the start of the program, who spoke live in Kyiv not from a bomb shelter, but from the hall to a large audience to demonstrate that Ukraine has become more safe.

There were a few unexpected statements. First, after the recent approval of the aid budget for Ukraine, the American

government has a new and effective tool: the White House must give money only in exchange for reforms. And the second was quite a revolutionary statement that Ukraine should win the war.

Politicians perform speeches mainly to outline the perspective for the nations, influencing the others and positioning themselves and the others through the discourse as image is a critical piece of the political persona which must be maintained at all times (Martin, & White, 2003; Parini, & Granato). Besides establishing the identity, they also impact on the individual's outlook of the situation and the world. The stance-taking is defined as speakers position in relation to the ongoing interaction and "...encompasses five general principles: it involves physical, attitudinal and / or moral positioning; it is a public action; it is inherently dialogic, interactional, and sequential; it indexes broader sociocultural contexts; and it is consequential to the interactants" (Englebretson, R., 2007). The main principles of definitions comprise the following: (1) stance-taking occurs on three levels as physical action, personal attitude / belief / evaluation and social morality; (2) stance is public and perceivable, interpretable and available for inspection by others; (3) stance is interactional and it is collaboratively constructed among participants with respect to other stances; (4) stance is indexical, evoking aspects of the broader sociocultural frameworks or physical contexts; and (5) stance is consequential, leading to real consequences for the persons or institutions involved.

As stated by Du Bois and Hunston (Du Bois, 2007; Hunston, 2011), positioning is connected to stance and demonstrates the author's attitude towards the object under consideration, is essential in the analysis of the discourse where interactions intervene with linguistic context (Chouliaraki, & Fairclough, 1999). In the political discourse, it is not only influenced by social and political contexts, but it constructs them and is constructed by them (Alcoff, 1988). According to Davis and Harre (Davies, & Harré, 1990, p. 48), creating discourse is the act of positioning impacted by the social environment and simultaneously establishing it.

It may also be presented as self- (first order) positioning and other positioning (second order), that is by self-positioning, the speaker directly or indirectly positions the others (Harré, & van Langenhove, 1999). The other type of other positioning is third order, where the speaker demonstrates his attitude not to the targeted audience, but the people outside the interaction, who are not involved in the communication or not present at the moment of interaction. First order positioning is tacit, presented by inherent verbal means and the discursive practices where he is involved.

Stance has been studied primarily through the exploration of linguistic features to ground the analysis to the verbal performance. It may be presented by modal verbs, adverbs of stance, and complement clauses which signify semantic categories, such as epistemic stance, attitudinal stance, and style of speaking stance (Biber, 2006; Biber, & Finegan, 1989). Parini and Granato (2020), Jaffe (2009) define the stance as a social action which is realized through communicative strategies, and equate stance-taking to positioning, where stance is identified as epistemic (the speaker's belief, knowledge, or evidence) and effective (his attitudes toward actions).

Methods

This study applies Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as the research method relating structures of the discourse to social practices social power and ideology based on the works of Fairclough (1995) and Van Dijk (1991, 1993, 1995, 1996, 1998, 2006). Also we used the discursive-historical method of discourse analysis (Wodak, 2015) that implies the inclusion of linguistic and historical material in the discourse analysis, "the historical context is taken into account in interpreting texts and discourses. The historical orientation permits the reconstruction of how recontextualization functions as an important process linking texts and discourses intertextually and interdiscursively over time".

The research applied 'ideological square' (Van Dijk, 1998) of positive-self and negative other presenting, foregrounding positive practices of oneself and de-emphasizing any positive aspect of the other:

1. Emphasize our good properties / actions.
2. Emphasize their bad properties / actions.
3. Mitigate our bad properties / action.

4. Mitigate their good properties / actions (Van Dijk, 1998, p. 33).

According to Van Dijk (1995), 'In group and outgroup' are the two distinguished groups holding opposing ideologies. The ingroup (Us) is presented positively with much importance, in a detailed manner, while the outgroup (Them) is depicted negatively, with less importance, generally and with criticism that evokes criticism and hatred from the target audience.

The aim of the article is to study the communicative strategies of stance-taking in positioning and methods of their realization in the mechanism constructing political speeches. The discourse strategy is the plan of actions to achieve social, political and linguistic goals, the systematic ways of language usage (Wodak, & Chilton P., 2005, p. 43–45). By N. Fairclough (1995), the role of stylistic figures is essential in creating images in a political discourse. In the study we applied Critical Metaphor Analysis to demonstrate how metaphors as conceptual and framing device help to present the main political actors. They make it possible for political actors to show their stances, achieve goals and have the impact on the value judgements that they make.

Results

The CDA, stance-taking and positioning can explain the use of lexical patterns, constructions and discourse markers

for each group in the political discourse. This study argues that all three type of positioning (self- (the first order), the other (the targeted audience) positioning (the second order) and the third order positioning, when the speaker positions the people not involved in the present interaction, are presented in the political speech. The stance-taking and positioning are implemented by the discursive strategies of polarization (positive in-group and negative out-group representation).

The following examples demonstrate **the strategy of group inclusion** as the first and second order positioning. Personal pronouns ("we") are used as elements of classical opposition (*we-they*) (Van Dijk, 1998), lexical units of inclusion ("we're far from your only friend", "joint task", "global coalition behind you", "are working hand in hand", "are working together", "groups of allies and partners", "our cooperation") emphasise and imply Ukraine's numerous supporters with the implications verbalised by litotes ("we're far from your only friend"), emphatic structures ("we do have a plan") and create the distinct division of the two opposite political camps, Ukraine's and Russia's allies:

1. We're meeting at a critical moment.
2. And we do have a plan, and we're working together with Ukraine and a wide network of partners to realize it.
3. And we're far from your only friend.
4. Now, our joint task is to secure Ukraine's sustained and permanent strategic advantage. A truly global coalition is behind you – made up of countries that see your security, and in turn European security, as a core security interest of their own.

5. ... more than 50 countries are working hand in hand with Ukraine's military to identify and fill urgent needs.

6. We've developed "capability coalitions" – groups of allies and partners who are addressing needs crucial to Ukraine's defense.

7. As we help meet your immediate needs, we're also working together to help Ukraine build its future force.

8. We launched the NATO-Ukraine Council, elevating our cooperation and joint decision making to the most intensive level NATO has to offer.

To create a positive self image, the speaker applies **the strategy of self-glorification** verbalized by the Present Perfect tense to focus on the accomplishments ("has been by your side", "has been consistent", "has never wavered", "has provided"), the adverbial modifiers of time to emphasize the duration, urgency of the provided support ("from day one", "today", "over the course of the war", "one minute after", "in the coming days"), lexical units with the seme of "help" ("our support", "overwhelming support", "assistance", "massive aid package", "concrete support", "we're committed to helping"). To promise and put emphasis on the future assistance, the author uses Future tenses ("will stay", "we'll take tangible steps"), numerals ("\$60 billion aid package") to draw attention to the amount of support, corresponding adverbs of time ("for the future", and modal verbs ("you can", "should continue"), hyperbole ("one minute after Congress approved our massive aid package, President Biden sent ammunition...") deliberately exaggerating to focus on the scale and importance of US assistance:

9. ...with our support, the Ukrainian people can and will achieve their vision for the future...

10. The United States has been by your side from day one. We're with you today. And we will stay by your side...

11. The \$60 billion aid package that was approved by our Congress with overwhelming support – across both political parties and both houses of Congress – I think demonstrates that you can. And a significant majority of Americans believe we should continue to provide assistance to Ukraine.

12. ...the American people's support for Ukraine has been consistent over the course of the war; it has never wavered.

13. That's why just one minute after Congress approved our massive aid package, President Biden sent ammunition, armored vehicles, missiles, and air defenses to Ukraine. Much more will be delivered to the battlefield in the coming days.

14. When we hold the Washington Summit in July, we'll take tangible steps to increase NATO's role in building a resilient, capable Ukrainian force, supporting its ongoing reforms, better integrating Ukraine into the Alliance.

15. The U.S. has provided concrete support to build that industry.

16. ...we want Ukraine to win – and we're committed to helping you do it.

Positive evaluating strategy of a group member in the positive self-presentation, called by van Dijk (2006) micro-ideological strategies, are the positive impression of the in-group and negative acts magnification of the out-group ("we" opposed to "they"). The secretary of state distinctly presents the US position praising the resilience and perseverance of Ukraine, its government and the Armed forces in the war. It is interesting to follow how the strategy is verbalised by personification ("Ukrainians' grit and ingenuity are fuelling the economy"), hyperbole ("have as much experience as any on Earth"), metaphor ("they are the root of Ukraine's extraordinary potential for the future"), Present Continuous ("are confronting", "are fuelling" and Present Perfect and Present Perfect Continuous tenses ("have courageously held", "have kept", "has emerged", "have demonstrated", "has been consistently rising")):

17. Ukraine is much more than a recipient of advice and assistance. Your warriors are confronting the greatest threat to transatlantic security since the end of the Cold War, and have as much experience as any on Earth in fighting the wars to come. You have a lot to teach the Alliance – and NATO will be more secure with your military by our side.

18. And yet, just as Ukrainians have courageously held their ground on the battlefield, Ukrainian workers, entrepreneurs, business owners have kept the economy running.

19. Ukrainians' grit and ingenuity are fuelling the economy. And they are the root of Ukraine's extraordinary potential for the future.

20. And Europe will have a stronger footing in the fields that will drive the 21st century economy – like advanced IT and AI – where Ukraine has emerged already as a leader.

21. Your determination to write the future of your nation is why so many people around the world have been inspired by your fight, including so many Americans who now hang the yellow and blue flag next to the stars and stripes.

22. Ukraine is one of the few countries whose rating has been consistently rising in Transparency International's ranks over recent years, in no small part thanks to its incredibly tenacious and skilled anti-corruption activists, NGOs, independent media.

23. Here is why I'm confident that Ukraine will continue along that trajectory and ultimately succeed....

24. Ukrainians have demonstrated remarkable heroism.

Negatively presenting Ukraine's opponent (Russia), the speaker applies **the strategy of negative evaluation and contrasting**, condemning the brutal war, emphasising the damage to people and economy of the country ("to lay waste to its economy", "he wants to destroy", "Putin destroyed", "Putin has caused unspeakable grief", "he has inflicted every kind of degradation and harshness"). The speaker's position is clearly verbalised by the lexical units with the senses of "destruction" and "danger": "waste", "destroy", "squander", "grief", "degradation", "harshness". Opposing

the two political actors (Russia and Ukraine), the speaker verbalised the attitude by comparative structures and lexical units with contrastive meaning ("Putin failed", "squandered" to "Ukraine is uniquely positioned to seize the opportunities", "Putin should pay" to "Ukrainian people deserve", "Russia is going back in time. Ukraine is moving forward", "prevent Ukraine from becoming part of Russia", "keep Ukraine from becoming like Russia"). Anaphoric repetitions ("Winning on the battlefield", "Winning the war") put emphasis on the similarity and importance of the mentioned activities and syntactic parallel structures help listeners perceive the message, hyperbole draws the attention to a message ("He's inflicted every kind of degradation and harshness"):

25. Ever since Putin failed to conquer Ukraine, he's been trying to lay waste to its economy. What he can't have he wants to destroy.

26. ...As more countries stop doing business with Russia, Ukraine is uniquely positioned to seize the opportunities that Putin has squandered.

27. What Putin destroyed, Russia should – and must – pay to rebuild. It's what international law demands; it's what the Ukrainian people deserve.

28. Winning on the battlefield will prevent Ukraine from becoming part of Russia. Winning the war against corruption will keep Ukraine from becoming like Russia.

29. As the war goes on, Russia is going back in time. Ukraine is moving forward.

30. For decades, Putin has caused unspeakable grief for the people of Ukraine. He's inflicted every kind of degradation and harshness.

Discussion and conclusions

The stance-taking and positioning in the political speech are presented on three levels (self- (the first order), the other (the targeted audience) positioning (the second order) and the third order positioning, when the speaker positions the people (state) not involved in the present interaction). They are implemented by the discursive strategies of polarization that embody the social ideologies (positive in-group and negative out-group representation). The report shows ideological differences and applies the discursive strategies of positively labelling Ukraine, the US and their allies as an In-group and negatively labelling Russia as an Out-group including the strategies of group inclusion, self-glorification, positive and negative evaluation and contrasting strategies creating positive self and negative other-representations.

The linguistic means verbalising the strategies of stance-taking and positioning primarily include the lexical content of the utterance, grammar tenses and stylistic figures of hyperbole, litotes, metaphor, personification, etc. They express the author's attitude to the message, his points of view, positions, value orientations in relation to the subject of discussion. Metaphors as conceptual and framing device help to present the main political actors, make it possible for political actors to show their stances, achieve goals and have the impact on the value judgements that they make.

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"МИ ДАЛЕКО НЕ ЄДИНІ ВАШІ ДРУЗИ": СУБ'ЄКТНА ПОЗИЦІЯ В ПОЛІТИЧНІЙ ПРОМОВІ

Вступ. Дослідження представляє собою аналіз історичної та важливої публічної доповіді Ентоні Джона Блінкена, державного секретаря Сполучених Штатів під час його офіційного візиту до Києва 16 травня 2024 р. Політики виступають із промовами переважно для того, щоб окреслити перспективи для націй, впливаючи на інших і позиціонуючи себе й інших через дискурс. Суб'єктна позиція визначається як соціальна дія, яка реалізується через комунікативні стратегії, і прирінюється до позиціонування.

Методи. Метою статті є дослідження комунікативних стратегій і тактик позиціонування та суб'єктної позиції та методів їхньої реалізації в механізмі конструювання політичної промови. Дослідження базується на критичному аналізі дискурсу (КАД) як дослідницькому методі, що пов'язує структури дискурсу з соціальними практиками, заснованими на "ідеологічному квадраті" (Van Dijk, 1998) позитивного представлення себе та негативного представлення інших.

Результати. У цьому дослідженні стверджується реалізація суб'єктних позицій та позиціонування за допомогою дискурсивних стратегій поляризації (позитивна репрезентація в групі та негативна позагрупова). Вивчення суб'єктних позицій та позиціонування спікера можуть пояснити використання лексичних моделей, конструкцій і дискурсивних маркерів у політичному дискурсі.

Висновки. Дослідження суб'єктних позицій та позиціонування в політичному мовленні представлені на трьох рівнях (першому, другому і третьому рівнях) і реалізуються дискурсивними стратегіями поляризації, зокрема стратегіями групового включення, самопрославлення, стратегіями позитивної та негативної оцінки та протиставлення. Мовні засоби вербалізації стратегій суб'єктних позицій і позиціонування включають лексичне наповнення висловлювання, граматичні часи та стилістичні фігури (гіперболи, літоти, метафори, персоніфікації тощо) у вираженні ставлення автора до повідомлення, його погляд, позицію, ціннісні орієнтації щодо предмета обговорення.

Ключові слова: політичний дискурс, позиціонування, суб'єктна позиція, комунікативна стратегія.

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