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**NACIONĀLĀS IDENTITĀTES VEIDOŠANA UN ATSPUGUĻOJUMS BALTIJAS
VALSTU PREZIDENTU RUNĀS – KORPUŠĀ BALSTĪTA KRITISKĀ DISKURSA
ANALĪZE**

*CONSTRUCTION AND REPRESENTATION OF NATIONAL IDENTITY IN THE SPEECHES
OF THE PRESIDENTS OF THE BALTIC STATES: CORPUS-ASSISTED CRITICAL
DISCOURSE ANALYSIS*

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Līga Romāne-Kalniņa

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Dr. philol. prof. Indra Karapetjana

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Supervisor: Professor *Dr. philol.* **Indra Kārapetjana**

Reviewers:

- 1) Professor **Ina Druviete**, University of Latvia,
- 2) Professor **Dace Markus**, University of Liepāja,
- 3) Professor **Jānis Silis**, Ventspils University of Applied Sciences.

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Visual Arts and Architecture

Ina Druviete

Secretary of the Doctoral Committee

Iveta Narodovska

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DECLARATION OF ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

I hereby declare that this study is my own and does not contain any unacknowledged material from any source.

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ABSTRACT

The current research deals with a critical analysis of presidential rhetoric of the Baltic States through their independence with the aim to investigate how the Presidents have constructed and represented national identities of their states through decades, what major thematic areas and discursive strategies have been applied, and which linguistic means have served to carry the explicit and implicit goals of the Presidents as the leaders of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. The study applied a corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis to not only investigate the qualitative criteria of the speeches but also to extract and quantitatively analyse the statistical data of lexical occurrences that point to specific thematic areas, individual linguistic features and contextual features influencing the speeches. The results show that while keywords and discursive strategies as well as various linguistic means vary and are dependent on the context (period of the speech, the speaker, country, economic, political and social environment as well as the place of the speech and its occasion), there are various criteria that are observed to be common to the Presidents of the Baltic States across time, namely, the construction of a common political past via the topos of history as a teacher, the construction of a common political present and future via the strategies of perpetuation, unification and continuation and the construction of national spirit by dwelling on national symbols, values and emotions of patriotism (pride and nostalgia). Numerous linguistic means and rhetorical techniques have been applied in the construction of arguments that aim to either construct, perpetuate or dismantle elements of national identity, for instance, metaphors, euphemisms, metonymies, rhetorical questions, and pronominal indexing. Consequently, the analysis of national and international speeches as well as the analysis of interviews with the Presidents lead to the conclusion that the discursive construction of national identity is a deliberate process that aims to unite the people and secure the continuity of the state by repeating and emphasizing the importance of significant national values such as language and history, constructing and reconstructing new national value chains as well as dismantling the unwanted elements of national identities. Additionally, it is concluded that multiple identities are constructed and coexistent in the speeches, which are deliberately attributed and represented depending on the goals of the specific speech.

Key words: *presidential speeches, Baltic States, national identity, Critical Discourse Studies, corpus linguistics*

ANOTĀCIJA

Pētījumā tēma ir Baltijas valstu prezidentu retorikas kritiskā analīze valstu neatkarības laikā. Pētījuma mērķis ir noskaidrot, kā prezidenti simts gadu gaitā konstruējuši un atspoguļojuši valstu nacionālas identitātes, kādas bijušas galvenās runu tēmas un temati, kādas diskursīvas stratēģijas un valodas līdzekļi lietoti identitāšu diskursīvajās konstrukcijās Igaunijas, Latvijas un Lietuvas prezidentu runu eksplicēto un implicēto mērķu sasniegšanai. Pētījumā izmantota korpusu pieeja kritiskajai diskursa analīzei, kas veicina kvalitatīvo un kvantitatīvo datu sinerģiju leksisko tendenču, tematisko lauku, runātāju individuālo lingvistisko profilu analīzē, kā arī objektīvu statistisko datu atspoguļojumā. Rezultāti parāda, ka, lai gan atslēgvārdu un diskursīvo stratēģiju, kā arī dažādu valodas līdzekļu lietojums detalizētā griezumā atšķiras un ir tieši atkarīgs no runas konteksta (runas perioda, runātāja, valsts, ekonomiskās, politiskās un sociālās vides, kā arī runas vietas un notikuma), ir vairāki rādītāji, kas Baltijas valstu prezidentiem laika gaitā ir kopīgi, proti, kopīgas politiskās pagātnes konstruēšana, izmantojot vēstures kā skolotāja toposu, kopīgas politiskās tagadnes un nākotnes konstruēšana, izmantojot iemūžināšanas stratēģijas, nacionālā gara konstruēšanas, apvienošanas un turpināšanas stratēģijas, kas balstās nacionālo simbolu, vērtību un patriotisma emociju (lepnums un nostalgija) atveidošanā. Argumentu veidošanā un atspoguļojumā tiek izmantoti tādi retoriskie paņēmieni un lingvistiskie līdzekļi, kuru mērķis ir vai nu konstruēt, vai iemūžināt nacionālās identitātes elementus, piemēram, metaforas, eifēmismi, metonīmijas, retoriskie jautājumi un vietniekvārdu indeksācija. Visbeidzot runu analīze, kā arī interviju ar prezidentiem analīze liecina, ka nacionālās identitātes veidošana ir apzināts process, kura mērķis ir saliedēt tautu un nodrošināt valsts nepārtrauktību, apzināti atkārtojot spēcīgu nacionālas identitātes elementu nozīmi, atjaunojot vai veidojot jaunas vērtību ķēdes, kā arī noārdot nevēlamās identitātes izpaušmes diskursā. Turklāt tiek secināts, ka runās tiek veidotas un līdzās pastāv vairākas identitātes, kuras tiek apzināti attiecinātas un attēlotas atkarībā no konkrētās runas mērķiem.

Atslēgas vārdi: *prezidentu runas, Baltijas valstis, nacionālā identitāte, kritiskās diskursa studijas, korpusa lingvistika*

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

Tables

Table 1. Types of speeches according to Aristotle

Table 2. Discursive strategies of the DHA (Reisigl in Flowerdew and Richardson, 2017: 52)

Table 3. Presidents of Estonia, speeches in the corpus

Table 4. Presidents of Latvia, speeches in the corpus

Table 5. Presidents of Lithuania, speeches in the corpus

Table 6. Corpus codes

Table 7. Keywords and collocations in the EstCorpEst

Table 8. Keywords and collocations in the EstCorpEn

Table 9. Keywords and collocations in the LatCorp

Table 10. Keywords and collocations in the LTCorpLt

Table 11. Keywords and collocations in the LTCorp

Table 12. Keywords (multiword terms) in the IntCorp

Table 13. References to other states in the IntCorp

Table 14. Relative frequency results of queries on markers of identities in the corpus

Table 15. Collocational environment of identity expressions

Table 16. Preambles of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania

Table 17. Presidential power scores

Table 18. Keywords and multiword in the speeches by K. Pääs in Estonian

Table 19. The most frequently used nouns in the speeches by K. Pääs in Estonian

Table 20. Keywords and multiword in the speeches by L. Meri in English

Table 21. Keywords and multiword in the speeches by L. Meri in Estonian

Table 22. Conjunctions in the speeches by L. Meri

Table 23. Keywords and multiword in the speeches by A. Röötel in English

Table 24. Keywords and multiword in the speeches by A. Röötel in Estonian

Table 25. Keywords and multiword in the speeches by T.H. Ilves in English

Table 26. Keywords and multiword in the speeches by T.H. Ilves in Estonian

Table 27. Keywords and multiword in the speeches by K. Kaljulaid in Estonian

Table 28. Keywords and multiword in the speeches by K. Kaljulaid in English

Table 29. Wordlist EstCorpEn

Table 30. Wordlist LatCorp

Table 31. Wordlist LtInt

Table 32. Keywords in the speeches by J. Čakste in Latvian

Table 33. Conjunctions in the speeches by J. Čakste in Latvian

Table 34. Keywords in the speeches by G. Zemgals in Latvian

Table 35. Conjunctions in the speeches by G. Zemgals in Latvian

Table 36. Keywords in the speeches by A. Kviesis in Latvian

Table 37. Keywords in the speeches by K. Ulmanis in Latvian

Table 38. Conjunctions in the speeches by K. Ulmanis in Latvian

Table 38. Keywords in the speeches by G. Ulmanis in Latvian and English

Table 40. Conjunctions in the speeches by G. Ulmanis in Latvian and English

Table 41. Keywords in the speeches by V. Vīķe-Freiberga in Latvian and English

Table 42. Keywords in the speeches by V. Zatlers in Latvian and English

Table 43. Conjunctions in the speeches by V. Zatlers in Latvian and English

Table 44. Keywords in the speeches by J. Bērziņš in Latvian and English

Table 45. Collocations in the speeches by J. Bērziņš in Latvian and English

Table 46. Keywords in the speeches by R. Vējonis in Latvian and English

Table 47. Conjunctions in the speeches by R. Vējonis in Latvian and English

Table 48. Keywords in the speeches by E. Levits in Latvian and English

Table 49. Keywords and multiword expressions in the speeches by A. Brazauskas in English

Table 50. Keywords and multiword expressions in the speeches by V. Adamkus in English and Lithuanian

Table 51. Keywords and multiword expressions in the speeches by A. Paulauskas in English

Table 52. Keywords and multiword expressions in the speeches by R. Paksas in English and Lithuanian

Table 53. Keywords and multiword expressions in the speeches by D. Grybauskaitė in English

Table 54. Keywords and multiword expressions in the speeches by D. Grybauskaitė in Lithuanian

Table 55. Keywords and multiword expressions in the speeches by G. Nausėda in English

Table 56. Keywords and multiword expressions in the speeches by G. Nausėda in English

Table 57. Keywords in the IntCorpEst

Table 58. Multiword list in the IntCorpEst

Table 59. Keywords in the IntCorpLat

Table 60. Multiword list in the IntCorpLat

Table 61. Keywords in the IntCorpLt

Table 62. Multiword list in the IntCorpLt

Table 63. Wordlist IntCorp

Table 64. The speeches by the Presidents of Estonia

Table 65. Speeches by the Presidents of Latvia

Table 66. Speeches by the Presidents of Lithuania

Table 67. International speeches markup

Table 68. Results of thematic areas, strategies, and linguistic means

Table 69. Classification of political ideologies (Heywood, 2017)

Figures

Figure 1. Argumentation Scheme by Toulmin (2003)

Figure 2. Pronominal references in the corpora

Figure 3. Distribution of state, nation, country across international speeches

Figure 4. Relative frequency of the occurrence of the term identity in the corpora

Figure 5. Multiple identities model in the corpus of presidential speeches

Figure 6. Word sketch for 'identity' in the IntCorp

Figure 7. Word sketch for 'Estonia'

Figure 8. Word sketch for 'Latvia'

Figure 9. Word sketch for 'Lithuania'

Figure 10. Word sketch for 'Europe'

Figure 11. Word sketch for 'Russia'

Figure 12. Word sketch 'world'

Figure 13. Linear spectrum of classical political ideologies (Heywood, 2017: 16)

Figure 14. Deictic map in the speeches of the Presidents of Estonia

Figure 15. Deictic map in the speeches of the Presidents of Latvia

Figure 16. Deictic map in the speeches of the Presidents of Lithuania

Figure 17. Sketch Engine dashboard

Figure 18. Sketch Engine corpus configuration

Figure 19. Sketch Engine keyword tool

Figure 20. Voyant Tools dashboard

Figure 21. AntWordProfiler dashboard

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

- AB** – Andris Bērziņš
AK – Alberts Kviešis
AIB – Algirdas Brazauskas
AP – Arturas Paulauskas
AR – Arnold Rüütel
CDA – Critical Discourse Analysis
CDS – Critical Discourse Studies
CL – Corpus Linguistics
DG – Dalia Grybauskaitė
DHA – Discourse-Historical approach
EL – Egils Levits
EST– Estonia
EU – European Union
GN – Gitanas Nausėda
GU – Guntis Ulmanis
GZ – Gustavs Zemgals
JC – Jānis Čakste
KK – Kersti Kaljulaid
KU – Kārlis Ulmanis
KWIC – Keyword in context
LM – Lennart Meri
LT– Lithuania
LV– Latvia
NATO – North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
Pmw – per million words
RP – Rolandas Paksas
RQ- rhetorical question
RV – Raimonds Vējonis
THI – Toomas Henrik Ilves
UN – United Nations
VA – Valdas Adamkus
VVF – Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga
VZ – Valdis Zatlers

GLOSSARY

The glossary list below reflects the key concepts and working definitions pivotal to the current research.

Argumentation – one of the means of persuasion, a cognitively based and linguistically realised discursive action pattern aimed at the justification of expressed validity claims that are potentially questionable or problematic.

Collective memory– cognitive foundation of a set of shared or common knowledge base, myths, and elements of national common sense.

Collocations span – a list of words surrounding a keyword or a word in query.

Conceptual metaphor – a rhetorical device, linguistic means of persuasion and a cognitive tool that is used to make an arbitrary comparison between abstract and concrete notions to map association between the abstraction and a concrete and comprehensible subject.

Corpus – a set of systematically collected and electronically stored linguistic data that allows for a detailed analysis. Marked corpus is one where corpus annotation and tags are provided. Unmarked corpus is one where raw data can be analysed.

Corpus-based approach – an approach that allows to use corpus data as a method of query to systematize and analyse data that help to answer the research questions and validate theories or hypotheses.

Corpus-driven approach - an approach that allows to study corpus data as a theory, seeking the output of frequency data, data that shows the prominence and keyness of particular lexical, syntactic, or stylistic features.

Deictic reference – pronominal or adverbial reference to a person, event, place, or time that may be seen as index of speaker or audience identity.

Discourse – social practice, contextually grounded and motivated language use above sentence level that is influenced by social reality and may influence it in turn.

Discursive macro strategy – strategic realisation of higher order social functions in discourse that serve to construct, perpetuate, transform, or dismantle discursive identities.

Discursive micro strategy – strategic realisation of lower order functions that support and are classified under the macro functions.

Euphemism – a rhetorical device, a linguistic means used to mitigate the negative emotional effect of a particular word or expression. It may be used as a means of manipulation when used to avoid addressing direct responsibility.

Focus corpus – the main corpus under analysis that is compared to a general reference corpus when performing keyword analysis.

Hyperbole – linguistic exaggeration used to emphasize positive or negative aspects of event, belief, or object to raise emotions.

Identity – one's sense of self that is comprised of physical and psychological characteristics, memories, and beliefs.

Ideology – political system of beliefs and philosophies.

Intertextuality – intra-textual reference to extra-textual elements.

Irony – an evasive rhetorical device that is used to express an opposite meaning of what is being said for humorous effect. It may be used as means of manipulation.

Keyness score – a keyword feature in the *Sketch Engine* software that shows the count of how many times a word or phrase is more frequent in a focus corpus when compared to a reference corpus.

Keyword – in discourse analysis (key word) – a word or phrase carrying the meaning of a text, in corpus linguistic analysis (keyword) – a relatively more frequent occurrence of a word when compared to another word in a focus corpus and a reference corpus.

Manipulation – a type of persuasion, linguistic and cognitive process or leading a target audience to respond (believe or act) in a way intended by the manipulator, typically for the advantage of the manipulator.

Metonymy – a rhetorical device that is used to substitute the name of an entity with another name that is associated with it (concrete or abstract).

Multiple/hybrid identities – a complex form of identity where a person or group belongs to multiple communities that he or she identifies with and foregrounds in different situations or contexts.

Multiword construction – the most frequently used phrase or word combination in a corpus.

National identity – a type of collective identity or process of collective national identification based on common values, beliefs, memories, and histories.

Personification – a type of metaphor, a rhetorical device semantically attributing human traits to an animal, idea, or object.

Persuasion – a linguistic act of trying to convince target audience to believe in something or to act in a particular manner; it may consist of argumentation and manipulation.

Political discourse – social action of political actors, consisting of political rhetoric, debates, statements, and other activities such as social media posts and releases.

Query – a search item in a corpus.

Raw frequency – precise count of a token (word or phrase) in a corpus.

Reference corpus – a parallel language corpus storing linguistic data comparable to the focus corpus, typically a general language corpus rather than specialised storing large amount of data.

Relative frequency – normalised count of a token in a given corpus per million words, a ratio of a data item compared to the total data set or a given experimental value of most frequently used items per million words.

Rhetoric – art of persuasion (Aristotle), part of public discourse aimed at the persuasion of audiences, typically by a politician.

Rhetorical question – a question or statement in a question form that is asked to create a particular linguistic (emotional and cognitive effect) where no answer is typically expected.

Speech – a spoken stream of language, typically pre-prepared by and delivered by a speaker to an audience.

Strategy – a more or less conscious action plan.

Sub-corpora – lower order or subordinate corpora classified according to specific features under the focus corpus.

Synecdoche – a rhetorical device, a part of metonymy that is used to semantically denote a part standing for a whole or a whole standing for a part. It may be used as a means of manipulation to avoid or emphasize responsibility.

Thematic area – content-related themes used in discourse.

Topoi/Topos – parts of argumentation that connect an argument (premise) with a conclusion (claim).

Word sketch – summary of the collocational and grammatical patterns of a word or phrase.

Wordlist – list of most frequently occurring lexical items in a corpus.

Table of Contents

INTRODUCTION	1
1. POLITICAL DISCOURSE AND LANGUAGE IN PRESIDENTIAL SPEECHES	8
1.1. Political Discourse and Ideology	8
1.2. Rhetoric and Rhetorical Devices	11
1.2.1. Persuasion.....	20
1.2.2. Argumentation.....	22
1.2.3. Manipulation.....	26
1.3. Presidential Speeches.....	29
2. DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTION OF NATIONAL IDENTITY	34
2.1. The Notion of Identity	34
2.2. National Identity	35
2.3. Construction of National Identity in Discourse	41
2.4. The Case of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.....	45
2.5. Synergy of Critical Discourse Studies and Corpus Linguistics.....	64
2.5.1. The Discourse-Historical Approach	67
2.5.2. Corpus Linguistic Critical Discourse Studies.....	69
3. CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS: NATIONAL IDENTITY IN PRESIDENTIAL SPEECHES OF THE BALTIC STATES.....	74
3.1. Corpus of Presidential Speeches.....	74
3.2. The Linguistic Profiles of the Presidents	75
3.2.1. The Case of Estonia.....	77
3.2.2. The Case of Latvia.....	91
3.2.3. The Case of Lithuania.....	116
3.3. Thematic Areas, Discursive Strategies and Forms of Realisation in the Construction of National Identity speeches.....	136
3.3.1. The Narration and Confabulation of a a Common Political Past	137
3.3.2. Construction of <i>the Homo Nationalis</i>	160
3.3.3. Construction of a a Common Political Present and Future	164
3.3.4. Construction of a aCommon National Body	167
3.3.5. Construction of a a Common Culture.....	168
4. CORPUS DATA ANALYSIS : QUANTITATIVE APPROACH TO ANALYSIS OF IDENTITY REPRESENTATION.....	172

4.1. Corpus-Driven Approach.....	172
4.1.1. Keyword Analysis	174
4.1.2. Word Lists	182
4.2. Corpus-Based Approach	184
4.2.1. Pronominal Indices and Deictic Map in Presidential Speeches	190
4.2.2. Multiple Identities in the Speeches.....	195
CONCLUSIONS	202
THESES	209
REFERENCES	210
APPENDICES	220
1. Preambles of the Constitutions of the Baltic States.....	221
2. President Power Index: The Baltic States.....	223
3. Corpus Data in Presidential Speeches: Keywords and Wordlists.....	224
3.1. The Presidents of Estonia.....	224
3.2. The Presidents of Latvia.....	237
3.3. The Presidents of Lithuania	247
3.4. International Speeches.....	253
3.5. Word Sketches.....	260
4. Speeches and Mark-Up for Qualitative Analysis	264
5. Interview Data.....	277
5.1. Interview with Egils Levits, 3 October 2020	277
5.2. Interview with Antanas Manstavičius - the speechwriter to the President Gitanas Nausėda, 6 August 2021.....	289
5.3. Interview with Vita Savicka - the press secretary and advisor to Presidents Guntis Ulmanis and Valdis Zatlers and a freelance advisor to President Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga	294
6. Three-Dimensional Model of National Identity Construction in Presidential Speeches of the Baltic States	300
7. Sample Qualitative Data Analysis.....	320
8. Classification and Spectrum of Political Ideologies.....	321
9. Results of Opinion Surveys on the Role of the President of Latvia in the Construction of National Identity	323
10. Deictic Maps and Pronominal Indexing	341
11. Corpus Programmes and Tools in the Research Procedure: an Illustration	344
12. List of Publications and Conferences	348

INTRODUCTION

Presidential speeches are an instrument of building polity and policy as dimensions of politics, national identity being an element of these political dimensions. Since Aristotelian times much has changed in the field of politics and political discourse; however, the notion of rhetoric has retained its original meaning and is seen as mastery or art of using the available means of persuasion in any situation. In the 21st century, the term rhetoric has acquired negative connotations mainly due to its use and misappropriation in political discourse where it is seen as empty, deceptive language with no substance and no action, and a ‘flowery, ornamental speech laden with metaphors and other figures of speech’ (Foss, 2018: 3). Much of political discourse in many if not most parts of the world has become manipulative, ambiguous and deceptive because politicians seem to use all the means available to them including the linguistic and cognitive means of manipulation, argumentation and persuasion to achieve their own, often personal, political goals. These linguistic means of realisation of particular discursive strategies most often involve the use or incorporation of elements that trigger collective memories of the target audience, their value systems and stereotypes they hold, as well as the historical and cultural beliefs they share to target both short and long-term memory, and arouse emotions which in turn lead to the intended action the target audience may take, for instance, vote for a specific party or goal intended by the speaker. In other words, political discourse is saturated with domination and power abuse, whereby the person or institution that holds the power exercises it over those who are not holders of this power.

Given the aforementioned, at the end of the 20th century and in the wake of the 21st century, several scholars - Norman Fairclough, Gunther Kress, Teun van Dijk, Theodoor Jacob van Leeuwen and Ruth Wodak introduced an interdisciplinary field of analysis referred to as Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) or Critical Discourse Studies (henceforth CDS) as it is now more widely accepted term for the interdisciplinary research movement (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 3). One of the key features of CDS is that it targets the texts (spoken, written and multimodal) that address masses and that are spread by the people or institutions that hold and exercise power over their subjects and can thus have a strong influence on the people. The methodology under CDS has been applied in numerous research across disciplines such as linguistics, social sciences, history, and political sciences. The methodology applied in CDS would typically be qualitative and involve a detailed analysis of all types of texts and their cultural, historical, political, and situational contexts with the aim to explore the message being communicated to the public its form and content, what the implied meanings are, how the meaning is being communicated, what the goal of the text is and how the text influences readers or listeners. Although frequently applied, CDS has received severe criticism (for instance, in

Stubbs, 1997; Hammersley, 1997; Widdowson, 1998; Slembrouck, 2001; Luke, 2002; Billig, 2002; Žagar, 2010; Breeze, 2011) as to the subjectivity or lack of reliability of the qualitative analysis, researcher's bias, focus on negativity and its aim to necessarily find power abuse and mind manipulation in every piece of discourse. Nevertheless, the emergence of technology and digital tools has introduced methodology that relies on computer-based analyses of large bodies of linguistic data and given rise to the discipline of Corpus Linguistics (henceforth CL). The methods of CL such as keyword analysis, concordance and collocation analysis allow a critical discourse analyst to add objective evidence to the research via computer-based and statistical evidence obtained from either online or self-created corpora, thus combining multiple qualitative and quantitative methods under CDS, which reduces the risk of subjectivity in response to the received criticism of the CDS paradigm and pertains to the novelty of the current study.

Identity and national identity are terms that refer to a complex sense of selfness that helps an individual or a group to both identify with particular aspects of their character, places, events, histories, and values and distinguish them from others. It is believed that 'ascribing identities to self and others' as a form of particularisation of the process of categorisation, 'is a natural function' of human cognitive apparatus that tries to form boundaries between complex and fluid social entities and process 'vast amount of data' by instinctively categorising into subjective groups (Mole, 2007: 3). Thus, identity is about being different but at the same time being a part of something. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the term identity similarly as the terms discourse, ideology or society is obscure, vague, and ambiguous, yet perhaps exactly because of the complexity of the term it has gained much scholarly attention from researchers across the world. Although the definitions of national identity across disciplines and scholarly publications differ, most of them seem to agree that national identity is about the history, geography, symbolism, culture, and collective memory of a nation that is based on the strong emotional values of similarity, sameness, selfhood, uniqueness, and autonomy of a nation as well as the difference of between nations (Wodak et al., 2009; Guibernau, 2007; Druviete, 2010 and 2018, Zappettini, 2016). It should be likewise mentioned that the same as the idea of a nation, national identity is not a natural phenomenon but rather an intentionally and purposefully created discursive, social and mental construct that is based on the idea of an imagined community that shares the aforementioned values, yet it is real and not imagined to the extent that one believes it is real and emotionally identifies with it (Anderson, 2006; Mole, 2007; Mole, 2012, Wodak et al., 2009). National identity is, thus, conveyed and constructed in discourse, or 'it is a product of discourse,' but at the same time it also constructs discourse

(Wodak et al., 2009:8). Thus, it is a circular process whereby discourse constructs and is constructed by nation-building or a national identity building practices.

The people who are capable and seem to have the most power to construct national identity in discourse are customarily those who hold the political power in particular nation and those who hold the symbolic power or leader position in that nation. In many countries of the world including the Baltic States the symbolic leaders of the nation are their Presidents. The functions of a president may be different starting from executive, judiciary to the representative function, which is considered to be the main and the most important function of the Presidents of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania as parliamentary republics.

The three Baltic States share a large part of their national identity or rather 'owe it' to the occupying powers that had been ruling the states and their population for most part of their existence before the 21st century. Common elements of regional Baltic identity and individual national identities emerged after the First World War when the states were declared as independent republics and re-emerged in the 1990s when the independence was regained, and it also seems likely that the common Baltic identity will become stronger in the current geopolitical situation and a common political threat to the territorial integrity of the region. Without doubt, national identities as to the shared values, characters, and beliefs of the peoples of the Baltic States existed before the 20th century (particularly and explicitly for Lithuania) but the two world wars and military-political occupations of the three states created a substantial part of what it means to be an Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian, what it means to regain one's own land, values, symbols, strength and identity (Mole, 2012). The national identities of the Baltic States as known in the 21st century are, ergo, about economic development and establishing place in Europe and the world but coming from victimhood in the Soviet Union and the otherization of those who do not belong to the sovereign states or consider the states not to be sovereign, the construction of the common enemy and common friend, belonging to Europe, but at the same time differing from it. Additionally, after the first wave of emigration during the Second World War when a large part of the Baltic population was forced to leave the states assuming the role of refugees, the second wave of emigration caused by the global economic crisis in the first decade of the 21st century saw thousands of nationals leave their 'home' for economic purposes and migrated from the states (particularly Latvia and Lithuania). National identity construction has henceforth become not only about addressing the people who live in the states but also those nationals who have left the states but are considered a valued part of the nation and are expected to return. This has led to the emergence of such terms as, for instance, 'foreign Latvians and Latvian diaspora,' which is a separate part of the target audience for whom national identity construction applies particularly. Moreover, the complex

demographic (specifically minority and migration) situation in the Baltic States has led to a rapid transformation of the fluid idea of national identity, thus gradually advancing from an ethnically centred to a more civic and inclusive type of identity - a transformation that has been anticipated by the actors of the process of the discursive building of the nation-states. It is noteworthy to emphasize, though, that academic sources claim that there is no such term as common Baltic identity because although the Baltic States share common history, location and similar destinies, the separate Latvian, Estonian and Lithuanian identities are eminently distinct. This is arguable, though, because empirical data points to attempts to construct and reflect this common Baltic identity or the sisterhood of neighbouring nations near the Baltic Sea. Thus, the complex construct of the national identities of each of these states is not only a compelling topic for analysis and discussion but also imperative one given the context of globalisation and the role of national identity in time of the 'rule' of large supra-national bodies such the European Union.

Furthermore, although it is considered that national identities are to be ruled out or forced out by supra-national identities (intentionally and strategically exercised via public discourses) or global identities, it should be noted that global crises such as the pandemic caused by the Covid-19 virus that resulted in a crisis in health, economic and political spheres, the migration crisis caused by the political conflict between the EU and Belarus and the war in Ukraine might return the strong national identities to their 'former glory' or at least be used in the discourse attempting to do so. As Cox (2007) notes, 'despite much eulogizing about the death of the nation-state and nationalism, these political forms continue to flourish amid intensified globalization' (2007: 3143).

Given the above stated, the present study investigates the construction of national identity in the presidential rhetoric of the Republic of Latvia through a hundred years of existence of the independent and democratic nation-state as well as analyses the differences in national identity construction in the speeches of the Presidents of Estonia and Lithuania since the regaining of their independence in 1991. The study looks at the complex histories of each of the states as well as the cultural, social, and political contexts that penetrate the process of identity construction and analyses the rhetoric of the ten Presidents of Latvia since 18 November 1918 (1919), five Presidents of Estonia since 20 August 1991 and six Presidents of Lithuania since 11 March 1990.

The designed unmarked **corpus** of the selected presidential speeches consists of **414 speeches (500 166 words)** in English, Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian acquired from the offices of the President of Estonia and Lithuania (in English), archive materials, homepage of

the office of the President of Latvia and books published on the Presidents of Latvia since 1918 until 2021.

The study likewise combines **approaches to CDS** such as the Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) with corpus-driven (corpus as a theory) and corpus-based (corpus as a method) approaches to the analysis of corpus data, a questionnaire-based survey and analysis of the public opinion surveys on national identities, role of the Presidents in constructing national identity and interviews with the Presidents and their speechwriters) of Latvia, and Lithuania on deliberateness of choices of discursive strategies and linguistic techniques in the process of constructing, transforming, perpetuating or dismantling national identities.

The study is an extension of and an addition to the vast national identity research in Latvia, the Baltic States, and the world (Kopoloveca 2017, Druviete 2018 and 2021, Wodak, De Cillia, Reisigl and Liebhart 2009, Kļave 2010, Mole 2012, O’Keeffe 2006, Zepa 2005, Tabuns 2010, Šūpule 2012, McEntee-Atalianis and Zappettini 2014, Wodak and Boukala 2015, Zappettini 2016, Daina 2018, Stamaou 2018, Qaiwer 2019, Jurkynas 2020, 2021). The **novelty** of the current thesis lies not only in the applied methodology, namely, the combination of interdisciplinary methods from qualitative and quantitative research families, but also in the combination of a diachronic and synchronic change of discursive strategies and linguistic techniques used specifically in the presidential rhetoric as part of political discourse in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania through years of the existence of the Baltic States. The innovative step in the study is the combination of techniques, strategies and approaches that deal with the detailed collection, systematization, and analysis of large unmarked corpora of speeches representing a period of hundred years and three states as well as the incorporation of questionnaires, interviews and a statistical diachronic and synchronic analysis into the critical discourse study of discursive national identity construction in presidential rhetoric of Latvia when compared to Estonia and Lithuania.

The research aims to examine the discursive constructions of national identities of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania during their independence in the speeches by the Presidents of the Baltic States on nationally significant occasions and internationally, with regards to the topics, discursive strategies and linguistic means used in the speeches, their goals and potential effect on the target audience, and the changes in the discursive practice across time and space.

The **research questions** set for the current study are:

1. Which are the thematic areas, discursive strategies and linguistic techniques that have been used in the construction of the Latvian national identity in presidential speeches over one hundred years, what is the goal of these means and how their application changes diachronically?

2. What is the difference between the language use for national identity construction in the speeches of the Presidents of Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania?
3. Which types of identity are present and how are represented in the speeches?
4. What are the implicit and explicit goals of presidential speeches and what is their potential effect on the target audience?

In order to reach the goal, set for the study, the following enabling objectives or **methodological steps** have been taken:

1. Formulation of the research problem and research questions.
2. Review of the available theoretical and methodological sources and the analysis of the previous studies in the field.
3. Analysis and review of the historical, social, political and economic context of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.
4. Collection and classification of the corpus data.
5. Critical analysis of the qualitative data – a detailed analysis of the thematic areas in the discursive construction of national identity including the use of strategies and linguistic means of realisation (techniques) in the selected presidential speeches.
6. Corpus-driven analysis of keyword use and word frequency in the selected corpus and a corpus-based analysis of keyword collocations and concordance.
7. Comparative analysis of synchronic and diachronic change in the analysed qualitative and quantitative data.
8. Collection and analysis of the interview and questionnaire data.
9. Interpretation of the results and the description of the case studies – identity construction across states, time, and linguistic profiles of the Presidents, drawing of relevant conclusions and the formulation of suggestions.

The current paper consists of four chapters, twelve appendices, sixty-nine tables and twenty-one figure. **Chapter 1** investigates the essence of the concepts of political discourse, rhetoric, argumentation, persuasion, and manipulation and well as discusses the field of CDS. Presidential functions and role in political discourse and the function of presidential speeches are also discussed in the chapter. Thus, Chapter 1 establishes the theoretical grounds for the further analysis of presidential speeches from the perspective of political discourse analysis (Chilton, Charteris-Black, Wodak et.al), rhetoric and rhetorical techniques (Aristotle), and discursive strategies and linguistic techniques (Wodak et al., 2009; Wodak and Meyer, 2016).

Chapter 2 reviews the concept of identity and national identity, discusses the historical, social, political, and economic context of the Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian nation-building and creation processes and the emergence and perpetuation of their national identities.

Considering the issue of the often-subjective character of historical representation, a three-perspective view on the accounts of how the separate and common Baltic identities have emerged and been communicated in the political arena is offered by reviewing scholarly literature by the scholars in the Baltic States and scholars from other countries.

Chapter 3 presents the results of the critical study of the discursive practices from a qualitative perspective including a top-down analysis of thematic areas of identity construction in presidential speeches, identity construction strategies and the use linguistic means of realisation of all the aforementioned. Chapter 3 displays the results of individual case studies of discursive construction of national identity in each of the states across time and the use of linguistic means in the speeches of each of the Presidents of the Baltic States during the selected periods of time analysing both the text and the context of the speeches based on the theoretical review, critical analysis of speeches, corpus data analysis, interview and opinion survey analysis. Further on, a three-dimensional analysis of thematic areas, discursive strategies and linguistic forms of realisation is provided.

Chapter 4 displays the results of the quantitative corpus-based and corpus-driven study. Chapter 4 demonstrates the procedure and results of the unmarked corpus data analysis using the corpus as a theory and the corpus as a method, which pertains to the methodological novelty of the current study. Corpus description, keyword and wordlist analysis of the sub-corpora and corpus-based analysis of identity related lexical patterns are displayed in the chapter to provide a statistical and computer-based data analysis for the current study.

The Appendices include the supplementary data and illustrations of the research process and procedure, as well as the results of the current research including the corpus data results, corpus mark-up system, interview and questionnaire data and the three-dimensional model of critical study of national identity construction with additional examples from the corpus.

The theoretical premise of the current study is grounded in the scholarly contributions by Aristotle, van Dijk (2006-2012), Wodak (2008-2018), Fairclough (2001-2013), Baker (2006-2012), Wodak, de Cillia, Reisigl and Liebhart (2009), O’Keeffe (2006), Mole (2007), Mole (2012), Guibernau (2007), Breeze (2011), Tabuns (2001), Karapetjana and Roziņa (2009), Placinska and Karapetjana (2016), Kļave (2007-2010), Zepa (2006-2011), Šūpule (2012), Treimane 2014, Ardava (2015), Znotiņa (2017), Kopoloveca (2017), Druviete (2017-2021), Daina (2018) and Jurkynas (2020-2021) on Critical Discourse Studies, Corpus Linguistics, rhetoric, political discourse and manipulation, presidential speeches, national identity and nation-building as well as the presidential rhetoric of the Baltic States and contributes to the field of corpus-based critical discourse analysis.

1. POLITICAL DISCOURSE AND LANGUAGE IN PRESIDENTIAL SPEECHES

Chapter 1 introduces a discussion of the concept of politics and its synergy with language that create the social practice referred to as political discourse. The role of language in political discourse is discussed from a top-down perspective reviewing first the global perspective and narrowing down to the political discourse in the Baltic States and in Latvia. Furthermore, the concept of rhetoric is also reviewed, followed by a discussion on the place of presidential speeches within the arena of political discourse.

1.1. Political Discourse and Ideology

The discussion on the concept of politics seems to be improbable without the mention of Greek philosophy. Politics originates from the Greek word *polis*, the simple definition of which is a *city-state*, yet it is a distinct term referring to ‘an independent state organised around an urban centre and governed typically by formal laws and republican political institutions’ (Lord, 2013: vii). Thus, the Greek *polis* may be considered as a prototype of the contemporary Western democracies as representatives of liberal ideology and will of the people as the central tenet of politics, as noted by Aristotle in ‘Politics’ namely that ‘man is by nature a political animal’ and that ‘city belongs among the things that exist by nature’ (Aristotle 1253a, in Lord, 2013: 9). It follows that what makes humans distinctively political as compared to other animals of ‘herd’ is their ability for speech that ‘serves to reveal the advantageous and the harmful, and hence also the just and the unjust’ (ibid.). Thus, politics is about community (as implied by herd and city) and about language (as implied by speech), the ability to communicate, discuss and negotiate. Chilton (2004) refers to Aristotle’s idea of men as ‘political animals as articulate mammals’ implying again the speech capacity of humans (2004: 3).

Contemporary definitions of politics see the term as referring to ‘an action in pursuit of the highest good, based upon decisions, which arise out of deliberation’ and implying governance and power (Roziņa and Karapetjana, 2009:1). In other words, politics deals with imposition of authority and power management. Thus ‘politics is inherently connected with argumentation and deliberation because it is oriented to decision-making, but also because the political is an institutional order whose very fabric gives people reasons for acting in particular ways’ (Fairclough in Flowerdew and Richardson, 2017: 243). In other words, political discourse is generally seen as the language used by politicians. Politicians, however, are political actors who ‘believe in the power of language to affect people’s thoughts and behaviour’ (ibid.). Accordingly, ‘political discourse relies on the premise that the mechanisms

of power are inherent in language and that peoples' behaviour, or perception of certain events can be affected by language; thus, manipulation is possible with word meaning and connotations, especially when people are not aware of being manipulated' (Placinska and Karapetjana, 2016: 5). Nevertheless, political discourse it is not language per se, but rather the language used by politicians in a particular political context, for example before parliamentary elections, during a political debate, when giving a ceremonial speech to the citizens of a state.

Language as one of the most powerful devices of revealing power relations has been discussed by various scholars (Fairclough, 1989; Chilton, 2004; Roziņa and Karapetjana, 2009; van Dijk, 2010; David, 2014.). Language and specifically spoken language is the oldest tool of persuasion and without doubt also one of the most effective when it comes to political discourse (David, 2014: 164). Nevertheless, it can be said that language 'only gains power in hands of the powerful' and 'it is not powerful per se' (Wodak, 1989: 1). As such political discourse can also be seen as 'moral discourse, and hence we may expect opinions on what is right and what is wrong' (van Dijk, 2010: 34). Thus, the most effective way for politicians (as those holding the power) to 'achieve the consent' of a wider public, and thus the required [...] conditions to implement their policies is to 'create an ideology and have the public to willingly accept it as their own' (David, 2014: 164).

Furthermore, political discourse is seen as a type of institutional discourse that has direct relationship with ideologies, because 'social institutions contain diverse ideological discursive formations,' and these ideological discursive formations in turn can 'naturalise ideologies or win acceptance for them as non-ideological or common sense' (Fairclough 2013: 10). Ideology, originally referring to a discipline that studies ideas, particularly 'political belief systems,' has, like several other terms, acquired negative associations and contemporary understanding of 'the rigid, misguided or partisan ideas of others and opposite of truth or objective knowledge (van Dijk, 2006a: 728). The neutral definition of ideology would be that 'an ideology is the foundation of the social representations shared by a social group' (ibid.: 729). In other words, ideologies are belief systems of social groups that are stored in the collective long-term memory these 'ideological communities' and are directly connected with both language and identity (ibid.). Nevertheless, although there exist personal interpretations and appropriations of ideologies in particular contexts, ideologies themselves are neither personal nor individual. Thus, despite the negative connotations of the concept, ideologies as beliefs, knowledge and opinions held by groups or collectives that are rooted in their cognition are not by definition negative, neither are all cognitively grounded and socially shared beliefs of a group necessarily ideological. Van Dijk (2006a) even notes that there may exist positive ideologies or utopias 'depending on the perspective, values, or group membership of the one who evaluates them'

and that ‘beliefs that are taken for granted, commons sense [...] and undisputed within a community are non-ideological within that community’ (2006a: 729).

Finally, there seems to be no discussion about the close relation between politics, ideology, and discourse and identity, because ideologies represent ‘one of the dimensions of [...] the self-image of groups’ (ibid). In fact, ‘more than any other kind of discourse, political discourse is eminently ideological,’ because ideology is both ‘involved in the production or understanding of political discourse’ and reproduced by political discourse as the social practice of politicians (van Dijk, 2006: 732). Ideologies are powerful as they ‘embody the general principles that control the overall coherence of the social representations’ shared by groups, thus ideologies that are stored in mental models that in turn help individuals and groups understand and relate to social practices and representation about particular events (ibid.: 730). Moreover, since mental models are not only connected to human understanding and interpretation but also to memory, ‘it is through mental models that discourses are able to influence social representations and ideologies and reproduce them’ (ibid.). Thus, it follows that ideologies are static or stable, meaning that once acquired (during one’s life), they tend to ‘remain active for a lifetime of group members,’ for instance, feminism, socialism, pacifism, also nationalism (ibid.). Ideologies like discourses are classified according to the ‘social field in which they function,’ for instance, political, religious, legal and others (ibid.: 731). Within these fields, ideologies have the power to influence ‘actions, goals, norms and values’ of groups and they are present in the ‘intragroup cooperation’ practices and struggle between distinct groups (in-group and out-group or us/them differentiation (ibid.).

The ideologies that are associated with the field and function of politics are liberalism, conservatism, socialism, anarchism, nationalism, fascism, feminism, Islamism, multiculturalism and nowadays also ecologism or green ideology (Heywood, 2017). Heywood (2017) notes that political ideologies are distributed along the poles of left (change and progress welcoming) and right (change resistant and the status quo defending) ideologies (2017: 15). In linear spectrum political ideologies seem to move from left to right in the following order: communism, socialism, liberalism, conservatism, nationalism, fascism, however, it is not to say that particular ideology contains only elements of either left spectrum or right spectrum. Moreover, ‘the ideologies that are traditionally placed at the extreme wings of the linear spectrum may have more in common with one another than they do with their centrist neighbours,’ for instance, the shared totalitarian ideas of communist and fascist movements (Heywood, 2017: 16). It should be noted, though, that the expression and representation of these ideologies in particular political discourse is contextual, meaning that, for instance, nationalism in Latvia would not be expressed in the same way as it would be in the USA and would not be

situated at the same place in the linear spectrum. The list, definitions and diagram displaying the linear spectrum of political ideologies is displayed in Appendix 8.

Consequently, it is believed that political discourse is always ideologically based, and since these ideologies are often implicit, political discourse involves manipulation. Manipulation in politics is ‘always ideological’ and undoubtedly involves ‘power domination’ that may in some instances appear comparable to mind control or control over the recipients’ beliefs and to some extent also actions that are directed more often at groups rather than individuals (van Dijk, 2008: 213). Moreover, the discourse of politicians is often associated with manipulation - ‘a type of language use, which is produced with an intention to achieve specific goals by retaining some relevant information in a disguised way’ (Placinska and Karapetjana, 2016: 5). Thus, political discourse is about the ability of politicians to use language among other means to exercise, achieve, and retain power via political discourse as social practice.

1.2. Rhetoric and Rhetorical Devices

Rhetoric as ‘the faculty of observing in any given case the available means of persuasion’ has been defined by Aristotle and adapted widely across numerous disciplines, primarily those that aim to study the social practice namely politics, linguistics, and social sciences (Barlett, 2019: 10). It is significant to point out here that Aristotle, who has acquired the metaphorical reference as the father of rhetoric, has not specifically defined or provided a detailed description of the linguistic form or linguistic techniques the rhetoric may use, yet this aspect is what numerous scholars across the world have attempted to deduce from his works, and as Chilton and Schäffner (2002) note that ‘implications have fundamental importance’ for Aristotle’s interpreting his ideas about the ‘linguistic and political make-up of humans’ (2002: 2).

A speech is a type of rhetorical expression and there are three kinds of speeches according to Aristotle, namely, deliberative (political), judicial (legal) and epideictic (ceremonial). Deliberative speeches are focused on the future, on the worthy and unworthy, persuasion or dissuasion, and focus on themes such as money, war and peace, security and is considered generally an ‘advisory rhetoric’ that uses examples of the past to foresee the future (Chilton and Schäffner, 2002 :19). Judicial speeches are focused on the past and talk about the just and unjust, accusation and defence and discuss themes such as the cause and consequences of an unjust behaviour, victims and aim of the doer using analysis of cause and evidence. Epideictic speeches are focused on the present and focus on praise or blame, ‘noble and the base’ and are given on ceremonial occasions (ibid.). The three types of speeches (oratory) may thus be categorised in three ways:

Table 1. Types of speeches according to Aristotle (Charteris-Black, 2018: 7)

Type of speech/categorisation	Type of response required from the audience	Social purpose	Time of orientation
Deliberative/political	Voting	Influencing	Future
Judicial/legal	Passing judgement	Ensuring justice	Past
Epideictic/ceremonial	Applauding	Celebrating someone's life	Present

Furthermore, it is generally considered that rhetoric is ‘to do with persuading people, it is not just a matter of accommodating to or playing upon what they already feel, believe and take for granted’ (Fairclough in Flowerdew and Richardson, 2017: 23). Similarly, as with political discourse, the scholarly ‘interest in rhetoric is strongly developed, particularly with respect to tropes, genre theory (e.g., regarding political speeches), and persuasion (including argumentation)’ (Reisigl in Flowerdew and Richardson, 2017: 48). Aristotle distinguished between three types of rhetorical evidence or proof namely, *lógos*, *éthos* and *pathos*. *Lógos* is seen as ‘proof by the arguments presented in the speech,’ *éthos* is seen as ‘proof through the credibility of the character of the speaker’ and *pathos* is seen as ‘proof by the emotional disposition of the audience’ (Kienpointer in Flowerdew and Richardson, 2017: 228).

Furthermore, while the primary concern of *lógos* is to build a rational and logical appeal to an audience via an inductive (giving series of examples to draw conclusions from) or deductive (drawing on widely accepted truths or stereotypes to deduce the conclusion from) reasoning, *éthos* deals with the character of the speaker and the credibility that is established along the ‘moral character and integrity’ of the speaker who addresses the ideas considered virtuous, constructs an image of an intellectual speaker with common sense and logic as well as mastery of the topic at hand, and the ‘good will’ of the speaker who aims to identify with the target audience (Foss, 2018: 34). The element of rhetoric that is of most interest to linguistic analysis, however, is *pathos* that addresses the emotional appeal to the target audience, namely the various emotions such as fear, pride, pity, happiness, or shame that are addressed to frame the cognitive response of the listener according to the speaker’s purpose (ibid.).

Moreover, Charteris-Black (2018) has rightly noted that there are several uniting elements that characterize the speeches of successful political speakers such as Barack Obama, Winston Churchill, Margaret Thatcher, Tony Blair, John F. Kennedy, Martin Luther King and also George W. Bush, Ronald Raegan and Donald Trump, namely, ‘an appeal to underlying mythic thinking about good and evil, the ability to establish political legitimacy by creating social and moral purpose, to inspire through creative power of language’ (2018: xv). The former is, in fact, what combines all the aforementioned elements of rhetoric – the primary tool to achieve public consent via political rhetoric within this type of discourse is language. Although

the use of rhetorical devices and powerful language has been discussed and favoured by the Greek philosophers, the term rhetoric has gained negative association over the past centuries being seen as ‘almost synonym for spin, manipulation or even coercion’ and being collocated with adjectives such as ‘political, public, mere, radical, empty, official, populist, nationalist, revolutionary’ (Charteris-Black, 2018: 3). This tendency, however, seems to be caused by the loss of trust in the ruling elites across the world, their inability to match deed with words and fulfil promises (ibid). It is significant to note, that rhetoric is only successful if the audiences are persuaded and ‘audiences are only persuaded if the rhetoric is successful’ (ibid.). This depends, however, on many factors, the most important of which are those introduced by Aristotle, namely, the character of the speaker (his or her likeability and presumed knowledge of the subject), the theme and occasion of the speech (whether it is close to the listeners knowledge and interest) and the linguistic form the speech takes (whether and how it addresses emotions).

As has been established above, rhetoric may and typically does make use of numerous rhetorical devices that are embedded in wider argumentation schemes. van Dijk claims that ‘rhetorical devices are geared towards the emphasis or de-emphasis of underlying meanings’ (van Dijk in Chilton and Schaffner, 2002: 231). While classically referred to as figures of speech, rhetorical devices are in fact linguistic means that go far beyond the ‘colourful effect’ of a text or talk as they address not only the emotions of the listener, but also their mental models and help to address and form understanding with additional emphasis or de-emphasis on the ideas being ‘guised’ in the linguistic expression (ibid.).

The first natural rhetorical device is labelled **rhetorical questions** (henceforth RQs). These are questions that do not require an answer or are answered within the question itself are directed ‘to express or confirm political identity and relationships’ (Chilton and Schaffner, 2002: 231). RQs are type of questions that are asked for the sake of asking or rather for the ‘persuasive effect of asking’ and they ‘solicit assent to a proposition to a subtle shift of the burden of proof’ namely the listener’s social obligation to answer the question (Black, 1992: 2). Depending on the type of audience, rhetorical questions may be followed by an answer that can be seen as a double emphasis of the message intended by the speaker. First, the question is asked within the specific context and using specific linguistic means that are incorporated in the message to target the cognition of the listener and invite a specific response. After that, the answer is voiced by the speaker as if a confirmation of what the listener had been thinking thus imposing the speaker’s view on the audience. As Black (1992) has noted, a question is ‘rhetorical if it is either so profound that answering it is obviously impossible, or so superficial that answering it is impossibly obvious’ (1992: 2). One of the aims of rhetorical questions is

seen as directed ‘to express or confirm political identity and relationships’ (Chilton and Schaffner, 2002: 232). Thus, rhetorical questions along with devices such as metaphors, metonymies, hyperboles should be analysed in more detail to find the underlying meanings and their connection with the construction or as the authors put it ‘confirmation’ of identities (ibid.). Wodak et al. (2009) note that suggestive rhetorical questions within the topos of history as teacher may be used to disseminate or transform an established national identity via emphasizing the difference between the past and the present and the present and the future (2009: 40).

Furthermore, rhetorical devices such as euphemisms, litotes and hyperboles are used to emphasize or hide particular aspects of an argument. **Euphemism** is a ‘semantic move of mitigation’ or avoidance of negative references and negative representations in order to avoid or lessen the potential emotional effect (van Dijk, 2006a: 737). Thus, euphemism is means of not expressing too much information in an argument, where the hidden, obscured, or mitigated information would typically be the negative information about the speaker or his defendants in the argument being constructed. Placinska and Karapetjana (2016) refer to euphemisms as an element of semantic manipulation that is ‘a creative way of linguistic manipulation’ (2016: 6). It is claimed that politicians feel attracted to the use of euphemisms in their rhetoric as this device helps to make the listener accept a typically negative idea that is guised in positive or less negative representation. Euphemisms are deemed manipulative, because they have double meaning, namely, the obscured negative meaning and the connoted positive interpretation or linguistic expression. Nevertheless, whether euphemism reaches the goal depends largely on the context and factual knowledge of the audience. The opposite of euphemism is exaggeration or hyperbole.

Hyperbole is ‘a semantic rhetorical device for the enhancement of meaning’ (van Dijk, 2006a: 737). In other words, hyperbole is a linguistic exaggeration of an event, belief or other, that may be seen as opposite of euphemism in its function, namely, to arise and emphasize emotions and linguistic effect. Hyperbole may be listed among the rhetorical devices that help to construct identity via strategically emphasizing the uniqueness or national character of a state and it would be used within the topos of comparison (Wodak et al., 2009: 38)

Another type of linguistic technique listed among the rhetorical devices in **irony**. Like metaphor, metonymy, irony is an evasive rhetorical device, because it ‘contains a literal evaluation of something that is contrary of what an individual aims to get across’ meaning that the intention of the speaker is the opposite of the expressed (Burgers, Konjin and Steen, 2016: 7). Moreover, while hyperbole as an extreme exaggeration of either positive or negative stays in one of these domains and only exaggerates what is implied, irony is used to explicitly express

one evaluation (positive or negative), but means the exact opposite, thus intruding in the cognitive processes of the target audience (ibid.). Irony may assist the speaker to gain positive attitudes from the audience both about the argument being constructed and about the speaker him/herself, thus attending to all the three elements of rhetoric – logos, pathos, and ethos. Thus, irony would typically be used by politicians to attack their opponents, because it would typically be seen as constituting and ‘attack on established expectancies or norms’ (ibid.).

Another type of linguistic means that is suggested to be used by politicians is **metonymy** or ‘rhetorical device that is based on some kind of association connecting two concepts, which these meanings represent’ (Rozina and Karapetjana, 2009: 113). The term originates from Greek meaning *name change* and is considered to be a referential technique as it ‘replaces a name of a referent by the name of an entity which it is closely associated with in either concrete or abstract terms’ (Wodak et al., 2009: 43). The aim of metonymy in discourse is not only to allow the listener to visualise the associations between words and their associative meanings, but also to potentially conceal ‘the responsible agents or move them to background’ (ibid.). Thus, it is concluded that discursively metonymy may function like the passive voice, use of the plural pronoun instead of singular (we instead of I) or euphemisms that aim at drawing attention away from the factual meaning. Wodak et al. (2009) note that metonymy is often used within the strategies of justification and legitimation in order to avoid or euphemize the responsibility of social actors and also to represent negative actions or events (2009: 36). Metonymy in political s is often used for the purpose of the discursive and linguistic construction of group or larger political body and referential assimilation or dissimilation, for example, Brussels implying the European parliament, or, for example, *the whole Europe celebrates, Latvia believes*. Nevertheless, it must be noted that there are several types of metonymic representations, for instance, object for its user, place for person, building for person, place for event, product for cause, country for persons and persons for country, time for persons living during that time, institution for responsible representatives of that institution, institution for events (Wodak et al., 2009: 43). Thus, metonymy is in the group of rhetoric devices that deal with abstraction, pervasion of meaning and may display manipulation.

A rhetorical device often associated with metonymy is **synecdoche** (from Greek ‘to take up with something else’), because it ‘replaces the name of a referent by the name of another referent which belong to the same field of meaning and which is either semantically wider or semantically narrower’ (ibid.). Thus, it may function as a form of substitution, generalisation or particularisation relating either to the idea of the whole for a part/part for a whole, species for genus/genus for species or singular for plural/plural for singular (ibid.: 44). In political discourse another type of synecdoche may be used, namely, the controller (the one who holds

the power) for the controlled (the one who is the subject of that power), where ‘rulers [...] replace the person who is actually carrying out an action, for example, Hitler started the war’ (ibid.). In fact, cognitive linguists (for instance Lakoff and Johnson, 2003) see synecdoche as a type of metonymy.

Furthermore, **metaphor** is one of the tools of figurative linguistic expression that seems to be familiar to everyone as its use varies from day-to-day communication to more institutionalised contexts such as economics, politics, education and even law. It is, however, in its essence a complex tool of operation with one’s cognition as is therefore considered to be operating not only at the basic linguistic levels but rather ‘at conceptual level to influence basic operations such as perception, problem solving, and memory’ (Landau, 2017: 56). Although metaphor has traditionally been considered as belonging to literary or poetic language and more recently as a figure of speech in social language, it should be reconsidered as a more complex phenomenon used in influential discourse such as political discourse (Way Ng in Flowerdew and Richardson, 2017: 215). Metaphors according to Boukala (2016) are ‘are based on the value system of a society and play a significant role in the development of specific ideological frames in a text’ (2016: 260). Metaphors are ‘effective in public communication because they [...] draw on the unconscious emotional associations of words and assumed values that are rooted in cultural and historical knowledge’ and thus have high possibility to influence the emotional response of the recipient (ibid.: 261). Traditionally people view metaphors as ‘extraordinary’ pieces of language that are rather meant for poetic use than for everyday communication, and that metaphors are the ‘characteristic of language alone’, while in fact this is not true (Lakoff and Johnson, 2004: 3). Cognitive Linguistics sees metaphor as an inborn way of thinking in human cognition that influences the way of thinking and sometimes also actions of others. Because metaphors are a way of understanding complex abstractions more easily, they are frequent means of everyday discourses. Several examples of frequently used metaphors may be given to illustrate the aforementioned theory. First, the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR implies that arguing is like fighting and that there must be either winner or loser. Another frequent metaphor is TIME IS MONEY that portrays time as a limited resource that can be spent either usefully or uselessly. Furthermore, human mind as a complex abstract is often portrayed via the conceptual metaphor MIND IS A MACHINE that allows the message recipient to associate the abstract compete with a concrete tangible and imaginable machine that works in a particular way and may be damaged if not taken care of.

Furthermore, metaphor is often discussed when referring to institutionalised discourses and ‘political discourse is saturated with metaphorical framings’ and ‘they use words to compare dissimilar concepts’ (Landau, 2017: 172). Thus, metaphor is by no means a simple

figurative device of language as it has typically been taught at school but rather ‘metaphor operates at conceptual level to influence basic operations such as perception, problem solving, and memory’ (ibid.: 56). Landau (2017) sees metaphor as ‘a cognitive tool that routinely use to understand and experience abstractions in terms of different types of concepts that are relatively more concrete and comprehensible’ (ibid.). The author refers to the associations between one concept with the other as *mapping*. Like other cognitive linguists (Lakoff and Johnson, 2003), Landau (2017) holds that metaphor is ‘a universal feature of human cognition’, claiming that people think in metaphors (ibid.). Thus, it follows that the mapping between one concept onto another may be both conscious and sub-conscious. Furthermore, metaphor has the power to both ‘facilitate and hinder social action’ (ibid.). Metaphors are especially favoured in politics that typically use personification as a type of metaphor to refer to concepts such as ‘inflation, unemployment, migration’ (ibid.). Thus, although metaphor use is to some extent natural to human thinking, the proper understanding of their use in different settings may require a detailed analysis and critical awareness of their power.

Neagu (2013) analyses the role of metaphor in argumentative discourse and provides a theoretical and methodological procedure for the analysis of conceptual metaphors. Political discourse according to Neagu (2013) is ‘deliberative and argumentative in nature’ and its analysis must be anchored in cognitive linguistic theory of metaphor, because it is one of the most widely used means in political discourse (2013: 2). The goal of political discourse is thus to ‘activate a certain value system and to engage the people into reconsidering their attitudes, interests and beliefs with a view to changing their perspective over the future’ (ibid.). In this theory, metaphor is seen as a linguistic tool that ‘succeeds rhetorically once it draws on pre-existing frames and shared values and it licenses a shift in thinking and in behaviour via the arguments reservoir’ (Neagu, 2013: 2). Conceptual metaphors are seen as ‘persuasive definitions that should be treated as defensible arguments by definition or by analogy inasmuch as they steer the argument towards a particular conclusion and proposal for action once embedded in the premises of a practical argument’ (ibid.: 5). In other words, conceptual metaphors are powerful linguistic means when used in arguments that are to convince the listener to think or act in one or another way. Thus, ‘metaphors focus on their ability to activate certain mental frames in the cognitive unconscious that would result into cognitive and behavioural change in society development’ (Neagu 2013: 7). One of the metaphors mentioned by Neagu (2013) is POLITICS IS WAR that creates the association between at least two fighting parties be those political oppositions or politicians against the society (ibid.).

Further on, it is interesting to see how metaphor not only has ‘causal influence on social cognition and behaviour’ but also in specific cases comes or originates from ‘social and cultural

context' (Landau, 2017: 11). Although, it is argued that 'metaphor use is a universal feature of human cognition,' it may not necessarily be used in similar fashion across different societies and different contexts (ibid.). In separate contexts or cultures metaphor may, in fact, be non-existent or not used, in some contexts it is seen as not appropriate to use metaphors as they are considered to be markers of informality. Such contexts are, for instance, legal discourse and medical discourse where straight-forward language (though complex as it is) is preferred. Nevertheless, neither discourse nor language (much like identity) is a static product, but rather a fluid process that is a subject of change. Metaphor seems to be an effective tool in constructing identities as it 'succeeds rhetorically when it draws on pre-existing frames and shared values [...] by retrieving elements stocked in collective memory and reconstruction arguments when necessary' (Neagu, 2013: 35).

Traditionally metaphor and personification are seen as separate figures of speech used in different situation and with different purposes. It seems reasonable to argue here that the basic functions of these linguistic means can be combined under the description of conceptual or cognitive metaphor which can be seen as the umbrella figure. Here Landau's (2017) definition of the term can be used as it sees metaphor as 'a cognitive tool that people routinely use to understand and experience abstractions in terms of concepts that are relatively more concrete and comprehensible' (2017: 10). Thus, metaphor itself being an abstraction is seen as a machine with the 'key mechanism' being 'mapping-a set of associations between elements of one concept and analogous elements of another' that is used to 'transfer knowledge across superficially dissimilar concepts' (Landau, 2017: 10). Although the use of metaphor is common in many areas, one of its main operational institutions is that of politics, because 'political discourse is saturated with metaphorical framings' and 'they use words to compare dissimilar concepts' (Landau, 2017:172). Neagu (2013) sees conceptual metaphors as 'argument by definition' and 'persuasive efforts' to manipulate with the world perception of the message recipient or audience (Neagu, 2013: 35). Like other devices discussed above, metaphor is seen as a means of manipulation. According to van Dijk (2010), conceptual metaphors are one of the 'semantic means to understand, represent and experience the world, and hence both our knowledge and opinions' (2010: 32). Metaphor which is no longer seen as simply a linguistic device or figure of speech but rather a cognitively base tool that 'can be strategically deployed to construct and perpetuate particular worldviews and versions of reality for addressees' (van Dijk in Flowerdew and Richardson, 2017: 215). The contemporary value of metaphor in discourse is that 'conventional metaphors shape our view of reality, and creative metaphors can even change our view of reality, they can no longer be seen as mere ornaments of speech but have a clear argumentative value' (ibid.: 236). Similar is the situation with such figures of

speech as metonymy, hyperbole, irony, and rhetorical questions that can no longer be seen as traditional means of language but rather as techniques of argumentation, ‘strategic manoeuvring’ and even manipulation depending on the context of their use (ibid.).

Personification can be considered a type of metaphor (as seen by Landau, 2017; Lakoff and Johnson, 2003; Wodak et al., 2009). Landau (2017) refers to a ‘personification metaphor’ describing it as ‘the process of ascribing human-like mental states and traits to some nonhuman thing’ (Landau, 2017: 146). Personification thus is found to refer to the structure of conceptual metaphor ABSTRACT IS CONCRETE and among other things ‘reveals people’s need to impose some comprehensible form of order onto an abstraction’ (ibid.). Another reason for using personification metaphor is ‘the drive for social contact, connection, and approval’ (ibid.). Since personification of a non-human object ‘poses a high suggestive force,’ they may often be used in referencing ‘the mental construct of a nation’ thereby constructing the ‘intranational sameness and equality’ (Wodak et al., 2009: 44). Wodak et al. (2009) claim that ‘the very vividness of [...] metaphors favour identification of the addresses with that of the personified collective subjects’ thus serving as a technique of animation (ibid.).

Another common technique of manipulation that is discussed is the ‘positive self-representation and negative representation of others in political discourse’ via **pronominal and deictic reference** (van Dijk, 2008: 236). Pronouns are seen as ‘belonging to a closed class of deictic expressions [...] whose meaning is not encoded intrinsically, but instead depends on the context of the utterance in order to anchor the meaning’ (Mulderriig, 2012: 708). Pronouns are also ‘indices of audience identity,’ because they ‘have wide variety of stances and social roles, therefore interpersonal pronouns are rarely neutral in their reference’ (O’Keeffe, 2006: 130). The use of interpersonal pronouns is seen as deictic mapping that may use either centring (inclusion, solidarity, insiding) or othering (exclusion, rejection, outsidings) or both in their reference (O’Keeffe, 2006; Cramer, 2010; Mulderriig, 2012). O’Keeffe (2006) states that ‘the inclusive pronouns you (generic) and we are used to be inclusive but the pronouns they, them, their reinforce the reality of otherness, as does the choice of that, as opposed to this as a deictic’ (ibid.: 135). Pronouns such as this/that; here/there may be seen as indices that display how the speaker positions him/herself within the group, or how her/she position the group. Fairclough’s (2013) theory likewise provides an insight into how identity is created via ‘personal deictic centres’ or deictic mapping, in other words via personal pronouns of inclusion and exclusion - we (inclusive and exclusive) and them (Fairclough, 2013). The scholar gives an example of the use of ‘we’ in political speeches, where the speaker can use *we* to refer to him/her and the government or to refer to him/her and the people, in the former case pointing to the social hierarchy and levelling and in the latter pointing to the unity and similarity (ibid: 113).

Although, pronominal referencing as linguistic means is not by definition considered to be a rhetorical device, several scholars (Wodak, Fairclough, van Dijk, and O’Keeffe) are seen to include discussion of the role of inclusive and exclusive pronominal referencing in the analysis of political discourse. Wodak et al. (2009) in fact states that like metaphor, metonymy, and synecdoche, the deictic *we* ‘also indicates sameness’ (2009: 45). The complexity of the pronoun ‘we’ is underestimated, as it does not only denote the first-person plural, but in fact may ‘encompass all other personal pronouns’ (ibid.). The categories of ‘we’ are ‘an addressee-inclusive, addressee-exclusive, speaker-inclusive and speaker-exclusive *we*’ (ibid.). Wodak et al. (2009) even note that ‘we’ may be used synecdochally, where ‘generalising forms such as the author’s plural [...] the modest *we* or the royal *we* seem to include a second person into the *we* group’ while in fact these are instances of the addressee-exclusive *we* (ibid.). For example, when the leader of a state addresses the citizens with the inclusive reference ‘*we*’, inviting for certain considerations or actions, the speaker in fact addresses the audience and does not imply him/herself. Another type of *we* is the metonymic form of ‘person for country’, where the pronoun stands for the country the speaker represents (ibid.). These instances thus indicate to pervasiveness and potentially manipulative nature of the use of the pronoun in political discourse. Furthermore, the use of the pronoun ‘we’ may often indicate the presence of the corporate identity, especially in the case of presidential or political leader speeches, where the author of the speech is not necessarily the same as the speaker, but rather a team of advisors that together with the speaker create the speech and thus use *we* to represent the individual identity (in this institutional) instead of using the first-person singular pronoun ‘I’ (Reisigl, 2008: 261).

Consequently, it is concluded that the analysis of rhetorical means especially in political discourse requires a critical perspective; thus, CDS has been chosen as the paradigm in the current research under which the analysis carried out using the Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA).

1.2.1. Persuasion

Persuasion is a term which may be often perceived as analogous to argumentation or manipulation due to the simple reason that it also deals with influencing people to think or act in a certain manner intended by the speaker. Nevertheless, even though these concepts may overlap in political discourse, they are not synonyms as their functions and the techniques used to fulfil these functions differ. Traditionally, neither manipulation nor argumentation have been considered the main functions of political rhetoric but rather ‘political rhetoric has been considered one of the typical areas of persuasion,’ and in recent times it has been even ‘joined

with the language of advertising' (Halmari and Virtanen, 2005: 105). Aristotle's definition of persuasion claims that it 'tries to make people accept a proposition they have not held before;' moreover,

Persuasion occurs through the arguments (logoi) when we show the truth or the transparent truth from whatever is persuasive in each case. Since persuasions come about through these three means [...] (ethos, logos and pathos), it is clear that to grasp an understanding of them is the function of one who can draw conclusions [...] and be observant about characters and virtues and, third, about emotions (what each of the emotions is and what its qualities are and from what it comes to be how). The result is that rhetoric is a certain kind of offshoot of dialectic and the study of character (Aristotle, 1959).

In other words, persuasion deals both with factuality of the argument and the emotions that it aims to rise. Before going into more detail about the strategies and techniques used in political discourse and rhetoric, the definitions of these terms should be provided. Thus, a strategy that originates from the Greek 'strategia' carrying the military meaning of 'the art of a commander-in-chief [...] – directing the larger military movements and operations' is contemporarily and specifically in political discourse seen as 'a plan adopted to achieve a certain political, psychological or other kind of objective' (Wodak et al. 2009: 32). The elements retained from its original meaning involve the anticipation and analysis of the potential elements that may have an impact on the implementation and results of particular strategy. It should be noted that, although, the use of strategies is goal oriented, it does not mean that the use and results of the strategy are planned in very detail, it may depend on the context and strategies may be applied automatically (ibid.). Techniques are the smaller units applied within particular strategies that help to realise the action plans and can also be both planned and automatically used depending on the discourse agents and the context. Techniques may thus include rhetorical devices and specific linguistic means that help to create an emotional or cognitive impact on the target audience.

Following the aforementioned, it can be stated that persuasion may be expressed among other means via emotive vocabulary items such as adjectives of degree, rhetorical questions, appeal to logic and authority, use of superlatives, alliterations, vocatives, inclusive first-person pronoun, and evocation of history (Halmari and Virtanen, 2005: 105). Other persuasion techniques that may be interpreted as manipulation in certain contexts are, for instance, 'frequent repetition,' which can be seen as a 'salient strategy for pushing one's agenda' (Wodak et al., 2009: 137). Notwithstanding the aforementioned, it can be said that 'persuasion per se rarely leads to the desired result' or effect on the audience that has been intended by an active persuader; therefore, argumentation and manipulation strategies are often applied as well (Halmari and Virtanen, 2005: 17). Moreover, as Charteris-Black (2018) points out,

argumentation is in fact one of the means of persuasion. The scholar notes that political persuasion is about ‘being right’ via ‘having the right intentions (establishing integrity –ethos), thinking right (expressing political arguments –logos), sounding right (heightening emotional impact – pathos), telling the right story (mental representations, myths, frames, and schemata) and looking right (dress, hair, and gestures)’ (Charteris-Black, 2018: 94).

Persuasion is seen as the main goal of political rhetoric, and it incorporates argumentation strategies and, in some instances, linguistic means of manipulation. Although some of the linguistic means are common for all the discussed functions of political rhetoric, their goals or intentions differ; therefore, it is only possible to provide an objective analysis of argumentation and manipulation in political speeches by looking critically at the type of discourse and considering the immediate and also historical context of the specific political event.

1.2.2. Argumentation

Argumentation is a ‘linguistic and cognitive action pattern which follows the aim of justifying or questioning validity claims that have become problematic or have been questioned’ (Hart and Cap, 2014: 73). Another definition of the term has been provided by Habermas (1984) whereby argumentation is seen as ‘the type of speech in which participants thematise contested validity claims and attempt to vindicate or criticise them thought arguments’ (quoted in Fairclough and Fairclough, 2012: 33). The aforementioned definition also refers to the term argument from which argumentation derives. Thus, if argumentation is a process within particular piece of rhetoric containing a number of arguments in it, then an argument is structured by and contains ‘reason or grounds that are connected in a systematic way with the validity claim of a problematic expression’ (ibid.). Consequently, and as stated above, argumentation can carry the function or can serve ‘the pragmatic purpose of persuasion’ (Hart and Cap, 2014: 33). Argumentation strategies as defined by Aristotle and later acquired by many political discourse analysts including Wodak et al. (2009) are discussed below.

From the aforementioned theory of rhetoric and argumentation arises the notion of *topos* (singular)- a term also originated in Greek (Aristotle’s) philosophy and has since given rise to many interpretations and many arguments on the definition of *topoi* (plural) and how to analyse them. *Topos* literally means location or place and is used in Aristotle’s writings (*Topics* and *Rhetoric*) to refer to a ‘common feature of arguments in order to indicate a set of argumentative rules, in accordance with which one can find a pertinent premise for a given conclusion’ (Vogiatzi, 2019: 63). Aristotle has referred to enthymemes as arguments and claimed that ‘*topos* is therefore an element under which many enthymemes fall’ meaning that it is ‘a means of classifying many arguments together’ (ibid.). In other words, *topoi* could be seen as rules that

help the listener to deduct a conclusion in a given argument or argument schemes. Wodak and Meyer (2009) define *topoi* as ‘parts of argumentation which belong the required premises’ and as ‘formal or content-related warrants or conclusion rules which connect arguments with the conclusion, the claim’ (2009:110). Many scholars admit that both in Aristotle’s *Rhetoric* and *Topics* the definitions and description of *topoi* are vague (Vogiatzi, 2019:63; Rubinelli, 2009: 147; Slomkowski, 1997: 43). It may thus be consented, that *topoi* as parts of argumentation schemes may not always be explicit, but ‘can always be made explicit as conditional or causal paraphrase’s’ (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 110). The linguistic formulae for *topoi* are accordingly ‘if x, then y or y, because x’ (ibid.). An example of how *topos* is constructed can be found in Aristotle’s *Rhetoric* (B23), namely, ‘self-control is good, for lack of self-control is harmful’ (Slomkowski, 1997: 44).

Nevertheless, as Žagar (2010 and 2011) argues ‘*topos/topoi* is one of the most controversial, even unclear, concepts in the history of rhetoric and argumentation’ (Žagar, 2010: 5). Žagar (2010) criticises Wodak’s (1999, 2000, 2005, 2006 and 2009) treatment of *topoi* claiming that CDS and specifically the DHA approach has a ‘simplified and unreflected use of *topoi* as found in everyday use’ (2010: 3). The scholar further criticizes the pioneers of CDS (Ruth Wodak, Michal Krzyzanowski, Martin Reisigl, John Richardson, Manfred Kienpointer) for not referring to the origins of *topoi* (Aristotle’s and Cicero’s works) as well as for failing to provide a detailed analysis of how *topoi* are found, how argument schemes are analysed and lead from argument to conclusion. Žagar (2010) identifies how Aristotle has classified *topoi* (also identified in scholarly literature by Vogiatzi, 2019; Rubinelli, 2009 and Slomkowski, 1997), namely, ‘general or common *topoi*, appropriate for use everywhere and anywhere, regardless of situation, and specific *topoi*, in their applicability, limited mostly to the three genres of oratory (judicial, deliberative, and epideictic)’ (Žagar, 2010: 13). It is noted that with Aristotle *topoi* are meant to be ‘argumentative schemes’ or ‘general instructions allowing a conclusion or certain form’ rather than content ‘to be derived from premises of a certain form’ again rather than content (ibid.). In other words, if looking at premise as an idea, hypothesis or theory expressed in a particular form (linguistically), then *topoi* as argument schemes allow one to derive or put forward particular conclusions. The list of common versus special *topoi* is as follows:

Common *topoi*: *Definition, Genus/Species, Division, Whole/Parts, Subject/Adjuncts, Comparison, Similarity/Difference, Degree, Relationship, Cause / Effect, Antecedent / Consequence, Contraries Contradictions, Circumstances, Possible / Impossible, Past Fact / Future Fact, Testimony, Authorities, Witnesses, Maxims or Proverbs, Rumours, Oaths, Documents, Law, Precedent, The supernatural, Notation and Conjugates;*

Special *topoi*: *Judicial, justice (right), injustice (wrong), Deliberative, the good, the unworthy, the advantageous, the disadvantageous, Ceremonial, virtue (the noble), vice (the base)* (Žagar, 2010:14).

The formulae and examples that Žagar (2010) provides for recognising what topoi are are:

- a) *If action Y is desirable in relation to object X, the contrary action Y' should be disapproved of in relation to the same object X;* - If it is desirable to act in favour of one's friends, it should be disapproved of to act against one's friends;
- b) *If a predicate can be ascribed to an object X more likely than to an object Y, and the predicate is truly ascribed to Y, then the predicate can even more likely be ascribed to X.*
- Whoever beats his father, even more likely beats his neighbour (ibid.: 18).

As the formulae above and the following examples indicate, topoi consist of instruction or 'precept' (the premise as defined in CDS) and rule/ law formulation (conclusion), for instance, 'Check whether C is D. If C is D, then B will be A' (Žagar, 2010: 18). Thus Žagar's (2010 and 2011) criticism proposes that while in the DHA topoi are used as an instrument for finding arguments (specifically in political discourse), they may likewise be used for testing given arguments via two additional steps, namely, explicit identification of a given argument and its conclusion in a given discourse followed by an identification and analysis of specific topoi that relate to that argument.

Furthermore, Žagar severely criticizes Wodak et al's treatment of topoi as discussed in the *Discursive Construction of National Identity*, claiming that such topoi such as the '*locus amoenus* (the topos of an idyllic place) and *locus terribilis* (the topos of a terrible place)' are not in fact topoi in the Aristotelian tradition (connecting arguments to conclusions) but rather these topoi can be seen as leitmotifs or literary topoi that have been defined by Curtius (1990) as 'intellectual themes, suitable for development and modification at the orator's pleasure' (Žagar, 2010: 21). However, it is important to emphasize that as Žagar (2010) has admitted, the treatment of topoi in the DHA does not claim to be based on Aristotle's topoi and thus one must agree that 'there is nothing wrong with literary topoi, their purpose just is not connecting possible arguments to possible conclusions' (ibid.). Further on, it is recommended to expand the three-step guide of the DHA to argument analysis to six steps as proposed by Toulmin (1958 and 1995), namely:

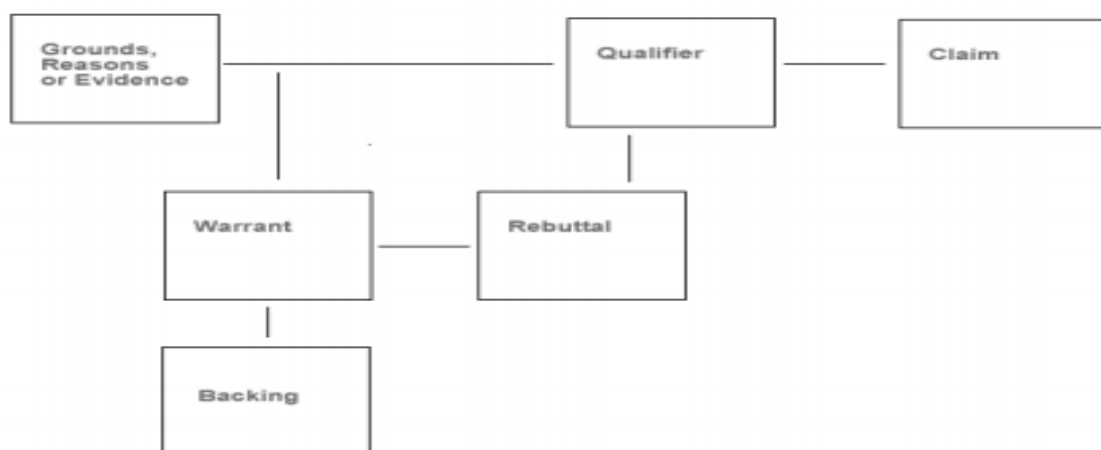


Figure 1. Argumentation Scheme by Toulmin (2003)

Thus, it could be concluded that the critique received by the DHA in relation to the treatment and interpretation of topoi is justified and research on argument schemes should indeed be grounded in Aristotle's theory; however, this does not exclude the analysis of topoi as themes for constructing national identity. Additionally, one should emphasize that interpretation and the subsequent of treatment in discourse studies, argumentation studies and specific studies of discursive construction of national identities may differ depending on the goal of the specific research. Aristotle has discussed more than three hundred types of topoi (plural) as argumentative schemes, where topos (singular) can be defined 'as a combination of a device to find arguments and a guarantee which grants the plausibility of the step from arguments to conclusion. In the latter function, the topos functions as a general, law-like statement, which is a (usually implicit) premise of the enthymeme and can be compared to Toulmin's inference warrant' (Žagar, 2010: 21).

Furthermore, it should be noted that even though there are scholars who have critically reviewed the treatment of topoi in the contemporary critical analysis of discourse (Žagar 2009, Ietcu-Fairclough, 2010 and Fairclough and Fairclough, 2012), it can be argued that 'the notion of topos has an interdisciplinary character and is not restricted to modern argumentation scholarship' (Boukala, 2016: 250.). Argumentation is part of social activities and communication (discourse) as it uses 'verbal means' or linguistic techniques with the aim to persuade audiences, thus 'the DHA cannot ignore argumentation strategies, which are manifested via the use of topoi' (ibid.). This at least partially establishes grounds for the analysis of topoi in the DHA approach from the linguistic perspective. In this analysis topoi are seen as 'search formulas that examine endoxon, or common knowledge, and comprise fallacious reasoning (topoi of fallacious enthymemes)' (Boukala, 2016: 252). Endoxa according to many scholars after Aristotle (Braet 2005; Kienpointer 1997, van Eemeren 2010, Boukala 2016) are seen as common (established) knowledge or common (established) beliefs accepted by a large part of the public and seen to be representing 'traditional knowledge' but are not necessarily true or 'universally valid' (Boukala, 2016: 253). In research on discourse of national identity, these could be seen as common national memories that are based either on interpretation or retelling of common history or elements of collective national memory. Further, Boukala notes that whence the argument is presented, syllogism leads the speaker to formulate a conclusion, which in turn can either be rejected or defended and this is what topos is according to Aristotle—'rhetorical and dialectical scheme, a universal persuasion device' (ibid.:255). Thus, if rhetoric is the art of persuasion or one's ability to use any means available to persuade the target audience, then topoi is one of these available means. Boukala (2016) argues that

‘The usage of topoi highlights the manifold context and practices of the DHA that are linked to the systematic analysis of biased discourses and the discursive construction of in-groups and out-groups. Moreover, the reintroduction of Aristotle’s rhetorical topoi surpasses misunderstandings and misreading regarding the links between DHA and argumentation strategies and can provide new insights into the analysis of the discursive distinction between ‘us’ and ‘them’ (Boukala, 2016: 265).

Thus, it is concluded that argumentation is a part of persuasion, where argument schemes can be analysed via the study of different topoi that may be identified in given arguments.

1.2.3. Manipulation

Although rhetoric as art of persuasion does not always involve manipulation, it is still a feature that is typical of political rhetoric to reach certain goals and exercise power via such means as metaphor, metonymy, and rhetorical questions that ‘structure the way we think about politics and might affect our perception of the world’ thus allowing the listener to visualise the associations between words and their associative meanings (Rozina and Karapetjana 2009, 119). Van Dijk (2008) claims that ‘manipulation is a social phenomenon [...] because it involves interaction and power abuse between groups and social actors- a cognitive phenomenon because manipulation always implies the manipulation of the minds of participants, and discursive-semiotic phenomenon because manipulation is being exercised through text, talk and visual messages’ (van Dijk, 2008: 213). It is likewise said that manipulation ‘takes place as text and talk’ and ‘is always ideological’ (van Dijk, 2006: 360; van Dijk, 2008:213). However, the scholar admits that ‘the boundary between illegitimate manipulation and legitimate persuasion is fuzzy and context-dependent’ and that ‘some recipients may be manipulated by a message that is unable to manipulate others’ van Dijk, 2008: 213). It is to be noted, though, that manipulation in its broader sense could be seen as the action or language that is aimed to influence or control someone to one’s own advantage, most frequently it is done without the manipulated being aware of it; thus, it may take the form of other media rather than just text and talk, for instance, images, signs and symbols and music aiming at projecting (often counterfeit) emotions to achieve one’s desired goal. Manipulation, thus, is characterised by two elements, namely, implied, or hidden meanings that aim to influence the thoughts and feelings of the manipulated and the motivation or goal of the manipulators which is to gain something for personal advantage. It seems, though, that the latter element may be changed when the ‘manipulator’ uses implicature and deceit for the advantage of the manipulated.

Nevertheless, the process is still seen as an illegitimate force because it ‘violates the human or the social rights of those who are manipulated but it is not easy to formulate the exact norms or values that are violated’ (van Dijk, 2008: 215). Thus, when it comes to public

discourse which political discourse is a type of, ‘manipulation is illegitimate in a democratic society, because it (re)produces, or may reproduce, inequality: it is in the best interests of powerful groups and speakers and hurts the interests of less powerful groups and speakers’ (ibid.: 364). Linguistic manipulation is thus seen as ‘a type of language use, which is produced with an intention to achieve specific goals by retaining some relevant information in a disguised way’ (Placinska and Karapetjana, 2016: 5). It is associated with power discourse, typically either political or media discourse and indispensable element of which is language. Political language is seen as ‘a generic term used to refer to all types of public, institutional, and private talks on political issues, all types of texts typical of politics as well as the use of lexical and stylistic linguistic instruments characterizing talks about political contexts’ (ibid.: 6).

An interesting case of linguistic manipulation that is discussed by the scholars is semantic manipulation (referred to as a creative way of linguistic manipulation) that is explained as follows: ‘since some words or phrases have a negative meaning, those in power will rephrase them in order to change their meaning with an aim to influence people’s beliefs and behaviour, thus manipulating them into accepting some ideas which they otherwise would not support’ (ibid.: 6). One of the linguistic means used in such manipulation is euphemism or ‘words or phrases that seem positive and likeable, less straightforward and are milder and less harmful than the words and phrases they substitute or the ideas they express’ (ibid.). It is claimed that euphemisms have double meaning that has a positive connotation and a hidden negative denotation (Placinska and Karapetjana, 2016: 6). Similarly, metaphor is one of the most frequently used means of linguistic manipulation; however, see it as more culture specific and subjected to histories and cultures of specific nations. The authors conclude that manipulation ‘takes place when the addressee is unable to recover a clear informative meaning or intention of the message concealed with the help of euphemistic and metaphoric expressions’ (ibid.: 11).

Additionally, manipulation is the use various linguistic means in political rhetoric with the aim to manipulate the message recipients, defining linguistic manipulation as ‘the conscious use of language in a devious way to control the others’ or language use ‘based on the use of indirect speech acts, which are focused on perlocutionary effects of what is said’ (Rozina and Karapetjana, 2009: 113). Linguistic manipulation specifically is ‘an influential instrument of political rhetoric because political discourse is primarily focused on persuading people to take specified political actions or to make crucial political decisions’ (ibid.). Moreover, linguistic manipulation is a feature that is typical to political rhetoric to reach certain goals and exercise power, one of the means mentioned among those typical to linguistic manipulation is metaphor. Metaphors ‘structure the way we think about politics, and they might affect our perception of the world’ (ibid.: 119). Although the term manipulation generally refers to negative or

illegitimate type of persuasion, as discussed above, James (2018) claims that there is positive/ethical manipulation (persuasion as the author sees it) that is defined as ‘the use of personal influence to gain a response or outcome’ that is in interests of the recipients (James, 2018). It should be noted though that manipulation and persuasion are different terms, and persuasion too can be against the interests of the target audience, and persuasion is not always using implicature or ambiguous language, while manipulation always involves hidden meanings and purposes. The element that makes manipulation different from persuasion, according to van Dijk (2006 and 2008), is the involvement of ‘power and domination’ (van Dijk, 2008: 214). Power and domination are compared to social mind control or control over the recipients’ beliefs and to some extent also action that is directed more often at groups rather than individuals (van Dijk, 2010: 34.).

Furthermore, the production and consumption of discourse takes place in mental models that people (based on their knowledge about specific discourse) construct in order to understand this particular discourse and the other way around – to create a particular discourse, people need to start with constructing a mental model for it, that is based on one’s knowledge about the event or situation (van Dijk, 2010: 4). Nevertheless, it is not enough to create a mental model for a particular discourse, because one likewise needs to select the appropriate language means, thus a context model is to be created as well to suit the needs of the particular context and audience (ibid.).

It is this context model that controls what knowledge in our mental model of an event will be selected as relevant for the current communicative situation or genre. At the same time this context model controls all levels of discourse that variably manifest such knowledge. That is, context models control *how* we speak or write, so that our text or talk are appropriate in the present communicative situation (van Dijk, 2010: 6).

This means that in order to produce an effective manipulative discourse, the speaker needs to know what the hearer knows and mirror his/her feelings and thoughts in order to give them the knowledge they might want to have, ‘hence context models have a device that for each word, clause and sentence and their meanings need to strategically decide whether the recipient understands them but also whether the recipients know or do not know about the people, objects, actions, events or situations talked about’ (ibid.: 7). The aforementioned mind-reading abilities that people are able to use from time to time are an effect of so called ‘mirror neurones’ in the brain (van Dijk, 2010: 7). However, ‘if language users belong to the same language and knowledge community, they may simply assume that their general, socioculturally shared knowledge is also known to those recipients who are members of the same community’ (ibid.). van Dijk refers to this shared knowledge base as ‘common ground,’ and knowledge is a central dimension of culture’ and ‘the discursive reproduction of knowledge is at the same time the

reproduction of cultures as epistemic and linguistic communities' (ibid.: 9). The relation between human cognition and discourse processing is seen as 'cognitive processes, such as thinking, perceiving, knowing, believing, understanding, interpreting, planning, hoping, feeling, etc., take place in the mind or memory of individual social actors as members of social groups and communities', further forming beliefs, ideologies, plans as mental representations of cognitive processes that further lead to actions (van Dijk in Flowerdew and Richardson, 2017: 30). Moreover, cognition is believed to be involved not only in creating mental representation models, but also in encoding and decoding/analysing discourse structures underlying them, for instance, word order, coherence, opinion and emotion words, deictic and indexical expressions, speech acts, metaphors, and ideological polarisation (we/they).

It is concluded, thus, that there are various rhetorical devices that depending on the wider context may be seen as belonging to persuasive speeches and are either argumentative or manipulative, or both argumentation and manipulation are types or elements of persuasion. Nevertheless, it depends on numerous contextual factors such as the knowledge of the audience, the aim of the speaker, the speech situation on whether particular rhetorical device would be interpreted as being argumentative or manipulative. Moreover, argumentation and manipulation may be used simultaneously, as either strategic argumentation being manipulative (fallacious) or manipulation integrating arguments.

1.3. Presidential Speeches

Speeches are seen as 'structured verbal chains of coherent speech acts uttered on special social occasions for a specific purpose by a single purpose and addressed to a more or less specific audience' (Reisigl, 2008: 243). There are many features that differentiate speeches from one another, for instance, length of the text, purpose of the speech, audience, occasion, speaker identity, the 'form of presentation, degree of preparedness with respect to style and structure' (ibid.). It is important to emphasize that speeches are most often pre-prepared in writing and therefore are considered to be texts. Although the oral presentation of speeches may vary from its original written version, depending on the speech situation and the level of speaker improvisation, 'even the sporadic *ex tempore* speeches are never improvisation out of nothing, but compositions based on speech patterns and set pieces that have entered the linguistic and episodic memory of the speaker' (ibid.). Speech classification according to classical rhetorical theory has already been introduced above, therefore the sub-chapter follows with description of presidential speeches. Moreover, as Reisigl (2008) argues, while contemporary political speeches may still be classified according to Aristotle's theory of rhetoric on a basic level, the political rhetoric of the 21st century has changed remarkably and become 'increasingly

complex', therefore, the classical rhetorical analysis of contemporary political speeches must be 'complemented by a transdisciplinary politolinguistic approach' that synthesizes political aspects, rhetoric as well as the linguistic analysis of discourse (ibid.: 244).

It seems reasonable to argue that although presidential speeches generally seem to fall into the type of epideictic or deliberative speeches (discussed above), namely, ceremonial speeches when addressing people on state celebrations, commemorative days and deliberative when aiming to persuade (for instance to participate in elections), they may also display features of judicial rhetoric depending on the speech situation. Reisigl (2008) also classifies presidential speeches under the three-fold approach of politolinguistics as speeches that belong to the dimension of polity, namely, the 'normative, legal procedural and institutional manifestations' that aim to help political actors establish political order (2008: 246). The aforementioned approach also includes the dimension of politics and policy that also deal with political action, yet policy dimension relates to 'the formulation of political tasks, aims and programmes in different fields of policy' while the dimension of politics refers to the political process of 'formulation of political interests, the dissensual positioning against others, the conflict between political actors [...], fighting for followers and gaining of power' (Reisigl, 2008: 246). While presidential speeches may in theory fall in all three aforementioned categories, it is most often that these speeches display the polity or policy dimension of politics rather than the political dimension per se, especially in political systems that are parliamentary or even semi-presidential. Moreover, presidential speeches also belong to the categories of commemorative speeches and TV addresses that according to Reisigl (2008) are consent-oriented types of speeches that belong to the political field of action aiming at the 'formation of public attitudes, opinions and will' (2008: 253). The discourse topics of these subgenres of speeches in the particular field of action are accordingly '*the Homo Nationalis*,' national consent, national body, national identity, State Treaty, national history, national culture and national present and future' (Reisigl, 2008: 248). Commemorative speeches also belong to other fields of action such as 'inter-party formation of attitudes, opinions and will, organisation of international and inter-state relations, political advertising and political control' where the discourse topics are again national unity and consent, State Treaty, multiculturalism, and national history (ibid.). The discourse topics concerned with the construction of national identity and formation of public opinion, attitude and will be discussed in more detail in the following chapters.

Furthermore, while presidential speeches are considered to belong to political discourse and are considered rhetorical in the expression and functions (including argumentation, persuasion and in some instances also manipulation), they are 'more than merely a forum for the pronouncement of allegedly transcendent national values [...] but rather providers of

opportunity for the ritual re-enactment of peoplehood' (Beasley, 2004: 10). These speeches may be perceived as rituals that are repeatedly targeting the national conscience of the people, specifically when delivered at occasions such as inauguration or Independence Day (ibid.). Moreover, presidential speeches are also typically available not only at the given situation (live speeches) but also available both online for listening/watching and in printed versions, which is a crucial factor for public accessibility. Reisigl (2008) offers a simple classification of types of speeches that bases the typology on ten questions: who? (the speaker as political representative), on what occasion?, where? (the place of place name), when (the time of the speech), to whom? (implicit and explicit addressees), via what media? (the media of transmission), for what purpose?, in what form? (form of preparation, form of presentation), about what? (content, topic), belonging to which deliberative genre? (Rhetorical genre according to Aristotle) (Reisigl, 2008: 250). This classification may be complemented with emphasizing the features of the speaker personality and other features of the speeches, such as the gender of the speaker, the profession of the speaker as it may influence the word choice and general form of the speech as well as the language of the speech as it may influence the perception and reception of the audience.

As noted above, presidential language is seen as something different from political discourse or rhetoric because it does not always deal with persuasion or argumentation, but rather with having 'a dialogue with the people' (Wilson, 2015: 1). However, when the aim of rhetoric is identity construction, some instances of linguistic persuasion (argumentation and manipulation) may be traced. In fact, it is argued that in the changing political landscapes and 'times of strong democracy' where political participation of large masses of people is required, argumentation in political speeches 'plays a much more important role' (Reisigl, 2008: 152). Moreover, it should be noted that the words *speech* and *address* do not always denote the same degree and quality, because the latter is usually more formal and 'can be easily recognised as deed done in words,' while *speeches* are a more general term (Reisigl, 2008: 251). Most of the presidential speeches are entitled address that signifies not only the level of formation of the speech as an action, but also the status of the speaker, the size and status of the audience (for instance state of the nation address) and the form of the speech (most often carefully prepared speech by the whole team of advisors to particular president). One of such deeds or actions that political (presidential) speeches perform is construction or formation of identities (identity politics) the purpose of which is inclusion and exclusion (Reisigl, 2008: 251). It is proposed that people belonging to a nation share a specific way of thinking, a belief system, a sense of a mission (puritan value keeping and dreams) and national psyche (moral values) that is rooted deep into the history of the nation and its culture (Beasley, 2004: 10). Several problems or

challenges to national identity as a system of shared beliefs are diversity of races and immigration, economic factors and modernity that have a significant impact on the reasoning and beliefs of the people (ibid.: 41)

Although a President of a democratic republic is considered to belong generally to political discourse community, the President in fact is 'in an intermediate position: political and personal, but somewhat elevated from politicking, whether he or she is directly elected or not' (Duvold, Berglund and Ekman, 2019: 109). In general, presidential speech as any other political speech is seen as 'a coherent stream of spoken language that is usually prepared for delivery by a speaker to an audience for a specific purpose on a political occasion' and there are 'two classes of political speech': the speeches that are aimed at making a political decision and the speeches aiming to establish shared values (Charteris-Black-2018: 26). It should be noted, though, that the aforementioned classes of speech are rather broad. If looking at presidential speeches from Reisigl's (2008) perspective, they most often would belong to the sub-genre of commemorative speeches, that in turn may integrate the functions of both deliberative, epideictic, and judicial speeches and thus may be considered a complex phenomenon rather than a 'monological linguistic events' (Reisigl, 2008 254). The multiple functions of a single presidential speech may include establishing consent and solidarity, commemorating historical events, thanking, congratulating (epideictic functions), teaching, promising (epideictic functions) and accusing or justifying (judicial functions) (ibid.: 255).

Furthermore, it seems reasonable to note that among the aforementioned categorisation of speeches, presidential addresses most often would be focused on multiple rather than single dimensions, such as time (present, future and past), linguistic context (intertextuality and interdiscursivity rather than monotextuality or duotextuality), speaker would not always be the same as the author of the speech (typically a team of advisors), audience and medium (all types – primary or face-to-face, secondary audience listening to transmission of the speech and tertiary audience reading or listening to the interpretation of the speech by the media), type of speech and functions (variety of speech genres and multiplicity of functions and aims in a single speech) (Reisigl, 2008: 257-258).

As it has been already established above, in order to influence the audience (which is the function of a political leader), the role of the credibility of the character and charisma of the orator (ethos by Aristotle) is as pivotal as the topic or argument to be introduced (logos) in the speech and the emotionally appealing used (pathos). Thus, it is accepted that the success of a President who adopts the role of a leader and is given the task of publicly addressing the nation and represent it internationally, may be determined by certain aspects of his or her traits as a leader and orator. As noted above, one of such traits is charisma. According to Shamir, Arthur

and House state that ‘for most people a charismatic leader is spellbinding or at least a highly effective orator’ (Shamir et.al., 1994: 25). Thus, the charisma of a political leader is judged by people based on their public speaking skills. Shamir et al. (1994) note that there seems to be no objective explanation on ‘what makes speech charismatic, in the sense of producing strong emotional and motivational effects on the followers’ (ibid.: 26). Shamir et.al (1994) propose five processes by means of which leaders may establish a charismatic effect on the audience, namely, emphasizing the role of effort put into something to reach a goal, empowerment of the listeners by emphasizing the ‘self-efficiency and collective-efficiency’ of the listeners, emphasizing the value of goal accomplishment for the people, ‘instilling faith in better future’, ‘increasing moral and personal commitment’ of the listeners to the common goal (ibid.: 29). Finally, several elements typically used in a speech by a charismatic leader in comparison with a non-charismatic one could be noted:

- More references to collective history and to the continuity between the past and the present.
- More references to the collective and to collective identity, and fewer references to individual self-interest.
- More positive references to followers’ worth and efficacy as individuals and as a collective.
- More references to the leader’s similarity to followers and identification with them.
- More references to values and moral justifications, and fewer references to tangible outcomes and instrumental justifications.
- More references to distal goals and the distant future, and fewer references to proximal goal and the near future.
- More references to faith and hope (Shamir et.al, 1994: 30).

Furthermore, the aforementioned elements seem to reflect the idea of the thematic areas of constructing national identities in political discourse discussed by Wodak et al. (2009) and can thus be considered in the further analysis of identity construction by political leaders, namely, the effectivity of constructing national identity depending on the type of political leader (charismatic or not).

To conclude, Chapter 1 introduced and discussed various concepts that deal with politics and political discourse. Specifically, rhetoric and rhetorical techniques have been discussed in more detail, followed by an investigation of the function of persuasion, manipulation, and argumentation in political discourse. Finally, the notions and character of speech and presidential speeches have been reviewed. The following chapter offers a look on the concepts of identity (individual, group, national, supra-national and global) and looks in more detail at the methodological perspectives on discursive construction of multiple identities, specifically national identities of the Baltic States.

2. DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTION OF NATIONAL IDENTITY

Chapter 2 presents the concept of identity and national identity. Likewise, the national identities of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania as well as the common Baltic identity and European identity as a supra-national identity are reviewed and described in this chapter. Finally, the chapter also reviews the methodological framework for the current study.

2.1. The Notion of Identity

Identity can be considered to be one of the most heavily researched and exploited terms in the 21st century political and social sciences. It seems reasonable to concur to the conclusion that ‘since the late 1980s, rarely has an academic book or article been published in social sciences or cultural studies [...] without some reference to them’ (Mole, 2012: 2). Undeniably, the notion and essence of identity has been and continues to be analysed from multiple perspectives, by numerous scholars, in various scholarly disciplines and across various countries; therefore, no argument seems to exist as to whether there is lack of definition and model for analysis of the idea. Nonetheless, as an everchanging element of social practice, identity invites continuous research.

Wodak et.al. (2009) see identity as ‘relationship between two or more related entities in a manner that asserts a sameness or equality’, however, adding that this definition may not be applied to people, groups, or objects due to their tendency to change as the time passes (Wodak et.al., 2009: 11). It seems reasonable to argue here that as soon as the concept of identity is attached to individuals or groups of people, difference from others rather than sameness or equality is to be seen as keyword. Guibernau (2007) rightly notes that ‘the key questions with regard to identity are who am I? and who are we?’ (2007: 7). By referring to identity, the author means individual or collective identities. Identity co-operates with language in that these two are both social phenomena that have been much researched in the last decades. Thus, identity is a sense of selfness and distinctiveness within a specific social context and psychological frame of the mind that is expressed among other means through language.

As a significant element targeted by the studies of critical discourse and described in simple terms, identity is seen as referring to ‘the way individuals and groups see themselves in relation to others’ (Flowerdew and Richardson, 2017: 4). In fact, identity itself ‘is a definition, an interpretation of the self that establishes what and where the person is in both social and psychological terms. All identities emerge within a system of social relations and representations’ (Guibernau, 2007: 3). Nevertheless, the notion of an overarching identity must be seen as ‘a fluid construct’ and an ongoing process rather than a product as identity be it

individual or group identity, 'is a subject to change over time and space' (ibid.). Furthermore, 'identity is manifested through one's social practice' which is to say that identity is formed, constructed, and reconstructed in particular discursive practices and 'projected onto others through discourse' (ibid.). Among the various attempts to define identity (Guibernau 2007, Dolón and Todolí 2008, Mole 2012 and 2007, Wodak et al. 2009, Flowerdew and Richardson 2017) a generally accepted analytical truth is that it is a social construct above everything else and that 'identity is about the creation of meaning whilst participating as a social actor in all spheres of social activity' (Dolón and Todolí, 2008: 4). Thus, it follows that an individual may have multiple identities, the elements of which emerge depending on particular context and may influence individual's beliefs and actions. Moreover, identity as the process of constructing a perception of ourselves as 'held by oneself or others [...] will affect ones interpretation of their actions and motivations' (Flowerdew and Richardson, 2017: 166).

2.2. National Identity

It is not a secret that people belonging to a nation share a specific way of thinking, belief system, a sense of a mission and national psyche (moral values) that is rooted deep into the history of the nation and its culture (Beasley, 2004: 10). It is likewise a part of one's individual identity that unites him or her with others who share the same language, values, attitudes, culture, symbols, and social/historical memories, and has become especially significant in the last decade of the 21st century (Druviete, 2018: 8). Although in recent years the term 'national identity' has been heavily exploited (Druviete, 2018: 9), in a 'rapidly globalizing world it remains a critical factor in both national development and international relations' (Hoffman and Buhr, 2013: 7).

A specific group of people, a collective can be addressed by dwelling on three points that they share, namely, 'common knowledge, shared space and common identity' and these features are marked through specific language use or specific linguistic choices (O'Keeffe, 2006: 127). Identity be it individual or group identity such as national or supranational is one of the most frequently applied terms in the past century therefore it is challenging to find a single most suitable definition for the term. The origins of the term date back to the 20th century and its definitions have gained a special attention from researcher in social sciences, psychology and also linguistics (Hoffman and Buhr, 2013: 8).

National identity is then to be seen as the sense of geographically, culturally, linguistically, socially, and historically pre-defined group. Guibernau (2007) sees national identity as 'collective sentiment based upon the belief of belonging' to the aforementioned criteria (Guibernau, 2007: 10). Mole (2012) argues that national identity is to be 'seen not as

something fixed but as something that is continually negotiated and renegotiated' (Mole, 2012: 3). This means that something that is currently considered to be a part of national identity, may not necessarily be one in future.

Nevertheless, before looking at the concept of national identity, it is significant to understand what a nation is. Nation is seen as a mental construct that is based on the idea of an imagined community that is based in turn on 'a system of cultural representations' and 'an imaginary complex of ideas containing at least the defining elements of collective unity and equality, of boundaries and autonomy' (Wodak, et.al, 2009: 22). Thus, nation and identity are only combinable in discourse. Moreover, 'the question of how this imaginary community reaches the minds of those who are convinced of it is easy to answer: it is constructed and conveyed in discourse, pre-dominantly in narratives of national culture' (ibid.). Thus, national identity is constructed in discourse of those who have the opportunity to address and possibly influence the minds of the members of a specific imaginary community. Furthermore, the idea of national identity and some of its contemporary forms such as banal nationalism (Billig, 1995) are seen as 'everyday representations of the nation which build an imagined sense or "imaginary" of national solidarity and belonging' (Wodak in Flowerdew and Richardson, 2017: 408). Examples of this type of nationalism in public expression include 'the use of flags in everyday contexts, sporting events, national songs/anthems, symbols on money, popular expressions and turns of phrase, patriotic clubs, and the use of implied togetherness in the national press' (ibid.). Here the use of the aforementioned linguistic means together with inclusive pronouns *we/us/our* 'offer constant, but barely conscious, reminders of the homeland, making 'our' national identity unforgettable' (ibid.). Thus, these strategies are exercises of mental representations that draw both on the emotions and memories of the addressee and may potentially cause actions previously intended by the sender of the message.

Furthermore, 'identity is a definition, an interpretation of the self that establishes what and where the person is in both social and psychological terms. All identities emerge within a system of social relations and representations' (Guibernau, 2007: 3). Identity is seen as being connected with action, 'actors must have a perception of belonging, a sense of temporal continuity and a capacity of self-reflection informing a process of constant reaffirmation of one's self-identity and differentiation from others' (ibid.). Continuity and differentiation from other are seen as key aspects of national identity. Guibernau (2007) notes that:

'Continuity springs from the conception of the nation as a historically rooted entity that projects into the future. Differentiation stems from the consciousness of forming a distinct community with a shared culture, past, symbols and traditions attached to the limited territory. Continuity and differentiation from others lead to the distinction between members (those who belong) and strangers, the rest, the different, and sometimes the enemy.' (Guibernau, 2007: 3)

Furthermore, 'national identity is seen as a form of 'collective sentiment based upon the belief of belonging to the same nation and of sharing most of the attributes that make it distinct from other nations' (ibid.:5). As discussed above, national identity is a non-static but rather 'fluid and dynamic phenomenon' that can be considered to be a relatively recent or modern concept (ibid.). It seems to be based on several established factors such as the 'belief in a common culture, history, kinship, language, religion, territory, and destiny' (ibid.: 5) Thus, several dimension of national identity may be noted, for instance, historical, cultural, phycological, and territorial.

Hoffman and Buhr (2013) claim that 'in a rapidly globalizing world national identity remains a critical factor in both national development and international relations' (2013: 7). The ambiguous term identity essentially refers to the capacity of individuals and social groups to 'retain their specificities and qualitative characters, despite historic, territorial and political changes and transformations' (ibid.). Nevertheless, it was not until the 20th century that the term became widely used in academic language. Moreover, in the last decades of the 20th century, the concept became one of the most important categories within the social sciences and in the 21st century the 'phenomenon of identity is the main factor that describes and differentiates contemporary societies' (ibid.). This explains the increased attention paid by researchers to the problems of identity formation and meaning (Hoffman and Buhr, 2013: 8).

Furthermore, Guibernau (2007) claims that identity itself 'is a definition, an interpretation of the self that establishes what and where the person is in both social and psychological terms' (2007: 3). Identification is seen as a specific action within particular discourse and 'actors must have a perception of belonging, a sense of temporal continuity and a capacity of self-reflection informing a process of constant reaffirmation of one's self-identity and differentiation from others' (ibid.). National identity is 'a modern phenomenon of a fluid and dynamic nature' that is based on a 'belief in a common culture, history, kinship, language, religion, territory, founding movement and destiny have been invoked, with varying intensity, by peoples claiming to share a particular national identity' (ibid.). Furthermore, the concept of identity is one that operates not only at a cognitive, but also at emotional level and is conveyed through discourse (Wodak et al., 2009: 30).

Other scholars such as Helbling, Resskens and Wright (2016) note that there are two types of national identities, namely, ethnic identity, which is based on 'the principle of descent, [...] the nation being a marriage of soil and blood' and civic identity that is based on 'devotion to basic liberal values' (2016: 746). While the former is generally considered to be a more inclusive model of national identity, the latter is exclusive and often considered ethnocentric. It is claimed that 'an identity superordinate to existing social and cultural cleavages and opposed

to ethnic orientation towards identity that rather divides is able to foster cross-group trust and social solidarity' (Helbling, Resskens and Wright, 2016: 745). It thus follows that should political elites wish to foster solidarity to achieve specific national goals, a more inclusive and civic identity-oriented rhetoric would need to be exercised, nevertheless, the argument has 'little empirical support' even though the European political elites seem to rely on this proposition (ibid.: 745).

Furthermore, major changes related to the 'issue of national and ethnic identities' have been notable after the 1980s and that 'in the countries of the EU, the propagation of a new European identity has been accompanied by the emergence or re-emergence of seemingly old, fragmented and unstable national and ethnic identities' (De Cillia, Reisigl and Wodak, 1999: 150). A term 'discursive nationalization' has been introduced by De Cillia et al. (1999) to refer to the various 'prominent linguistic strategies' and 'widespread patterns' that are 'employed to construct national identities' (1999: 151). The group of scholars discuss the 'discursive strategies of dissimilation (aiming at the construction of national differences) and discursive strategies of assimilation (aiming at the construction of intranational sameness) and which describes a number of context-determined 'national-identity narratives' (De Cillia et al., 1999:152). Further on, the scholars define nation as a 'mental construct and [...] imagined political community, that [...] is represented in the minds and memories of the nationalized subjects as sovereign and limited political units and can become very influential guiding ideas with sometimes tremendously serious and destructive consequences' (ibid.: 153). The respective brief definition and description provided by the scholars of national identities and their discursive construction seems to be worth emphasizing:

National identities – conceived as specific forms of social identities – are discursively, by means of language and other semiotic systems, *produced, reproduced, transformed and destructed*. The idea of a specific national community becomes reality in the realm of convictions and beliefs through reifying, figurative discourses continually launched by politicians, intellectuals and media people and disseminated through the systems of education, schooling, mass communication, militarization as well as through sports meeting. [...] *national identity* can be regarded as a sort of *habitus*, that is to say as a *complex of common ideas, concepts or perception schemes*, (a) of *related emotional attitudes* intersubjectively shared within a specific group of persons; (b) as well as of *similar behavioural dispositions*; (c) all of which are internalized through 'national' socialization (De Cillia et al., 1999:153).

The term 'habitus' as noted above, has been proposed by Bourdieu (1994b), who claims that habituses are 'foundations of a consensus over a set of shared evidences constitutive of (national) common sense' (1994b: 13). The claim relates to what is called collective memory and particular narratives that are being constructed to create a sense of 'social and national affinity' (Gavriely-Nuri in Flowerdew and Richardson, 2017:124). A collective narrative is a narrative that 'forms a part of a group's identity' and is seen as 'a story in a social and cultural

context' and a 'story motivated by political interests' (ibid.). In the construction of social identities, two 'mega' narratives are identified, namely, 'one that normalizes social objects' including the use of such linguistic techniques (within the strategy of normalization) as euphemization, naturalization and justification, and 'one that estranges' social objects that include the discursive strategies of abstraction and estrangement as well as distancing and impersonalization (ibid.: 126). Linguistically, this can be done via deictic referencing and pronominal indexing, passive voice, and personifying metaphors in the case of impersonalization strategy.

In relation to supra-national identity, Wodak (2018) discusses and analyses the role of what she calls 'European project' or Europeanness (2018: 10). The scholar claims that the 'European project is capable of promoting new civic ideals' and a 'civic patriotism' that would 'bring Europeans together in a post nationalistic spirit' (ibid.). A newly emerging term 'European identity' is also introduced stating that it is 'a concept which replaces the universalistic idea of European culture in a shift from an essentialist to a constructivist conceptualization of Europe' (ibid.). It is notable that the European identity is introduced in the national-political discourses of other countries since 1990s and is used in the 'interplay between bottom-up and top-down imposed identities using the 'Russian Doll' metaphor' (ibid.: 11). This is particularly topical in the case of the identities of the former Soviet republics. In the case of the Baltic States, though, 'Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians perceive their large and mainly Russian-speaking minority populations as a greater challenge to their Baltic nation-building projects than EU' (Duvold, Berglund, Ekman, 2019: 12). Moreover, in political discourse of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania EU and other supranational bodies such as NATO are often represented as protectors of small countries such as the Baltic States. The cause of the aforementioned fact seems to be embedded not only in the history of the Baltic States, but also in their size, geographical location and economics, because 'typical challenges of small states [...] include feeling territorial and political threats, a greater dependence on foreign resources, and perceived dangers to the cohesion and identity of society [...] where the EU represents and almost ideal security organisation' for the Baltic States after the Cold War (Austers and Bukovskis, 2017: 222). However, the aforementioned observation seems to result in the 'weakness of Euroscepticism' in the Baltic States compared to larger European nation-states (ibid.). Nevertheless, it is also notable that the public discourse in the Baltic States, specifically in Latvia, 'do not necessarily reflect the agenda of the EU institutions' that is, the elite discourses seem to focus more on national affairs than EU integration and values, which leads to a 'gap between the expectation of the electorate and the actual priorities of the European policy-making process' (Austers and Bukovskis, 2017:224).

Furthermore, Zappettini (2016) claims that the ‘imagined component of we-ness in national identities is constantly (re)produced, negotiated, and instantiated in tangible symbols, practices and discourses that rely on narratives of collective belonging and otherness, and on spatial and social homogeneity of the in-group and its differentiation from out-groups’ (Zappettini, 2016: 85). Zappettini’s view complies with Wodak et al.’s (2009) on the idea that ‘national categorisation’ is productively achieved in discourse through rhetoric and linguistic means that ‘functionally aimed at indexing, naturalising and entrenching representations of us and them’ (ibid.). The scholar likewise proposes that in recent years the boundaries between national and transnational or supranational identities tend to disappear or blur, and such terms as ‘inbetweenness, territorial unboundedness and post-national politics’ are emerging and humans are seen as ‘citizens of the world [...] that have global identities reaching beyond national ties’ (Zappettini 2016, 85). Similar view is held by Anderson (2006), who claims that ‘nation-ness is the most universally legitimate value of the political life of our time’ yet given the expansion of supranational bodies such as the United Nations, ‘the reality is quite plain: the end of the era of nationalism’ (2006: 3). Though it may be conceptually agreed with the expressed view, one has to keep in mind the ‘non-static’ and ever changing and artificially (through language use) changed nature of identity (Druviete, Baltiņš 2017; Wodak et al 2009, Cramer 2010); therefore, global and political events such as the recent Covid-19 crisis will heavily influence the politics of identity and specifically the national identity construction and communication within social and territorial space might have a new role.

Consequently, it can be stated that ‘identities are seen as nested inside each other in a pecking order of belonging and loyalties so that Europe forms the outer boundary, while one’s region or nation-state constitutes the core’ (Wodak, 2018: 12). Additionally, a ‘significant proportion of EU citizens have been able to integrate Europeanness as a component of individual self-understanding in a variety of ‘reflexive’ combinations alongside local, regional, and national identities’ (ibid.:13).

As a concluding note, it can be stated that there are two types of identity research, one being a psychological one and the other a sociological and there seem to be two types of views among scientists on identity construction, namely, ‘essentialists view language as a primary and natural basis for national identity; constructivists consider identity to be created or “imagined” by groups, mutable and subject to the influence of intellectuals and power dynamics in a given society’ (Hoffman and Buhr, 2013: 21.). It is claimed that most of the researchers who study national identity tend to agree with the constructivist views, namely, that national identities are deliberately constructed (ibid.).

2.3. Construction of National Identity in Discourse

In nation-building construction of a common, unifying identity is crucial and the role of various national symbols is also important as ‘everyday representations of a nation build an imagined sense of [...] national solidarity and belonging’ (Wodak in Flowerdew and Richardson, 2017: 408). Examples of this type of language are the frequent reference of popular expressions, anthems, flags, and others. Wodak argues that ‘pronouns such as we and our rather than grand memorable narratives that ‘offer constant, but barely conscious reminders of the homeland, making our national identity unforgettable’ become relevant’ (ibid.). It seems reasonable to note that national identity construction seems to take place discursively both at narrative or story-telling level with integration of elements of the so-called ‘banal nationalism’ and linguistically at the micro level of pronouns and other deixis that indicate belonging or distancing in terms of person, time and space. Moreover, narratives may integrate various discursive strategies and in them a diverse number of linguistic techniques that aid in production, transformation, maintenance or dismantling of particular identities, be they national, sub-national (smaller group identities within the national identity level, such as regional identities, institutionalised identities and other) , supra-national (above national level identities, such as European identity) or transnational (group identity above the national, but not imposed via the top-down strategies by the elites).

As mentioned above, one of the main symbols of a nation (or any official community for that matter) and thus also the element of constructing the identity of the nation is its flag. In relation to national identity and nation as such, flags are seen as totems and signify ‘the metaphoric kin group of the nation’ (Hylland and Jenkins, 2007: 10). Flags ‘compress broad range of meanings and are rich in aesthetic and emotional connotations’ and can be considered key symbols of national identity (ibid.). The very existence of the national flags that is often mentioned and reminded on the ‘every day’ basis is referred to as *banal nationalism* (discussed in Billig, 1995; Hylland and Jenkins, 2007; Wodak et al. 2009, Wodak in Flowerdew and Richardson, 2017). It is argued that ‘a country which doesn’t have to remind itself all the time that it is a country, because it knows that it is one, is usually better integrated, and its state enjoys a higher degree of legitimacy, than one where the state propaganda and ostentatious displays of patriotism are the order of the day’ (Hylland and Jenkins.: 12). Hylland and Jenkins (2007) refer to the national flags in the countries of Europe as ‘flags of independence’ listing the Baltic States among those having these flags of independence as symbols ‘of independence, liberation and freedom’ which may be used as instrument for political actions (ibid.: 35). Moreover, it is argued that ‘European flags may be categorised in accordance with their

immediate origins, as symbols of warfare, revolution, independence and state reconstitution' (ibid.). Thus, it is assumed that the representation and reference to the national flag is aimed at constructing and enforcing national identity.

Identification is seen as a specific action within particular discourse and 'actors must have a perception of belonging, a sense of temporal continuity and a capacity of self-reflection informing a process of constant reaffirmation of one's self-identity and differentiation from others' (Guibernau, 2007: 3). The strategies that are used in creating a single unifying national identity among citizens are as follows:

- The construction and dissemination of a certain image of the nation often based upon the dominant nation or ethnic group living within the states boundaries and comprising a common history, a shared culture and a demarcated territory.
- The creation and spread of a set of symbols and rituals charged with the mission of reinforcing a sense of community among citizens.
- The advancement of citizenship, involving a well-defined set of civil and legal rights, political rights and duties, and socio-economic rights. By conferring rights upon its members, the state facilitates the rise of sentiments of loyalty towards itself. It also establishes a crucial distinction between those included and those excluded from the community of citizens, that is, between those entitled to certain rights and those deprived of them within the boundaries of the state.
- The creation of common enemies. The prosecution of war has proven crucial to the emergence and consolidation of a sense of community among citizens united against an external threat, be it imminent, potential or invented.
- The progressive consolidation of national education and media systems as key instruments in the dissemination of a particular image of the nation, with its symbols and rituals, values, principles, traditions and ways of life, and common enemies, and, even more crucially, a clear-cut definition of good citizens (Guibernau, 2007: 35).

Furthermore, identity, according to Ehin and Berg (2009) rests on the following premises: identities are not natural or essential, they are constructed by people/nations; identities are relational and involve 'references to various significant others' (thus inclusion and exclusion); identities have discursive/narrative structure (the same by Wodak et al., 2009) (Ehin and Berg, 2009: 2). As regards discourse and identity, 'the ability of identity discourse to shape political action derives from the fact that such a discourse constitutes and organises social relations around particular structure of meanings which grants certain meanings a dominant position and excludes others so as to create legitimate moral leadership and social hierarchy' (ibid.: 11).

Many strategies may be used by politicians in the process of constructing and ascribing identities in discourse. However, Wodak et al. (2009) note that when looking at the discursive construction of national identity, an analyst should have a top-down approach looking first at the broader thematic areas, followed by the strategies and the linguistic means of realisation of these strategies. Thus, it is concluded that the most commonly applied thematic areas that incorporate multiple discursive strategies and linguistic techniques of national identity construction are as follows:

1. The linguistic construction of the *Homo Nationalis* (construction of national spirit);
2. The narration and confabulation of a common political past;
3. The linguistic construction of a common culture;
4. The linguistics construction of a common political present and future;
5. The linguistic construction of a 'national body' (Wodak et al., 2009: 30).

The strategies that may be applied in the thematic areas may be classified into two levels, namely:

1. Macro-strategies: *constructive strategies, strategies of perpetuation, strategies of justification, strategies of transformation and strategies of demontage (dismantling and destruction) of particular identity*;
2. Micro-strategies: *assimilation and dissimulation, inclusion and exclusion, continuation and discontinuation, shift of blame and responsibility, downplaying and trivialisation, legitimation and delegitimation, singularisation, autonomization, unification and cohesivation, avoidance and vitalisation, positive self and negative other representation, defence, heteronomization, devaluation and negative connotation* (Wodak et al., 2009: 37-43).

In general, strategies as more or less accurate action plans may often include topoi (a highly conventionalised parts of argumentation) as discussed in Chapter 1 to connect particular arguments with the conclusion intended by the speaker (ibid.: 34). Finally, discursive strategies and topoi may use various linguistic means of realisation. These linguistic realisations of national identity construction strategies in political discourse include numerous linguistic techniques such as metaphors, metonymy, neologisms, hedging, rhetorical questions and among them also the use of pronouns (the historical we), 'spatial adverbs to indicate cultural proximity and affinity, and temporal deictics' (Zappettini 2016, 92). Botha (2001) claims that deictics as 'spatio-temporal cognizance implies identity' where 'the proximity image schema acts as a preconceptual base' that portrays a 'closer relationship to comforting entities and situations and a more distant relation to discomfoting entities and situations' (Botha, 2001: 55). The scholar proposes a model of deictic mapping that helps to analyse how identities emerge in discourse via pronouns and adverbs, where the present situation, the speaker and the location of the speaker are seen as the deictic centre, namely, 'the pronoun I reveals the identity of the speaker; the adverb now indicates the moment of speaking, and the adverb here reveals the time of speaking' (ibid.). Although the pronouns *we* and *you* are placed outside the deictic centre, they are closely related and refer to the same category of closeness, while 'on secondary level pronouns like he, she, it, they refer to entities in relation to I' (ibid.). Further on, 'pronouns shift and change depending on the way in which they are textually employed' therefore in politics they can also be used for linguistic manipulation to achieve desired affect (for instance the use of inclusive or exclusive we) (Cramer, 2010: 624).

Furthermore, it is interesting to note that while scholarly literature and research has mostly focused on the theoretical role of political leaders in constructing national identities,

such as Wodak's (2018) study on the identities constructed by elites, there is also research aiming at testing whether or not the rhetoric of elites aimed at the construction of national identity inclusively and exclusively achieves the intended goal in persuading the public. Helbling, Resskens and Wright (2016) note that 'an overlap exists between politicians' articulation of exclusive notions about the contours of national-identity and heightened expressions of civic and ethnic national-identity within public opinion' while elite rhetoric aiming at communication inclusive notions of identity seems to be ineffective (2016: 1). In other words, the research suggests that in light of immigration and national identity construction the rhetoric of political leaders seems to be more effective when focusing on 'us versus them' arguments rather than inclusive arguments. Nevertheless, it should be noted that several limitations must be considered in regard to these conclusions, for instance, the popularity of the political elite and the historical and political context of the nation. Moreover, the effect of the rhetoric further depends on the personality (likability) and ideology of the speaker and the ideology and sociolinguistic profile of the target audience. Thus, in order to investigate the effectiveness of political rhetoric concerning the construction and representation of national identity be it inclusive or exclusive, various extra-linguistic factors must be considered.

Consequently, it is agreed that a nation as a specific group of people and as a collective or community can be addressed by dwelling on three points that their share, namely, common knowledge and collective memory, shared territory (space) and common identity as the sense of self that is marked through specific use of language, which is, in turn, itself an element of national identity. The role of pronouns as 'indices of audience identity' is often emphasized in the research on constructing national identities, because 'pronouns have wide variety of stances and social roles, therefore interpersonal pronouns are rarely neutral in their reference' (O'Keeffe, 2006: 130). The use of interpersonal pronouns as seen as form of deictic mapping that may use either centring (inclusion) or othering (exclusion) or both in their reference (ibid.). It is likewise claimed that the use of personal pronoun *we* that is by nature a centring pronoun, is never only centring, but also othering, because whenever there is a certain group (*we*) there is also an opposition (*them*) (ibid.). Furthermore, 'the inclusive pronouns *you* (generic) and *we* are used to be inclusive but the pronouns *they*, *them*, *their* reinforce the reality of otherness, as does the choice of that, as opposed to *this* as a deictic' (O'Keeffe, 2006: 135). Deictic mapping in relation to the spatial and temporal reference is also an important aspect of constructing national identity, because the analysis of pronouns such as *this/that*; *here/there* display how the speaker position him/herself within the group, or how her/she position the group (ibid.). Finally, it is noted that self-reference pertains to creating identities, in this case references to a country, city, or region are seen as a 'marker of self-definition' that 'reflexively position participants

within participation framework' (ibid.: 140). Thus, in order to analyse the construction of national identity via pronominal reference, frequency analysis of word frequency lists as one of the tools used by corpus linguistics to locate the most frequently used lexical items in a specific set of texts may be used.

2.4. The Case of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania

As to the depiction and analysis of national identity construction in the Baltic States, for the purposes of this study and for the purpose of triangulation of theoretical sources apart from the empirical triangulation, the three-dimensional approach to scholarly literature has been applied, namely, the literature provided from within (the scholarly literature on the construction of national identity by researchers from the Baltic States, particularly Latvia), the research done by the scholars representing 'the East' and the scholarly literature produced by the 'West'. This strategy is chosen due to the often-clashing opinions on the political situation (national identity being at the heart of it) in the Baltic States between the majority population in the state and the nationalistic parties and the minority population that is often associated with the influence from Russia as signified by 'the East.' Thus, it is noteworthy to consider the arguments on both sides or the situation as seen from both sides, additionally considering the arguments from a third side in order to have a balanced basis for further empirical study.

The Baltic States are connected not only due to their geographical location near the Baltic Sea, but also due to their common history that has shaped their similar but individual national identities. Chulos and Piirainen (2017) note that one should not be misled by the term 'Baltic identity', because in fact there is no such thing as common national identity of the Baltics as each of these nations has separate socially, politically, and historically based identity (Chulos and Piirainen, 2017). Jurkynas (2021), however, notes that there is a 'Baltic regional identity', and it is 'trilateral' and can be termed Baltic 'togetherness' (2021: 89). Moreover, the Baltic national identities are 'most tangible and embedded in geopolitical security and Soviet legacies' (ibid.). Thus, it may be concluded that while there seems to have not been a common identity of the Baltics in the past, it is in fact being arbitrarily constructed in political contexts since the restoration of independence of the Baltic States, when 'the formation of cooperation structures' such as the Baltic Council of Ministers, the Baltic Assembly and the Council of Baltic Sea States started (Austers and Bukovskis, 2017: 16). According to Castells (2010), the Soviet Union and the Bolshevik ideology (similarly to that of Marxists) denied the existence of national identities, but rather imposed what was referred to as 'the Soviet pluri-national federalism' (Castells, 2010: 57). It can be also stated that the end of the Soviet Union was the end of these ideologies as least the part that concerned national identities, as the re-emergence

of the Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian national identities along with many other post-Soviet identities saw the end of Marxism and Bolshevik anti-nationalism ideas (Anderson, 2006:85).

Myhill (2006) notes that even though Latvia became independent nation only after the World War I ‘it was beginning to develop a distinctive national identity that would ultimately lead to independence’ even before the WWI (2006: 91). The scholar further claims that the linguistically based national identity developed as ‘a response to reformation’ long before the declaration of independence of the state (ibid.). Consequently, it must be noted that Latvian national identity (same as that of Estonian and Lithuanian) is rooted deeply in history.

It can be claimed that there exists a distinction between intra-national self and extra-national others that dates back to the official formation of the independent nations after World War I and unofficial formation of national identities during the times of different rulers of the regions. Chulos and Piirainen (2017) rightly note that ‘the other, in the eyes of Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians’ referred ‘to the alien rulers in their territory: Germans and Russians in Estonia and Latvia and Poles and Russians in Lithuania’ (Chulos and Piirainen, 2017). This alienation or otherization of the foreign ‘powers’ is kept in the collective memory and thus reflects national identities of the states and may be used as an emotional trigger by the leaders of these nations. Nevertheless, in the case of the Baltic States, particularly Estonia and Latvia, the national identity discourse is seen as a two-way process, namely, it is being influenced and influences in turn the identity discourse in Russia, a former, and potential threat to several elements of national identities of the Baltic States, namely, sovereignty, border, language, culture, history (ibid.). Morozov claims that, ‘contemporary Russian political discourse tends to securitize the identity of Russian society: identity becomes a referential object of a security discourse, which inevitably leads to a defensive position vis-a-vis the ‘outside’ world and to a never-ending process of constructing a boundary between ‘us’ and ‘them’, good and evil, and an acute fear that if this boundary is damaged the identity of the community will be destroyed — ‘we’ will no longer be ‘us’ (2004: 318). The scholar introduces the idea of securitizing and desecuritizing Russian identity discourse, where ‘state sovereignty and borders have ceased to be principal markers of identity’ (ibid.). This idea goes together with the fact that national identities (an identities in general) are not static but rather ever-changing entities that depend on the situational context and the discourse that constructs them. It is interesting to note that Morozov (2004) affirms the identity clash between the newly re-established Baltic States and their re-emerging national and European identities that were seen in Russia as a threat to their own historically imperial and also European identity. The scholar notes that the collapse of the Soviet Union and the independence (bordering) of the former Soviet states, particularly, the Baltic Rim, left a question of Russia’s identity as topical as ever, and was the cause for the

hostile discourse of ‘true Europe versus false Europe’, where the former is represented by the inclusive Soviet values and the latter by the emerging capitalist nations and the expansion of the EU and NATO, that in part was seen as a threat to Russia’s national and supranational identity (Morozov, 2004: 321). In other words, what was happening in the Baltic States after the restoration of their independence and re-establishment of their nationhood was seen in Russia as an attempt to marginalize Russia from the ‘new Europe’ (ibid.). Morozov notes that ‘the fact that they [the Baltic States] were far ahead of Russia in integrating into European structures, despite the alleged violations of the rights of the Russian-speakers, raised the fear that Russia was being deliberately isolated and ostracized, and thus its European identity, often challenged from within, received insufficient affirmation from the outside world.’ (Morozov, 2004: 321). The statement above is worth noting as it seems to explain the discourse on the part of Russia that in turn seems to be one of the causes of the hostile political discourse on the part of the Baltic States at the time (see the analysis of presidential discourse between the years of re-independence and joining the EU and NATO in Chapter 3 below). Morozov, concludes, however, that the discourse on the part of Russia changed as the Baltic States were gradually being affirmed as members of NATO and ‘today [in 2004], Estonia, and perhaps on its heels also Lithuania and Latvia, is increasingly perceived in Russia as part of the ‘true’ Europe, from which Russia can learn without any damage to its own prestige’ (ibid.: 322). Thus, it is argued that the advance of the Baltic States (specifically Estonia) and the development of the ‘values and technologies of the West’ (specifically in Estonia) as symbolised by the ‘evroremont’ and ‘Estonian technology’ was encouraging Russia to accept the ‘new Europe’ and ‘Baltic republics as the closest part of Europe to Russia’ (Morozov, 2004: 322). Morozov (2004) introduces another peculiar term, which seems to suit not only the identity discourse of Russia before 2002-2004, but also, occasionally, the identity discourse in the Baltic States namely ‘the mindset of the besieged fortress’ or the discourse of securitization of national identity as represented mainly by borders and sovereignty (ibid.: 325). It is argued, however, that one of the reasons for the desecuritization discourse is the emergence of ‘other enemy’ in the form of terrorism, which, in fact, was present also before 1999, but was seen as only one of the two threats to Russia (the other being the expansion of the West and NATO), and after the 9/11 and the aforementioned acceptance of the ‘new Europe’, the threat of terrorism became ‘shared with ‘the West’, and this has finally created conditions suitable for refocusing security discourse on referential objects other than national identity — now, it is the ‘civilized world’ which is threatened by the terrorists, and this broader ‘we’ includes the old Other and the West’ (Morozov, 2004: 325). Furthermore, via the personification metaphor and metonymy (state name standing for its politicians and citizens), Morozov seems to portray Russia as an insecure

personality that is looking for itself (its identity) after having lost what it considered to be a major part of its 'self.' The metaphor may be extended by noting that the Baltic States have emerged as 'brothers' with the same kind of fragile and insecure identity, sharing the common past of victimhood at the 'hands' of the former Soviet Union and potentially the newly emerged democratic Russia, thus, penetrating the hostile, securitized, victimhood discourse or the discourse of fear as coined by R. Wodak. Furthermore, Morozov (2004) also introduces a notable idea:

First of all, it has to be kept in mind that security as a discourse, which has become even more powerful after September 11 and the ensuing wars, tends to structure political space in a certain way. Instead of making borders less exclusive and turning them into interfaces for interaction, '*we are increasingly concerned with building barriers to protect 'us' from 'them'.* National identity in all three Baltic states is constructed around the idea of independence, central to which is a strong *historical narrative of dependence and oppression by a named powerful neighbour — Russia.* Russia, in turn, cannot accept any outside criticism of its imperial history, since it serves, now more than ever, as the basis of national identity (Morozov 2004: 326).

Different idea of the identity discourse clash between Russia and the Baltic States is proposed by Duvold and Berglund (2014), who emphasize the tensions in ethnic situation in the Baltic States, specifically Estonia and Latvia, where a significant part of the minority population 'regret the passing of the Soviet Union' shared by Russia:

an eyeball inspection of the ethnic scene of Estonia, together with that of Latvia, may seem like a recipe for disaster. Both countries are marked by several factors that easily could lead to severe tensions: between 30 and 40 per cent of the Estonian and Latvian populations, respectively, count themselves as Russians, Ukrainians, Belarusians, etc; nearly all of them arrived as internal migrants of the Soviet Union between the 1940s and 1980s—or are descendants of these immigrants; they overwhelmingly reside in compact, urban areas; in Soviet times they enjoyed certain privileges—notably in linguistic terms; many of them continue to identify with an imposing neighbouring country, namely, Russia; and, significantly, some of them are citizens of the Russian Federation, while far larger numbers are not citizens of any country (Duvold and Berglund, 2014: 342).

The shared part of features that influence the national identities in the Baltic States are border (the Baltic Sea), relatively similar geographical size, relatively similar economic development, 'common past and common historical narrative', but different languages and 'minority problems of different magnitude and different integration strategies' (Duvold and Berglund, 2014: 343). It is argued that strong national ties and national unity (i.e., national identity) is a way to build 'legitimate political regimes' and 'avoid disunity and distrust' (Duvold and Berglund, 2014: 343). Duvold and Berglund (2014) emphasize that

the importance of a strong and cohesive political community certainly is not restricted to democratic regimes. To an even greater extent than in democracies, authoritarian regimes try to boost their legitimacy by appealing to patriotic or outright chauvinistic sentiments among its citizens, often by *driving a wedge between apparent "insiders" and "outsiders" of the community.* For that reason, many liberals have an uneasy relationship to the entire notion of political community—since *a community "excludes" and "includes" in equal measures.* (Duvold and Berglund, 2014: 344)

Although the term nationalism and the respective political ideology in recent years have gained negative connotations across the world and on separate occasion to a certain extent is compared to racism, discrimination, xenophobia and chauvinism, democracy without the idea of nationalism is still arguably disputable in the Baltic States as it creates powerful sense of unity. However, it should be noted again, that there can be no inclusion without simultaneously excluding someone.

Furthermore, The Baltic Way (protest of almost two million Baltic people on 23 August 1989) ‘which culminated in the successful re acquisition of independence, signified a rebirth of Baltic National identities, freedom from Soviet occupation, and a long-awaited ‘return to Europe’ (Cheskin, 2016: 2). Thus, memories and specifically the collective memory ‘can be seen as an essential element in the formation of group identities’ in the Baltic States (ibid.: 10). Moreover, it is argued that there ‘has been much discussion of [...] memory war’ between ethnic nationals and the Russian-speaking inhabitants of the states in Estonia and Latvia (ibid.). The aforementioned statement coincides with the considerations expressed by Jurkynas (2020) and Andrejevs (2020), who have analysed collective memories of the Baltic States. The scholars agree on the fact that two radically different historical narratives are existent in the divided collective memory of the population of the Baltic States (and specifically Latvia). These narratives are the ‘heroic liberation of Europe from the grip of Nazism’ in the Russian-speaking discourse and collective memory and the ‘brutal Soviet era, where emphasis is placed on the Soviet Union’s illegal occupation of a previously independent nation state,’ where ‘Stalinism [...] is cast in the same evil light as Nazism’ (ibid.).

One of the inevitable keywords in presidential speeches of the Baltic States both from the perspective of corpus-linguistics (a word used relatively more frequently in the focus corpus than in the reference corpus) and the perspective of discourse analysis (a words that carries significance or emphasis of particular stretch of utterance) is *democracy* (discussed in detail in Chapters 3 and 4). An interesting aspect of democracy, in turn, is what has been concluded by Duvold and Berglund (2014), namely, that ‘a cohesive political community is advantageous, if not a precondition, for a stable democracy’ (2014: 342). The scholars argue that a political community ‘does not require shared properties like language or religion,’ yet ‘there is little doubt that such features facilitate community ties’ (ibid.). Thus, a successful political community unlike national identity may exist without having a common language as the main element; however, as Duvold and Berglund (2014) claim, ‘the Baltic countries [...] to various extents, struggle to balance pluralism, nation building and democracy’ (ibid.). Moreover, Duvold and Berglund (2014) point to the specific issues with political communities and democracy in Estonia and Latvia that ‘have been described as diminished democracies for

consistently refusing to grant citizenship to large portions of their numerically strong Russian-speaking minorities' (2014: 343). It seems that one of the unifying and dividing aspects that is noted and notable in the political community construction in Estonia and Latvia is the citizenship issue as 'citizenship [...] is not just a set of duties and rights attached to membership of a given state, but [...] it should ideally also produce a sense of belonging among fellow members' (ibid: 345). Notably, citizenship goes hand in hand with mastering the national language in Latvia and Estonia, which, as argued by several scholars both in Latvia and abroad, creates a problem. Duvold and Berglund (2014) even note that 'minority groups that are not part of the political community are likely to be seen as aliens, even a potential threat to the community—an "enemy within," as it were' (2014: 345). Nevertheless, 'democracy is significantly less frequent in countries with marked sub-cultural pluralism' (Duvold and Berglund, 2014: 344).

Thus, it seems that the conditions for democracy as the term itself, the same as the conditions for stable national identity as the term itself have been much argued on and still have place for arguments. Moreover, if the non-static and ever-changing nature of a national identity presupposes it [the specific national identity] being arbitrarily constructed and deconstructed, there is much place for arguments as to what exactly is meant by the term itself. Given the pressure on language policies in the states and international (also scholarly) attention on the linguistic and political situation in the states, it seems reasonable to note, that both direct and indirect inclusion strategies and invitation to learn and use the national language by several of the Presidents of Estonia (L. Meri, A. Rütel, T.H. Ilves) and Latvia (G. Ulmanis, V. Vīķe-Freiberga, E. Levits) is influenced by the overall political situation. Nevertheless, the other influencing (motivating) factor for linguistic integration seems to be the fear from the common enemy, thus the more people speak the national language, the more they share the national identity, the lesser the possibility of Russia's interference in the national matters. Moreover, presidential rhetoric as part of political discourse seems to be the result or a consequence of the decisions made by the parliament of these parliamentary republics. Additionally, the rules for being accepted into the EU, which included the integration of minorities in the states, may have had a heavy influence on the discourse of the politicians (including the presidents) in late 1990s and early 2000s. In fact, this may be one of the reasons, as argued by Duvold and Berglund (2014) that the integration discourse in the second decade of the 21st century has been 'backsliding', particularly in Latvia (2014: 348).

It is likewise argued that democracy in the Baltic States has been and remains slightly different from the European perspective. This is due to the reason that European democracy is considered liberal and all inclusive, based on civic identity rather than culture-identity (the

terms discussed by Wodak, 2015; Wodak et al., 2019; and Fabrykant, 2018), while democracy in the Baltic States is seen as a type of ethnic-democracy that is first and foremost based on the idea of birthplace and nationality. Arguably, the reason behind this is the number of minorities specifically in Estonia and Latvia. Fabrykant (2018) notes that the Baltic States are one of the nations that can be referred to as *Kulturnation* or nations whose culture ties and collective unity has existed before its official establishment as opposed to *Staatsnation*, where the state has been established first (these concepts have also been discussed in Wodak et al., 2009). There has been much discussion about the defensive Baltic identities, however, as Fabrykant (2018) notes, ‘the perceived importance of national identity criteria and the level of national pride may depend to the same if not greater extent not on the past history of nation-building, but on the more recent experiences of the fully established nation-states’ (2018:309). Having in mind the fluid and everchanging nature of identity in general, as well as the attempts of the political elite in Europe and subsequently in Latvia to integrate ethnic minorities into the civic engagement, it seems reasonable to agree, that the understanding of national identity has undergone considerable change since and the constructed as well as perceived national identity in 2021 is no longer the same as in 1991 and not the same as in 1918. Thus, these periods are comparable only taking into account the full context, because while the national identity in the pre-occupation period is considered to have been based solely on ethnic criteria, where the tendency continued and was continued by the official institution in early 1990s, joining the European Union changed the direction towards a more inclusive type of civic identity, meaning that national identity and national pride now depends more on the inhabitants’ engagement in the national affairs, their willingness to participate, to a very large extent the willingness to learn the language and the level of pride for the state accomplishments in different areas of cultural and socio-economic life in the nations (see Fabrykant, 2018 for more detailed analysis of ethnic versus civic engagement).

Another aspect notable and noted in the strategies of constructing national identity (see chapters 3 and 4), specifically in the speeches by the Presidents of Estonia and Latvia, is the expression ‘to be masters of our land’ which has been described by Duvold and Berglund (2014):

Estonian and Latvian authorities have embarked on an attempt to create an all-encompassing national identity in a plural setting—without the benefit of a unified *demos*. They may be seen as unrealised and perhaps even *unrealisable* nation-states. Such states characteristically contain large proportions of ethnic minorities, but many members of the majority population maintain that they are, or ought to be, “masters in their own house.” (Duvold and Berglund, 2014: 346).

This was in fact a political strategy of the leading political parties deciding to deny automatic citizenship to the post-Soviet immigrants in the states (Latvia and Estonia) (Mole, 2007).

Moreover, this expression draws a clear parallel with the notions of ethnic nationality, where one of the criteria for ethnic national identity is having been born and lived most of one's life in particular are (Fabrykant, 2018: 309). Subsequently the expression seems to have become a legitimizing slogan used also by the respective Presidents within the functions of their work to communicate the conditions for gaining the citizenship and becoming a part of 'us' as opposed to staying in the inside outsiders group. Thus, although the direct messages expressed by the President seem to point to an attempt to include the part of the population, who had arrived in Latvia after the Soviet occupation and opted to stay and establish families and home, the language indicates to the implicit differentiation of groups 'us' – ethnic Latvians and Estonians and minorities, who lived in Latvia before 1940 and 'them' - minorities having arrived in in the states during the time of the Soviet Union as a result of the political power of the time attempting to exercise the strategy often referred to as russification (Mole, 2012). This seems to explain the focus on communicating the idea of a single national state language, the necessity to master the language and share a common culture (Latvian or Estonian). Thus, minority language and culture are seen as an internal threat not only to the ethnic languages and culture, but to national identity per se.

A slightly different situation as noted before, is seen in Lithuania, where a more inclusive strategy for granting citizenship has been chosen by the political leaders, however, again, this comes on the basis of context that has been already introduced, namely, the population of immigrants that was considerably smaller in Lithuania than in the respective Baltic States, thus making them opt for an 'excluding nation-building strategy [...] to avoid the risk' of a possible threat on the part of minority groups exceeding the 'core nation' in population and power (Duvold and Berglund, 2014: 346). Another possible reason for the different path chosen by Lithuania is the timing of the decision to include the minorities in the citizenship law after the declaration of the state, as argued by Duvold and Berglund, namely, that the politicians of Lithuania had decided on the 'citizenship factor' before not after the declaration of independence, thus this decision might have been influence by a fear to 'pick a fight with Moscow over the issue at the time' (2014: 347). This hypothesis is also supported by Mole (2012), who notes that although similar ethnocentric and nationalistic parties and ideas existed (the Sajūdis movement in particular) some years before and during the restoration of independence of Lithuania, the leading politicians (specifically Algirdas Brazauskas, the first President of Lithuania after restoration of Independence) aimed to retain good relationship with both the national movement and with Russia as a close neighbour, thus communicating the idea of inclusion (Mole, 2012). Furthermore, having analysed minority 'issues' in several states

(Germany, Austria, Switzerland, South Africa, Israel) apart from the Baltic States, Duvold and Berglund (2014) claim that

‘one-sided nation building might also be seen as a fitting “compensation” for past oppression and a punishment of “disloyal” minorities. This sense of insecurity is likely to be a product of several factors, such as a hostile geopolitical location, years of foreign domination, or a minority population with strong ties to a neighbouring kin state’ (Duvold and Berglund, 2014: 347).

It thus been concluded by international scholars that the Baltic States are indeed democracies, yet they are also ‘incomplete or flawed nation-states with a poorly developed sense of political community’ (Duvold and Berglund, 2014: 362). This argument is supported claiming that although two decades have passed after the states have restored their independence in 1991, ‘being Estonian, Latvian, and even Lithuanian remains a question of ethnic belonging—of ethnos rather than demos’ (Duvold and Berglund ,2014: 362). Similar conclusion is made by Fabrykant (2018) who notes that although Baltic identities have experienced considerable change towards civic identities, the perceived importance of ethnic criteria remain strong (2018:310). The conclusion also integrates a correlation between the strength of ethnically based identity beliefs and the population of minorities in the Baltic States, where Lithuania has the higher civic engagement score having a lower and more diverse minority population, followed by Estonia and Latvia has higher ethnic engagement and distancing/defensive score (especially among majority population) having also a considerably higher and less diverse minority population (ibid.). The aforementioned statement is significant as both the presidential rhetoric and its effectiveness depend to a considerable extent on the general mood of the target audience, in this case the populations of the Baltic States.

As to the description of the situation by the scholars in Latvia and Estonia, Druviete (2010) claims that ‘Latvian and Estonian culture and language have developed against the background of the coexistence and rivalry of German and Russian elements, and Lithuanian culture and language against the background of the coexistence and rivalry of Polish and Russian elements’ (2010: 403). The emphasis here is on the linguistic classification of the languages with a political note, namely, ‘the Latvian and Lithuanian languages belong to the Baltic branch of the Indo-European family of languages. The Estonian language represents the Balto-Finnic branch of the Finno-Ugric family of languages. Latvian, Lithuanian or Estonian is the only official State language in the respective countries’ (Druviete, 2010: 402). Although, the idea of national identity is not explicitly addressed, the role of national languages in the national life of the Baltic States is discussed in detail, which in turn leads to the conclusion that the history of language and language situation in the country is likewise the history of national spirit and identity, because language can be seen as the main element of self-identity. This

seems to be true not only in the arbitrarily constructed or ascribed national identity (the ethnolinguistic identity), but also in case of the achieved (also civic) national identity, because according to the engagement surveys (Fabrykant, 2018), language is the most important aspect for people to distinguish themselves as having a specific national identity and belonging to a specific collective. Moreover, given the comparatively small geographical size and overall influence of the Baltic States and their languages on the world scale, the choice of minorities to learn the national language strongly points to their willingness to belong to the established community and their civic engagement in the processes of state and national building (Fabrykant, 2018: 316).

Furthermore, Veisbergs (2015) claims that ‘Latvian national identity even today is very unclear and vague’, which ‘to a large extent can be explained by the history of the nation: it has mostly been determined by representatives of other nations with their aims, aspirations and methods’ (2015:4). According to Veisbergs (2015), the formulation of elements of Latvian national identity by Latvians themselves is ‘contradictory and broad: low self-esteem, pride in being Latvian, spite, egotism and individualism, envy, diligence, treachery, peacefulness, serenity, introvertedness, reserve, quarrelsomeness, stinginess, sturdiness, singing, closeness to nature, as well as some particular activities and phenomena, like the burning of the last year’s grass, Midsummer night celebrations, song festivals, birch sap tapping, mushroom picking, storks, “white roads” (unpaved roads), theatre worship, and cemetery culture’ (2015: 4). It should be noted though, that deliberate discourse may be able to emphasize and represent these elements thus confirming them as part of national identity in Latvia, but it may also deconstruct them and construct a different kind of national identity depending on the perception of the discourse participants. Veisbergs (2015) has analysed how the early Latvian national identity is seen from the perspective of anglophone society and has noted both stereotypes, facts, and fiction elements that he refers to as ‘faction’ (ibid.). Some of the observations do correspond to the established national identity of Latvia (as noted also in the Preamble of the constitution of Latvia, the official document defining Latvian national identity, see Appendix 1). These include the love for music and singing, work and rich, beautiful, and fertile land that is observed by, for instance, John Mottley as early as 1744, who claims that ‘at their work in the field, at their play, the girls are always singing’ (Veisbergs, 2015: 10). A similar observation of the love for music and songs as well as the love for poetry in Latvians and also Estonians is observed by Georg Kohl (1942) (ibid.). Consequently, Veisbergs (2015) makes two interesting conclusions on the stereotypes of Latvian national identity perception from aside, namely, that ‘continuous thread characterising Latvians is the musicality, the role of women, oppression, insensitivity, phlegm and indifference, hatred against the Germans, interethnic and interclass conflicts’ and more

significantly that ‘in the formation of the stereotype of Latvians it seems that the important elements have been *statements coming from important people*, startling events and information (even fictional and false) that has had *broad dissemination*’ (ibid.: 23). Thus, it is concluded that the construction of national identity does take place in the discourse of the authorities and the discourse of the media.

Furthermore, Zepa, Kļave and Šūpule (2015) have analysed the language attitudes of the population of Latvia and note that while the attitude towards the Latvian language among the Russian-speaking community is ‘mostly instrumental’, namely that Latvian language by the group is seen as ‘a resource for communication or pre-requisite for certain advantages’, ‘the attitudes toward the Latvian language among ethnic Latvians is very sensitive and emotional’ (2015: 51). It is concluded that ‘in the battles over national independence and even now, the Latvian language is a symbol of national identity’ (ibid.: 51). Another view on the elements of national identity in the Baltic States and the purposeful construction of this identity is discussed by Andrejevs (2020), who has analysed the social organisation of national memory as presented by the national calendars of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. It is noted that ‘a pattern of three mnemonic clusters is observed in all three calendars: periods of independence (≈1918-early 1920s), occupations (≈1939/1940-early 1950s) and re-gained independence (≈ late 1980s-early 1990s)’ (Andrejevs, 2020: 1314). Moreover, the ‘mnemonic focus’ of the Baltic calendars ‘relying on the myth of victimhood and cult of authenticity [...] provides the base on which newly independent Baltic States [...] can anchor their identity’ (2020: 1313). Andrejevs (2020) further claims that the Soviet period in the Baltic States in 1940s is emphasized or ‘inflated’, while the period from 1980s and early 1990s ‘is cast into irrelevance’, which ‘can be interpreted through the prism of a strategic silence – a tool of political persuasion’ (ibid.: 1313). Moreover, the scholar argues that this strategy is specifically used in the presidential speeches of the Baltic States and claims that ‘while memory of the late-Soviet period is silenced within national memory, it nevertheless finds a ‘voice’ within other formats of memory and through mediums such as ‘life writing,’ theatre and newspapers’ (Andrejevs, 2020: 1314). Thus, the scholar concludes that while national memory ‘remains an established normative scheme and [...] retains its characteristic homogenous and self-contained contours,’ ‘the dynamics on the social level have the potential to loosen the grip of national memory’ (ibid.: 1314). In other words, the scholar asserts that what is being done via the aforementioned silencing strategy is not effective on deeper social and individual levels and the social memory of the ‘silenced time’ surfaces and exists in individuals’ memories (ibid.). This seems to be partially confirmed by research of other scholars on national identity (discussed above), who claim that there is a certain extent of sentiment towards the Soviet times among the populations of the Baltic States, but it coexists

in a hybrid form in combination with future democratic and civic aspirations as well as ethnic values. It seems significant to mention the work of Kaprāns (2016) who notes that while ‘the memory of communism remains a defining attribute of post-communist societies’ (2016: 1), ‘the memory of Soviet occupation in Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania has frequently enabled security concerns in terms of the current geopolitical reality’ specifically after Russia annexed Crimea in 2014 (ibid.: 2016). Thus, it seems reasonable to agree that ‘recovered memories have been central to the post-Soviet transformations in the Baltic States’ (Andrejevs, 2020: 1305). Moreover, national memories of the Baltic States date back as far as the 13th century and the historical ‘Grand Dukes Mindaugas and Vytautas’ in Lithuania, and to 19th century national heroes as mythical ‘Lāčplēsis’ in Latvia and Kalevipoeg in Estonia. These national heroes have a vital role not only in the collective memory of the nations but also in their calendars (11 November in Latvia and 6 July in Lithuania) that are both celebrated as national and heroic days in these Baltic States (ibid: 1311). As for Estonia, Kalevipoeg or the Son of Kalev as a national epic hero written by Friedrich Reinhold Kreutzwald and inspired by the Finnish epic Kalevala has been mentioned among important cultural signs of ethnic awakening in the 19th century (Smith, 2013: 11). As suggested by Smith, Pabriks, Lane and Purs (2002), Kalevipoeg draws together traditional folk poetry and peasantry thus constructing the sort of mythical past that is ‘a necessary fundament for the imagined community of the Estonian nation’ (2002: 7). These literary and historic heroes have gradually become ethnic and national ones, and their sculptures have become part of the national body of the country, thus reminding the people of the collective memories and the bravery of the nation (Andrejevs, 2020: 1311).

Further on, while the statehood for Latvia and Estonia was indeed ‘new’ and their identities having ‘survived through the long Second World War’ (Smith, 2013: 1), Lithuania, through the wording of the public holiday, appeals to the earlier recorded instances of medieval and early modern statehood (ibid.). As a result, three main commemorative anchors, instead of the equivalent two in the case of Latvia and Estonia, bracket the Lithuanian nation-state(hood): 6 July (1253), 16 February (1918) and 11 March (1990) (Andrejevs, 2020: 1311). It is stated that ‘Lithuanian national identity is a mix of ‘Eastern’ and ‘Western’ elements’ (ibid.). A Lithuanian nation is seen as ‘the one who was Catholic, who spoke the Lithuanian language, and was of the common Lithuanian descent and culture’ (ibid.). Accordingly, Wars of Independence are specifically emphasized in Latvia and Estonia, but not that much in Lithuania ‘where the mnemonic focus seems to have been shifted to the medieval and post-Second World War independence struggles’ (ibid.: 19). Furthermore, the Soviet-occupation time, singing revolution and post-Soviet time are marked as one of the most notable events in the common regional and separate national memories of the collective of the Baltic States. Andrejevs (2020)

emphasizes that ‘within the social organisation of national memory – and within twentieth-century memory specifically – occupation(s) and independence become two main organising principles’, continuing his idea that the ‘myth of victimhood and cult of authenticity, provided the base on which newly independent Baltic states could anchor their identity’ (2020: 1320). Thus, it follows that the historic events and most specifically the occupation time and the time of suppression and genocide, as well as the struggle to gain and regain freedom are one of the most important pillars that hold the idea of the national identity of these states.

Another scholarly account of what can now be seen as an established ‘uneasy’ situation in the Baltic States has been provided by Ehin and Berg (2009), who discuss the relationship between the Russia and Baltic States and claim that they are ‘problematic’ at least in three different ways (2009: 3). Firstly, these relations ‘reflect underlying conflict at the level of identities: Baltic and Russian post-Soviet national identity constructions, together with historical narratives they are based on, are incompatible and [...] antagonistic’ (ibid.3). Secondly, ‘this antagonism has increased over time [...] rather than decreased, reflecting certain content shifts in national identity construction, as well as consolidation and institutionalisation of these constructions as the ideational basis of statehood and nationhood’ (ibid.). Finally, ‘European institutions have become an important arena on which [...] this identity conflict is played out as the states strive for the international recognition of their historical narratives and concepts of self, while denying the Europeanness of each other’ (ibid.: 4). The scholars recognise the conflict between the identities of the Baltic States and contemporary Russia or what is seen as former Soviet Union. They likewise claim that to analyse the conflict, the identity constructions are to be seen together rather than separately. Identity, according to Ehin and Berg (2009), rests on the following premises: identities are not natural or essential, they are constructed by people/nations; identities are relational and involve ‘references to various significant others’ (thus inclusion and exclusion); identities have discursive/narrative structure (the same by Wodak, 2009) (Ehin and Berg, 2009: 2). Collective memory as a dependent variable (that determines remembering) and independent variable (that is the consequence of remembering) is the key factor for analysing identity construction (ibid.). Moreover, much of the contemporary political discourse in the Baltic States is identity discourse (that also sets Russia and the Baltics against each other) and is therefore a topical issue for further research (ibid.). Ehin and Berg (2009) thus provide a useful overview of how and why events such as celebrating the 9th of May and joining the EU potentially influence the identity relationship between the Russia and the Baltic States.

Furthermore, it should be emphasized that ‘only by recognising why individuals cherish their national identities and fight so hard to retain them can we gain a proper appreciation of

the history of Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian peoples' (Mole, 2012: 1). The national identity of the Baltic States in general is as much analysed, theorised, described and argued about concept as the concept of identity itself. Moreover, it is agreed that like other identities of nations, those of the Baltic States are also not only about *us*, but also about *them* or the *others*. Though Mole (2012) describes the Baltic identity formation from historico-political perspective, he also agrees with the view held by cognitive linguists (for instance van Dijk) and notes that 'ascribing identities to self and the other is natural process in the brain' (ibid.). As regards discourse and identity, 'the ability of identity discourse to shape political action derives from the fact that such a discourse constitutes and organises social relations around particular structure of meanings which grants certain meanings a dominant position and excludes others so as to create legitimate moral leadership and social hierarchy' (ibid.: 11). In this aspect the Baltic identities cannot be seen without the differentiation between self and the other – 'the alien rulers in the territory' who have left traces that are not erasable (Mole 2012: 121). As an example, Mole (2012) mentions the Soviet Union and the Soviet identity that was pressed upon the people of the Baltic States and even after removal of the Soviet troops from the territories of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, traces of the Soviet identity and oppression of national identities were left (Mole 2012: 121). It seems to be commonly agreed in the scholarly literature about the Baltic identities, that these national identities were further influenced by the 'mass immigration [...] from Soviet Russia by the 80s of the last century led to great alarm of the ethnic Estonians (61% of the population at that time) and Latvians (52% of the population at the time) about the prospect of their national culture, language and values' (Tabuns, 2001; Zepa, 2007; Castells, 2020; Mole, 2012). It is also stated that the situation in Lithuania was not as subjected to immigration from the Soviet Union during the 90s (80% ethnic population at that time), thus the differentiation between self and other (in this case Russians) does not seem to be as severe in Lithuania (though somewhat influenced by the Polish and Russian presence) (ibid.).

An extensive and detailed research on Latvian national identity have been carried out by numerous social researchers such as Kaprāns and Zelče (2010), and Druviete (2018 and 2021) in Latvia, specifically under the state program 'National Identity'. Nevertheless, one of the best-known identity researchers in Latvia is Aivars Tabuns. Tabuns (1999) classifies the factor of migration into Latvia from the Soviet Union in second part of the 20th century as an essential element of historical heritage of Latvia (1999:4). The scholar has described the statistical differences of the population of Latvia in early decades of the 20th century versus the second part of the century when the population of Latvians in the country was 52% (in 1989) and in Riga 36%, claiming that 'Latvians [...] had become an ethnic minority in their own capital'

(Tabuns, 1999: 5). Furthermore, the growing tension between Latvians and immigrants as the latter could enjoy 'a system of informal privileges [...] the distribution of apartments being the most glaring manifestation of such privileges' whereby 'Latvians and Latvian citizens justifiably felt discriminated' is mentioned among the factors that pertained to the 'we and them' discourse in Latvia (ibid.). Tabuns (1999) further describes the differences in values, traditions, and culture and even more, so the language choices made by the migrants that resulted in a formation of a 'dual society marked not by living together, but rather side-by-side' (ibid.). It is noted that during the time of the Soviet rule 'Latvians were viewed as a minority in their own country, and ethnic minorities in the Soviet era were treated in the worst possible way. The historical and cultural development of Latvia was suspended, and the national self-understanding of the population was crippled' (Tabuns, 1999: 5). Moreover, notwithstanding the fact of the restoration of independence and sovereignty of Latvia in 1991, in 1999 Latvia had not yet lost and forgotten 'the burdens of the past' (ibid.: 6). The social surveys carried out in 1995 on the effects and consequences of the immigration in Latvia and show that a considerable number of both Latvians and Russians seem to consider that immigration into the country should not continue and that number of migrants should be reduced (Tabuns, 1999:6). Moreover, '74% of Latvians and 36% of Russians agree[d] with the statement that immigrants increase the crime level in Latvia' (ibid.). As to the state language, Tabuns notes that

During the era of Soviet rule, Russian was the unofficial state language and enjoyed special privileges compared to Latvian. In most places of employment, it was not considered a drawback if a worker knew only Russian. At the same time, it was practically impossible for a Latvian not to know Russian. The goal of the policy of Russification was to create a linguistic segregation and asymmetrical bilinguality in the country. In practice this meant one-sided bilingualism: everyone was expected to master Russian, but Russian speakers did not have to learn the language of the people among whom they were living (Tabuns, 1999: 7).

Consequently, a crucial conclusion made by Tabuns (1999) seems to be relevant for the current research on constructing national identity in presidential speeches, namely, that 'historical background divides but images of future link different ethnic groups in Latvia' (Tabuns, 1999:3). It is noteworthy to state that the aforementioned historical events and facts seem to have had a considerable influence on the rhetoric of the Presidents of the Baltic States, as one of the functions of a state leader is to address the mood of the nation.

The issue of crime in the Baltic States has been addressed once in the speeches by the Presidents of Latvia (G. Ulmanis after the restoration of Independence), while in contrast it has been addressed in five speeches by L. Meri, the President of Estonia in 1990s and two speeches by the Presidents of Lithuania A. Brazauskas and V. Adamkus at the time (the Presidents of Lithuania address global threats of organised crime in Europe and the World more frequently). The reference to crime in the international speeches by the Presidents of the Baltic States, as

concluded by the author of the dissertation, however, refers only to the international and global crime (collocations in the speeches are *against, humanity, war, genocide, organised*, where the word has been used 33 times by the President of Estonia, 27 (462,58 per million) times by the Presidents of Latvia (331,28 per million) and 32 (536,59 per million) times by the Presidents of Lithuania (see Chapters 3 and 4 as well as Appendix 3 for detailed analysis). The term minority has been used 7 times (79.97 pmw) by the Presidents of Estonia in local speeches and 16 times (224.28 pmw) in the international speeches. The term minority has been used 13 times (159.51 pmw) in the international speeches by the Presidents of Latvia and once (11.48 pmw) in the local speech by G. Ulmanis. The term minority has been used 8 times (135.15 pmw) by the Presidents of Lithuania in the international speeches (A. Brazauskas) and 3 times (52.3 pmw) in the local speeches. The collocations that are found to be used in combination with the word minority in both national and international speeches are *rights* and *integration*.

Additionally, a particularly interesting research with noteworthy results has been carried out by Dimitrova-Grajzl, Eastwood and Grajzl (2016) who have analysed the longevity of national identity in European countries and calculated a National Identity Longevity Index that is associated with the extent (magnitude) of national pride in the countries. The scholars claim that 'contemporary national pride inter alia reflects deep, historically rooted societal conventions which take time to emerge' (Dimitrova-Grajzl et al., 2016:1). It is argued that after years and numbers of studies into national identity (included national pride) and its influence on numerous state-building factors such as 'government effectiveness, preferences for and extent of redistribution, tax compliance, support for protectionism, sentiment toward the Euro, and attitudes toward immigrants and foreign populations' remain unclear (ibid.). Nevertheless, 'one fundamental but thus far unexplored factor impacting national pride is the longevity of national identity' and that 'a well-defined and entrenched sense of a common national identity, through the process of ongoing diffusion, fosters national pride' (ibid.). Thus, it is concluded that national pride 'should be greater in countries with longer histories of national identity' (ibid.). Nevertheless, according to the results of the aforementioned research, the normalised longevity index of Estonia is 0,38, Latvia 0,41 and Lithuania 0,38, which seems to indicate a slightly higher level of national pride in Latvia when compared to the other Baltic States (Dimitrova-Grajzl et al., 2016:4). Although worth noting, the aforementioned research seems to be expandable to a more detailed socio-political analysis, which is not the main goal of the current study.

Nevertheless, it is argued that the guilt factor on part of the Western states for the consequences of the Second World War in the Baltic States was both recognised and used by the Baltic political leaders, especially after the 1993 Russian parliamentary elections, where a

nationalist and anti-Baltic party lead by Vladimir Zhirinovsky gained majority of voices thus potentially threatening the security of the Baltic States and the withdrawal of the Soviet troops in their territory, to 'leverage their unique historical and geopolitical position in order to accelerate their integration westward' (Lasas, 2008: 368). As Lasas (2008) concludes 'the willingness of the EC [the European Commission] to open up the possibility of economic and political convergence was driven by collective guilt and responsibility for the consequences of the Munich pact, the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, and the Yalta agreement' (2008: 367).

Furthermore, patriotism 'refers to positive attitudes by individuals to their own nation, culture and interests and it is derived from Latin term *patria* which means *fatherland*' (Flowerdew and Leong, 2007: 274). As Flowerdew and Leong (2007) note, nationalism as an ideology is distinct from patriotism as nationalism advocates 'the formation of a separate nation-state for each distinct ethnic group' (2007: 274). It seems notable here that nationalism when exaggerated and driven to extremity may and has showed the aforementioned tendencies, but like national identity, when existing in synergy with other ideologies and other identities (global, supra-national, sub-national, regional, individual) can be seen, as Druviete (2018) admits, as a generally positive force. It is true that nations are a 'socially constructed,' arbitrarily invented, artificial communities, yet they do create a positive sense of unity and belonging which by nature is necessary to humans as 'social animals' (ibid.). Moreover, patriotism is distinct from nationalism in that it does not seek power or enforce the beliefs of one's devotion to a particular place on others while the aim of nationalism is to 'secure more power and more prestige [...] for the nation' thus noting that patriotism is defensive in character while nationalism is aggressive (Flowerdew and Leong, 2007: 274). Conclusively, it seems that nationalism and patriotism are in fact 'fundamentally ambiguous' terms and are often used 'as euphemisms for chauvinism, jingoism and racism' (ibid.: 275). Moreover, as it has already been established, discourse is the medium through which patriotism and nationalism are promoted and language is the 'key discursive element to achieve this aim' (ibid.). Even more, metaphors are seen as 'discursive device that not only construct but also relate national identities under different sociocultural contexts and ideological preferences' (ibid.). It is notable that 'metaphor can be considered a necessary cognitive mechanism through which discourses, and, by extension, social realities are formulated' and 'to achieve its purposes, metaphor has to be interpreted through shared cultural knowledge, and there is variation in the extent to which people from different cultural backgrounds share cultural knowledge and ideologies' (Flowerdew and Leong, 2007: 274).

As to the identity of Lithuania, Savicka (2007) discusses the development and difficulties of Lithuanian national identity and values during the time of Polish and Russian rule in the

territory as well as during Lithuania entering the European Union. The scholar claims that ‘the experience of the post-Soviet Lithuania’s independence confirms the insight that traditional cultural elements, folk customs, traditions and the like are, as a rule, are much more important during the periods of dependence when they become the source of national pride, mythology and continuation of tradition, sustaining a core national identity (threatened by erasure by foreign power structures)’ (Savicka, 2007: 11). It is argued that ‘there are much more profound ways for national embodiment, such as historical territory or homeland, common myths and historical memories, common mass culture, common legal rights and obligations, common economy with territorial mobility of its members’ (ibid.). However, Savicka (2007) has claimed that the elements of national identity seem to no longer be as important to the population of Lithuania as during the time of their oppression (ibid.). It is argued that Lithuanian national identity should be re-created taking into account its new circumstances and the EU as an influential factor for the identity communication, because ‘national identity has the power to open new vistas for placing oneself in rapidly changing social and cultural surroundings and escaping the prison of homogenised world-vision enforced by mindless globalisation and likewise stiff nationalism’ (Savicka, 2007: 14). Further the scholar provides a very interesting discussion about the role of identity in the development of consumerism as the advertising industries try to sell goods by representing them as elements of one’s identity. This idea is not particularly topical to the area of political discourse, yet there are some points which can be noted as in the second decade of the 21st century, consumer goods featuring elements of nation and nationalism (in Latvia in particular) such as the flag and cultural mythical symbols have become increasingly popular, which means that people are ready to buy these consumer goods to display that they belong to one or another nation and share their identity. This is also the idea discussed further in Savicka (2007), namely, the fact that consumerism and identity communication has a deeper and more complex meaning than it might appear. This, however, should be studied separately for a more detailed analysis, which is not specifically the subject and goal of the current research.

Furthermore, Subrenat (2004) has used Johan Gottfried Herder’s (1744-1803), who has been one of the linguists and philosophers to study the identity and cultural differences of the Baltic States, words to define identity and national identity: ‘identity arises from the need and desire to differentiate oneself from others’ (in Subrenat, 2004: 3). Identity is about the fact that ‘each culture is unique, in the sense that the individual who has been immersed therein participates in [...] the spirit of the people which in turn forms the foundation of the collective soul of the people’ (ibid.). It is noteworthy to agree that Herder’s views on language, culture, and literature ‘played an important role in the awakening of each of the Baltic countries to its

national identities' (ibid.: 5). The scholar emphasizes that for Estonia (similarly as for Latvia) the state language (Estonian) is the main element that constitutes the Estonian national identity (Subrenat, 2004: 7). The distinction and similarity between the terms *national identity* and *genetic identity* is further discussed, where the former relates to the sense of belonging, uniqueness, and nationhood, while the latter referring to questions such as *who we are?* and *where do we come from?* relating to the genetic code of original Estonians (ibid.: 15). It is admitted that the combination of these two terms is close to ideology. Further on, the state name not only for Estonia, but also Latvia and Lithuania after the first world war (although their identities are rooted deeper into history), have become the driving force of their national identities, because before that people used to refer to themselves using the village name or larger territorial name (such as Livonia), but after that *Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians* 'were born' (Subrenat, 2004: 85). Consequently, it is noted that the land and the people are the elements of national identity and that keep it existent.

When referring to the Estonian national identity, the importance of the idea of 'being the smallest' in Europe is an important aspect of their national identity together with Estonia being 'a bridge between western and eastern Europe' (Taagepera, 2018: 14). Further on, Taagepera (2018) discusses in great detail the main events in the history of Estonia and Estonian people that have led to its present state and its national identity as it is. The history of Estonia according to Taagepera (2018) starts in the 13th century, when the state is an independent nation, later owned by German rule (14th-15th century), Swedish rule (16th-18th century) and the 'early Russian rule' (18th-19th century) that the scholar refers to as 'the peak of serfdom' (ibid.). Then the scholar discusses in more detail how the idea of an independent nation was born and how the people were long ready for it, which leads to the fighting and gaining independence, how independence was lost again and what the years of the Soviet occupation did to the national spirit in the country. However, it is emphasized that 'as a nation with a definite linguistic-cultural self-identity, Estonia always continued to exist, despite the long period of political submergence' (ibid.).

As to the history, only the period since the declaration of independence of the sovereign Baltic Republics is of interest to the present study, however, it should be kept in mind that the national identity of each of the states started to be constructed and developed long before the state was declared to be independent. Thus, in the period between the declaration of Independence of the states in 1918 (February 23 in Estonia, February 16 in Lithuania and November 18 in Latvia) and regaining the independence in 1991 (March 11 Lithuania, May 4 Latvia and August 20 Estonia) two 'periods of Soviet occupation (1940-1 and 1944-91) unleashed a wave of mass killings and deportations the nationalisation of all property and

overall violence' as well as restrictions of free speech (Mole, 2012: 50). These years may be considered as one of the most influencing in the formation of national identity of the states its strong relation to fear and the feeling of cognitive inclusion and exclusion. This alienation or otherization of the foreign 'powers' is kept in the memories and thus reflect on the respective national identities which may be used for an emotional effect by the 'leaders' of these nations.

According to Jurkynas (2020), the Presidents of the Baltic States in the period from 2014 through 2018 have represented 'Baltic togetherness' in their speeches, specifically referring to 'the repeated images of the Baltic Way, the fight for freedom, return to Europe and occupation' (2020:95). The scholar analyses how regional identities are represented in the speeches of the Presidents and claims that 'destiny of illegal Soviet annexation and the wish for a place in Europe run deep in the Latvian narrative' (ibid.). While the Presidents of Lithuania in the period from 2014 to 2018 have also emphasized the Baltic military cooperation and security issues in the Baltic States, the Presidents of all three of the states 'developed a practically identical discourses based on common regional security, sighting for freedom, integrating into the EU and NATO and getting rid of the Soviet legacies' (ibid.: 96). Jurkynas (2020) likewise mentions Russia as 'the other' or the common enemy to the Baltic States with regard to their security and their identity. Consequently, what Jurkynas (2020) has concluded is that the Presidents of the Baltic States in the second decade of the 21st century position themselves firmly as the 'Northern Europe' rather than 'Eastern Europe' (ibid.:102.). This conclusion is also supported by the results of the current research (see Chapters 3 and 4), yet there is much more to the individual national identities of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania and the common Baltic (regional) identity as the analysis below will show. Conclusively, it should be noted that national identity is likewise defined in the constitutions of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania (see Appendix 1).

2.5. Synergy of Critical Discourse Studies and Corpus Linguistics

Although criticism of political speeches is 'as old as the process of production of speeches itself,' the types of criticism and methodologies differ significantly, because due to the changing and developing character of politics in the 21st century, the methodological perspectives of criticism also need to be adapted (Reisigl, 2008: 261). Thus, contemporary critique of discourses needs to integrate not only the criticism of speech and discourse theories, but also the criticism of language choices, speech functions and contextual features of the discourses the speeches belong to as well as the norms and values expressed in and addressed by the speeches. One of the well-established and widely referenced methodological movements using this multidisciplinary approach to discourse criticism is Critical Discourse Studies (henceforth CDS). The term has become one of the most trending paradigms in discourse studies across the

world and across various disciplines. Since the original emergence of CDS and one of its most widely used approaches – the Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) in the 1950s (Wodak et al, 2009: 3) and the subsequent critique of both the CDS direction and the DHA as one of its approaches, additional interpretations and attempts to combine DHA with other methodologies have been published in Latvia, the Baltics and across the world (Skudra 2006, Rindzeviciute 2007, Baker 2006 and 2012, Mole 2007 and 2012, Kļave 2010, Šūpule 2012, Mulderrig 2012, Hart and Cap 2014, Wodak and Boukala 2015, Boukala 2016, Zappettini 2016, Flowerdew and Richardson 2017, Kopoloveca 2017). It has been both praised and severely criticised by numerous scholars (see criticism received by CDS described below). As a paradigm or movement, it began at the end of the 20th century and was pioneered mainly by Ruth Wodak, Teun Adrianus van Dijk and Norman Fairclough; however, many other scholars have contributed to the development of the field of Critical Discourse Studies as a subfield of linguistics. Several parallel approaches have been developed by scholars across the world, for instance, the linguistic approach closely related to both Halliday’s systemic linguistics and social semiotics and Foucault’s theories of discourse (pioneers – Gunther Kress, Robert Hodge, Roger Fowler, Norman Fairclough and Theo van Leeuwen), the cognitive linguistic approach looking at the mediation of human cognition and social and discourse structures, that is also grounded in Foucault’s theory on discourse (Teun van Dijk, Utz Maas, Siegfried Jäger and Jürgen Link); the socio-linguistic approach that considers both philosophical and social as well as historical aspects of particular discursive acts, here the Discourse-Historical approach is the most prominent research type due to its incorporation of multiple perspectives to the analysis of data and its allowance for the triangulation of theories and methods. Moreover, the DHA allows to analyse the diachronic change of theories by analysing the historical context of particular discourses from original sources. The current study thus uses the DHA as the primary approach to the analysis of presidential speeches yet consults the theories and perspectives from the other aforementioned methods for a more detailed analysis.

Furthermore, CDS is defined as ‘a movement which seeks to raise critical consciousness about the discursive dimensions of social problems involving discrimination, disadvantage, and dominance with the aim of contributing to broader emancipatory projects’ (Lazar in Flowerdew and Richardson, 2017: 372). Thus, all types of CDS are ‘explicitly or implicitly conducted against a vision of ideal human relations with other humans’ (Stibbe in Flowerdew and Richardson, 2017: 503). Additionally, like discourse analysis, the focus of CDS is the analysis of authentic material gained from everyday communication in institutional discourses such as media and politics ‘rather than on sample sentences or sample texts constructed in linguists’ minds’ (Wodak et al., 2009: 9). Moreover, the object of analysis for all types of CDS is both

written and spoken as well as multimodal elements of discourse as social practice that ‘assume a dialectical relationship between particular discursive acts and the situations, institutions and social structures in which they are embedded’ (ibid.) This may be seen as a reciprocal process, because the particular social, historical and psychological contexts shape and affect particular discourses, while discourse shape social reality and social thought in turn. The aforementioned idea has been thoroughly expressed by Fairclough (2014) who notes that a radical view of CDS

emphasises the power behind discourse rather than just the power in discourse (how people with power shape the ‘order of discourse’ as well as the social order in general, versus how people with power control what happens in specific interactions such as interviews). It correspondingly emphasises ideology rather than (just) persuasion and manipulation. It views discourse as a stake in social struggle as well as a site of social struggle, and views social struggle as including class struggle. It sets as an objective for CDA raising people’s consciousness of how language contributes to the domination of some people by others, as a step towards social emancipation (in Flowerdew and Richardson, 2017: 345).

Consequently, although CDS has often been perceived to be a method to the linguistic study of texts due to its original title CDA, it is in fact a way of thinking and interpreting discourses wherein the social exercise of power and discrimination takes place. Even more, van Dijk (2013) argues that CDA is no longer a term applied to the critical studies of discourses, but rather a paradigm that implies ‘everything that is studied from critical perspective’ (cited in Wodak and Meyer, 2016: 3). At the beginning of the 21st century as a reaction towards the severe criticism received by CDA, van Dijk proposed the term Critical Discourse Studies as a field of study to be referred to instead of the original term CDA. The confusion between these two terms is still present in many papers as most of the scholars still refer to CDA and do not use the term CDS. It could be stated that CDS is a movement of critical scholars or a critical scholarly movement, while CDA is paradigm under which methodology for critical study of discourse can be used.

Furthermore, Barlett (2012) and several other scholars (Joseph 2006, Žagar, 2010 and 2011) have at least partially criticised the goals and methods of CDA claiming that it focuses on ‘the ways in which discourse is either manipulated by dominant groups or conceals a hegemonic or socially damaging ideology that has been naturalised, taken for granted, as a result of this process’ (2012: 215). Several critical remarks directed towards CDS claim that it is a type of ‘cherry-picking or selecting isolated instances of discourse that confirm the existing ideological biases of the researcher’ (ibid.: 5). It is also noted by critics that there has been a tendency of the CDS researchers to focus more on the negative side of the specific discourse, thus making the critical analysis more biased than genuinely critical (more often implying political discourse) (ibid.). Furthermore, the aforementioned reliance on mainly systemic-

functional linguistic approaches (focus on grammatical aspects of discourse rather than other linguistic approaches), the focus on the available texts without considering alternatives and the lack of consideration of the cause and effect of discourses have been the elements of severe critique received by the paradigm (Bloommeart, 2005 in Barlett, 2012: 5). Taking into consideration the aforementioned critique, one should note that in the recent years the use and development of CDS as a movement rather than simply methodology has undergone numerous improvements, in spite of or as a result of these critiques, including the incorporation of social methods such as questionnaires and case studies into the research to be able to analyse the context in more detail, combination of CDS with corpus linguistics to be able to account for statistical data and objectivity of the results and incorporation of multimodal analysis into CDS to be able to overview the multiple dimensions of specific discourses in society. Barlett (2012) discusses the relationship between discourse and its producer stating that these two should be looked upon separately rather than in combination, because the relationship between the text and its producers is ‘potentially unstable’ (ibid.: 216). This aspect has also been discussed by Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999), who note that:

in an analysis of a specific discursive practice [...] we should separate the question of what orders of discourse are brought together from the question of what voices are brought together. Such a procedure allows CDA to explore relations and tension between discursive practices in place within a particular conjuncture and the specific discursive endowments of agents operative within them - a potentially powerful and explosive mix (in Barlett, 2012: 217).

The quotation may be interpreted as referring to the power of, for instance, ideological or manipulative discourse when produced and voiced by even more powerful people, typically well-known people, claiming that in order to analyse the potential effects of such discourse, one needs to carefully examine the two elements separately. Thus, context situation (including the political profile of the speaker) is to be examined with due attention before coming to any conclusions about the text produced or voiced by a specific agent. This conclusion, however, also arises in the aforementioned discussion on the analysis of rhetoric stemming from Aristotle’s philosophy, namely, that the analysis should consist of a thorough investigation of the role of the speaker (ethos), the role of the argument or the product (logos) and the role of the linguistic form that triggers emotions and cognition of the hearer (pathos).

2.5.1. The Discourse-Historical Approach

As mentioned above, the DHA is one of the most prominent approaches to CDS. Apart from its focus on the historical perspective on the context of particular discourses, it also primarily takes into account ‘the immediate language or text-internal co-text of an utterance’ that includes the analysis of elements such as ‘lexical solidarities, collocational peculiarities

and connotations, implications, presuppositions, thematic and syntactic coherence, as well as mitigation, hesitation, perspectivisation’ (Blackledge, 2005: 19). The extralinguistic or contextual (social variables and institutional frames) factors of discourse under analysis are typically the ‘formality of the situation, place, time, occasion of the communicative event, the recipients, the political and interactive role of the participants, their ideological orientation, their sex or gender, age, profession, level of education, their ethnic, religious, regional and national affiliation’ (ibid.). All of these factors must be considered when compiling and analysing the corpus of speeches and are to be used as variables when looking at the historic change or synchronic variation of the linguistic means found in the specific discursive events. Furthermore, ‘the broader socio-political and historical context which the discursive practices are embedded in include the history of the discursive event itself as well as the history to which the discourse is related’ (Blackledge, 2005: 19). Thus, the history and context of the selected presidential speeches and their socio-political context accordingly is a crucial variable in the analysis of national identity discourse. The analysis conducted with the DHA operates on three textual levels or dimensions, namely, the content or thematic level, the discursive strategies used, and the linguistic means incorporated. These are mandatory levels that are to be looked at in a detailed analysis and criticism of a discourse as well as forming conclusions and suggestions for the potential/possible improvement of discourse practices in future. Table 2 below displays the guidelines on how to approach the analysis of discursive strategies via answering articular questions on the features of discourses under analysis:

Table 2. Discursive strategies of the DHA (Reisigl in Flowerdew and Richardson, 2017: 52)

Questions to approach discursive features	Discursive strategies	Purpose
How are persons, objects, phenomena, events, processes, and actions named and referred to linguistically in the discourse in question?	<i>nomination</i>	discursive construction of social actors, discursive construction of objects, phenomena, events discursive construction of processes and actions
What characteristics or qualities are attributed to social actors, objects, phenomena, events, processes, and actions mentioned in the discourse?	<i>predication</i>	discursive characterization of social actors, objects, phenomena, events processes, and actions (e.g., positively or negatively)
What arguments are employed in discourse?	<i>argumentation</i>	persuading addressees of the validity of specific claims of truth and normative rightness

From what perspective are these nominations, attributions, arguments expressed?	<i>perspectivisation</i>	positioning the speaker's or writer's point of view and expressing involvement or distance
Are the respective utterances articulated? are they intensified or mitigated?	<i>mitigation and intensification</i>	modifying the illocutionary force of utterances in respect to their epistemic or deontic status

The list of the basic discursive strategies displayed in Table 2 above may be used to analyse any type of discourse, when doing a general discourse analysis; however, in CDS it must be combined with a detailed analysis of the thematic areas of the discourse (the particular thematic areas of identity discourse are discussed above) and analysis of the linguistic techniques incorporated in the discursive strategies (discussed in Chapter 1). In the context of national identity construction in presidential rhetoric, the current research looks at how the nomination strategies are used to construct the image of the nation and nationals, how predication strategies aid in characterising the nature of the country and people, how argumentation strategies are used to construct a common truth or beliefs and to persuade and manipulate with the audience, how perspectivisation strategies display the individual identity of the particular President and how mitigation and intensification strategies are used for the effect of emphasizing or obscuring specific aspects of national identities.

2.5.2. Corpus Linguistic Critical Discourse Studies

In the 21st century, corpus data may be seen as mandatory constituent in the methodology of a reliable, replicable, and representative research. However, it seems reasonable to state that for DA and more specifically CDA the corpus-based approach or corpus-linguistics-as-a-method is more suitable, because it allows for a corpus analysis that is based on pre-existing theories that need evidence or proof, which is in turn sought in the selected corpus or corpora.

Furthermore, although DA and especially CDA are relatively new disciplines of research (the same as Corpus Linguistics), there are already several scholars who discuss its relation to Corpus Linguistics. Baker (2006) acknowledges the differing views of linguists about the researchers' bias and subjectivity, but also notes that corpus-based approach should be seen as a direction towards 'self-awareness and agency' in linguistic research and especially DA (2006: 11). Baker further looks at the term 'triangulation' which is also discussed by critical discourse analysts especially when using the DHA approach (ibid.: 16). Triangulation as combination of multiple approaches or methods to the analysis of corpora is nowadays approached by

numerous researchers as a more advanced and more reliable means of analysis due to several reasons. First, triangulation is seen as ‘facilitating validity checks of hypotheses’ (ibid.). Second, ‘it anchors findings in more robust interpretations and explanations’ (ibid.). Third, ‘it allows researchers to respond flexibly to unforeseen problems and aspects in their research’ (ibid.). Although Baker (2006) also claims that ‘discourse analysts typically do not want to build a corpus from scratch’ but rather base their analysis on single texts, it seems reasonable to argue that to achieve more reliable and interpretable results it is mandatory to base assumptions, hypotheses and theses on a large body of evidence otherwise one cannot claim that the research represents one or another discourse (Baker, 2006: 16). Thus, it follows that in order to have a good basis for research in the arena of CDS, creating a structured corpus for systematic analysis or even several corpora if studying discourse both diachronically and synchronically is a prerequisite. In the later works of Baker (2012) emerges a different, more ironical, or humorous descriptions of how CL cooperate with CDS. The scholar humorously notes that CDA and CL are sometimes seen as ‘uneasy bedfellows’ due to their shared belief in the idea that only naturally occurring language is worth analysing and ends in reliable and representative conclusions but differing views on the importance of social context and in-depth analysis of the ‘extra linguistic factors’ (Baker, 2012: 33). The metaphoric idea of relationship between CDA and CL is further extended with ironical touch claiming that these two sciences have so far only ‘having occasional dates in intimate relationships’ and not yet ‘exchanged wedding vows’ exactly because corpus researchers do not see point in paying close attention to socio-political context when one has to analyse massive bodies of data in a large corpus (ibid.: 34).

Further on, corpus-based approaches to linguistic analysis of texts are typically based on the following features or principles of CL: machine-readability, authenticity, and sampling representative of some particular language genre or discourse. Wodak and Meyer (2009) address the issue of combining machine-readability with authenticity factors in CDS, because CL require a machine-readable text to be in plain text format without any additional formatting features, while for CDA this is impossible, because removing the original text formatting the text loses its context which is of significance for studying social relations and aims of the text (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 130). This issue is, however, solvable and both concordance and context can be kept for CDA by saving the text original of speech audio original for later reference (ibid.). Moreover, the recent development of online corpus tools such as the *Sketch Engine* or *Voyant Tools* allow to create online corpora in a *Microsoft Word* format which allows to retain the data important for the critical discourse analysis of the texts.

Additionally, Wodak and Meyer (2009) offer a several step guide of how to combine CDA with Corpus Linguistics and to ‘cope with large amounts of data, reduce researcher’s bias and enhance the credibility of the analysis’:

1. compiling an electronically held corpus that allows for investigation of research questions to arise from social issues.
2. Running the corpus through concordancing software that compiles frequency lists, identifies keywords and reveals statistically significant collocations.
3. Analysing concordances qualitatively in order to establish the dominant semantic preferences and prosodies of lexical items relevant to the social issues under analysis.
4. Putting the results from the purpose-built corpus into perspective by comparing them with evidence gleaned from large reference corpora. (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 130).

The main conclusion here is, therefore, that CL can aid CDA in numerous ways and is welcome as CDA allows for triangulation of methods.

Consequently, it can be stated that CL has gained the attention of linguists and researchers who represent many different disciplines starting from lexicography to grammar and even discourse analysis. Although there are contradicting views on how CL should be defined and what are the differences between corpus-based and corpus-driven or corpus-linguistics-as-a-method and corpus-linguistics-as-a-theory, no questions about the fact that CL is an indispensable constituent of a reliable, replicable, and up-to-date qualitative and quantitative research seem to exist. This is also confirmed by Johnstone (2018) who notes that ‘corpus analysis can reconfirm qualitative work, making it harder for people who feel that the truth is in numbers to ignore, but quantitative corpus analysis can uncover things that qualitative analysis cannot’ (2018: 18). In other words, corpus-as-a-method can be used to support the qualitative data or reconfirm theoretical assumptions, while corpus-as-a-theory is a valuable approach in the studies of unmarked corpora that have not yet been analysed and provide rich empirical grounds for data extraction and detailed linguistic investigation and ‘the corpus itself embodies a theory of language’ (Tognini-Bonelli, 2001: 84). Thus, the use of corpora in interdisciplinary research develops through time and spreads across disciplines in a rather speedy manner and new theories and views emerge accordingly.

Moreover, O’Keeffe and McCarthy (2014) note that there are four techniques in corpus linguistics that may be and are advised to be used in discourse analysis and particularly critical analysis of political discourse: ‘(1) analysing ‘how X is talked about’, (2) making corpus comparisons, (3) analysing sets of linguistic features marking a particular style, and (4) analysing keywords’ (O’Keeffe and McCarthy, 2014:595). Accordingly, these are the ways how quantitative corpus study comes together with the qualitative discourse study. First the frequency lists are created and examined quantitatively. Then collocations and concordance lines are analysed qualitatively to see the semantic environment or context of the lexical item. Collocation search is useful for discourse analysis because it can reveal ‘the semantic definition

of a word' and it is 'closely bound with discourse prosody' (Haider, 2017: 19). Similarly, concordance can help discourse analysis to uncover 'hidden traces' of specific discourse as it shows 'the co-textual information' (ibid: 20). Another feature of CL that is also likeable for CDA is making comparisons, for example comparing the use and frequency of two different lexical items or phrases in a corpus or comparing the use of a particular item in different corpora. Although frequency is typically a corpus linguistic tool, Haider (2017) argues that it may aid CDA in that word frequency analysis may help to uncover some bias or hidden attitudes of the discourse producer (Haider, 2017: 18). In this way a researcher may uncover for instance traces of sexist discourse, traces of ideologies like populism, racism etc. (ibid.). Additionally, corpus linguistic tools can also aid CDA when it comes to analysing particular style 'especially in diachronic study' where the use of numerous lexical items can be analysed in several time periods thus identifying the change of style (O'Keeffe and McCarthy, 2014: 596). This can be easily done analysing the existing corpora of, for instance, British Parliament hearings, which are structured by years, thus enabling the researcher to observe language change diachronically. It is also possible to create a specific specialised corpus or corpora, and having collected material that represents at least several decades, it is possible to create structure for observing diachronic change of language use, which is one of the goals the author of this study has set for further research. Nevertheless, if a discourse analyst makes too much connection to corpus linguistic principles, he or she may 'lose contact' with the text (McEnery, Xiao and Tono, 2006: 111). This is due to the reason that CL is generally considered to be dealing with large corpora that mainly include examples, while DA deals with whole texts but in processable numbers. Likewise, CL would typically make use of general language corpora while DA is more interested in specialised corpora. It seems reasonable to disagree with McEnery et al. in that DA is interested mainly in spoken language, as discourse by definition is social language use within context by particular person or group no matter spoken, written or multimodal.

Finally, as discussed above, keyword analysis may have two meanings when it comes to combining CL with DA. However, in large corpora keywords as analysed by discourse analysts may prove to be quite difficult item for analysis. In corpus linguistic study, however, to analyse keywords at least two corpora should be necessary for comparison. These can be a specialised corpus and a general corpus, or two different specialised corpora compared to show the use of keywords in the base corpus a unique or different from other genres, for example, comparison of keywords in political discourse and academic discourse.

Moreover, it should be emphasized that a 'corpus of political speeches makes it possible to analyse the idiolect of specific politicians (although note that many politicians use speech writers), for example in terms of rhetorical style or the typical connotations of specific

keywords' (O'Keeffe and McCarthy, 2014: 593). Thus, the corpus approach to CDA allows the researcher to 'reveal patterns of textual prominence in the data (such as collocations of certain words or especially frequent 'keywords' that are amenable to qualitative analysis' (Mulderigg, 2008: 151). Additionally, due to the fact that 'corpus analysis permits critical textual analysis of large bodies of data, historical analyses of the variation, selection, and retention of keywords in political discourses over extended periods can be made' (which is also the case of the present study (ibid). Given the aforementioned theories, the current research follows several methodological steps:

1. The formulation and research topic and research questions;
2. Corpus design: the compilation and classification of unmarked corpus data;
3. The review of methodologies and relevant theoretical literature on the theme of the discursive construction of national identity in political discourse;
4. Selection of corpus tools for detailed corpus-based and corpus-driven analysis (see Appendix 11);
5. Corpus-driven and corpus-based analysis – extracting keywords, word frequency lists and collocations, looking at word sketches and making corpus comparisons;
6. Qualitative and comparative speech analysis of thematic areas in the speeches, the applied discursive strategies, and linguistic techniques;
7. Collection and analysis of survey and interview data to evaluate the conclusions of the critical discourse analysis;
8. Formulation of results and drawing conclusions.

Although the research procedure consists of eight steps, it should be noted that all steps, particularly the consultation of relevant scholarly literature and comparison against the empirical data (both qualitative and quantitative) is re-assessed throughout the research process.

To conclude, Chapter 2 has introduced discussion on the concepts of identity, national identity and global or supranational identities as well as the means by which these identities are constructed and deconstructed in discourse. The national identities, their elements and the process of constructing collective identities and representing collective values of the Baltic States as well as the common history that influence the current state of national identities of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania have likewise been discussed in this chapter. Finally, the research direction and methodology of the current study have been reviewed. The following chapter displays the results of the qualitative part of the critical study of presidential speeches.

3. CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS: NATIONAL IDENTITY IN PRESIDENTIAL SPEECHES OF THE BALTIC STATES

Chapter 3 introduces and discusses in detail the results of the empirical part of the current research. Although the studies of discursive identity construction generally follow the procedure where analysis of thematic areas in discourses is followed by the analysis of discursive strategies and subsequently a detailed analysis of linguistic means of realisation of these strategies within the specific thematic areas, the current research adjusts the procedure slightly due to the fact that the analysis focuses on one type of discourse rather than all elements of elite discourses that are considered active participants in national identity construction. Thus, as the present study deals specifically with presidential rhetoric as a form of political discourse, the chapter provides an outlook on the corpus of presidential speeches and descriptions of the linguistic and contextual profiles of the Presidents of the Baltic States first. After that, a detailed critical analysis of the discursive construction of national identities is provided. The analysis is structured around the major thematic areas of national identity construction that have been discussed in the chapters above and follows a top-down approach where the identified discursive strategies and therein used linguistic means of strategy realisation are discussed, respectively. The analysis is complemented with examples from the corpus that illustrate the results of the inquiry (see Table 68 in Appendix 6). Moreover, additional illustrations of the research results are displayed in figures and tables in Appendix 3 through Appendix 11.

3.1. Corpus of Presidential Speeches

The whole corpus of presidential speeches consists of 414 speeches (500 166 words); however, it is divided into several sub-corpora specifically for qualitative analysis and comparisons in quantitative analysis. The sub-corpus for qualitative analysis consists of 204 speeches (244 185 words), 40 of which (79 155 words) are given by the Presidents of Estonia (English versions provided by the office of the President of Estonia), 113 (112 259 words) are given by the Presidents of Latvia (English and Latvian collected from national archives), and 51 speeches (52 771) are given by the Presidents of Lithuania (English versions provided by the office of the President). The corpus is extended by incorporating 100 speeches by the Presidents of Estonia and Lithuania in Estonian (50 speeches, 48012 words) and Lithuanian (50 speeches, 18867 words), respectively, including the speeches that have been given after declaration of independence in 1918 (retrieved from national archives online). Moreover, an additional 140 (191 502 words) speeches have been collected from international speech

archives. Thus, the corpus of speeches by the Presidents of Latvia is 137 speeches, Estonia 130 speeches and Lithuania 147 speeches.

The speeches have been selected according to their availability in printed, audio, or online versions and the ability of the offices of the Presidents of the Baltic States to provide the original transcriptions or official translations of the speeches. The working languages of the corpus are Latvian and English. The English variants of the speeches have been obtained from the home pages of the Presidents of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania and provided by the offices of the Presidents of Estonia and Lithuania. The sample corpus data has been created so that there would be speeches by each of the Presidents of the Baltic States in the selected period of time and so that the time periods from the Declaration of Independence until occupation (Latvia), restoration of independence until entering the European Union (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania) and from entering the European Union until the year 2021 including (Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania). Due to the fact that the language use and contents of the speeches are directly dependent on the historical time and wider context, speech corpus is analysed both synchronically and diachronically within selected time periods (1918-19140; 1990-2004; 2005-2021). An additional aim of the corpus study is to see how the corpus data can provide comparable data as regards the differences in language use across the Baltic States. Moreover, the corpus data is used to analyse the differences and similarities in male and female president speeches as well as across the speeches of presidents belonging to different political parties or having different political affiliations.

It should be noted that the speeches of the Presidents of Estonia and Lithuania for the qualitative analysis are provided in English; thus, they are the official translated versions of the speeches by the office of the presidents of the states. Another notable aspect of the selected corpus data is the fact that the size and number of the files in the sub corpora for each of the selected criteria (time frame, state, presidents, political affiliation, gender of the president, language and speech occasion) is not equal for all the comparable criteria; thus, normalised or relative sizes and frequencies are calculated in order to create a representative sample (this, however, is an automatic computerised process available in the *Sketch Engine* online corpus analysis tool). Due to the fact that the current research paper is written in English, but a considerable number of the corpus data is in Latvian, Estonian and Lithuanian, examples of linguistic means under analysis are provided both as original and in an English translation of the examples provided by the author of this dissertation. Where available, original, and official English versions provided by the offices of the presidents of the Baltic States are used.

3.2. The Linguistic Profiles of the Presidents

The chapter provides the overall characteristics of the linguistic profiles of the presidential speeches in relation to national identity construction as analysed from the qualitative and quantitative perspective. The linguistic profiles of the speeches by each of the presidents are introduced below. The chapter proceeds further with the qualitative analysis of the identified thematic areas and strategies of constructing national identity in the speeches, where the analysis is structured according to the thematic areas introduced by Wodak et al. (2009). Simultaneously, the specific linguistic techniques that have been identified in the speeches are analysed, before proceeding to the quantitative data analysis. The mark-up of the speech codes for referencing examples is displayed in Appendix 4. The codes are constructed by combining the initial letters of the name and surname of the President and the ordinal number of speeches by the particular President, for example, first speech by Lennart Meri in the corpus would be marked LM1 and ninth LM9, similarly second speech by Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga would be marked VVF2.

The head of the state in Estonia is President, who is elected by the parliament if has ‘at least 68 votes out of 101’, the President is elected for five years (East and Thomas, 2003: 47). The head of the state in Latvia is President, who is ‘indirectly elected by the parliament, the term of service of a President is four years’ (ibid.: 75). The head of state in Lithuania is President, who is ‘directly elected by universal adult suffrage’ and serves the term of five years (ibid.: 87). When looking at the presidential power, it should be noted that as a semi presidential system, Lithuania presupposes more power to its President as leader of the state than Estonia and Latvia, which is also notable in their presidential power scores (Appendix 2). The methodology of calculating presidential power scores presupposes that the *prespow1* scores are ‘mean normalized scores for a particular country time period based on the existing scores for that country time period’, while *prespow2* scores ‘a linear construct of all existing presidential power variables, which are weighted by their rotated component scores’ (ibid). Likewise, it should be noted that only the scores for the period after the restoration of independent of the Baltic States has been calculated and scores change when the constitution of the state is amended (as in the case of Latvia between 1997 and 1998). Presidential powers before the Soviet occupation of the Baltic States in 1940 differ slightly, see the description of presidential functions for each of the President of each of the Baltic States below. Consequently, the Presidents of the Baltic States represent different professional, political and social backgrounds and have been perceived by society differently due to many reasons.

Jurkynas (2020) claims that ‘presidents are the highest political authorities in the Baltic States’ but notes that although ‘constitutional arrangements [...] in the states differ, Estonia and Latvia are parliamentary democracies with relatively weaker Presidents in domestic policy,

whereas Lithuania exhibits some traits of semi-presidentialism' (2020: 91). While one could conceptually agree with the fact that the Presidents of Estonia and Latvia have less executive power than the President of Lithuania (as the Presidents of Lithuania are also elected by the people), it should be pointed out that the differences in presidential functions do not point to the weakness or strength of the presidents' personality or role in domestic affairs. As the current study deals only with the execution of the representative function of the Presidents in these states, it should be emphasized that the 'strength' of presidential profiles depends more on the context and personality of the President than on the level of presidential powers as set in the constitutions of the Baltic States.

3.2.1. The Case of Estonia

Estonia is 'a typical parliamentary system in which the President of the Republic is indirectly elected' (Dumbrovik, 2009). The President of Estonia, a parliamentary republic, fulfils mainly representative functions, however, the President also performs tasks in the foreign and domestic policy of the state, namely, nominating the candidate for the position of the Prime Minister and appoints ministers proposed by the Prime Minister (president.ee). As to the foreign policy, the President of Estonia along with the Prime Minister and the minister of foreign affairs represent the state internationally, receive diplomats and sign international agreements (ibid.). Likewise, the President has the legislative power to approve laws passed by the government, proclaim parliamentary elections, and pardon prisoners (ibid). The President of Estonia is 'the supreme commander of the national defence' (ibid).

The first President of Estonia was Konstantin Päts, elected in 1938 and served his duties until the Soviet occupation in 1940, after which was imprisoned by the Soviet State Secret Police and deported to Russia, where he died in 1956 (president.ee). K. Päts was a lawyer by education and a journalist, politician, and statesman by profession.

Lennart Meri is the first President of the re-established and independent Estonian Republic, and he has also been 'famously termed the birth certificate of the Estonian Republic' (Smith, 2013: 1). L. Meri was a historian and translator by education, and his 'literary works, films and translations significantly contributed to the preservation of the Estonian national identity' (president.ee). Has been deported to Siberia during the Soviet occupation.

Arnold Rüütel (president from 2001-2006) is known for his 'opposing of Estonian membership in NATO' and 'became a medium for advancing the nationalist agenda' (Smith, 2013: 47, 71). A. Rüütel was one of the authors of the Constitution of Estonia and initiator to the Council of the Baltic States (president.ee). A. Rüütel held a doctoral degree in agriculture.

Toomas Hendrik Ilves was elected President of the Republic of Estonia in 2006 and re-elected for a second term in office in 2011 (president.ee). The President is known for his support of the EU and Estonia belonging to it, by noting that ‘EU integration is a natural part of our [Estonian] development rather than a process forced upon us from outside’ (Smith, 2013: 179). T.H. Ilves holds a degree in psychology and has worked as a lecturer and politician.

Kersti Kaljulaid is the first female President (from 2016 until 2021) of Estonia and fourth head of state since its independence from the Soviet Union in 1991. K. Kaljulaid holds a master’s degree in economics and a bachelor’s degree in genetics and has worked in academia, economics, and politics (president.ee). Table 3 displays the list of the Presidents of Estonia, their years of service, political affiliations, and number of speeches in the sub-corpus of speeches in English selected for this analysis below:

Table 3. **Presidents of Estonia, speeches in the corpus**

President	Years of service	Political affiliation	Number of speeches in the corpus	Words	Average words
Konstantin Päts	1937-1940	conservative	10	8714	871.40
Lennart Meri	1992-2001	National Coalition	31	46867.00	1511.83
Arnold Rüütel	2001-2006	People’s Union - conservative	32	40873.00	1277.28
Toomas Hendrik Ilves	2006-2016	Social Democrats	32	58562.00	1830.06
Kersti Kaljulaid	2016-2021	independent	25	35103	1404.12

The speeches by the Presidents of Estonia seem to be longer in general than the speeches by the Presidents of Latvia and Lithuania. However, as noted in the corpus description, the speeches in the English language are the translated and original versions of the speeches provided by the office of the President of Estonia, thus the length of the speeches depends on the language it is translated in. It is concluded that while the English speeches seem to be longer (1978 words per speech on average), the speeches in Estonian (965 words per speech) are relatively similar in length to those given by the Presidents of Latvia (993 words per speech on average) but longer than the speeches by the Presidents of Lithuania (the average length in English is 1055 words per speech and in Lithuanian - 379 words per speech). The speeches in Estonian have also been analysed in the corpus tool *Voyant Tools* online, and the results indicate that the longest speeches are given by T. H. Ilves and A. Rüütel, while the shortest speeches belong to K. Kaljulaid and L. Meri. Vocabulary density analysis shows that the highest density is identified in the speeches by L. Meri and K. Kaljulaid, while lowest density is found in the speeches by K. Päts and T. H. Ilves. K. Päts and L. Meri likewise seem to use longer sentences than T. H. Ilves and K. Kaljulaid, who have the shortest sentences in their speeches. Finally,

the list below displays distinctive words in the speeches of each of the Presidents of Estonia as compared to the whole corpus of the presidential speeches in Estonia:

Konstantin Päts: *põllumeeste* – farmers (20), *käest* - hand (11), *rahvas* – people (10), *rahwa* – people (10), *wälja* (8);

Lennart Meri: *vene* – Russian (17), *manifesti* - manifesto (8), *jõulurahu* – Christmas peace (8), *komisjoni* – commission (7), *leedu* - Lithuanian (22);

Arnold Rüütel: *assamblee* - assemblée (13), *euroopa* – Europe (50), *solidaarsus* - solidarity (6), *lepe* – agreement (6), *koostöö* – cooperation (17);

Toomas Henrik Ilves: *euroopa* - Europe (53), *mitu* - multiple (6), *hakka* – begin (6), *tervise* - health (9), *tegu* - act (5);

Kersti Kaljulaid: 30 (11), 100 (12), *vale* – false (5), *ketis* - chain (5), *jätta* -act (5).

As can be seen in the excerpt from *Voyant Tools*, the thematic areas of the speeches by K. Päts are characterised by four words, namely, *farmers*, *hands*, *people*, and *out*, which symbolise the focus of his communication at the time of his presidency, namely, people and work. The speeches by L. Meri are characterised by the use of words *Russian*, *manifesto*, *Christmas peace* and *Lithuania*, which again display the situational context at the time of Estonia regaining independence. The speeches of A. Rüütel and T.H. Ilves focus on the benefits and supranational identity of the European Union and united Europe and such values as solidarity and cooperation, which seems to belong to a wider semantic field of international cooperation in the presidential speeches of the Baltic States. The speeches of K. Kaljulaid illustrate the emphasis on the representative function and ceremonial type of speeches of the President as the formal head of Estonia as a representative of a parliamentary democratic republic because the keywords focus on the important centenary and anniversary celebrations as well as on topical political issues. A more detailed analysis of the linguistic profile and linguistic tendencies in the speeches is displayed below.

As to the characterisation of the linguistic profile of the speeches, the Presidents of Estonia seem to use linguistic techniques such as metaphors, intertextuality, parallelisms and rhetorical questions with relatively high frequency. Moreover, when constructing a common political past, the Presidents of Estonia refer explicitly and directly to the common enemy of the past (the Soviet Union, Russia) and do not avoid referring to the military relationship between Estonia and Russia in the speeches given to the citizens of Estonia and international speeches. This aspect has also been identified by Petersoo (2007), who claims that ‘the history of each nation is marked by the presence of significant others that have influenced the development of its identity by means of their threatening presence’ (2007: 120). Moreover, the Presidents often refer to national symbols and values to construct national spirit.

The speeches of the first President of Estonia Konstantin Päts (years of service 1937-1940) have been selected from the archives of Estonian newspapers in the Estonian language;

thus, only a corpus-based analysis of these speeches has been performed as the English versions of the speeches are not available. The keywords and multiword list (see Appendix 3) suggest that the speeches are centred around the thematic area of a common political present (at the time) such as building the farming industry and securing people's work, because words such as *farmers, work, people, cabbage, and industry* are emphasized. Likewise, the speeches focus on building the idea of a newly created state of Estonia, as words such as *state creation, the will of people and state power* are used. The most frequently used nouns (*country, people, time, work, year, land, life, farmer*) are displayed in Tables 18 and 19 in Appendix 3.

The frequency of nouns displays a similar tendency to that of the keywords; namely, the speeches are focused on the construction of a common national body (land) and a common political present (work for the newly established state). This tendency seems to correspond to the thematic areas in the speeches by the Presidents of Latvia after the declaration of independence of the nation until its occupation, specifically in the speeches by the President K. Ulmanis. The most frequently used adjectives are *uus (new), suur (big), kindel (certain), raske (hard), rahulik (calm), kogu (whole), majanduslik (economic), väike (small), ilus (beautiful), lugupeetud (esteemed), noor (young)*. The most frequently used verbs are *olema (be), ei (not), pidama (keep), saama (get), tulema (come), tegema (do), minema (go), võima (modal – can, may)*. Finally, the most frequently used pronouns are *mina (me), see (this), oma (your), mis (what), sina (you), tema (her), kõik (all), kes (who), ise (yourself), teine (another)*. The frequency of the words in the corpus shows the following most often used words: *ja (and), meie (our), et (that), on (is), ei (not), kui (if), ome (this), see (then), siis (what), mis (this), seda (this), ka (too), oleme (are)*. The use of the keywords and most frequently applied nouns, adjectives, verbs, and pronouns shows that the focus of the speeches seems to be addressing the people directly and constructing the national spirit, thus inviting people to act - work for the country, rather than representing individual identity.

The first President of Estonia after the restoration of independence and the second President since the declaration of independence **Lennart Meri** frequently uses the topos of history as a teacher in the construction of a common political past, but also in the construction of a common political present and future, where history is portrayed as teacher on the one hand as a horrible place on the other hand, specifically when comparing the past with present and future. For example,

*We are standing on the threshold, with our hand on the doorknob and with anxiety in our heart: **progression has been slow, painful and difficult. It has involved distress and poverty for our countryfolk, want and cold for their toil and moil; it has dealt blows on our intellectuals, our scientists, universities, writers, artists and composers, who had carried the glistening star of Estonian identity through the decades of darkness*** (LM1).

The speeches of L. Meri are characterised by frequent use of rhetorical questions to introduce an argument or idea via which national spirit, a common political future or past are constructed, for instance, *where do we come from? Where are we going?* (LM1). Likewise, as seen in the previous examples, metaphor DEVELOPMENT IS ROAD is used to illustrate the goals of Estonia in future. National symbols that are frequently referred to in the speeches are: constitution, Estonian currency kroon, *Mu Isamaa* anthem, reference to folk sayings (*more power to your elbow! - jõudu tööle!*) and history as symbol of national identity. Metaphors such as COUNTRY IS PERSON, ITS IDENTITY IS ITS FACE, TIME IS BOOK are also used to construct a common political past, future, and national spirit. The topos of threat is used to construct common enemy - Russia in relation to the Soviet troops still in Estonia in 1992 as well as political discourse in Russia in the early days of the Baltic re-independence (see extended extract as example No.15 in Appendix 6). This strategy seems to be used more explicitly than in the speeches of the other Presidents of the Baltic States at the time; however, the reason could be the fact that during the presidency of L. Meri, Estonia (like Latvia and Lithuania) and Russia were negotiating the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from these newly re-established nations, and as L. Meri characterises, Estonians were impatient (a characteristic feature attributed to Estonian national identity) to be free of the past. Moreover, the explicit reference to the common political past could be contextually situated in the personal history of the President and his family who along with many other Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians was deported to Siberia during the Soviet occupation and after returning to Estonia was not allowed to work in the profession he was educated in (historian) (president.ee). The document Manifesto of Peoples Freedom signed before the declaration of independence in 1918 is metaphorically referred to as the birth certificate of the nation, and values such as work, hope and patience are referred to when constructing *the Homo Nationalis*, while memories of the Soviet occupation are portrayed as a rope that holds Estonians back. Additionally, metaphorical expressions are used to refer to the existent problems in the state, for instance, crime is compared to Pandoras box and characterised as a leftover from the Soviet Union. Exclusive *we* is used to refer to the citizens of Estonia and the President as the leader but excluding people who do not see themselves as belonging to Estonia, as well as to illustrate the internal conflict between Estonia and Russia, for instance, *We forgive, but we do not forget*. Furthermore, the topos of usefulness is used in arguments that relate to keeping borders with Russia (*A controlled border should be understood here as a feature of the state, and not as some kind of Asiatic iron curtain, the task of which is to separate the Russian Federation from Europe*. LM3), intertextuality is used to refer to common people or ordinary citizens of Estonia as an example of Estonian values, references to US Presidents via the topos of authority (*Here it is suitable to*

use the words of **John Kennedy**: *don't ask what your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country*. LM3), references to Alice in Wonderland when characterising a common political present (*Like Alice in Wonderland, we have to run fast to stay in the one place, in order that we may survive*, LM3). Children are metaphorically portrayed as the future of Estonia while older generation is portrayed as the past, emphasizing that children are more beautiful, in this way constructing a hopeful political future. The topos of comparison is used to compare achievements and history of Estonia with other states (particularly the Baltic States when referring to history and Northern states when referring to development). Metonymy Estonia for its people and metaphor ESTONIA IS PERSON are also frequently used (*Estonia is among the first to sit at the table, and we are glad that the United Kingdom has the Presidency at this time*, LM6).

In summary, it seems that the speeches by L. Meri are not only one of the longest when compared to other presidents, but also linguistically richest, a feature that is shared with the Presidents of Latvia and Lithuania at the time of restoring independence; however, it should be noted that the speeches by L. Meri are more direct in relation to constructing a common political past and common enemy as no euphemisms or litotes seem to be used, but rather the topos of history as a horrible place is applied to display the past. The context of the political situation of the time of the speeches as well as the personal history and personal identity (writer, historian, dramatist, linguist) of the President seem to have influenced the linguistic and rhetorical choices made by the President in relation to constructing the national identity of Estonia. The quantitative data from the sub-corpus of speeches is displayed in Chapter 4 and in Appendix 3.

The most frequently used nouns in the English speeches are *Estonia, state, people, year, time, Republic, country, world, today, power, Europe, citizen, nation, economy, right, defence*. The most frequently used nouns in the speeches in English are *Estonia, state, people, year, time, Republic, country, world, today, power* and in the Estonian speeches *riik (country), aasta (years), rahvas (people), vabariik (Republic), aeg (time), maailm (world), inimene (human), põlvkond (generation), kohustus (liabilities), kaasmaalane (compatriots), töö (work), ajalugu (history), õigus (right), lootus (hope)*. The most frequently used adjectives are *Estonian, other, national, political, great, new, foreign, young, own* and in the Estonian speeches those are *uus (new), rahvusvaheline (international), ühine (common), raske (heavy), kallid (expensive), demokraatlik (democratic), balti (Baltic), essti (Estonian), noorem (younger)*. The most frequently used verbs in the speeches are *be, have, do, let, take, see, mean, make, say, need*, while in the Estonian speeches those are *olema (be), pidama (hold), võima (would, could), saama (get), jääma (remain), võtma (take) and tahtma (want)*. The frequencies of the word use indicate the mood of the speeches and their main thematic areas that are focused on national

identity, history, and future (thus time and hope), economy and well-being of the people of Estonia as well as international cooperation.

The speeches of the second President of Estonia after the restoration of Independence, and the third President of Estonia after the Declaration of Independence **Arnold Rüütel** can be characterised by frequent use rhetorical questions to address the feelings of national spirit in the people of Estonia as well as to argue for topical questions such as joining the European Union, intertextuality and references to what can be seen as common people rather than authority to create the sense of unity and belonging as well as to address larger part of the population. The topos of history, similarly as with other Presidents, is used to construct a common political past and history of war and occupation from which Estonia has emerged, for instance, *The leaders of the attempted coup in the Soviet Union, the then great power, could have capitalized on our hesitations and eventual inaction, and given, due to their superiority in strength, the **wheel of history** quite another direction* (AR2). Gardening metaphor (delivering fruits of work) is also used by A. Rüütel to illustrate the results work as a symbol of Estonian identity, this is a similar tendency to the linguistic profile of the speeches of the President of Latvia K. Ulmanis and in both cases seems to be linked with the professional background of the Presidents, namely, agricultural education. The topos of advantage and the topos of comparison are used to compare Estonia to other democratic nations of Europe as well as with the Nordic countries (which is a rather frequent comparison in the speeches by the President of Estonia), for instance, *In this respect we still have a lot to learn for **example from the Nordic Countries** which owing to the well-balanced, centred-on- man economy and efficient regional policy have been turned into affluent societies with well-established national self-esteem* (AR1).

The topos of definition and name interpretation is used to define such values as sovereignty and democracy which are frequently referred to along with freedom and independence, for instance, *With this expression of gratitude I wanted to stress that **state sovereignty is not just a legal or political notion. The state sovereignty grows from us ourselves and includes also ethical and cultural dimension*** (AR7). This seems to be a characteristic of all presidential speeches of the Baltic States, but more explicitly, Estonia. As to the symbols and values constructed in the speeches by A. Rüütel, the President refers to the Estonian language as a national symbol, family at the centre of values, Estonians as masters of their land (construction of a common national body, see detailed analysis in Chapter 3.3.4.).

Similarly, as L. Meri, A. Rüütel refers to the Manifesto of People's Freedom as a symbol of independence and identity. Additionally, the singing revolution is mentioned among the symbols of Estonian celebrations that display Estonian national identity along with the flag, followed by the importance of the example of Nordic countries, being a small country, family

as value, education, and self-esteem as goals. Moreover, pride is portrayed as one of the characteristics of Estonians, for instance, '*eestlane olla on uhke ja hää*' (*it is great to be an Estonian*) (AR11). As to the corpus data that support the profiling of the speeches by A. Rüütel (see Appendix 3) the President focuses on such themes as international cooperation and relationship with neighbouring countries that share common history as part of their common identities, as well as on national values such as language, culture, independence, peace, and democracy.

The list of most frequently used words in Estonian and English speeches by A. Rüütel is in fact similar to the list of words in the speeches by L. Meri, namely, the focus is centred around the idea of independence and sovereignty, as well as construction of a common political present and future. However, when looking specifically at types of words, the situation is slightly different. The most frequently used nouns in the English speeches are *Estonia, people, state, year, society, life, independence, development, time, today, future* and in the Estonian speeches the words are *riik (country), rahvas (people), aasta (years), tulevik (future), ühiskond (society), inimene (human), maailm (world), koostöö (cooperation), aeg (time)*. As regards adjectives, the most frequently used adjectives in the English speeches are *Estonian, social, new, national, good, many, political, more, same, other, independent, democratic, different, common*, while in the Estonian speeches those are *hea (good), uus (new), suur (large), rahvuslik (national), demokraatlik, ühiskondlik (social), erinev (different), oluline (important), tänane (today)*. The most frequently used verbs are *be, have, do, make, take, become, restore, like, need, work, wish, see, support, live*, and in the Estonian speeches those are *olema (be), pidama (hold), saama (get), võima (would, could), tahtma (want), tegema (to do), andma (give), tulema (come) jääma (remain)*. As the wordlist indicates, the thematic areas in the speech are similar to those in the speeches by L. Meri; however, more emphasis is put in the notions of democracy and independence as symbols and values of the renewed Estonian nation.

The speeches of **Toomas Henrik Ilves**, the third President of Estonia after the restoration of Independence are characterised by frequent use of metaphorical expressions and metaphors that are both common in political discourse and in the presidential speeches of Estonia specifically, for instance, CRISIS IS STORM, NATION IS BUILDING, HISTORY IS BOOK and DEVELOPMENT IS ROAD, for example, *The tornado shaking global finance and economy has risen fierce against us and drawn also Estonia into its whirl* (THI2). Nevertheless, T.H. Ilves also uses several unique metaphors such as ESTONIA IS A BOOKSHELF, HISTORY IS A PICTURE ALBUM, RESTORATION OF INDEPENDENCE IS LEASE IN THE BANK, and these metaphors are typically combined with other linguistic

techniques of manipulation such as rhetorical questions or parallel sentence structures that seem to be a characteristic feature of the linguistic profile of T.H. Ilves, for instance,

*Likewise, the **Estonian picture album** contains records of our War of Independence, the histories of the birth of our country and our national colours, the restoration of our public authorities, as well as the events that led to the loss and the recovery of our freedom. **This album** has a celebrated place on the **bookshelf of our nation**. Yet let us ask straight out – what are the latest issues on the bookshelf beside the old picture album? (THI3).*

The example also illustrates the thematic area or identity construction strategy wherein the linguistic techniques are applied, namely, the construction of *the Homo Estonicus* via the topos of history as a teacher. Another example of linguistic creativity in the speeches is the use of similes such as *Estonians are like a wild strawberry* that are followed by the topos of name interpretation of explanation what it means to be a wild strawberry (being small and pristine, reference to the character of the country, construction of a common national body and *the Homo Estonicus*) followed by metaphor ESTONIA IS A WILD STRAWBERRY FIELD. These figurative expressions do not only attract attention to the speech, make it seem more beautiful, but also target the cognition of the people, address their emotions and target the memory processes, namely, these expressions stay into the long-term memory, and may be used as associations with a particular President and more specifically associations with the nation as a whole. The construction of national spirit as well as the construction of a common political past, present and future is a common thematic area in the speeches by T.H. Ilves and are often complemented with such linguistic strategies as intertextuality (quoting poems), reference to common people as example (a technique used by all the Presidents of Estonia), metaphors and parallel sentence constructions. The topoi that are used in the construction of arguments are topoi of comparison (for instance comparing the Syria refugees to Estonian refugees during the war in order to argue for accepting the war refugees, or comparing Estonia to northern countries), responsibility (mainly referring to the responsibility of the people), numbers and finance (referring to statistics in the development of Estonia), name interpretation (defining terms such as democracy, which is often referred to in the speeches by the Presidents of Estonia), threat (mainly referring to future with conditional if people do not work for the state), usefulness and advantage (to refer to the EU and NATO). The topos of history and the topos of comparison are applied to construct a common political present – the refugee crisis and to invite people to be open and not aggressive to the refugees who do not necessarily come to destroy the state. An invitation to think how Estonians were looked upon during World War II, how they are looked upon as economic migrants in Europe now and how Estonians look at Syrian refugees is combined with an address and repetition ‘*Good people of Estonia*’ to address the

emotion of compassion. Moreover, this argument also incorporates the topos of threat (removal of EU funding and removal of NATO security if Estonians do not help refugees), for example,

*the Italian prime minister **recently warned** publicly that the East European countries that do not help solve the refugee crisis **risk having their grants from the EU Structural Funds reduced. This not an empty threat**, because the same topic has been brought up by other countries in conversations in the corridors of power. These are the countries whose contributions make up the Structural Funds (THI13).*

Another very similar tendency to all the Presidents of Estonia is the reference to the small size of the country (construction of a common national body) to both construct national spirit (pride) by mentioning the smallness as a national feature of Estonia, and to remind of the possible threat due to the small size of the country, for instance, *Our small size is felt especially when someone threatens to wipe us off the Earth – which indeed is what we read about us only a week ago (THI11)*. Additionally, similarly as in the speeches of the Presidents of Latvia (G. Ulmanis, V. Vīķe-Freiberga) the use of binary (antitheses) oppositions is noticeable in the speeches by T.H. Ilves, where oppositions such as small/large, great, light/dark, good/bad, courage/fear, past/future are used. Moreover, similarly as done in the speeches by the Presidents of Latvia (G. Ulmanis in particular), T. H. Ilves attempts to deconstruct or disseminate a common political past, more specifically the image of victimhood of Estonia, hatred and fear towards the (former) common enemy, which is blamed (similarly as in Latvia) for many economic, legal and civic issues in the country as well as the way of thinking and beliefs of Estonians (referred to as the Soviet legacy, thinking that the occupation that has kept Estonia from being as economically advanced as its northern neighbour states), for instance, *Because for how long can we remain depressed about the past? It is easier to lead our lives when the **past has gradually freed us from its oppressive shackles**. Even so, the **rapid onset of amnesia** is somewhat frightening (THI8)*. Furthermore, parallel sentence constructions that are used to invite people to act with introductory words ‘let us’ is used frequently, however, this is quite common technique to all Presidents of the Baltic States, especially after the restoration of Independence. Finally, T.H. Ilves also uses references to the achievements of Estonian people that have popularised the name of the state, for instance, the invention of the SKYPE program (this is also done by A. Rützel), to cultivate national pride and self-esteem. The analysis of corpus data indicates the tendency of the speeches to focus on the thematic area of a common national spirit via frequent reference to the state name and values such as independence, democracy, freedom, and language, see tables displaying the keywords in the speeches by TH. Ilves in Appendix 3.

Furthermore, the speeches by T.H. Ilves in the corpus seem to be focused on the topics of a common political present (refugee crisis in 2015, and economic stability and well-being of

Estonia) as well as international cooperation (see Appendix 3 for keyword lists). As regards the word frequency in the sub-corpus of the speeches by T.H. Ilves, the most frequently used words in the corpus of speeches in English are *the, of, and, to, we, in, a, that, is, our, not*, while in the speeches in Estonian those are *ja (and), on (is), et (that), ei (not), kui (if), eesti (Estonian), me (we), ka (also), see (this), meie (our), oma (own)*. The list of most frequently used words point to the technique of inclusion via pronouns and adverbs *we, our, own* as well as adjective *Estonian*, while in both English and Estonian speeches the negative particle *not* points to negation, denial, refusal or prohibition on the one hand and integration of comparison, which is a frequent strategy used by Presidents (the topos of comparison), on the other hand. The use of conjunction *if* points to a conditional clause of supposition being constructed, also *if* is typically used to construct an argument via, for instance, topos of threat, usefulness and advantage, disadvantage, history. The most frequently used nouns in the English speeches are *Estonia, people, state, year, country, today, freedom, time, life, independence, decision, thing, Europe, government, future, world*, while in the Estonian speeches those are *Eesti, Europa, riik (country), aasta (year), inimene (person), aeg (time), elu (life), maailm (world), rahvas (nation), võimalus (opportunity), vabadus (freedom), kord (order), laps (child), tulevik (future)*. The use nouns in both English and Estonian speeches seem to be similar with slight differences as to the use of such nouns as *decision* and *government* in the English speeches, which points to the thematic area of construction a common political present (and the topos of reality), and the use of words *nation, opportunity, order* and *child* in the Estonian speeches, which points to the construction of a common political future (also the use of word *future* in both languages and reference to Europe in both languages as Europe is typically associated with future in the speeches of the Presidents of the Baltic States). The most frequently used verbs are *be, have, do, let, make, become, take, know, come, see*, and corresponding verbs in Estonian speeches are *olema (be), ei (not), saama (receive), pidama (keep), tegema (do), tulema (come), võima (could, would), jääma (stay), nägema (see), hakkama (do)*. Finally, the most frequently used adjectives are *Estonian, good, own, many, free, other, new, more, last, dear, European, and uus (new), hea (good), suur (big, great), vaba (free), kogu (all), viimane (last), võimalik (possible), tänane (today), oluline (important), praegune (current)*. The frequency of the use of pronouns in the speeches indicate the following pronouns the most frequently applied references, *mine (me), see (this), mis (what), oma (own), ise (self), kes (who), tema (her) kõik (everything), teine (ther), üks (one)*, and in the English speeches those are *we, our, it, us, I, they, their, you, ourselves, its, them*. It should be noted that T.H. Ilves along with the President L. Meri seem to use the personal pronoun *I* more frequently than the other Presidents of Estonia, while the use of the inclusive pronoun *we* and its forms seems to be relatively similar to the use of the pronouns in the

speeches by L. Meri and K. Kaljulaid, while the use of we (meie) is relatively most frequent in the speeches by the first President of Estonia K. Päts. It seems that the speeches of T.H. Ilves in terms of word frequencies introduces a slight lexical change along with the change of thematic areas in the speeches, namely, the thematic area of a common political future (in Europe and the world) is referred to more frequently, while independence and freedom are still referred to as most important values.

The speeches by **Kersti Kaljulaid**, the first female President of Estonia and the fifth President since the declaration of the independence nation seem to be similar in the use of the linguistic techniques and national identity construction strategies (thematic areas) to those by other Presidents of Estonia, however, slight differences have also been identified in the detailed qualitative and corpus analysis of the speeches. While the English speeches by K. Kaljulaid (1624.17 words per speech on average) seem to be shorter than the other Presidents of Estonia (1978,88 words on average), but longer than the other Presidents of the Baltic States, the speeches in Estonian (1062,556 words on average) are slightly longer than other Presidents of Estonia (965.18 words on average). The speeches are likewise characterised by frequent use of rhetorical questions, which is a common characteristic of the speeches by the Presidents of Estonia and in several instances also the Presidents of Latvia and Lithuania; however, the use of this technique seems to differ among the female presidents, because K. Kaljulaid uses rhetorical questions more frequently than the other female Presidents of the Baltic States. As to the use of metaphors and metaphorical expressions, the most frequently applied metaphors are DEVELOPMENT IS PATH, RESULTS ARE FRUIT, and COUNTRY IS PERSON, ARGUMENT IS FIGHT, EU IS FAMILY and typically metaphorical expressions seem to be used in synergy with other linguistic means of persuasion/manipulation, for instance,

*But can we do this, if before the elections, **verbal fists** are being held under one's opponents' noses? Tomorrow our new century will begin. **We will have a compass in hand**, the Estonian language on our tongue and we will be supported by the foundation laid by the Estonian culture and education, gathering strength from the clean nature of Estonia, **we will follow our path** (KK3).*

Another typical characteristic of the speeches by K. Kaljulaid is the emphasis of the rights and roles of women and children on various occasions, which also appears in her addresses, for instance, *My dear fellow countrymen and countrywomen*. Moreover, K. Kaljulaid emphasizes such Estonian values as children and family more frequently than other Presidents of Estonia and also other Presidents of the Baltic States apart from R. Vējonis, thus pointing to the frequent construction of *the Homo Estonicus* or Estonian national values. Likewise, the use of binary oppositions such as small/large, young/old, poor/wealthy are also used in the speeches by the President K. Kaljulaid, as well as references to common people and portraying Estonia as a

small but successful country, which is common to all the Presidents of Estonia. Additionally, via means of intertextuality the President also refers to the words of other Presidents of Estonia and other countries. Moreover, K. Kaljulaid uses the topos of comparison not only together with the topos of history to portray the difference between the past, present and future, but also to compare Estonia's success with other countries of the world, for instance, *Let us rejoice because we are prosperous - out of the 192 countries in the world, only one fifth is wealthier than us* (KK3). The topos of numbers are used to portray the successful statistics of the state and create a successful state image, likewise the topos of name interpretation is used to illustrate the understanding of the President as representative of Estonia and to impose her understanding of such terms as multilateralism, democracy, technologies, and cyber space on the listeners, for instance, *Multilateralism is nothing but showing compassion for the fate of others* (KK2019, UNGA). The President likewise emphasizes the importance of Estonian language as a crucial constituent of national identity and attempts to integrate the non-Estonian speakers in the society, thus deconstructing the 'we-they' dichotomy, for instance,

Those who speak Estonian at home, and those who converse in another language yet carry Estonia in their hearts. Our Estonia needs all of these people; "they" are actually "us." We have to remember this, and if necessary, remind each other (KK6).

Additionally, the construction of a common culture (of which language is part of) is common in the speeches by K. Kaljulaid. Finally, the construction of common enemy in the speeches by K. Kaljulaid has likewise been identified on few occasions, where the President rather than using the topos of threat regarding a particular enemy (in this case Russia), instead attempts to construct national spirit and values (*the Homo Estonicus*) and portray lack of values as an enemy, for instance,

*It is our responsibility to remain true to the principles especially when, at the spur of the moment, it might seem more beneficial to bypass **these values** while being **held hostage by a big ally**. The moment we do that, the **giant becomes a dwarf again** because it is only **brute force that counts when you have a world order without values*** (KK3).

Moreover, as the aforementioned examples indicate, the President uses frequent reference to the group identity via the inclusive pronoun *we* that refers to all the inhabitants of Estonia. Likewise, rather than using metonymy where the word Estonia stands for the Estonian people and the government, K. Kaljulaid also uses the inclusive and exclusive pronoun in the international speeches. Tables in Appendix 3 display the keyword and multiword use in the speeches (Estonian and English) by K. Kaljulaid. Thus, the most frequently used keywords in the speeches by K. Kaljulaid represent thematic areas of a common political past and present, a common culture and national spirit. Moreover, it seems that in the speeches in the Estonian language the keywords with the highest keyness score (in comparison to a general Estonian language corpus) belong to the semantic field of politics, thus indicating that the speeches deal

with direct address of political topicalities and issues. The speeches in English seem to emphasize the use of keywords that are more focused on the construction of national Estonian identity in particular, as the state name is the most frequently used keyword across the speeches (this is common to all Presidents of the Baltic States). Nevertheless, the President also refers to national values (dignity, independence) and political matters in her speeches in English.

As regards the word frequency in the sub-corpus of the speeches by K. Kaljulaid, the most frequently used words in the Estonian corpus are *ja (and), on (is), ei (no), et (that), meie (we), eesti (Estonian), kui (if), ka (also), see (that), oma (own), me (we), aga (but), mis (what), oli (was), seda (this), kes (who)*, while in the English corpus those are *the, of, to, and, we, a, in, is, that, our, not, are, be*. The use of words seems to be similar in tendency to the other word frequencies of the President of Estonia, with the slight difference that K. Kaljulaid seems use inclusive personal pronouns (we) and refer to the past more frequently than other Presidents (the use of the past form of the verb to be). As regards the use of pronouns, the most frequently used pronouns in the Estonian speeches by K. Kaljulaid are *mine (me), see (this), mis (what), oma (own), tema (her), kõik (everything), kes (who), sina (you), ise (self), üks (one)*, while in the English speeches those are *we, our, it, us, I, they, their, you, he, them, your, ourselves*. Although it seems that the President refers to herself more frequently and constructs individual identity, the relatively frequent use of the first person singular pronoun and possessive pronoun (I, my), though less frequent than in the speeches by other Presidents of Estonia (personal pronoun I) points to the frequent direct address of the citizens of Estonia (my dear fellow countrymen and women) and the expression of personal gratitude (in the name of the state), for instance, *I would also like to thank the Estonian scientists!; I would like to thank all the creative people as also here I have peace in my heart* (KK3). As regards the use of nouns, the most frequently used nouns in the English speeches by K. Kaljulaid are *Estonia, people, year, time, state, country, culture, world, child, society, language, future, education, way*, while in the Estonian speeches those are *riik (country), aasta (year), inimene (person), rahvas (nation), aeg (time), tulevik (future), maailm (world), ühiskond (society), vabadus (freedom), laps (child)*. The most frequently used words in both English and Estonian are similar and display what has been written above, namely, that the main thematic areas of K. Kaljulaid's speeches are the construction of a common culture and national spirit (references to freedom, language, culture, children) and construction of a common political past, present and future. Nevertheless, while the construction of a common political past present and future is common to all Presidents of Estonia and also Latvia and Lithuania, the construction of a common culture is more frequent in the speeches of K. Kaljulaid than other Presidents of Estonia. The most frequently used verbs are *olema (be), ei (not), tegema (do), saama (get), pidama (keep), tulema (come), andma (give)*,

tahtma (want), *seisma* (stand), *aitama* (help), *minema* (go), *võima* (can), while in the English speeches those are *be, have, do, need, make, think, take, like, come, help*. The explicit difference between the use of verbs in the speeches by K. Kaljulaid is marked by the use of the verb *help*, which is used both in the English and Estonian speeches. The most frequently used adjectives are *Estonian, good, other, own, more, same, free, great, small, new, important, local* and *hea* (good), *kohalik* (local), *kogu* (whole), *rahvusvaheline* (international), *suur* (big), *kallis* (expensive), *väike* (small), *tänane* (today), *uus* (new), *keeruline* (complex), *vaba* (free). The lists of most frequently used words and types of words supports the above characterisation of the linguistic profile of the speeches of the President K. Kaljulaid, namely, the focus on construction of *the Homo Estonicus* in relation to freedom, smallness of the state, unity and care as well as children as the future of Estonia, and national culture, and a common political past, present and future. The keyword lists, however, display a unique perspective on the speeches, namely, the focus on political matters and use of political terminology.

Overall, the speeches by the Presidents of Estonia are characterised by frequent reference to the state name and name of the citizens of Estonia (Estonia, Estonians), as well as an abundant use of various linguistic techniques of persuasion, manipulation, and argumentation. It is interesting to note that while the use of figurative means of language that are often seen as linguistic techniques of manipulation and persuasion is common to all Presidents of Estonia, it seems to be decreasing in frequency in the speeches of the Presidents of Latvia (most frequent in the speeches by A. Kvišis, K. Ulmanis, G. Ulmanis, V. Vīķe-Freiberga and V. Zatlers 1930.-2011.) and Lithuania (most frequent in the speeches by A. Brazauskas and V. Adamkus). The analysis of the linguistic profiles of the Presidents of Latvia and Lithuania is provided in the subchapters below.

3.2.2. The Case of Latvia

Jānis Čakste was the first President of the Republic of Latvia in the period from 1922 to 1927, but he has been the head of state (Chairman of the People's Council) since the proclamation of independence on November 18, 1918. He was a member of the Farmers' Union until 1919, however, 'he soon left the party, unable to accept the dominant leadership style of Kārlis Ulmanis (president.lv). Having obtained the qualification of a lawyer, he is considered to be one of the most patriotic Presidents of the independent Latvian state, described as a President who performed his main function of 'representing the state' by finding a 'golden path between exaggerated ceremonialism or theatricalism and a low head or lack of self-confidence' (ibid.). It is also pointed out that the President has paid special attention to Latvia's foreign policy and diplomatic relations with European countries, has had two international visits to

Estonia and Finland during his presidency and received the Presidents of these countries in Latvia. He was one of the most quoted Presidents of the country and is considered an ideal image of a political leader (Kopoloveca, 2017).

Gustavs Zemgals was the President of Latvia after J. Čakste from 1927 to 1930. G. Zemgals is compared to being less active than J. Čakste; however, he has dealt with the issues of representation well and considered the involvement of all strata of society in the state's democratic institutes and the enhancement of the state's prestige as the most important duties of the President (president.lv). During his presidency, he met the King of Sweden, which is considered to be the most important foreign event of his time.

Alberts Kviesis, a lawyer by profession, was the President of the Republic of Latvia from 1930 to 1936. He did not belong to any political party, so he was considered to be an objective and balanced personality who interfered relatively little with the work of the government and focused on building the image of the country internally (as a song festival curator) and externally by visiting neighbouring countries. Along with neutrality and balance, A. Kviesis is considered to be a passive president, because during the coup d'état of K. Ulmanis on May 15, 1934, he did not interfere with the violation of the state constitution and suspension of the work of Saeima and continued to perform his duties as the state leader until 1936 (ibid.).

Kārlis Ulmanis was the first President of Latvia to differ greatly from his predecessors both by personality (profession agronomist) and by the style of state leadership and political affiliation (a representative of the Farmers' Union). He held the position as the acting President in 1936 on the basis of the Law of March 12, 1936, on the performance of the office of the President. Before then he initiated the functions of the state executive in an authoritarian regime during the 1934 coup d'état. Although K. Ulmanis is described as a domineering and arrogant head of state, he remains in the collective memory as a remarkably patriotic and President who 'did not hesitate for long, was a gifted politician modesty in personal life, deep and true patriotism' (president.lv). The first President whose way of speaking is rooted in the collective memory, emphasizing his slogan 'unity, leadership, Latvianness' (ibid.). According to Kopoloveca (2017), K. Ulmanis is considered to be an ideal image of a political leader after J. Čakste and has been often quoted among parliament members too. Also, the results of the public opinion survey (see Appendix 9) indicate that K. Ulmanis is considered to be one of the best and most successful leaders of the country. During his presidency from 1936 to 1940 (an authoritarian regime), he did not make any foreign visits, but focused on building the country's internal image and developing the country's economy raising the Latvian economy, which is also emphasized in the opinion polls. Abens (2015) notes that 'Ulmanis took on the role of father or protector of the nation' and that this role was not the primary goal of the president, but

rather 'raising of self-awareness of the Latvian people and the creation of a Latvian sense of identity' (2015: 171).

Guntis Ulmanis was the President of the restored independent Latvia from 1993 to 1999. G. Ulmanis was an economist by profession and a member of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as well as a member of the Farmers' Union before his election to the presidency but was considered a non-partisan leader during his presidency (president.lv). During his presidency, he paid the greatest attention to creating the country's external image and cooperating with other countries, concluding an agreement with Russia on the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from the territory of Latvia and adopting a citizenship law, as well as preparing for Latvia's accession to the European Union (ibid.). He was actively involved in the research of Latvian history and has contributed to the creation of the Latvian collective memory. In the public opinion polls G. Ulmanis appears relatively rarely, and he is considered to be a neutral head of state, although he has given relatively many ceremonial speeches both in Latvia and representing the country on international visits, calling on the international community to condemn the totalitarian regime in the former USSR.

Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga is the first female President of Latvia and the Baltic States and the first President of Latvia to represent the Latvian diaspora and was the President of the state for two sequential terms from 1999 to 2007 (ibid.). She has obtained higher education and a qualification as a scientist in psychology and linguistics. As a political party neutral president, V. Vīķe-Freiberga actively participated in the process of democratization of the country and strengthening of the legal basis, advocated for Latvia's foreign policy interests, helping Latvia to be accepted in the European Union and NATO (ibid.). V. Vīķe-Freiberga is described as an ideal political leader and is the most quoted President of the country both among politicians and in society (Kopoloveca 2017). She has actively represented the country both in the field of foreign affairs and at nationally momentous events, creating a strong national self-confidence and a sense of belonging. In the public opinion surveys V. Vīķe-Freiberga is described as a President with excellent oratory skills.

Valdis Zatlers is an orthopaedic traumatologist by profession. He was the President of Latvia from 2007 to 2011. During his presidency V. Zatlers actively advocated for the promotion of Latvia's political and economic competitiveness, strengthening the rule of law and modernization of the political system (president.lv). Taking into account the economic crisis in Latvia during this period, his main tasks were ensuring political stability, promoting the country's international reputation, dialogue with the public, and regular support for the government in critical moments (president.lv). V. Zatlers' foreign policy activities have strengthened Latvia's external security, confidence in Latvia's economic sustainability,

developed Latvia's export markets and improved relations between Latvia and Russia (president.lv). V. Zatlers has advocated the formation of national self-confidence, emphasized the role of the Latvian language in uniting society, as well as promoted dialogue with minorities in Latvia (ibid.). In public opinion survey he is described as a brave President and memorised mainly due to his 2011 decision to dismiss the Saeima of the Republic of Latvia. He has given many speeches both at nationally momentous events and internationally.

Andris Bērziņš is the second President with an education in economics and the profession of a banker. A. Bērziņš was the President of Latvia from 2011 to 2015. Promoting the welfare of the society has been considered the main task of his presidency, but he has also aimed at promoting Latvia's recognition at the global level (ibid). Public opinion polls describe him as a passive President with no oratory or language skills.

Raimonds Vējonis is a biologist and politician, who served as the President of Latvia from 2015 to 2019. Prior to that, he was Minister of Defence of Latvia, Minister of Environmental Protection and Regional Development, as well as a deputy of the Saeima (president.lv). He did not stand out with excellent oratory skills and use of complex linguistic constructions in his relatively short speeches to the people and in international speeches, but he can be described as a non-dramatic and simple politician (see Appendix 9).

Egils Levits is the second president, who is a representative of the Latvian diaspora, and the third President with a law degree. E. Levits is judge by profession and has gained wider recognition due to his contribution to the preamble of the Latvian Constitution. E. Levits was elected President of Latvia in 2019. He has also actively participated in the reconstruction of the Latvian state in 1989-1991 and was a member of the Latvian People's Front Council and the Citizens' Congress (president.lv). He is likewise the author of the concept of the Latvian Declaration of Independence of May 4, 1990 (ibid.). E. Levits is recognised by the integration of old and novel words in his speeches, for which he has earned both recognition and public criticism claiming that the speeches are artificial and unnatural (see Appendix 9). Table 4 displays the list of the Presidents of Latvia, their years of service, political affiliations, and number of speeches in the corpus selected for this analysis below:

Table 4. Presidents of Latvia, speeches in the corpus

President	Years of service	Political affiliation	Number of speeches in the corpus	Words	Average words
Jānis Čakste	1922 (1918)-1927	Democratic Centre - agrarianism	8	4108	513.50
Gustavs Zemgals	1927-1930	Democratic Centre	3	608	202.67
Alberts Kviesis	1930-1936	Farmer's Union - Euroscepticism	5	2973	594.60

Kārlis Ulmanis	1936-1940	independent	10	10478	1047.80
Guntis Ulmanis	1993-1999	Farmer's Union	18	30934	1718.55
Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga	1999-2007	independent	24	29026	1209.41
Valdis Zatlers	2007-2011	independent	18	30324	1684.66
Andris Bērziņš	2011-2015	Union of Greens and Farmers	18	14579	809.94
Raimonds Vējonis	2015-2019	Union of Greens and Farmers	13	9137	702.85
Egils Levits	2019-present	independent	20	14222	711.1

The total number of speeches in the sub-corpus for the period from declaration of Independence of the Republic of Latvia in 1918 until the Soviet Occupation in 1940 is 26 (8 speeches by J. Čakste, 3 by G. Zemgals, 5 by A. Kviesis and 10 by K. Ulmanis), it consists of 19973 words. As can be seen, the longest speeches are given by G. Ulmanis and V. Zatlers, while the shortest are given by G. Zemgals. Notwithstanding the average speech length analysis, it should be pointed out that very few speeches have been identified in the archives and available sources by G. Zemgals, therefore it is difficult to measure the factual length of his speeches. As to the analysis, it seems that the period of time between the Declaration of Independence of Latvia and the loss of independence (Soviet occupation in 1940) where the state has been led by four male Presidents can be characterised in terms of rhetoric and national identity construction as the statements of Latvian national values, symbols, and common national memories. The speeches display a voluminous use of the topoi of history, often referring back to the time of war and fight for independence, paying tribute to national heroes and emphasizing important national remembrance dates. Likewise, the use of language displays common types of metaphors - COUNTRY IS BUILDING, DEVELOPMENT IS ROAD, DEVELOPMENT IS BUILDING PROCESS, CITIZENS ARE FAMILY, and LATVIAN JOUTH IS FLOWER. The speeches also integrate topoi of usefulness and advantage when it comes to describing international relations with neighbouring states and the states that have recognised Latvia as a nation de iure. The main symbols of national identity in the speeches that have been identified are Lāčplēsis (Latvian national hero), red-white-red flag, national anthem (almost every speech is ended with its title words God, bless Latvia), work (noun and verb), faith, unity and love as national values. The rhetoric in this period is likewise characterised by emphasis on governmental work, unity between parties in the government, explicit criticism, and analysis of what has been done wrong or right by the government that is referred to as landlord of the state and people's deputy. Words such as *sovereignty*, *freedom*, *work*, and *democracy* are used as the key words that carry the main meaning of the speeches (depending on the type of speech). National identity is constructed to a considerable extent based on the difficult history of nation building and the role of victimhood.

The speeches by the first President of the Republic of Latvia **Jānis Čakste** are characterised by frequent reference to *work* as a symbol of Latvia national identity emerging and being constructed from values that have characterised native Latvians in the past. Thus, also the topos of history is frequently used in the speeches. The tree metaphors have been used throughout his speeches, namely, COUNTRY IS PERSON, COUNTRY IS BUILDING, and DEVELOPMENT IS ROAD portraying the building process of the nation after the First World War as well as illustrating the idea a gradual development of the nation that would be similar to making the road towards better future. Moreover, the Declaration of Independence is portrayed as birth of the country and its development is metaphorically compared to the child starting to stand on its feet (JC2). Another metaphor appearing in the speeches is nature metaphor PEOPLE ARE FLOWERS to refer to the flowering youth that lost their lives in war, and family metaphor to refer to the soldiers in the army of Latvia as brothers who are still being oppressed by other armies. Speeches by J. Čakste are also characterised by use of Latin terminology (*vivat, crescat, floreat, de iure, de facto*) to refer to the international recognition of Latvia as an independent state and opening of the first university in Latvia. The key word *red-white-red flag* as national symbol and the line from the national anthem '*God, bless Latvia*' also appear in the speeches, which points to the use of 'banal nationalism' (described in Chapter 2). Additionally, the President has seldom used rhetorical questions to refer to history or national conscience of the people. The topos of usefulness and advantage is used to portray international partners (such as the USA) who have helped Latvia during the war. On separate instances, the President has used euphemisms to refer to war as 'external difficulties that threatened Latvia's security, perhaps even independence.' Finally, another characteristic that seems to be frequent in the speeches by the first President of Latvia is reference to the work of the government and government as owners of the state. This illustrates the previous role of the President as the leader of the constitutional assembly of Latvia during the years of preparation for independence as well as the cooperation and shared responsibility between the government and the nation in developing the country. As to the information that corpus analysis has provided about the linguistic profile of the speeches of J. Čakste, it seems that the speeches are focused on the construction of a common political past (war, victim role, suffering) and a common political present (Latvia being recognised as independent state *de jure* by the ally countries) as well as the government of Latvia working for the development of the state. Tables in Appendix 3 displays the keywords that have been used most frequently in the sub-corpus of speeches by J. Čakste in comparison to a general reference corpus of Latvian language. The most frequently used words in the speeches by J. Čakste are conjunctions, inclusive pronouns, and the state name Latvia. As regards the use of word forms in the speeches, the most frequently used nouns

are *valsts* (state), *tauta* (folk), *Latvija*, *darbs* (work), *gads* (year), *sapulce* (assembly, specifically constitutional assembly), *latvietis* (a latvian), *padome* (council), *satversme* (constitution), *spēks* (strength), *karš* (war), while adjectives that are used most frequently are *jauna* (new, young, about Latvia), *laba* (good), *liels* (big), *sabiedrota* (ally), *brīva* (free), *vajadzīgs* (necessary), *kopējs* (common), *ārējs* (external), and verbs are indicating oppositions or comparison between *būt* (to be) and *nebūt* (not to be), *varēt* (can) and *nevarēt* (cannot), *strādāt* (work), *zināt* (know), *veikt* (do), *nolikt* (put down), *atzīt* (recognise), *stāvēt* (stand), *palikt* (stay), *pierādīt* (prove). The lists of words in the corpus of J. Čakste's speeches shows the polarisation of past and present, victimhood and freedom, war, and peace, internal and external is being constructed in the speeches. Moreover, the President emphasizes the recognition of Latvia as independent de jure by other states of the world, and the responsibility of Latvians and the government to do their work in taking care of the newly established state. The references to work and strength as well as bravery as characteristic features of the *Homo Latviensis* are later referred to in the speeches of other Presidents of Latvia as well. Thus, the elements of national consciousness pronounced by the first President of Latvia seem to be extended into the future and into the further representation and construction of national identity.

The speeches by the second President of Latvia **Gustavs Zemgals** are characterised by the use of metonymy to refer to the governments of the states and people of the states via state name. This is often done in combination with personification metaphor that illustrates that Latvia wants to be friends with its European neighbours, meaning that the government wants to ensure successful international relationship. As to the construction of national identity, by using the metaphor COUNTRY IS BUILDING the President refers to the constitution and democracy as well as the army of the state as 'bricks that support the building of the nation' (GZ2). The President continues the tradition started by J. Čakste by emphasizing the word *work* (noun and verb, in Latvian *darbs*, *strādāt*) to construct national spirit or the *Homo Latviensis* – a citizen of Latvia as a person that is devoted to work. Similarly, the topos of history is used to refer to the sufferings of the nation and the victims of war, which constructs a common political past and image of both victimhood and heroism. The keywords extracted from the speeches display the thematic area of a common political present and past, referring to both Latvia's relations with neighbouring countries and to the history of occupation and war in Latvia, see tables in Appendix 3. The most frequently used nouns in the speeches are *valsts* (state), *Latvija*, *tauta* (folk), *spēks* (strength), *armija* (army), *darbs* (work), *flote* (navy), *majestāte* (majesty), *varonis* (hero), *latvju* (Latvian), which like keywords indicate to the thematic areas of the speeches, namely, construction of national spirit (Latvians are working people), a common political past and present. The verbs that are used most frequently are *būt* (to be), *stāvēt* (stand),

likt (out), apsveikt (congratulate), strādāt (work), prasīt (ask, demand), pierādīt (prove), pieminēt (remember), bruņot (to arm), aizstāvēt (to protect). These verbs similarly as nouns are connected to history and present related to war as well as to the development of the new nation with what is characteristic feature of Latvians, namely, working. The adjectives also display peculiarities of the contextual-historical time wherein the speech is given, and those are *laba (good), drošsirdīgs (bravehearted), grūts (difficult), brīva (free), demokrātiska (democratic), dziļa (deep), ārkārtīgs (grand), kareiviska (aggressive in terms of military actions)*. The use of pronouns in the speeches indicate to the direct address via the pronoun *Jūs (you)* and descriptions of situation via pronouns *this, that, which, him, who*. Thus, it seems that the speeches by G. Zemgals are more focused on the references to war and military situation, however, it should be noted that due to lack of availability of speeches of this president, only three speeches have been included in the corpus, which is a limiting factor that does not allow to make generalisations about the specific linguistic profile of the president.

The speeches by the third President of Latvia **Alberts Kviessis** are characterised by more ‘creative’ metaphor use, such as, for instance, NATION IS AN ORGANISM to refer to the economic sectors of the state as being dead and being autopsied, when recovery process should be implemented (AK1). Another medical metaphor that has been used by the President is CRISIS IS AN ILLNESS to refer to signs of crisis as medical symptoms. These metaphors are used to construct a common political past and illustrate the difference between past, present and future. Topoi of history as terrible place and history as a teacher have also been used to refer to the war of independence similarly as in the speeches by J. Čakste. The speeches are characterised by the frequent use of rhetorical questions to introduce the thematic area of constructing a common political present and future. The President also uses the owner of the state metaphor, however, refers to the people of Latvia and not the government as owners of the state. Moreover, the speeches of the President are characterised by the use of the topos of responsibility and criticism towards the government, and references to party politics as a machine that has no patriotism, no sense of belonging and lack of ability to work for the interests of the state, which is compared to an orphan, forgotten by the politicians and waiting to be brought back into the sun. Additionally, the metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR is used to refer to the disagreements of the governmental parties, illustrating the strong negative emotions people associate with war in the context of the recent history. Additionally, metaphors such as KNOWLEDGE IS LIGHT, UNKNOWN IS DARK are used to refer to the uncertainty of the future of the nation as fog and criticize the responsibility of the government. The belief in the work of the government and success of its work is characterised as intoxication, inability to see the truth. These strong emotional metaphors, however, are used to construct an argument that

supports the coup d'état or revolution in the state started by the prime minister of the state K. Ulmanis on 15 May 1934, which is later characterised as an era that is similar in spirit to the spirit of Latvia being declared independent and characterised by *work and bread* as symbol of Latvianness. The speeches are ended with referring to the anthem '*God, bless Latvia.*' When constructing a common political past, present and future, the President has referred to Latvia as fatherland.

The keyword list displays the use of language within the context of Latvia being developed after the first world war and declaration of Independence, but at the same time the emphasis seems to be on critique of the work of the government, which is directly connected to the passive role of the President A. Kviesis after the revolution initiated by K. Ulmanis. The most frequently used words are mainly conjunctions and verbs as well as words such as *valsts* (*state*) and possessive first-person plural pronoun *mūsu* (*our*). The most frequently used nouns in the speeches are *valsts* (*state*), *tauta* (*folk*), *dzīve* (*life*), *gads* (*year*), *Latvija*, *darbs* (*work*), *diena* (*day*), *pasaule* (*world*), *partija* (*party*), *latvju* (*Latvian*) *zeme* (*land*). These words point to the political character of the speeches as well as focus on construction a common political present and national body (land and borders) after war and gaining independent statehood. Adjectives that are used most frequently are *jauns* (*new, young*), *saimnieciska* (*economic, agricultural*), *politisks* (*political*), *veca* (*old*), *liela* (*big*), *atsevišķa* (*separate*), *laimīgs* (*happy*), *sabiedrota* (*ally*), *varonīga* (*brave*), while verbs are *būt* (*to be*), *varēt* (*can*), *nebūt* (*not to be*), *sākt* (*start*), *valdīt* (*rule*), *stāties* (*enter, become*), *atjaunot* (*renew*). Thus, the speeches by the President A. Kviesis seem to be focused on the political present and ability of Latvians to 'rule their own land' which indicates to the opposition between the past and the present and government and the people.

The speeches by the President **Kārlis Ulmanis**, the fourth President of Latvia, seem to be slightly different in terms of identity construction, as the President constructs both national identity as group identity and his individual identity as the leader of the state in an explicit manner. The President has referred to the citizens of Latvia as 'my people.' Moreover, the I-you-we dichotomy displays the roles and responsibilities that the President had attached or administered to himself, his government, and the citizens of Latvia. This approach is slightly different from the pronominal use in the speeches of the first Presidents of the Republic of Latvia. The use of other linguistic techniques in the speeches by K. Ulmanis seem to be similar to the approaches taken by the previous presidents, namely, emphasis of national values such as *work and bread* that stand for the well-being of the state, combination, focus on discussing agriculture as Latvia's strength (constructing national body) similarly as it has been done in the speeches by A. Kviesis, metaphor DEVELOPMENT IS ROAD, the use of reference

‘fatherland’ when addressing the army of Latvia and describing their duty to protect Latvia as well as constructing a common political past and referring to the bravery of the army, and the use of rhetorical questions. In addition to the aforementioned linguistic techniques, K. Ulmanis has also used parallelisms and inverted word orders to emphasize the emotional effect of his statements, for instance, *Šoreiz tauta ieguva pati sevi. Pati sevi tauta ieguva.* – *This time the people gained themselves. Themselves the people gained* (KU1). Moreover, the metaphor COUNTRY IS MOTHER is used relatively frequently, when comparing the speeches of the previous presidents, to construct the sense of unity and compare the community to family of shared values, shared goals, and shared history (*the Homo Latviensis*). The address for ‘united people’ is also typical to the addresses of K. Ulmanis. The President also uses agriculture and nature metaphors referring to the ‘fruits of our hard work’ and comparing values that Latvians have and love for the country to the ‘values that a farmer takes from his land every year’ (KU2). The expressions that metaphorically compare state development as flourishing and filling with green life are a characteristic of the individual discourse, or in other words, they indicate the context, that the President has education and formal background in agriculture. The President frequently has referred to bread as a symbol of hard work and has used both inclusive *we* to refer to the government, the President and the people and exclusive *we* to refer to the President and the government when describing the achievements and future goals of the government. This, similarly, as the situation with J. Čakste’s speeches, is because the function of K. Ulmanis has been to lead the government. Additionally, the President incorporates the use of imperative mood to order the people to act and claim that people must act for the well-being of the state, refers frequently to the cities, regions Latgale, Kurzeme, Zemgale, Vidzeme (as sisters) and rivers (Daugava as a symbol) and the Baltic Sea as value in this way constructing a common national body. The topos of name interpretation is also used to construct common political present, national body, and national spirit, for instance, the President defines the word ‘Latvia’ noting that content of this word relates to the right of using the Latvian language (KU5). The topos of comparison is used to compare past and present, to compare the generosity and national spirit of Latvians to other nations when building the monument of victory (victory square was originally intended to be a symbol of Latvian nationhood and victory over oppression, and a place to hold national songs festivals, but during the time of Latvia belonging to the Soviet Union its symbolism changed to represent the Soviet victory over the German army and simultaneously the occupation of Latvia), thus the monument of freedom is the official symbol of freedom and victory, while the monument of victory is a very controversial symbol that denotes opposing emotions and values to the people of Latvia, thus symbolically representing the division between us (Latvians) and them (immigrants from the Soviet Union, Russians)

(Kļave, 2010) as well as to compare the achievements of Lithuania and Estonia, who share common history with Latvia as well as the common Baltic Sea region. The topos of comparison is also used to construct national pride and patriotism, but at the same time displays the differentiation between us (Latvians) and them (not Latvians), for instance,

*Show me another city that has changed its face in such a short time, its character, which has acquired so much new beauty - and will gain even more **than ours in Riga; old Riga is becoming more Latvian! Latvian Riga** with its **new, wide views, with new squares, with new buildings, new gardens, new streets - like a pearl emerging from the dust and rubble of old times. She is followed by her sisters - Latvian cities.** (KU10, see the original as example No.51 in Appendix 6).*

Moreover, patriotism as one of the main characteristics (along with work and independence) of Latvian people is frequently referenced. When addressing the nation on song festivals, the President uses intertextuality and refers to well-known authors (A. Pumpurs the author of Latvian national folk tale *Lāčplēsis*) and folk songs. The President has also used the form of open dialogue and explicit dialogue with the nation that is later seen as a characteristic of V. Vīķe-Freiberga, namely, asking the people a question and ordering them to answer ‘yes’ for instance, *vai ir šis laiks atnācis, vai piepildīti Pumpura pravietīgie vārdi? Ja ir, tad Jūs visi sakiēt — jā!* (*Has this time come, or have the prophetic words of Pumpurs been fulfilled? If so, you all say yes!*) (KU9). Similarly, as with other presidents, K. Ulmanis also has ended his speeches with the expression from the anthem ‘God, bless Latvia’ and referred to the red-white-red flag. As regards the keyword use in the speeches by K. Ulmanis, tables in Appendix 3 display the keywords that are used most frequently when compared to reference corpus. The keyword list indicates the construction of national symbols, national spirit as well as the construction of a common political past and future. Some of the words are century-specific, meaning that they are no longer used or are used less frequently in the 21st century, for instance *še* (*here*) or *zīmēties* (*relate to*), which has a different meaning nowadays. The most frequently used nouns are *darbs* (*work*), *valsts* (*state*), *tauta* (*folk*), *Latvija*, *gads* (*year*), *valdība* (*government*), *laiks* (*time*), *spēks* (*strength*), *uzdevums* (*task*), while the verbs are *būt* (*to be*), *varēt* (*can*), *nebūt* (*not to be*), *teikt* (*say*), *palikt* (*stay*), *strādāt* (*work*), *iet* (*go*), *gribēt* (*want*), *nākt* (*come*), *zināt* (*know*), *domāt* (*think*), and adjectives *jauns/a* (*new, young*), *saimniecisks* (*economical, agricultural*), *svarīgs* (*important*), *laba/s* (*good*), *stipra* (*strong*). The pronouns used by K. Ulmanis indicate to his individual identity as the leader of the state and common group identity (Latvian identity) being constructed via the inclusive pronoun *we*. Consequently, it is concluded that the speeches of the President K. Ulmanis focus on work and working as one of the main characteristics of Latvianness, and being a Latvian, as well as strength and unity. Moreover, the speeches focus on the agrarian and economic topics and discuss the work of the

government, which seems to be one of the most characteristic features of the time from the declaration of independence until the occupation of Latvia.

Total number of speeches in the years between restoration of independence and entering the EU (1991-2004 (7)) is 111 and the sub-corpus consists of 128222 words. The most frequently found national identity construction strategies are the strategy of construction a common political future, the strategy of construction *the Homo Latviensis*, the strategy of constructing a common political past and the strategy of constructing a common culture, however, the strategy of constructing a common national body is also identified on a few occasions. The most frequently identified argument schemes are the topos of responsibility of both the people and the government, the topos of usefulness and advantage in relation to entering NATO and the EU, the topos of history in remembering how Latvia gained and regained its independence and for G. Ulmanis also the topos of numbers, mentioning some important dates and some statistics. The most frequently used linguistic means are rhetorical questions for G. Ulmanis, parallelisms for V. Vīķe-Freiberga, inclusive we, references to state symbols – language, flag, national values – work, courage, independence, freedom.

Guntis Ulmanis, the first President of Latvia after restoration of Independence and the fifth President after declaration of Independence of the Republic of Latvia, uses numerous discursive strategies and linguistic techniques as well as all the thematic areas (discussed in Chapter 2) to construct and represent the national identity of Latvia. The speeches of the President G. Ulmanis are generally the longest speeches (average 1718.55 words per speech) when comparing to the other Presidents of Latvia (followed by V. Zatlers) and Lithuania (followed by A. Brazauskas) and which, if comparing the speeches by the criteria of their length, is very similar to the speeches by the former Presidents of Estonia who have the longest speeches on average. As to the discursive and stylistic characterisation of the speeches by G. Ulmanis, it is interesting to note that the President has used terminology and metaphors from different areas or semantic fields such as physics, chemistry, mathematics, agriculture, to emphasize the importance and pay attention to specific arguments being constructed for instance, ‘*we must break the **inertia** of negativity*’ (GU3), ‘*I see how hard or soft **your crust** is*’ (GU4), ‘*on-military aspects of security are playing an increasingly important role in the regional and continental **security equation***’ (GU5, see example 62 in Appendix 6). It seems, that the President G. Ulmanis continues the tradition of constructing individual identity in the speeches together with the group identity, as the President frequently refers to his beliefs and convictions about particular topics (such as integration of Russian speakers into the Latvia society) and uses topoi of usefulness and advantage (in relation to EU and NATO), history (when remembering how Latvia gained and regained its independence), numbers (when

referring to a common political past and mentioning important dates and referring to the statistics in the economic and demographic fields), responsibility (referring to the government and their duty, also criticising the government, referring to the duty of the citizens to work for the state), reality (in attempts to deconstruct stereotypes of the past such as the common enemy, and promote integration politics). When addressing the government, the President uses little of figurative language means, apart from rhetorical questions, uses formal style and suggestion and invitation form, as well as emphasizes his own opinion (I believe, I consider). When addressing the people, the President similarly to A. Kvišis, K. Ulmanis and later also V. Vīķe-Freiberga and V. Zatlers, use colourful or creative language with the aim to construct national spirit, emphasize values, history, and future as well as to create unity. It should be noted that while V. Vīķe-Freiberga's speeches are seen as a carnival of resources meaning that they are rich in figurative means, linguistic manipulation, argumentation and persuasion techniques, the speeches of G. Ulmanis seem to be even richer (given the length of the speeches). To name just a few linguistic techniques, the President uses an oak metaphor (LATVIA IS AN OAK) and metaphor LATVIA IS MOTHER to construct both national spirit (oak symbolises strength) and national body (oak is a national tree), references and intertextuality via the topos of authority (referring to K. Ulmanis, Latvian poets and writers such as Rainis and K. Barons, J. Kennedy, the former President of the USA), financial metaphors, inclusive-exclusive we, frequent rhetorical questions, references to symbols (flag, anthem, folk tales), reference to Latvian characteristics such as strength, stubbornness, introvert, loner, and references to Latvian cities and rivers. When addressing the international audience, President G. Ulmanis has applied metonymy of the state name standing for the people of the nation, use of the metaphor HISTORY IS BOOK, binary oppositions (small states versus large states, metaphor SMALL STATES ARE HOSTAGES OF LARGE STATES), topos of history and reality, implicit construction of common enemy (Russia) and fear, explicit construction of common interests and integration of Russia in the international conversations on peace in order to avoid future conflict, rhetorical questions to illustrate Latvia's role as a victim (*Are there many countries in Europe in which the native population constitutes barely half the inhabitants? Would it be very surprising in such a situation if the native population were to seek only its own identity and to reject all that is alien?*) comparisons and terminology from physics and mathematics (Latvia is a catalyser between conflicting states), metaphors DEVELOPMENT IS ROAD, STATE IS A BUILDING, EUROPE IS BUILDING, LATVIA IS PLANT. Consequently, it is concluded that metaphors and metaphorical expressions, intertextuality and rhetorical questions, parallelisms, the topos of name interpretation (defining the word alien, other, foreign, defining the role of the president), strategies of integration and unification are the characteristic features of the

discourse of G. Ulmanis. Moreover, it should be noted that G. Ulmanis has done much work on the communication and goal of Latvia joining the EU and NATO, thus his speeches are characterised with the construction of common supranational identity (Europeanness), thus also integration, frequent reference to EU and NATO (also noted in the interview with the speech writer to the president, see Appendix 5.3.). Nevertheless, at the same time, the President is explicit about the issues of discrimination and fear (the Soviet legacy) that have been considered problematic in Latvia at the time of his presidency. Thus, the speeches of the President G. Ulmanis are similar in terms of the use linguistic techniques not only to the speeches by V. Vīķe-Freiberga, but also to the speeches of the Presidents of Lithuania (A. Brazauskas and V. Adamkus) and Estonia (L. Meri and A. Rüütel), leading to the conclusion that the context (re-emergence of the independent states and entering the EU and NATO) influences not only the content, but also the form of the speeches. Moreover, it is concluded that the speeches by G. Ulmanis display a clear focus on both the construction of an inclusive national identity that is based on such values as history, language and culture and the construction of common supranational (European) identity that is based on such values as democracy, human rights, and security. It is likewise concluded that among the international speeches of all the Presidents of the Baltic States, the speeches by G. Ulmanis seem to emphasize the elements of national identity of Latvia most frequently and using more explicit linguistic means.

As regards the corpus data, the most frequently used keywords in G. Ulmanis speeches (Latvian and English) are displayed in Appendix 3. The keywords in the corpus characterise the linguistic profile of the speeches, which focuses on construction of international relationship and development (reformation) of Latvia after leaving the Soviet Union and before entering the European Union. The international speeches emphasize Latvian values of independence (from the Soviet Union) and democracy as well as the construction of common Baltic identity. The multiword constructions such as *nation state*, *native population*, *social integration*, *Latvian language*, *cultural region*, *Indian nation*, *soviet occupation*, *multicultural society*, and *mutual understanding* point to the construction of a common political past and deconstruction of the ‘Soviet legacy’, namely, attempt to portray the state as a multicultural society, however, emphasizing Latvian identity, important aspect of which is the Latvian language. In fact, this tendency to emphasize the importance of Latvian language in the construction of national identity locally and internationally seems to be most frequent in G. Ulmanis speeches, where the thematic area of integration of migrants from the former Soviet States is emphasized together with the emphasis on the responsibility of those migrants to learn Latvian if they are to become part of Latvian national identity. The most frequently used nouns in the corpus of Latvian speeches (local) are *Latvija*, *valsts* (*state*), *tauta* (*folk, people*), *Eiropa*, *gads* (*year*),

drošība (security), savienība (union), laiks (time), politika (politics), latvietis (a latvian), while in the international speeches those are *Latvia, Europe, nation, country, people, state, future, region, time, world, value*. The most frequently used verbs are *būt (to be), nebūt (not to be), varēt (can), tikt (passive) radīt (create), kļūt (become), domāt (think), gribēt (want), veidot (create), teikt (say)*, while in the international speeches those are *be, have, do, see, develop, believe, want, give, come, find*. As regards the use of adjectives, in the local speeches G. Ulmanis emphasizes such adjectives as *jauna (new, young), liels (big), nacionāla (national), svarīgs (important), politiska (political), sociāla (social), augsta (high), starptautiska (international)*, while in the English speeches the most frequently applied adjectives are *European, Latvian, new, human, important, National, Soviet, political, great, Baltic, cultural and modern*. As regards the use of pronouns, in the international speeches a clear distinction between *us* and *them* is displayed together with the use of first-person singular pronoun *I*, while in the local speeches the use of *I, we and you* are most frequent. Consequently, it seems that the speeches by G. Ulmanis are focused on the integration of Latvia into the European Union and integration of Russian speaking citizens into Latvian society. However, the distinction between *us* (Latvians) and *them* (those who are not native and do not speak Latvian) is rather explicit in these speeches.

Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga seems to have adjusted the choice of linguistic means and even the use of strategies of construction and representing national and supra-national identity to the target audience, for instance, many Latinisms and terminology are used in her international speeches, she has addressed the international audience in French or English, similarly as G. Ulmanis, V. Vīķe-Freiberga has emphasized the pluralistic language policy in Latvia, naming the languages that are supported by the state (education in these languages is funded by the state). A feature that seems to be very characteristic to the speeches of V. Vīķe-Freiberga is the use of binary oppositions or antitheses, for instance, - *strength and not a weakness., old and new, successes and the mistakes, Europe cannot be divided into large and small, old and new, or rich and poor member countries*. Intertextuality is used not only for the purpose of the listener to feel belonging but also for the purpose of emphasis, quoting people who did not believe in Latvia's independence, showing that they were wrong, showing contrast and double emphasis. Construction of a common political past, present and future, construction of the *Homo Latviensis* are the most frequently identities thematic areas. As to the linguistic means used, metaphors such as HISTORY IS BOOK, FUTURE IS DOOR are relatively frequent. The speeches are also characterised by frequent use of personal pronoun *we* (inclusive), expressions such as *we are lords in our land*, direct address of the people by second person singular (a unique technique) and plural pronoun (similarly as done by K. Ulmanis), invitations to act

(similarly as done by G. Ulmanis), use of the topos of comparison, the topos of history, the topos of usefulness and the topos of responsibility to construct arguments and use of parallelisms to emphasize the expressed ideas (which is also very typical to the speeches by V. Zatlers). The metaphor COUNTRY IS MOTHER is also typical to the speeches by V. Vīķe-Freiberga and seems to be extended since the time of A. Kviessis until the time of V. Zatlers. As to the construction of *the Homo Latviensis*, the President often refers to praying God for Latvia, offers analysis of people's values and weaknesses as well as strong sides, uses metaphor OUR WEAKNESS IS OUR ENEMY, and exclusion – *they who are egoists and think only of themselves and not of the state and other people, they who are not citizens, and invitation to work for Latvia and become 'us'*. The President has also used the techniques of repetition and comparison to target the long-term memory of the people, for instance, the repetition of pronoun we and state name Latvia, or God and other words depending on the contextual situation and occasion of the speech, for instance, We are Latvia, Aglona, the red-white-red flag, Latvian language, culture, references to folk songs and national expressions (Riga is not yet ready). Construction of a common political future is achieved via the use of the topos of responsibility, the topos of usefulness and advantage, the topos of history and the topos of comparison. The President emphasizes that *there is a lot of work to do* and uses national proverbs (*gulēt aizkrāsnē un kaisīt pelnus uz galvas - sleep behind the oven and scatter the ashes on your head*), *our Riga is not ready* (Latvian expression in combination with extended metaphor to show identity expansion), for instance, *Our Latvia is not ready. Our Europe is not ready*. Key word *darīt /to do* is used in an invitation form or a form of a polite imperative to ask people to work for the good of the nation. References to folk songs and quotations from folk songs are also a typical characteristic of V. Vīķe-Freiberga's speeches, most frequently appearing in the speeches at the song and dance festivals. Additionally, the President uses address form *I as a President* to emphasize her stance and opinion as well as her authority (the strategy of perspectivisation). Intertextuality and the topos of authority via references to politicians, authors or poets have been used comparatively less frequently, but praising Latvians and comparing them to people from other countries (*we are as good as others*) as a strategy of constructing national spirit and *The Homo Latviensis* is used frequently. The President has also used word combinations such as *svētšvinīga* (sacred-ceremonious) in her speeches, which is a similar characteristic to the speeches of E. Levits. As to the international speeches, V. Vīķe-Freiberga has used the languages she commands and for instance, addresses French audience in French, yet also addresses the member states of the EU in the Latvian language to emphasize the language as a symbol of national identity. The President has also used the inclusive we to construct common European identity, but also the exclusive we to refer to the national identity of Latvia. The topos

of history is used to show history as a teacher in combination with the metaphor DEVELOPMENT IS ROAD to illustrate the goals and potential of Latvia and Europe. Family metaphor is used to create the image of family of European countries with shared values and goals (democracy and security). Moreover, intertextuality is used in the international speeches, where the President quotes Greek philosophers, for instance ‘*Yet in other aspects of our daily lives, it seems that Heraclitus' dictum: "Panta rhei" or "Nothing endures but change," remains as appropriate a motto for our post-modern age as it was in pre-Socratic Greece.*’ This technique is used to create an image of shared culture (European identity) or construct a common culture.

As regards the corpus data that characterise the linguistic profile of V. Vīķe-Freiberga, the keyword, specifically multiword constructions in the international speeches of the President point to the thematic area of a common political present, namely, the accession of Latvia into the European Union and NATO, namely, *new member, reform process, European integration, political will, market economy and global scale*. The use of keywords in both Latvian language speech corpus (local speeches) and the English language speeches corpus (international speeches) is displayed in Appendix 3. Thus, the most frequently used keywords in the local speeches point to two thematic areas, namely, the construction of national spirit, national pride, or *the Homo Latviensis* and the construction of the supranational identity, while the international speeches focus on the integration of Baltic States (and beyond) in the international organisations. Moreover, it should be noted that some of the very specific keywords in V. Vīķe-Freiberga’s speeches point to peculiarities of her individual linguistic profile, such as the use of diminutives for nouns *uguntiņa (fire), audekliņš (cloth), padomiņš (advice), pupiņa (bean), ledutiņš (ice)* as well as word combinations such as *sirdsdegsmes (burning of the heart), sarkanbaltsarkans (red-white-red, about the flag) and valstssvētki (state celebration)*, which are all used for constructing national spirit, addressing the emotions of the listeners, via for instance, references to folk songs, folk tales, and common political history. As regards the list of most frequently used words (in general), tables in Appendix 3 display the tendency, which is generally similar to that of the other Presidents to use articles, particle, and connectors more frequently, however, in V. Vīķe-Freiberga’s speeches the use of inclusive pronouns seems to be more frequent than in the speeches by other Presidents (a common feature of the female presidents). As regards the use of specific word forms, the most frequently used nouns in the Latvian speeches are *Latvija, valsts (state), tauta (folk), gads (year), zeme (land), spēks (strength), brīvība (freedom), Eiropa, pasaule (world), diena (day), nākotne (future), darbs (work)*, verbs are *būt (be), nebūt (not to be), varēt (can), darīt (do), sansiegt (achieve), veidot (create), strādāt (work), redzēt (see), tikt (passive), stāvēt (stand), gribēt (want), dzīvot (live)*,

and adjectives are *brīva* (free), *mīls* (dear), *iespējams* (possible), *gatava* (ready), *laba* (good), *liela* (big), *neatkarīga* (independent), *maza* (small), *vajadzīgs* (necessary), *kopējs* (common), *sveša* (foreign), which are in most cases in the feminine form, indicating that the President speaks about the state in a descriptive way, and pronouns that mainly focus on the construction of in-group, direct address and closeness. As regards the international speeches, the most frequently used nouns are *Latvia*, *country*, *EU*, *Europe*, *UN*, *member*, *European*, *Union*, *state*, *year* and *united*, while the most frequently used verbs are *be*, *have*, *need*, *do*, *make*, *become*, *take*, *work*, *see*, *provide* and *achieve*, followed by adjectives *European*, *new*, *other*, *Latvian*, *political*, *common*, *great*, *international*, *economic*, *important*, *future*, *good*, *past*, and pronouns that indicate both the construction of in-groups (we) and outgroups (they) referring to both Latvians and members of the EU and to those not belonging to the EU as well as people from the past. Thus, it seems that V. Vīķe-Freiberga's speeches in comparison to other Presidents of Latvia seem to be more emotionally loaded and more focused on construction a common national spirit, pride, and patriotism, while international speeches are focused on constructing unity and cooperation.

Furthermore, the speeches by the Presidents of Latvia in the period of global economic crisis (2007-2015), 69 speeches (68262 words) in total, are characterised by both construction of national spirit and responsibility for the state as well as the construction of national body (via border politics), and construction of a common political present (related to economic crisis) and future within international organisations.

Valdis Zatlers, the seventh President of Latvia, similarly as V. Vīķe-Freiberga uses a variety of linguistic techniques to construct national identity of the state. For instance, the personification metaphor *LATVIA IS PERSON*, the topos of history to construct a common political past, symbols – freedom monument, *LATVIA IS MOTHER*, references to national folk tales and heroes, values – family, work, faith, sleeping and waking metaphors to refer to lack of action for the benefit of the state is sleeping and acting means waking up, topoi of responsibility and reality to construct a common political present with reference to the work of the government. Another common technique is the use of rhetorical questions and intertextuality. While the speeches by V. Zatlers to the citizens of Latvia are on average longer than those of the other presidents, his longest speeches are given to the parliament. These speeches can be characterised as formal and lack figurative language techniques. As regards the international speeches, linguistic techniques such as metonymy, *DEVELOPMENT IS ROAD* metaphor, inclusive and exclusive we (we EU countries vs we Latvia) are used relatively frequently. Moreover, the topoi of reality, numbers, responsibility, and history are used to construct a common political past and illustrate the achievements both of Latvia and of the

President personally. Additionally, V. Zatlers uses strategies of transformation and demontage of the former elements of Latvian identity (the Soviet legacy) to address the people and encourage them to take individual responsibility rather than wait for the ‘state’ to solve their problems. Moreover, having in mind the context of the presidency of V. Zatlers, it is concluded that one of the functions of his speeches is also to encourage and inspired individual action of people and united action of people to handle the economic crisis individually and together, noting that the state is not able to help anyone. The references to strong national symbols (Lāčplēsis, freedom monument, national history) and the use of the topos of authority are thus elements of realisation of the strategies of transformation. This has also been noted by the advisor to the President (see interview data in Appendix 5.3.), who claims that one of the difficult tasks of V. Zatlers was to help the nation understand that no one is able to help them solve their problems and they have to find the strength to do it themselves, in the same time keeping the belief in the state, nation and unity, for instance, *Today we must find Lāčplēsis in ourselves and in our closest people – it is the only way we will be able to deal with the challenges. Love for the fatherland, work, will, sense of purpose and unity is our Lāčplēsis today.* (VZ1, see original as example No.52 in Appendix 6).

Furthermore, when referring to the migration from Latvia to other European states, the President has used the metaphor MIGRATION IS FLOOD to describe the situation with Latvians flooding away. The topos of threat is used to construct the arguments for tackling climate change and improving economic and demographic situation. Similarly, as V. Vīķe-Freiberga, G. Ulmanis and the Presidents of the other Baltic States, V. Zatlers emphasizes the role of small countries and the Baltic Sea region in the EU. Rhetorical questions and medical metaphors (conflict zones are recovering from war) are used to refer to military conflict situations and peacekeeping in the world. As to the corpus data that characterises the linguistic profile of the president, the most frequently used multiword constructions in the speeches (English) are *international community, energy market, energy policy, energy security, Baltic way, universal forum, global level, security situation and Russian army*, which point to the global issues being discussed (being the concern of Latvia) by the president, namely, international cooperation, security of borders and constructing the history of the Baltic states as well as global economic matters such as the energy market. The list of keywords in both Latvian and English speeches by V. Zatlers are displayed in Appendix 3. The results of the keyword and word frequency analysis show that the thematic areas in the local speeches centre around two areas, namely, international cooperation and national development, specifically the problem of birth rate in Latvia, while the international speeches focus on cooperation and border security questions. As regards the most frequently used nouns, in the speeches to the local

population, the most frequently used nouns are *Latvija*, *valsts* (*state*), *gads* (*year*), *darbs* (*work*), *laiks* (*time*), *attīstība* (*development*), *tauta* (*folk*), *Presidents* (*president*), *Saeima* (*parliament*), while in the international speeches those are *Latvia*, *country*, *European*, *year*, *Europe*, *union*, *president*, *state*, *region*, *security*, *development*. As regards verbs, the most frequently used verbs in the international speeches are *be*, *have*, *do*, *make*, *achieve*, *become*, *work*, *take*, *continue*, *support*, *promote*, while in the Latvian speeches those are *būt* (*be*), *varēt* (*can*), *nebūt* (*not to be*), *tikt* (*passive voice indicator*), *spēt* (*be able to*), *radīt* (*create*), *panākt* (*achieve*), *nodrošināt* (*provide*), *godāt* (*honour*) and *strādāt* (*work*). As regards adjectives, the most frequently used adjectives in the local speeches by V. Zatlers are *politiska* (*politic*), *ekonomiska* (*economic*), *jauna* (*new, young*), *būtisks* (*crucial*), *laba* (*good*), *liels* (*big*), *iespējams* (*possible*), *starptautiska* (*international*), *nepieciešams* (*necessary*), while in the international speeches those are *international*, *European*, *global*, *economic*, *important*, *political*, *new*, *common*, *human*, *great*. The use of pronouns is rather similar to that of the Presidents that follow V. Zatlers, namely, the emphasis of group identity and group responsibility (we, us our), in synergy with personal responsibility and personal identity (more frequently in the local speeches, where the President often emphasizes his achievements as president). Consequently, the linguistic profile of V. Zatlers can be characterised as being influenced by the situational context of his presidency to a very considerable extent (economic crisis, military conflicts in the world, demographic problems in Latvia, international cooperation, and the decreasing popularity of the parliament of Latvia based on their mishandling of economic crisis which led to V. Zatlers exercising one of his functions as the President of Latvia, namely, to dismiss the Parliament in 2011).

The eighth President of Latvia, **Andris Bērziņš** has emphasized work, nation, independence, and family as symbols of Latvianness, portrayed Latvia as common home of those who migrated away and those who stayed during the time of global economic crisis. The President similarly as V. Zatlers has addressed Latgalian in Latgalian dialect, used rhetorical questions, metonymy, inclusive we, and CRISIS IS ILLNESS metaphor to emphasize his arguments. Moreover, metaphorical expressions such as flooding of brain (*smadzeņu aizplūde*) are used to refer to migration, to illustrate the issue of educated Latvians leaving the nation. In general, the President has used metaphors, intertextuality and other linguistic techniques of manipulation and persuasion less frequently than his predecessors, however, metaphors such as DEVELOPMENT IS ROAD, ACTIONS ARE STEPS, CRISIS IS DEEP CONTAINER, have been used to describe the global economic crisis and its effect on the economy and life in Latvia. Similarly, as the previous presidents, A. Bērziņš uses the topos of history to construct a common political past when talking to the army, likewise topos of responsibility is used to refer to the

duty of the army to protect the state from potential enemies. As to the international speeches, A. Bērziņš uses metonymies, for instance, Latvia standing for its people and Brussels standing for the EU parliament, and imperative mood to refer to the common goals of the EU and United Nations. The list of keywords in the corpus of English and Latvian speeches by A. Bērziņš is displayed in Appendix 3. The multiword constructions with the highest keyness score in the corpus of English speeches are *joint action*, *vocational education*, *consistent adherence*, *regional security*, *occupied European country*. The use of keywords in both local and international speeches points to two slightly different tendencies of constructing national identity, the local speeches being centred around the construction of national values, national spirit and inclusion as well as a common political future, while the international speeches seem to be focusing on the questions of international cooperation (which is generally a common for the international speeches of all the presidents) and development.

The noun frequency in Latvian speeches emphasizes the use of the words *Latvija*, *valsts* (*state*), *gads* (*year*), *Eiropa* (*Europe*), *pasaule* (*world*), *cilvēks* (*human*), *darbs* (*work*), *attīstība* (*development*), *laiks* (*time*), *nākotne* (*future*), while the English speeches focus on words *country*, *Latvia*, *UN*, *education*, *council*, *president*, *year*, *world and security as well as people*, *right and responsibility*. The use of verbs in the Latvian speeches emphasizes the frequency of verbs *būt* (*be*), *varēt* (*can*), *nebūt* (*not to be*), *godāt* (*honour*), *kļūt* (*become*), *notikt* (*happen*), *tikt* (indicates to the use of passive voice), *dzīvot* (*live*), *apvienot* (*combine*), *domāt* (*think*), *strādāt* (*work*) and in the English sub-corpus those are *be*, *have*, *take*, *support*, *live*, *develop*, *work*, *become*, *believe*, *face*. As to the use of adjectives, in the international corpus the adjectives with the higher frequency are *international*, *new*, *human*, *democratic*, *global*, *sustainable*, *regional*, *important*, *Latvian and young*, while in the corpus of Latvian speeches those are *labs* (*good*), *starptautiska* (*international*), *ekonomiska* (*economic*), *tuvs* (*close*), *liela* (*big*), *jauns* (*new, young*), *nozīmīgs* (*important*), *nacionāla* (*national*), *nepieciešams* (*necessary*), *stiprs* (*strong*). Finally, the use of pronouns indicates to the construction of inner group and centre or closeness (see the deictic mapping analysis further in the chapter) as the use of such pronouns as *mēs* (*we*), *šis* (*this*) as well as pronoun *es* (*I*) is used frequently. In the international speeches, however, the opposition between *us* (*we*) and *them* (*their*) as well as pronoun *I* is frequent. Thus, it is concluded that the speeches of the President A. Bērziņš focus on the themes of economic (present) situation and future within the international organisations (EU, UN, NATO) as well as the construction of a common political present and responsibility to work and develop the country, while the international speeches are constructed within the thematic area of a common political present, past and common threat as well as the security and well-being of people. The choice of linguistic means in the speeches seems to be influenced

both by the individual background of the President in the economic sector and by the global economic crisis and military conflict in the world at the time of the presidency. Thus, it seems that the speeches are more focused on discussing the problems and responsibilities rather than constructing national identity.

The ninth President of Latvia **Raimonds Vējonis** can be characterised as a President that has tried to have an implicit dialogue with the national rather than persuading them, using manipulation or argumentation techniques. The speeches by R. Vējonis are the shortest (370 words per speech on average) when comparing the lengths of the speeches of all the Presidents of Latvia as well as Estonia and Lithuania, although D. Grybauskaitė's speeches are also similar in terms of their lengths (379 word per speech on average). The national values and symbols that are emphasized in the speeches by R. Vējonis are most frequently family, children, God, and national unity. Thus, it seems that the main thematic are of the speeches is the construction of *the Homo Latviensis* or national spirit. As to the international speeches, the topos of history as teacher is used to refer to the implicit fear of history repeating itself if not taking seriously the conflicts between Russia and other nations of the world, this is also done via the use of the topos of threat. The President has also used Latin terminology (*de iure, de facto*) to refer to the history of Latvia being declared and recognised and independent nation. Additionally, when constructing common supranational identity and constructing common enemy, R. Vējonis uses such linguistic means as rhetorical questions, parallel sentence constructions via metaphorical shift from broader to narrower group identity and complementary anaphora to emphasize his arguments (the strategy of inclusion and construction of a hybrid complementary collective identity), for instance, *These are American values; these are European values; these are Latvian values; these are our values*. The keyword tendencies in R. Vējonis speeches are displayed in the table in Appendix 3. The keywords indicate clear difference between the thematic areas in the local speeches and those in the international speeches, namely, the construction of *the Homo Latviensis* and Latvian values and a common national body as well as the celebration of centenary of Latvia's independence versus the construction of a common political present and common enemy. The multiword combinations that have the highest keyness score in the (English) speeches by R. Vējonis are *rules-based global order, territorial integrity, decent life, dangerous place, Russian action, continued aggression, democratic alliance, non-military assistance, basis of preserving peace, serious breach of international security, huge military build-up*. The key words explicitly display the main thematic are of the speeches, which the construction of a common political present (and past) and common enemy (Russia). However, as the presidency of R. Vējonis takes place during the global and international conflicts between Russia and the EU and UN caused by the military actions of

Russian troops in their neighbouring countries, the keyword use can be connected with the situational context rather than to the individual characterisation of the president. Nevertheless, the use of keywords does indicate to the implicit construction of *the Homo Latviensis* and history of Latvians as victims of the Soviet Union and as well as the construction of national body and border politics, namely, the fact that Latvia is also the neighbouring state of Russia, which indicates to fear from history repeating itself and fear that Russia's actions in other neighbour states might also influence Latvia's security.

The most frequently used nouns in the sub-corpus of Latvian speeches by R. Vējonis are *Latvija, valsts (state), gads (year), tauta (folk), zeme (land), ticība (belief), pasaule (world), brīvība (freedom), cilvēks (human)*, while in the English speeches those are *Latvia, peace, NATO, conflict, security, UN, Europe, value, people*. The most frequently used verbs in the Latvian sub-corpus are *būt (be), varēt (can), redzēt (see), nebūt (not to be), darīt (do), teikt (say), aicināt (invite), veidot (create), izmantot (use), svētīt (bless)*, while in the English sub-corpus the verbs are *be, have, see, become, do, include, support, let, increase, maintain, prevent*. The most frequently used adjectives in Latvian speeches are *jauns (new, young), liels/a (big), stipra/s (strong), brīva (free), tuvs (close), patiess (true), mīla (dear), svēts (sacred)*, while in the English speeches those are *global, international, many, Baltic, serious, human, new, military, strong, first, regional, dangerous*. Lastly, the use of pronouns in the regional speeches show the emphasis of sharing responsibility and inclusion via the pronoun *mēs (we)* which is used most frequently, being followed by the pronouns *tas (it), es (I)* which points to both construction of individual identity and taking responsibility, *viss (all) and Jūs (you)*, which points to the direct address of the audience. The tendency is in fact similar in the international speeches by R. Vējonis, with the difference that the exclusive or othering pronoun *they, their* appears more frequently than the pronoun *you*.

Finally, the analysis of the speeches of President **Egils Levits** has revealed that the President frequently refers to national values of Latvia that have been mentioned in the Preamble of the Constitution of Latvia (see Appendix 1), namely, *freedom, liberty, fatherland, family, Christian values, history and future, freedom, and independence*. The register and style of the speeches, however, when comparing these with the speeches of the ex-president V. Vīķe-Freiberga, is rather formal as the speeches include legal, linguistic and political terminology and definitions of the terms mentioned in the speeches, for example, '*Abi lietvārdi – Tēvzemei un Brīvībai - ir datīva locījumā. Datīvs atbildu uz jautājumu kam?*' (*Both nouns – Fatherland and Freedom - are in the dative form and dative answers the question to whom, for whom?*), the use of terms '*de facto, sovereignty (suverenitāte), mobility (mobilitāte), manifestation (manifestācija), global players (globāli spēlētāji), identity (identitāte)*'. Moreover, the speeches of the President

are clearly structured, and the parts of the speeches are linked with discourse markers such as *'first (pirmkārt), second (otrkārt)'*, anaphoric references *'these (šos), this (šī), that (tas), tā'* and paragraphs that are separated by pauses in the oral speeches and marks (I, II, III, IV) in the transcripts that are available online in the homepage of the President of Latvia. Thus, it seems that the speeches by President E. Levits are similar in register to those given by the first President of Latvia Jānis Čakste and Alberts Kvišis who were lawyers by profession and have represented legal discourse too. Nevertheless, it seems that until the pandemic caused by the Covid-19 virus, the current President of the state used less emotional adjectives and linguistic techniques such as metaphors, rhetorical questions, hyperboles and similes, yet focused on the repetition of the inclusive pronoun *"we (mēs)"*, which has likewise been done by Presidents J. Čakste and V. Vīķe-Freiberga (see analysis of pronominal indexing below). A very distinctive difference between the language use in Levits' speeches and those of other President of Latvia is the frequent use of neologisms, borrowings, and old Latvian words in his speeches, which in some instances has also been observed in V. Vīķe-Freiberga's speeches, but with relatively lower frequency, for instance, *'sirdsgudrs, turpinātība, vienvērtība, likteņkopība, nepārtrauktība, valstsgriba, raksturliebums, neiztērēšanās, sākotne, ietiekties, jābūtība, katrs viens'*. This can be evaluated as a positive tendency and peculiar aspect of presidential speeches and can be defined as an attempt to construct common national values and *the Homo Latviensis*, namely, a Latvian, who respects and uses the national language with all its resources. The most often identified topoi in the speeches are the topos of history (both local and international speeches), the topos of name interpretation (referring to terms from different field, such as linguistics and providing his own definition). Some metaphor such as human chain metaphor or HISTORY IS TREE metaphor are used in the speeches, yet figurative language examples are identified comparatively less frequently, as the presidential language displays use of legal and professional terminology and speech style that seems to be corresponding to the function of informing and educating rather than persuading, while manipulative function is also found on separate occasions. Nevertheless, while the speeches of the President are interesting linguistically and content-wise, the public opinion surveys show a slightly different opinion, namely, that the President seems arrogant, and the speeches are "too smart" (see public opinion survey results father in the chapter). It should be noted also, that after the Covid-19 pandemic and the medical and economic crisis in Latvia and the world, the language of the President has changed significantly and numerous metaphorical expressions (country is ship and parliament is the captain, virus is an enemy) and language of group categorisation (those who take the vaccine and those who don't) is very explicit, which has also gained negative recognition on

the part of the target audience. As to the keyword use in the speeches, the most frequently used keywords (according to their relative frequency) are displayed in Appendix 3.

Other keywords that should be mentioned among keywords with highest keyness score in E. Levits' speeches are *Latvian, multilateralism, Estonia, totalitarian, cyberspace, Lithuania and agenda*, and in the speeches in Latvian those are *likteņkopība (common destiny), dižģimene (family with more than 3 children), datīvs (dative form), saiklis (connector), turpinātība (continuousness)*, which point to the thematic area of international cooperation, implicit fear as will be described in the analysis of topoi in President speeches below. The multiword keywords in the speeches (English speeches) are *Baltic way, totalitarian regime, historical memory, sustainable forest, rules-based international order, Soviet totalitarian regime, historical justice, climate neutrality, common home and international law*, which again indicate what has been concluded above, namely, the use legal discourse, construction of the common history, which indicates to implicit fear of history repeating itself, and the thematic area of climate protection which has been a topical theme in the second decade of the 21st century. Moreover, the keywords in the speeches of E. Levits point to the thematic area of constructing a common political past and *the Homo Nationalis* or national spirit, as the emphasize values such as independence and freedom as well as bravery, that stem from the time of the occupation and freedom fights. Another feature of E. Levits speeches, which the keywords explicitly display is the use of word combinations and neologisms as described above. As revealed by the President in the interview, the choice of these specific novel words or old words is deliberate (see interview data in Chapter 5.1.). The most frequently used words (wordlist) are displayed in Table No.48 in Appendix 3.

As to the frequency of particular forms of words, the most frequently used nouns in the speeches to the citizens of Latvia are *Latvija, valsts (state), brīvība (freedom), tauta (people), cilvēks (human), gads (year), pasaule (world), latvietis (Latvian), neatkarība (independence), robeža (border)*, while in the international speeches those are *Latvia, country, Europe, year, state, UN, European, people, Union, EU, president, world and security*. The most frequently used verbs in the international speeches are *to be, have, do, become, make, take, se, achieve, and work*, while in the speeches to the citizens of Latvia those are *būt (to be), varēt (can), izcīnīt (fight), nebūt (not to be), dot (give), sargāt (protect), atgādināt (remind), redzēt (see), godināt (honour)*. As to the use of adjectives, in the local speeches the adjectives that are preferred by the President are *jauns (new, young), brīva (free), liels (big), neatkarīga (independent), mīļš (dear), demokrātiska (democratic), laba (good), nacionāla (national), kopīgs (common)*, while in the international speeches those are *European, international, new, important, global, economic, Latvian, political, human, Baltic and common*. Thus, a slight difference between the

word use in the local and international speeches can be observed in E. Levits' speeches. As to the use of pronouns, it could be said that the tendencies are rather similar in local and international speeches, namely, the emphasis on the inclusive pronouns *mēs* (*we*), and pronoun *tas/tā* (*it*), first person singular (individual) pronoun *I* in both types of speeches, the difference is, however, that the pronoun *they* is more frequent in the international speeches than in the local speeches, which points in its turn to the construction of the other, or use of othering strategy in the international speeches rather than the strategy of inclusion that is used in the local speeches. This tendency of emphasizing the other or a common enemy (Russia), however, is also discussed further in the analysis as it seems to be common in the second decade of the 21st century and is directly connected to the context of conflicts between Russia and the geopolitical West (the countries of the EU and NATO) due to Russia's military aggression in Georgia and Ukraine and intervention in the political processes of Belarus. The keyword use according to the relative frequency of keywords as well as their keyness points to the growing fear of the common political enemy (Russia) that partially being constructed based on the political history of the Baltic States and the former Soviet Union and also based on the military conflict between Russia and its border state Ukraine (specifically Crimea), this is illustrated by the use of keywords such as *annexation* (of Crimea), *peacekeeping*, *neighbour* and the keywords in the international speeches (see Appendix 3.4.). Consequently, it seems that the language of the Presidents of Latvia with regards to national identity construction is gradually changing, which is primarily influenced by the historical and sociolinguistic context (including the general processes of the development of language); therefore, it is difficult to compare language used by presidents in early 20th and early 21st century. Nevertheless, while some presidents seem to acquire the linguistic techniques used by his or her predecessors (G. Ulmanis, V. Zatlers), other presidents such as V. Vīķe-Freiberga and E. Levits introduce lexical changes into the Latvian language. Moreover, it seems that more emotional language and use of intertextuality, metaphors and other cognitive-linguistic tools is both favoured and effective when aiming to construct national identity in speeches given to the citizens of particular state (see the answers of questionnaire-based survey with the citizens of Latvia in Appendix 9). Yet again, it must be noted the linguistic choices of the Presidents are influenced by both the context and the individual character of the presidents.

3.2.3. The Case of Lithuania

Lithuania is a unitary semi-presidential republic, which means that the functions of the President of Lithuania exceed those of Presidents of parliamentary republics (such as Estonia and Latvia). According to Raunio and Sedelius (2019) 'the Lithuanian constitution, adopted in

1992, provides for a directly elected President with limited but more than marginal formal powers' (2019: 645). Similar to Latvia, the President of Lithuania can be elected for two periods (8 years) of presidency. The functions of the President of Lithuania include holding 'primary powers in foreign policy matters,' performing such functions of domestic policy as commanding the armed forces of the state, heading the state defence council, holding the right to legislative initiative, appointing Prime Minister, dissolving Seimas (the parliament), applying to constitutional court (lrp.lt). Additionally, the President of Lithuania holds judicial power to appoint judges and submit candidatures of the Supreme Court justices (ibid.). Moreover, the President of Lithuania can grant citizenships of the Republic of Lithuania and grant pardons to the convicted persons

Lithuanian political system including the election of the President has been characterised as 'centred around personality,' and according to Raunio and Sedelius (2019) 'the presidency is the big prize for ambitious political leaders, which certainly strengthens the importance of personalities in Lithuanian politics' (ibid.: 648). Jastramskis, 2020 claims that 'since the transition to democracy, only two Presidents had a party attachment: Algirdas M. Brazauskas (1993-1998) and Rolandas Paksas (2003-2004). Lithuania stands out among the post-communist countries with similar government systems, such as Poland, Romania, or Bulgaria, where the majority of Presidents had party affiliations. Presidency is not very weak or ceremonial: the Lithuanian President enjoys average powers when compared to the similar post-communist democracies' (Jastramskis, 2020). 'Lithuanian Presidents Valdas Adamkus (1998-2003; 2004-2009), Dalia Grybauskaitė (2009-2019) and Gitanas Nausėda (2019-present) were all elected to office as non-partisans' (Jastramskis, 2020)

Algirdas Brazauskas is described as a 'a constructive leader [...] who upheld the position as head of state carefully without open conflicts with the PM or the Seimas' (Raunio and Sedelius, 2019: 639). Brazauskas has also been described or referred to as 'housekeeper,' because of his wish to 'ensure the country was functioning properly' and because of his 'open style of leadership' and frequent contacts with the citizens of Lithuania (Raunio and Sedelius, 2019: 649).

Valdas Adamkus 'came from a quite different background, having served in the Environmental Protection Agency of the United States for nearly two decades' (ibid: 650). Adamkus is known for his imposition of the strong President authority on Saeimas as after the conflict with the former prime minister of Lithuania Vagnorius, the PM stepped down from his position, the presidential leadership was strengthened. (ibid). V. Adamkus also took an active role in the foreign affairs of Lithuania, especially supporting the accession of the state in the European Union.

Rolandas Paksas was appointed to the presidency by his predecessor V. Adamkus (ibid: 653). According to Raunio and Sedelius (2019) ‘the picture of relative harmony [...] in Lithuanian presidency was somewhat blurred by the so- called ‘Paksasgate’, the short and turbulent presidency of Rolandas Paksas which ended with his impeachment from office in 2003.’ (ibid.). It is likewise mentioned that ‘prior to EU membership in 2003 President Paksas demanded a key role for the President in European affairs. As the impeachment of Paksas coincided with joining the EU and the design of the national EU coordination system, the role of the President ended up being quite limited’ (Raunio and Sedelius, 2019: 660).

Arturas Paulauskas performed the formal duties of the President of Lithuania after the impeachment of Rolandas Paksas until the election of Dalia Grybauskaitė.

Dalia Grybauskaitė apart from being the first female President of Lithuania is also described as the most powerful President of Lithuania, because of her active leadership style of participation in all the important political and decision-making matters in the state (Raunio and Sedelius (2019: 652). She has been described as active in foreign matters as well, as ‘her influence appeared strong in EU and economic affairs, partly because she had served previously as the finance minister and as the Commissioner for Financial Programming and the Budget’ (ibid.: 645). See table 5 displaying the list of the Presidents of Lithuania, their years of service, political affiliations, and number of speeches in the corpus selected for this analysis below:

Table 5. Presidents of Lithuania, speeches in the corpus

President	Years of service	Political affiliation	Number of speeches in the corpus	Words	Average
Algirdas Brazauskas	1993-1998	Social Democrats	17	30157	1773.94
Valdas Adamkus	1998-2001 and 2004-2009	independent	45	41006	911.24
Rolandas Paksas	2003-2004	Order and Justice National Party	15	6790	452.67
Arturas Paulauskas	2004	Labour Party	3	6425	2141.67
Dalia Grybauskaitė	2009-2019	independent	55	20214	367.52
Gitanas Nausėda	2019- Present	independent	12	11205	933.75

The speeches given by the Presidents of Lithuania seem to be shorter both in English (average 1055.42 words per speech) and Lithuanian (average 492.4 words per speech) languages when compared to the speeches by the Presidents of Estonia and Latvia in English and respective national languages, however, it should be noted that the length of the speeches as well as the linguistic profile of the speeches (in terms of richness) seems to change (decrease) gradually, while in the case of Estonia is only varies slightly and in the case of Latvia the tendency varies rather across presidents. However, as indicated in the chapter above, the Presidents of Lithuania

have the highest score of presidential power and comparatively more functions or tasks than the Presidents of Estonia and Latvia, thus the speeches are given more frequently, but are generally shorter. Likewise, it has been observed that while the speeches of the Presidents of Estonia and Latvia seem to be focused on construction a common political past, the roles of the state as a victim and common enemy, the speeches of the Presidents of Lithuania, particularly after the second restoration of independence in 1991 seem to be aimed at deconstructing the image of the enemy via such linguistic means as understatement, euphemisms and passive voice, thus avoiding to name directly the events, agents and actions. This difference is partially explicable by several contextual factors such as the number immigrants in the states from the Soviet Union before restoration of independence and even in the second decade of the 21st century which is considerably higher in the case of Latvia and Estonia than in Lithuania (discussed in the previous chapter), and the common history and political relationship between Lithuania and Russia, the history of statehood of Lithuania that is considerably longer than the independence and the statehood of Latvia and Estonia as well as by several personal characteristics of the profiles of the presidents. The longest speeches belong to Algirdas Brazauskas, Rolandas Paksas and Valdas Adamkus, while the shortest are given by Gitanas Nausėda and Dalia Grybauskaitė. As to vocabulary density, the highest density is identified in the speeches by Algirdas Brazauskas and Gitanas Nausėda, while the lowest density is found in the speeches by Valdas Adamkus and Dalia Grybauskaitė. The longest sentences are constructed by Rolandas Paksas and Gitanas Nausėda, while the shortest sentences are found in the speeches by Dalia Grybauskaitė and Algirdas Brazauskas. The most frequently used words in the whole corpus of speeches in Lithuanian are *Lietuvos* (229); *valstybės* (97); *Lietuva* (91); *ne* (91); *šiandien* (85), and the most frequently used or distinctive words in the speeches by each of the Presidents are as follows:

1. **Algirdas Brazauskas** (1): *remsiu* – I will support (3), *prezidento* - President (5), *santarvę* – development (2), *reikalus* - affairs (2), *plėtoti* - develop (2);
2. **Valdas Adamkus** (14): *pirmininke* – President (12), *seimo* – government (18), *moralės* - morality (7), *jungtinės* - joint (7), *grėsmės* - threats (7);
3. **Rolandas Paksas** (5): *daina* – song (7), *brangieji* – dear ones (9), *jubiliejų* – anniversary (5), *karaliaus* - king (4), *gegužės* - may (7);
4. **Dalia Grybauskaitė** (20): *divdešimt* – twenty (16), *vasario* – February (22), *kartų* – times (6), *vienybės* – unity (9), *švente* – celebration (9);
5. **Gitanas Nausėda** (5): *klimato* - climate (20), *kaitos* – change (13), *aplinkosaugos* - environment (5), *taikos* - peace (6), *žmoniškumui* – humanity (3).

The list of distinctive words displays the general tendencies and topics of the speeches of each of the president. Algirdas Brazauskas seems to focus on supporting the nation and constructing unity, Valdas Adamkus focuses on the responsibilities of the President and politicians, Rolandas Paksas seems to focus on specifically constructing the national spirit and values

similarly as Dalia Grybauskaitė, while Gitanas Nausėda focuses on global challenges of the time of his presidency such as environmental crisis, peace, and humanity. A more detailed analysis of the linguistic profiles of the presidential speeches is displayed below.

The speeches of the first President of Lithuania after Restoration of Independence in 1991 **Algirdas Brazauskas** are characterised, like the first Presidents of Estonia and Latvia after restoration of nationality of the state, by rather frequent use of various linguistic means that are aimed not only at re-construction of national identity, but also at argumentation, persuasion and manipulation (linguistically). The speeches are characterised by frequent use of metaphorical expressions that seem to euphemize (in comparison to the speeches of the Presidents of the other Baltic States) references to the common political past, for instance, the use of metaphor **WAR IS SYMPHOYNY** (*The final chords of World War II has been played in the Baltics*), and simile (*Baltic States as bridge between East and the West*). The metaphors **HISTORY IS BOOK** and **DEVELOPMENT IS ROAD** are also used in the speeches, which is a typical characteristic for all the presidents. Additionally, traffic light metaphor is used to refer to the EU accepting Lithuania as is member state and giving *'the green light to the free movement of people.'* A. Brazauskas uses the topos of usefulness to refer to the advantages of joining the EU, however, notes that *'national seclusion and ethnic centralism'* would have to be overcome. Similarly in the international speeches, the Presidents constructs arguments (via the topos of threat and figurative language) to overcome features of *'racism and fanatical nationalism'* and via the conditional if statement, conversational implicature (inclusive we), metaphor, exaggeration and modal marker expressing possibility of threat constructs the argument that leads the listener to conclusion that actions must be carried out to avoid the threat, for instance, *'If we do not, these demons, once having manifested themselves in men, communities or entire nations, could destroy the entire world'* (AIB2). If statements, however, are used not only to portray threat, but also portray the necessary conditions for a better political future. It should be noted that the topos of usefulness is also used to deconstruct the common enemy (Russia) and deconstruct the fear of the past, where the keyword is *bilateral* rather than *multilateral relationship*, meaning that direct Lithuania and Russia relationship would have to be maintained in order to secure peace. Several linguistic expressions have been used to support the strategy of deconstructing the common enemy, for instance, *the wave of reconciliation is rolling on to the East (metonymically – Russia), the pipe of peace was smoked between Russia and Germany* (AIB1). The topos of threat along with intertextuality (reference to expressions by other politicians) is used to portray an unwanted scenario if the newly established countries (the Baltic States and Poland) would not establish friendly relationship with Russia. And if formula is embedded in the argument, if people would follow the requests by other politicians and isolate Russia, then

Lithuanian would ‘*become a border-state.*’ It seems that the common fear that is observed in the speeches by the Presidents of the Baltic States after Restoration of Independence, but Soviet troops still present in the states is somewhat purposefully obscured in the speeches by A. Brazauskas or rather that he aims to construct arguments for actions that would prevent Russia’s potential aggressive reaction. This statement is partially supported by the fact that the raw frequency of reference to Russia in the sub-corpus of ten speeches by A. Brazauskas is 43 (relative frequency 2296.36), which is relatively more frequent than in the speeches of V. Adamkus (9 raw, 590.4 relative), Paksas (0), Paulauskas (2/390.93), Grybauskaitė (1/159.9) and Nausėda (7/1534.75). It should be noted though that this tendency may be directly connected to the contextual situation at the time (collapse of the Soviet Union, Soviet troops in the Baltics and peace talks between the former countries at war). Nevertheless, it is also notable that having the comparable situation to the other Baltic States, the direct references to Russia are in fact less frequent – the corpus of speeches of the Presidents of Estonia in Estonian (19/336.43) and English (18/205.65), and the corpus of speeches by the Presidents of Latvia in Latvian (46/527.95) and English (48/1044.46).

Furthermore, A. Brazauskas also uses the thematic areas of construction a common political past, present and future via the topos of comparison and figurative language means, for instance, *Fifty five years ago, on the eve of World War II, the law of the jungle was in force in Europe* (AlB1). Likewise, nature metaphors are used to refer to problems (avalanche of problems), which is also a typical feature in the speeches by the Presidents of Latvia and Estonia. Rhetorical questions seem to be less frequent than in the speeches of the other Presidents of the Baltic States, however parallelisms and intertextuality are used rather frequently to construct national spirit and a common culture. Moreover, the metaphor LITHUANIA IS MOTHER that is also used by the Presidents of Latvia is also present in the speeches by A. Brazauskas. Finally, references to Lithuanian language as arising from Sanskrit, metonymy Lithuania is people and birth metaphor (Lithuania was reborn) are also used to construct national spirit.

As to the corpus analysis of speeches by A. Brazauskas, the keywords analysis shows in part what has been noted above, namely, a frequent reference to Russia as well as international cooperation with neighbour and other states in the speeches. Likewise, as with the speeches of the Presidents of other Baltic States, the state name and independence are among the most frequently used keywords in the speeches (according to the relative frequency). It should also be noted that A. Brazauskas focuses on constructing a common political present and future more often than referring to the past, as he focuses on ideas of national identity, cooperation, integration and bilateralism (relationship with Russia), as well as the work of the Seimas of

Lithuania, which is explicable due to the duties of the President of Lithuania when compared to the Presidents of other Baltic States (see presidential power index in Appendix 2). The list of key words and multiword with highest relative frequency (as compared to a general corpus) in Appendix 3. As to the most frequently used words in the sub-corpus (wordlist), the most frequently used (general list) words in the English speeches by A. Brazauskas are functional such as *the, of, and, to, in, a, Lithuania, that, is* and *we*. The most frequently used nouns are *Lithuania, state, country, year, world, nation, people, Europe, Russia, time, union, security*. The most frequently used adjectives are *Lithuanian, other, new, European, international, political, first, economic, military, democratic, important, Russian, such, foreign* and *national*. The most frequently used verbs in the speeches are *be, have, do, take, become, make, remain, establish, like, mark, provide, sign*. Finally, the most frequently used pronouns in the speeches are *we, our, it, I, its, theirs, us, he, they, his, them*. The wordlist of the most frequently used words in the speeches by A. Brazauskas indicates to the construction of *the Homo Lietuvenis* of Lithuanian national spirit simultaneously constructing supranational identity, as the President refers to the state name, European Union as well as uses inclusive pronouns to create the image of the in-group (Lithuanians and members of the EU) as well as out-group (other states, also EU states as opposed to Lithuania, people in the past, Russian politicians). The President also refers to male figures in the history of Lithuanian independence (often former Presidents Antanas Smetona and Aleksandras Stulginskis) to pay tribute to their bravery and achievements that has contributed to free Lithuania as well as to construct a common political past via the topos of history and intertextuality as a linguistic technique.

The speeches by the President **Valdas Adamkus** are characterised by frequent reference to history construction of a common political past via the topos of history and metaphors HISTORY IS BOOK and HISTORY IS LESSON/TEACHER. The President also uses frequent reference to authorities and symbolical people (such as the author of Lithuanian national anthem Vincas Kudirka) and rhetorical questions to show the contrast between past, present and future as well as a technique of linguistic manipulation to arise patriotic emotions within listeners, for instance,

*Did we forget that the driving force behind our awareness of **national identity** and statehood is **nurtured in the hearts and minds of the people** and surely **not in the corridors of power**? Will Lithuanians stand together in statehood after 120 years of subjugation and national humiliation under Tsarist Russia?* (VA13).

It seems that while the President A. Brazauskas was obscuring the negative memories of a common political past concerning occupation and oppression of Lithuania and Lithuanians by the Soviet authorities via euphemisms, passive voice and understatements, the President V. Adamkus has employed a more direct language to portray common enemy of the past to arise

patriotic feelings and represent the national identity via the strategy of constructing the common enemy and positioning Lithuania as a former and potential victim (strategy commonly used by other Presidents of the Baltic States especially after restoration of Independence and in the second decade of the 21st century in light of military conflicts between Ukraine, Georgia and Russia). While the speeches for the local population of Lithuania seem to portray Russia and the Soviet Union as common enemy and NATO and EU as family and friends that protect Lithuania, the international speeches seem to attempt to deconstruct the image of Russia as an enemy and stating that Lithuania (metonymy) wants friendly relationship with all neighbours including Russia. The President refers directly to the term national identity, which is indirectly defined in his speeches via the topos of name interpretation, building metaphor and rhetorical questions, for instance,

*Even today, the **Declaration of February 16 – born of our native language, history, remembrance and cultural heritage** – remains a unique historical event inspiring our hearts **to build up Lithuania. Lithuania learned from its difficult lessons of history** to resist, quite successfully, denationalization, russification and the denial of **national identity** and cultural awareness. Let us each ask ourselves: was Lithuania of 1918 a safer, wealthier or happier place? No, it was not, yet **commitment to freedom and truth united and bonded the nation. Was it not a miracle that in 1918**, after more than a century of oppression, the Lithuanian nation rose again from the ashes of the World War I to restore its state? **Was it not a miracle that in 1990**, our nation restored independence, which had been so much hoped for during the decades of soviet occupation?* (VA13)

As the examples above indicate, rhetorical questions are often used in parallel sentence constructions, often incorporate metaphorical expressions and references to state symbols that are seen as elements of national identity of Lithuania, for instance, important dates in history 16 February, year 1918 and year 1990 – the dates of declaration and restoration of independence de facto, Lithuanian language and culture, history as important part of national identity, Sajūdis movement (the people who signed the act for restoring the freedom of Lithuania), national anthem and flag (tricolor, often referred to in the speeches by the Presidents of Lithuania since Brazauskas). It should be noted though, that unlike for Estonia and Latvia, the Presidents of Lithuania do not portray the year 1918 as the date of birth of Lithuania and 1990 (1991) as rebirth, as Lithuania is seen as being independent statehood with its own national identity since the time of Mindaugas (often referred to in the speeches by the Presidents of Lithuania) and the time of Kingdom of Lithuania in the 13th century. Thus, it is concluded that the Presidents of Lithuania represent identity that has emerged long before the World War I and II, however, these ‘lessons of history’ much like for Latvia and Estonia did influence the representation and construction of national identity. The construction of a common political past via the topos of history is performed not only via metaphorical expressions and rhetorical questions, but also via references to authorities (the topos of authority), intertextuality (quoting poets, politicians),

similes (*We even fail to notice how **bitterly we speak about our motherland and freedom**, and this bitterness reminds of **dissatisfaction at bad weather that is beyond our control**. Sometimes we behave like school children who have not learned a history lesson*) (VA7). As the example above indicates, the construction of in-group or the use of inclusive *we* is also a typical characteristic of the speeches by V. Adamkus. The example above displays how the use of *we* that explicitly seems to include the President and the citizens of Lithuania and creates the effect of sharing responsibility for negative attitude towards ‘motherland’, while in fact this strategy together with emotional language is implicitly an attempt to condemn unwanted attitudes on the side of the people rather the president.

Furthermore, V. Adamkus uses family metaphors to refer to Estonia and Latvia as sisters who share the same fate, while Poland, who has experienced similar events in history is referred to as close neighbour and strategic partner via direct language rather than metaphorical expressions. Family metaphor is also used to refer to the European Union as family of Western countries and Lithuania as a member of this family. One of the key words in the speeches by V. Adamkus that is seen as symbol of Lithuanian identity is the word unity, as it is repeated throughout the speeches. President V. Adamkus also uses Latin political/legal terminology (*de facto*, *de iure*) to describe declaration and independence of Lithuania in 1918. Moreover, the topos of name interpretation is also used to define the role of the President of Lithuania via a negative sentence construction and stating that the President is not a ‘symbolic head of state who only passively observes the developments of his own country.’ This technique has also been used by the President of Latvia V. Vīķe-Freiberga, who constructed the national spirit via the topos of name interpretation and negative statements by referring to what Latvia and Latvians are not, to eliminate popular, but false beliefs before offering her personal definition or interpretation of particular terms. It seems that this technique functions in comparable way to the use of rhetorical questions, namely, addressing the beliefs, knowledge and collective memory of particular event or stereotype and attempting to reshape or deconstruct it via particular linguistic devices and argumentative strategies (*topoi*). Likewise, V. Adamkus (similar to V. Vīķe-Freiberga) uses direct address of the people to invite them to act in particular manner, for instance, return to Lithuania from abroad. As to the corpus analysis of the speeches by V. Adamkus, the list of keywords and multiword constructions as compared to a general corpus of English and Lithuanian is displayed in the tables available in Appendix 3.

The keywords display the thematic areas in the speeches by V. Adamkus in English and in Lithuanian. The symbols of national identity of Lithuania are the identity itself that is directly referred to in the speeches as well as such elements as freedom, independence, democracy, declaration of independence, culture, and national revival (symbolising restoration of

independence). V. Adamkus also focuses on the work of the parliament of the Republic of Lithuania and addresses it both directly and in speeches to the population of Lithuanian, where criticisms towards parliamentary work appears, for instance,

*The Seimas is engaged in debates over the laws on the martial law, alcohol control, non-propellant transport vehicles. Are they the priorities of the Seimas? It sometimes seems that the ruling majority is **no longer an able** and rational manager of domestic affairs and tries to cover its inability by provoking tension in foreign policy (VA4).*

The example illustrates the reference to Seimas at the beginning of an argument that via the topos of uselessness and disadvantage as well as rhetorical questions and hedges (*it seems*) indirectly invites the listeners to think on whether they support the parliament. The topos of usefulness and advantage, however, is used to refer to the European Union (much like in the speeches by the Presidents of Latvia and Estonia); however, V. Adamkus emphasizes the European quality of life, which is considered a unique word combination in the corpus as compared to reference corpora, but also when comparing to the corpora of speeches by the other presidents. As regards the most frequently used words (wordlist) in the sub-corpora of speeches by V. Adamkus, the most frequently used words in the English speeches are *the, of, and, to, in, a, our, we, Lithuania, that, not*, while in the Lithuanian speeches those are *ir (and), kad (that), Lietuvos (Lithuanian), mūsų (our), savo (own), tai (this), į (to), su (with), Lietuva (Lithuania), ne (not)*. The most frequently used nouns in the sub-corpus of English speeches (the corpus tool Sketch Engine does not filter parts of speech in the Lithuanian speeches) are *Lithuania, state, people, today, nation, freedom, world, life, day, independence, February, time*, while the most frequently used verbs are *be, have, do, let, make, become, live, take, need, build, celebrate, ensure, restore*. The most frequently used adjectives in the speeches by V. Adamkus are *national, Lithuanian, many, strong, human, new, good, political, historical, other, foreign, first, European, international* and the most frequently used pronouns are *our, we, I, it, us, their, its, you, my, they, them*. Thus, it seems that the speeches of V. Adamkus are focused on history as national symbol and crucial element of national identity dating back to the time of Kingdom of Lithuania, however, most emphasis is found to be concentrated on the restoration (declaration) of independence in February 1918. Likewise, the President argues for Lithuania's membership in the European Union and international cooperation as well as actively speaks about the role of the parliament in ensuring the quality of life for Lithuanians. The linguistic inclusion strategy is found to be one of the most frequently applied, however, such linguistic techniques as rhetorical questions, metaphorical expressions, metonymy, parallelisms, and similes are also identified in the speeches, particularly in the arguments for or against particular type of beliefs or actions. The topos of history, the topos of threat, the topos of name interpretation, the topos of usefulness and advantage and uselessness and disadvantage as well as the topos of authority

are used to construct a common political past present and future and national spirit. Likewise, the Presidents emphasize the role and origins of the Lithuanian language and culture in this way constructing a common culture in his speeches.

The speeches by Arturas Paulauskas are also characterised by the use of metaphorical expressions such as HISTORY IS BOOK and HISTORY IS LABYRINTH, DEVELOPMENT IS PATH, HOPE IS LIGHT, for instance,

*Today we have finally **liberated from the labyrinth** so intricately designed that at times it had seemed impossible to escape from. After **fifty years of wandering in this dark labyrinth**, Lithuania finally saw the light and chose a **clear path**, along which it has been progressing steadily after regaining independence, guided by clear goals and overcoming seemingly insurmountable obstacles on its way (AP1).*

As the example indicates, the President also uses metonymy to refer to the people of Lithuania by state name. The speeches by A. Paulauskas are characterised by the use of the topos of usefulness and reference to national symbols of unity to construct arguments for joining the EU and NATO, for instance, *Unity in diversity is a spring from which the European Union takes strength. And today this spring will be enriched with new vigorous streams (AP1)*. The president, like V. Adamkus, also uses rhetorical questions frequently, specifically when constructing the common supra-national identity and arguing for joining the EU and NATO, for instance, *What are the advantages of Lithuania as a member of the European Union and NATO?* (AP2). The focus and thematic areas of the speeches by A. Paulauskas are likewise highlighted in the results of the corpus data analysis both in the keyword analysis and the list of most frequently used words.

The most frequently used words in the corpus are *the, and, of, to, a, in, our, we, European, Lithuania, is, union, should, policy*. The most frequently used nouns are *Lithuania, union, European, policy, state, NATO, Europe, member, today, goal, nation, membership, security, development, interest*. Thus, as the examples indicate, the speeches focus on arguments for Lithuania's membership in the EU and NATO and in comparison with the speeches by other residents of Lithuania and the Baltic States, these keywords seem to be most frequent in the speeches by A. Paulauskas, however, it should be noted that the presidency of A. Paulauskas was relatively short and occurred during the time of Lithuanian joining the EUR and NATO, thus this tendency in words choice is explicable by the situational and historical context. The most frequently used verbs in the speeches are *be, have, take, make, strengthen, develop, need, become, build, do, help, work, defend*, while the most frequently used adjectives are *new, foreign, European, economic, social, national, political, active, other, strong*. Finally, the most frequently used pronouns in the speeches by A. Paulauskas are *our, we, it, its, us, I, their, them, they, my*. It is noteworthy that the President does not refer to the Soviet Union and only refers

to Russia in regard to the cooperation of the EU and Russia in energy supply matters and economic cooperation, thus it is concluded that while the common enemy is neither constructed nor represented in the speeches explicitly, the references to security (as a benefit when joining the EU and NATO) still point to the construction of a common political past and common ‘victimhood’ of the Baltic States before the EU and NATO.

The speeches of **Rolandas Paksas**, the fourth President of Lithuania after restoration of independence, see slightly different than the speeches by the other Presidents of Lithuania in the aspect that the President seems to refer to deity and Christian values more than the other Presidents of Lithuania. It is peculiar to note that while the statistics show that Lithuania has the greatest population of Christians by religion (93%) in comparison to Latvia (80%) and Estonia (34%), the Presidents of Lithuania refer to God and Christian values less frequently than the Presidents of Latvia, while the Presidents of Estonia do not refer to God. Nevertheless, the speeches R. Paksas display a rather uncharacteristic references to God and Christian values, for instance,

*Love. Faith. Hope. Goodness. Beauty. Concord. Wisdom. Tolerance. Diligence. Justice. Honesty. Respect. Having recited **the values, the number of which equals the number of apostles**, I would like to invite you to share them generously. May the spirit of Daukantas light your way, dear compatriots, and mine. **May God bless our deeds** (RP4).*

Likewise the topos of history is used in the construction of a common political past that dates further back than the declaration of independence in the 20th century, namely, the history of independence statehood of Lithuania as emphasizes in the speeches by R. Paksas dates back to 1251, for instance, *The connecting strands between Lithuania and the Holy See extend as far back as 1251, when Lithuania’s ruler Mindaugas, by means of baptism linked the fate of our state with the tradition of Latin Europe* (RP2). As the example indicates, the speeches aim to construct Lithuanian national identity that dates further back into history simultaneously with constructing the supra-national European identity, claiming that Lithuanian values are shared European values that far back into history. This seems to be used as an argument of supporting the joining to the EU, where the formula ‘if Lithuania has been part of and shared values with Europe in history, it should return to it and share the same values’. The President also uses the metaphor HISTORY IS BOOK, however, emphasizes that the book is the history of Europe and not particularly the history of Lithuanian, which is slightly different approach from the use of this metaphor in the speeches of other presidents. Likewise, R. Paksas similar to A. Brazauskas seems to avoid naming or directly referring to the common enemy when talking about history, as he notes via the passive voice (avoiding the doer of the action) that ‘*Since then, the history of Lithuania has been inseparable from the history of Europe, though **there had been attempts to erase Lithuania from the map of Europe***’ (RP3). Nevertheless, the

President also emphasizes the importance of Lithuanian languages as the language of motherland (motherland is frequently used to refer to Lithuania by its Presidents in comparison to Estonia and Latvia, whose leaders refer to the state as homeland and fatherland respectively). Like V. Adamkus, R. Paksas also emphasizes the ancient roots of Lithuanian languages thus constructing a common culture (but common European culture), for instance, *We have a **live ancient Indo-European language**. Language is a source of our culture. We shall never subscribe to the belief of sceptics who claim that language is merely a means of communication* (RP4). The example illustrates the use of linguistic terminology and the topos of name interpretation, where language is positioned as crucial aspect of national identity and specifically the constituent of a common culture. Furthermore, the President often uses rhetorical questions (both in the local and international speeches) to refer to and emphasize important aspects of his arguments, for example, the preserving Lithuanian values (language) - *Will we be able to live by the values fostered by old democracies? Are we prepared to accept the support of Europe? Will we have sufficient intellectual and administrative capacities and, finally, transparency and simple decency?* (RP1). As to the use of metaphors, the metaphor COUNTRY IS MOTHER is used to emphasize family values as an element of national identity, nature metaphors, GLOBALISATION IS WAVE is used to illustrate a potential threat of flushing away national values (again language) if they are not cared for, and COUNTRY IS TREE metaphor is used to portray Lithuania as tree the roots of which belong to Europe, DEVELOPMENT IS ROAD and COUNTRY IS BUILDING metaphors are used to emphasize the necessity to continue working on the development of the nation, COUNTRY IS PERSON metaphor is used together with metonymy where a state name stands for its people to emphasize that collaborative relationship between states is friendship, thus arising the interpretations of the friendship as signifier. Furthermore, the President uses intertextuality to refer to well-known people both in the local speeches and international speeches where code switching or mixing of languages is used to create a more emphatic effect, for instance, quoting Goethe in German. The use of this technique is incorporated in the argumentative strategy that uses the topos of authority (if an authority has argued for particular action, then it must be performed/is good), for instance, quoting a well-known expression by the former President of the USA John F. Kennedy to emphasize the work that people should do for the nation *“Ask not what your country can do for you – ask what you can do for your country”*. *I have just quoted the United States President John F. Kennedy, who addressed in these words the nation during his inauguration more than 40 years ago* (RP1). Finally, the President also refers to the Baltic Sea region and particular geographical places in Lithuania (Daukantas square, Vilnius) in an attempt to

construct a common national and supranational body, which creates the effect of link between people and the land they belong to.

As to the corpus analysis of the speeches by R. Paksas, the tendencies of keyword use in the speeches, but R. Paksas as compared to a reference corpus confirm that the main thematic area of his speeches Europe and he seems to construct common supranational spirit (also national spirit) and common past, present and political future of Lithuania with Europe and European Union. As to the multiword constructions and keywords in the speeches in Lithuanian, the situation is slightly different, namely, the President seems to emphasize topical political issues and emphasizes Lithuanian identity explicitly. The most frequently used words in the speeches are *the, of, and, to, a, our, Lithuania, we, that* and in Lithuanian speeches those are *ir (and), kad (that), mūsų (our), Lietuvos (Lithuanian), I, metų (year), valstybės (state), su (with), kaip (as), Europos (European)*. The most frequently used nouns are *Lithuania, Europe, state, people, nation, union, today, life, value, future*, while the most frequently used verbs are *be, have, do, bring, build, become, take, live, believe, find*. The most frequently used adjectives in the speeches are *new, European, Lithuania, political, great, old, dear, foreign, strong, national* and the most frequently used pronouns in the speeches are *our, we, I, it, us, its, my, you, their, your*. Thus, it seems that the speeches by R. Paksas are slightly more focused on the construction of supra-national identity via constructing a common political past, present and future as well as supra-national spirit, however, simultaneously referring to and constructing Lithuanian national identity specifically via construction of a common political past before the 20th century.

Furthermore, the speeches by **Dalia Grybauskaitė**, the first female President of Lithuania, seem to be the shortest in both Lithuanian (221.95 words on average) and English (379.25 words per speech on average). The president, nevertheless, applies a frequent use of metaphors COUNTRY IS BUILDING, DEVELOPMENT IS PATH, container metaphors, rhetorical questions, intertextuality, and parallel sentence constructions, for instance,

It was ninety-two years ago today that twenty honest and enlightened representatives of the people signed a document of outstanding importance - the Declaration of Independence of February 16 - proclaiming the restoration of an independent, democratically organized Lithuanian State, with Vilnius as capital, and the abolition of all political ties which have existed with other nations. These precisely integrated words defined, clearly and accurately, the path chosen by the people of Lithuania - a path of great perseverance, heroism and sacrifice. We are still walking this path of statehood and nation building (DG2).

As the example indicates the metaphor emphasizes the symbolic values characteristic to national identity of Lithuania that stem from history thus constructing via the topos of history both a common political past and *the Homo Lietuvenis*. Additionally, parallelisms are used in the constructions of a common political past, present and future with starting the sentences

either with the word *today* or *let us* (which is typical to the speeches by several presidents, for instance, V. Vīķe-Freiberga). These parallel sentence constructions typically emphasize the values that are considered as belonging to either Lithuanian national identity or broader supranational identity of the Baltic States or the European Union, for example,

*Today we are celebrating the day of Lithuania's **historic opportunity** - the **unique opportunity** to live in **freedom** and to **choose our future path**.*

Today is the day of the generations - those generations who are no longer with us, but who have made this day possible, setting it down in golden letters in the Lithuanian annals.

*Today is the day of our generation - those who are here to celebrate and to move forward spreading the **historical** meaning of **independence**.*

*Today is the day of the future generations - those who will create Lithuania after us and who will **raise the three Baltic flags** in the centuries to come. Finally, **today** is the day of **the three Baltic States and of solidarity among the generations** (DG3).*

The word *today* in presidential speeches symbolises both the specific day of the speech (typically the day of the declaration or the restoration of independence) and the common political present, while *tomorrow* would typically refer to a common political future in general rather than the next day. History, however, is referenced either by the use of specific dates (years, months) or the past forms of verbs in sentences (also present continuous) and constructed via the topos of history, and various linguistic techniques of persuasion and manipulation thus displaying the synergy of various aforementioned linguistic techniques incorporated in a comparatively short speeches (370 words on average), see examples 63 to 65 in Appendix 6. The abundance of linguistic techniques in short speeches, which means that every sentence contains a particular linguistic means that in turn has specific function and creates a particular effect or emphasis and which seems to be characteristic only to D. Grybauskaitė, as her speeches are among the shortest of all the Presidents of the Baltic States (also those by R. Vējonis are similar in length), but more abundant in metaphors, metonymies, parallelisms, intertextuality, rhetorical questions, similes, means of inclusion and exclusion, repetition, binary opposites, and references to the state symbols. Furthermore, the President has referred not only to the date of Declaration of Independence (February 16), but also to specific people (the Sajūdis movement) and national symbols (tricolor), cities (the construction of national body), state name and symbolic names for the state (home, motherland) and symbolic characteristics of Lithuanians, solidarity (brotherhood), pride, and courage, for instance, *From Vilnius to Klaipėda. From Telšiai to Šalčininkai. We are **one Lithuania**. Singing **together** and raising the **national tricolor**. Protecting the most precious we have – **Lithuania, our home**. Lithuania – **our duty** and ultimate purpose* (DG14). Moreover, the has President likewise emphasized the duty of the citizens of Lithuania (via the inclusive

we) to cherish and protect what has been given to them by the annals in history, namely, freedom, independence, and national identity (symbols, language, culture, history, land).

Furthermore, the speeches are also interesting from the perspective of corpus analysis not only in reference to other Presidents of Lithuania (male presidents), but also in comparison to female Presidents of other Baltic States. The keyword analysis indicates that the main emphasis in the speeches is on national values such as freedom and independence as well as the state name and important dates of national celebrations. Moreover, the President also often refers to national flag as a symbol of Lithuanian identity (see Appendix 3). As to the keywords in the Lithuanian speeches, the tendencies show that the President emphasizes aspects of the particular situation (a common political present) of the speech, for instance, the sixteenth jubilee of independence of Lithuania, but also refer to the past in her references to the signatories of the declaration of independence. Likewise, the speeches use the form of invitation of people to act in particular way to benefit the country (this is typical to the speeches of several presidents, particularly the President of Latvia V. Vīķe-Freiberga).

Furthermore, the most frequently used words in her speeches are *the, of, and, to, we, Lithuania, a, our, us, in* and in the speeches in Lithuanian those are *ir (and), mūsų (our), Lietuvos (Lithuanian), savo (own), kad (that), tai (this), I, laisvės (freedom), Lietuva, tik (only)*. The most frequently used nouns are *Lithuania, people, freedom, nation, independence, day, year, today, state, dear, February, world*, while the most frequently used adjectives are *Lithuanian, great, many, national, strong, free, proud, ultimate, independent, happy, dear, good*. The most frequently used verbs are *be, let, have, stand, make, live, create, build, do, bring*, while the most frequently used pronouns are *we, our, us, it, their, you, they, I, its, my, them*. Thus, it seems that the choice of words in the speeches by D. Grybauskaitė is rather general in the sense that it seems to be very typical to the choice of words in any speech by any President of the Baltic States (our any post-Soviet states) as it seems to emphasize freedom and independence, present, past and future as well as people that are the value of any democratic nation. Nevertheless, a noteworthy difference is observed in the use of pronouns, namely, that inclusive pronoun *we* and reference to group identity versus the other (exclusion) is more frequent than the reference to personal identity.

The speeches of the current President of Lithuania (2019-present) **Gitanas Nausėda** are characterised by what seems to be typical to the current Presidents of the Baltic States (E. Levits, K. Kaljulaid and G. Nausėda), namely, the construction of common enemy and via the topos of threat and the topos of history as a teacher (more in the international speeches), emphasis on multilateralism as a supranational value, specifically when referring to the global political and military situation, climate change, and use of cyber technology as well as the

information flow and spread of fake news, especially during the Covid-19 crisis. Like other Presidents of the Baltic States and Lithuania specifically, G. Nausėda's speeches are characterised by the use of the topos of history to construct both a common political past, *the Homo Nationalis* (the national spirit of Lithuanians) and also a common political future (via the topos of history as a teacher that emphasizes what lessons should be learned and actions to be avoided in order to avoid the past repeating itself in the future), metaphors (DEVELOPMENT IS ROAD, COUNTRY IS BUILDING, HISTORY IS TEACHER), metonymies, rhetorical questions, for instance,

*Some political leaders are raising an idea to create a **new geopolitical space from the Atlantic Ocean to Vladivostok, drawing Russia in**. It may sound interesting, but do we have **common ground for it? Do we have shared values? The answer is no!** We have to remember the **hard lessons of history**. There was a time when left-leaning intellectuals congratulated Vladimir Lenin's ascent to power during the Russian Revolution. There was a time when the independence-seeking Baltic States were being instructed not to rush so as not to harm Mikhail Gorbachev's Perestroika. Both times it all ended in a bloodshed of innocent people (GN1).*

Unlike the speeches by the Presidents of Lithuania after the restoration of Independence 1990-2004, the President G. Nausėda does not use euphemisms or understatement to refer to the time of the occupations and wars that influenced both the history and national identity of Lithuania, but rather emphasizes the sufferings and 'hard lessons of history' via rhetorical questions and parallel sentence constructions. When addressing the community of the UN, the President emphasizes the importance to see history (of the Baltic States) as represented by the common history of Europe as a teacher not to underestimate Russia (see example No.66 in Appendix 6). The speeches incorporate various discourse markers and pragmatic implicatures that emphasize the construction of a common political threat, but also point to the presence of fear that the described situation may occur in Lithuania as a Russia Neighbour state and former state of the Soviet Union (as Georgia and Ukraine). The President uses anaphora (a permanent member of the UN, the aggressor) to refer to Russia and *we* to refer to Lithuanian. These discourse markers function not only as linking words that link paragraph together but, as the choice of words indicate, it emphasizes emotionally the attitude of the President of Lithuania towards what has been happening in Georgia and Ukraine as well as displays how metonymy Lithuania that stands for the people of Lithuania is extended to the inclusive pronoun *we*. Like D. Grybauskaitė, G. Nausėda also uses references to place names in Lithuania in order to construct a common national (and supra-national) body and national spirit in his speeches, for instance, *But Lithuania today is much more than a beautiful piece of land by the Baltic Sea. Lithuania is its people first and foremost. Here in Vilnius, in my native Klaipėda, in Skuodas and Peterborough, in Kaunas and Bergen, in Rietavas and Alikante* (GN3). The example illustrates the construction of a common national spirit and deconstruction of the *we-they*

dichotomy, in this case *we* referring to the native Lithuanians and Lithuanians living in Lithuania and *they* referring to the non-native Lithuanians and the citizens of Lithuania who live in other European cities (as symbolised by the city names of countries such as Norway, UK, Spain), for instance, *There are no mainland Lithuanians and foreign Lithuanians. We are one nation, all of us.* (GN3) The strategy of inclusion in the examples above works in synergy with the topos of name interpretation, where the President defines what Lithuania is and what is it not. Similarly, the topos of name interpretation has been applied to define the role of the President (this has been done in other speeches by the Presidents of the Baltic States, for instance, G. Ulmanis, T.H. Ilves). This strategy is typically applied either to introduce an argument or an agenda for what the President is attempting to do discursively (for instance, to invite people to vote for particular political parties or for joining the EU) or to evade responsibility for particular actions, that the population of the state expects the President to do. Additionally, G. Nausėda emphasizes the elements of the supranational identity of the EU and the Baltic States and refers to neighbourly relationship with Poland, Estonia, and Lithuania in the common work *'towards energy independence and protect our interests in the European Union and NATO.'* (GN3). Finally, while the other Presidents have referred to Lithuania as motherland, G. Nausėda refers to the state as homeland (similarly as the Presidents of Estonia), but still uses the metaphors LITHUANIA IS MOTHER and CITIZENS ARE SONS AND DAUGHTERS (similarly as the Presidents of Latvia before E. Levits have done), for instance, *To be faithful to the Republic of Lithuania, to protect it, to strengthen independence, to serve the **Homeland**, democracy and the well-being of the people – it is a solemn pledge that every son and daughter of Lithuania makes* (GN2). This strategy is used to construct an image of the state as home (construction of a common national body) and nation as a family (construction of the *Homo Lietuvenis*) which presupposes not only taking care of and protecting the land, but also the people who are considered as belonging to this land.

The current President of Lithuania G. Nausėda focuses more on topical issues during the time of his presidency, such as the climate change and global political disagreements in Lithuania and the world (indirectly Russia's aggression towards former states of the Soviet Union). Nevertheless, the speeches also emphasize *freedom* and *independence* as the main values of Lithuanian national identity. Tables in Appendix 3.3 display the use of keywords and multiword constructions in the speeches by G. Nausėda as compared to a general reference corpus. Furthermore, the keyword list in the Lithuanian speeches display specific focus on climate change and its importance, but it should be noted that the climate crisis became one of the most important topics in the world when G. Nausėda became President of Lithuania (in 2019), thus the emphasis on topical issues is explained by the contextual situation. The most

frequently used words in the speeches by G. Nausėda are *the, and, to, of, a, we, in, is, that, for* and in the Lithuanian speeches those are *ir (and), kad (that), mes (we), I, Lietuvos (Lithuanian), mūsų (our), bei (and), klimato (climate), yra (are), prie (to), kaitos (change)*. The most frequently used nouns in the speeches are *Lithuania, nation, people, today, time, freedom, president, country, uprising, year, security, world*, and the most frequently used adjectives are *new, international, national, Lithuanian, social, other, military, political strong, personal, many*. The most frequently used pronouns are *we, it, our, I, us, its, their, they, my, them, me* and the most frequently used verbs are *be, have, create, continue, do, make, take, protect, stand, build*. The list of most the frequently used words in the speeches by G. Nausėda displays that the speeches are focused on the issues and matters that are topical during his presidency, namely, political matters, climate change and also national identity, as this aspect of speeches is one of the functions of presidential rhetoric.

Consequently, the speeches by the Presidents of Lithuania seem to be shorter than the speeches by the other Presidents of the Baltic States, nevertheless, numerous strategies of constructing national identity are common, for instance, the construction of a common political past, present and future and the construction of a national spirit (*the Homo Nationalis*). Likewise, the construction of a common national body and a common culture seem to be rather frequent in the speeches by the Presidents of Lithuania. A slight difference that is noticeable in the speeches when compared the speeches by the other Baltic Presidents is the technique of avoiding reference to the former common enemy of the Baltic States and euphemising the events in the history of the occupation or avoiding explicit references to the Soviet Union (often also the Russian Federation) by the use of understatements and passive voice. Nevertheless, this peculiarity seems to be more characteristic to the Presidents of Lithuania after the restoration of independence, while it is no more observed in the speeches by G. Nausėda, who seems to do the opposite, namely, emphasize and address directly the common threat and the possibility of history repeating itself (this is also done by the current Presidents of Estonia and Latvia specifically in the international speeches as a warning to the West). It seems, however, that the fact that the Presidents of Latvia and Estonia have practiced a more direct or explicit communication when constructing the common enemy may be influenced by the political and historical situation in the states, namely, the proportion of immigrants from the Soviet Union that was and is residing in these states when compared to Lithuania. This is not the only factor; however, it seems to be notable as one of the influencing factors, especially do to the fact that military conflicts in the former states of the Soviet Union (such as Ukraine and Georgia) are caused by military aggression by Russia attempting to protect native Russians residing in the states from the nationalist oppression. The aforementioned argument is described in the

research by Hoagland (2018), who has analysed the ‘causal factors of Russian aggression against former Soviet Republics’, noting that ‘the ensuing tacit approval of authoritarianism under the conditions of a perceived war, domestic opposition vilification as the agent of the enemy, the outward aggression in an attempt to save Russians and allies are the consequences of the nationalistic narrative born of Russia’s failure to enforce its status on the world stage after the collapse of the Soviet Union’ (2018:1). The scholar claims that while the leading politicians in Russia have been more interested in ‘protecting’ their cultural heritage in the states that are culturally and geographically closer (Ukraine, Belarus, Georgia), the Baltic States that have been a part of the Russian Empire before the World Wars I and II and became a part of the Soviet Union after WWII are ‘of strategic and cultural importance to Russia’ (Hoagland, 2018: 7). Moreover, while the ethnic Russians who moved to Lithuania after the collapse of the Soviet Union were ‘automatically granted citizenship [...] since they formed a much smaller minority and would be politically powerless’ the ethnic Russians and other migrants from the Soviet Union in Estonia and Latvia were not granted citizenship (ibid.). Similar conclusion is made by Ambrosio (2009), who claims that the political rhetoric by Russian politicians condemns the situation of ethnic Russians ‘and their descendants’ not being granted citizenship and refers to it as ‘violating the rights of antifascist veterans’ (Ambrosio, 2009:91). Smith, Law, Wilson, Bohr and Allworth (1998) refer to one of the central issues of post coloniality (of Latvia and Estonia), namely, the so-called ‘colonial other’ should have the same citizenship rights as ‘those of the nation who claim a privileged relationship with the sovereign homeland’ (1998: 93). Two terms arise from these arguments on the citizenship of inhabitants of the Baltic States after the restoration of their independence in 1990(1), namely, the ‘core nation’ and the ‘settler communities’, where the former refers to the people who resided in the states before or during the inter-war period, while the latter refers to those who came (were sent to) the states during and after the Second World War and the time of the ‘Soviet rule’ (ibid: 94). Smith et al. (1998) also emphasize that while Lithuania granted automatic citizenship to everyone who resided in the state after the restoration of independence in 1990, Estonia and Latvia did not follow the same path and adopted rules that ‘others, primarily Russian-speakers who settled in Estonia and Latvia during the period of Soviet rule, can be admitted to citizenship only upon meeting certain preconditions’ including the mastery of national languages (Estonian and Latvian respectively) (ibid.). Thus, it can be concluded that citizenship is at least in part associated with national identity as the national language is an indispensable part of national identity and is, in fact, ‘the main element of group identification’ (Schöpflin, 2000, cited in Kļave, 2020: 39) and this aspect is one of the major issues of ‘we-they’ dichotomy in Estonia and Latvia as many of the non-citizens who claim the right to automatic citizenship do not have the knowledge and mastery of

the national languages (Smith et al., 1998: 93). This ‘ethnic conflict’ or language conflict has been analysed in numerous scholarly research articles, dissertations, and books by such Latvian and Estonian scholars as Apine (2001 and 2007), Kļave (2010), Zepa (2006 and 2007), Druviete (2010), Kalmus (2003), Šūpule (2012). Šūpule (2012) emphasizes that the feeling of threat among the native Latvian speakers (and Estonian as discussed by Kalmus, 2003) as well as scholars working in the field of national identity is increased due to the demographic and migration problems resulting in the decrease of the native Latvian (and Estonian) speakers in the states, that, in turn, leads to the emergence of such terms such as ‘the threatened majority’ and normalisation of ethnonationalist ideologies as well as the counter-reaction of the ‘other’ that, in turn, has led to the discursive conflict of Latvian-Russian communities and the emergence of the image of Russians as the ‘discriminated group’ (2012: 14). This conflict is admittedly discussed by the international scholars who study the rhetoric and policy of leaders in Russia in relation to the former Soviet States and claim to be protecting the minority groups in these states (Smith et al., 1998; Ambrosio, 2009). The language situation in the Baltic States and its interpretation by the political leaders in Russia as well as the respective aforementioned research strain on the so-called ethnic conflict are noteworthy as this conflict in part explains the linguistic choices made by the Presidents of the Baltic States (particularly Estonia and Latvia) when constructing their respective national identities in reference to the common political past, constructing, deconstructing or euphemising the ‘common enemy’, ‘the other’ and the ‘victim role’ of the states. It seems that the use of the argumentation strategy of possible threat (the topos of threat) in relation to Russia that is identified in the speeches by the Presidents of Latvia and Estonia and recently by the Presidents of Lithuania stems from both the ethnic and the language conflict situation in these states (Estonia and Latvia) and the comparison (the topos of comparison used in the speeches by the Presidents of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania) to states with (arguably) similar situation (Belarus, Georgia, Ukraine) where the military and political interference of Russia (in an attempt to protect the minority rights) has already been noted. Thus, it seems that the implicit fear that has been identified in several arguments and statements (incorporating powerful linguistic means such as RQs, metaphors, parallelisms, and repetitions) may be the influencing contextual factor for the construction of the national identities of the Baltic States in the speeches by their Presidents locally and internationally.

3.3. Thematic Areas, Discursive Strategies and Forms of Realisation in the Construction of National Identity Speeches

The sub-chapter provides a detailed analysis of the identified thematic areas for discursive construction of national identities as introduced by Wodak et al. (2009) and Guibernau (2007),

that have been identified in the speeches by the Presidents of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. The sequence of the thematic areas in the paper is changed due to the fact that, as introduced in the theoretical considerations above, the main element of national identity in the Baltic States is their common history and as such is frequently addressed by the Presidents (more often in remembrance day speeches and national celebrations as well as in international speeches), followed by the construction of national spirit (*the Homo Nationalis*), construction of a common political present (strategies of perpetuation) and future (strategies of positive state continuation), construction of a common national body (land, monuments, borders) and a common culture (most frequently addressed in cultural celebrations such as song festivals, also New Year addresses and Independence Day celebrations).

3.3.1. The Narration and Confabulation of a Common Political Past

The thematic area of constructing a common political past is identified in most of the presidential speeches and specifically those that are delivered on national celebration or remembrance dates. The Presidents of the Baltic States use the topos of history to construct a common national memory and symbolism of victimhood that operates in the thematic area of construction and confabulation a common political past. The common political past of the Baltic States (the German and Soviet occupations) is reflected in the political rhetoric as ‘years of suffering, suppression, and deportations’. The original or national inhabitants of the states, specifically, native Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians as well as their respective identities are depicted as victims suppressed by the common enemy (most frequently the Soviet Union). Many remembrance days as well as national holidays in the Baltic States are symbols of their national identity and are reflected on the thematic area of constructing a common political past and on some occasions also common enemy. These dates vary across the states; however, the most important ones are:

- Estonia: The Declaration of Independence on 24 February 1918 (also known and referred to in speeches as the Manifesto of the people of Estonia), restoration of independence 20 August 1991,
- Latvia: The Declaration of Independence 18 November, restoration of independence 4 May 1991,
- Lithuania: declaration of Independence as a nation 16 February, restoration of Independence 11 March.

Examples (see example 72 in Appendix 2) of constructing a common political past via the topos of history and the topos of terrible place reveal how history is represented as a negative lesson from which the people and the political leaders of the Baltic States (as encompassed by the use of the inclusive pronoun *we*) are to learn, and by constructing and reconstructing the common history, the Presidents keep the national memory alive and remind the people of why they

should act in specific ways in order not to repeat the history (protect independence of the state). The topos of history (as identified by the mention of historical facts and the use of the past forms of verbs) in the example follow the formula if events and actions in history have led to negative consequences, they should be avoided in future. In other words, the topos of history as teacher is applied in the speeches that indicates to the use of the strategy of discontinuation and emphasizing the difference between the horrible past and improved present. Moreover, one of the most frequently applied metaphors HISTORY IS BOOK is also attributed in the example to make parallels between end of a 'terrible' era and closing of a book. The use of the metaphor in this context may also be interpreted as giving a lesson, namely, if one has read a book that has not been good, one can choose not to read it again and read or write other 'better' books instead. In the case of the Presidents of the Baltic States though, the Presidents use the metaphor of book in the sense that the people of the states are writing the book, and the choices they make influence the quality of the book in future. Nevertheless, despite the construction of a common political past as a terrible place in the presidential speeches of Lithuania, the Presidents of Lithuania do not seem to be constructing a common political enemy (in this case Russia). Though Russia is a frequent proper noun used in the speeches (specifically in the first period after the Restoration of Independence), the Presidents of Lithuania (specifically A. Brazauskas) emphasize the opposite of constructing common enemy in their speeches, namely, invite the people of Lithuania and other Western states to be friendly and open to Russia in order not to isolate Lithuania as its bordering country, for instance,

Bilateral relations with the Russian Federation are very important to Lithuania's security. Therefore, are closely watched by political figures and the general public. The unfortunate historic experience of our country still has a certain hold over us, but it would be unwise to be guided by these sad historical lessons. The Russia of today - differently from the imperial Soviet Union - does not seek isolation and affiliates with various international organizations. Together with other states, it has joined NATO's Partnership for Peace programme; it has also applied to join GATT. During the recent 0-7 summit, Russia took part in discussing the most urgent political problems. (A1B1)

The example above illustrates the use of the topos of usefulness and advantage (formula: if something is beneficial, it should be performed or accepted) in order to state that the current successful cooperation with the politicians from Russia with those from the Western states should be continued for mutual benefit (speciality for Lithuania). The example illustrates both the implicit construction (via euphemised language - sad lessons, unfortunate experience) of the political past (war and occupation implied) and perpetuation of a common political present that is constructed as being the opposite of the past via the use of the strategy of perpetuation and linguistic means such as adjectives (*very important, closely watched, urgent problems*),

metonymy (Russia stands for its politicians), and the use of the verb forms in the present, present continuous and modality expressing suggestion (would be). Moreover, the President uses understatement and euphemism to implicitly decrease the negativity stemming from collective memory of occupation, oppressions, war (referred to as unfortunate historic experience, sad historical lessons). Placinska and Karapetjana (2009) refer to the use of euphemism in political speeches as ‘semantic manipulation [...] aimed at a positive representation of political decisions’ (2009: 4). This strategy can be used when political decisions potentially protested by people are to be introduced, however, manipulation in other forms is also aimed at the opposite, namely, avoiding something. Thus, the construction of a common political past is applied for the purpose of showing the contrast between history and current (at the time) events. President continues the argument via the use of the topos of uselessness and disadvantage, for instance,

*There is a group of politicians and political forces in Lithuania who speak out for new division lines in Europe. They view **Russia as an eternal enemy** and want the West to pursue a policy of **Russia's isolation**. This means that **Lithuania would become a border state - just as it was in pre-war years**. This kind of policy is **not safe**, and it does **not have a promising future**. (AlB1)*

The example illustrates the conditional that presupposes the following: ‘if Russia would be isolated (as has been proposed by unnamed politicians – an indirect reference with no factual support), then Lithuania would become a border-state, which would be disadvantageous (comparison to history), thus this should be avoided.’ The argument also aims to deconstruct the image of Russia as common enemy (a reference of a common political past) and construct a common political present and future via the strategy of perpetuation and linguistic techniques of manipulation (avoidance to name the agent, passive voice). Though implicit, the argument also includes the topos of threat that is expressed via modal verb (would) expressing possibility, comparison (just as it was) and reference to the political past (the use of the word combination *pre-war years* implying the threat of Lithuania being annexed). Thus, though again implicit, the argument shows fear, which may be considered a part of historical legacy on the one hand and a result of political rhetoric (by nationalistic politicians in Lithuania and the counterparts in Russia) on the other (the rhetoric and attitudes towards the Baltic States and Russia’s isolation from Europe has been described in Chapter 2). Furthermore, the argument is extended via use of different linguistic techniques that emphasize the goal of the argument and the topos of usefulness and advantage in order to lead from the premise (Russia is not an enemy) to the conclusion (Lithuania should cooperate with Russia).

It should be noted that, though implicitly, the Presidents of Lithuania in the period from 1991-2004 display the fear of the common enemy, is it not so explicitly felt as in the speeches by the Presidents of Latvia and more explicitly in the speeches by the President of Estonia. One of the reasons for these considerations could be the difference in numbers of the citizens of the other post-Soviet Union states having stayed in Estonia and Latvia as opposed to Lithuania, or specifically, the number of 'native' Estonians and Latvians in the states in the second half of the twentieth century versus those in Lithuania (see statistics in Chapter 1). Nevertheless, altogether, the Presidents of Lithuania in post-war period invite not only Lithuanian society, but also members of international organisations via the use of strong modality markers, to leave behind the stereotypes of fears of the past and become more open and integrative. Thus, other part of threat is being constructed via the topos of threat, for instance, *Together we must overcome racism, hatred of foreigners, fanatical nationalism and intolerance. If we do not, these demons, once having manifested themselves in men, communities or entire nations, could destroy the entire world* (A1B2). The formula in the topos of threat in the example above is very explicit, it integrates the conditional if formula, noting, that if the nations would not act together to eliminate discrimination and exclusion, referred metaphorically to as demons, it could lead to destruction of all countries. Thus, the premises for this argument is 'discrimination, exclusion and racism are dangerous, threatening' and the corresponding conclusions is that 'united nations should implement actions and plans to eliminate these dangerous beliefs.

It is likewise interesting that in addition to the euphemisms and understatement, the President uses omission of the subject (the doer) from the thematic areas of construction a common political past and via the topos of history illustrates the will of the people of Lithuania and their accomplishments rather than emphasizes a common political enemy. In other words, the Presidents of Lithuania seem to be directing the focus of a common political past in a positive interpretation rather than focusing on the image of Lithuania as a victim but emphasizing the state as a hero, for instance, '*History can be called our aide and ally*' (A1B5, see extended example No.53 in Appendix 6). The excerpt from the speech illustrates the construction of a common political past and construction of *the Homo Nationalis* via the topos of history as a teacher and as an ally, meaning that history has taught a positive rather than negative lesson of how to uphold one's national identity and spirit. Moreover, several numbers and dates are mentioned to create or support the construction of national symbols (such as the dates of restoration of independence) or the number of years Lithuanian language as a symbol national identity has existed. The excerpt also exemplifies what seems to be rather typical to the speeches

by A. Brazauskas, namely, euphemisms and understatements with the aim to avoid naming the doer of the actions (agency) in several statements that refer to the history of occupation, oppression, limitations of freedom or word, and restriction of materials that use the Lithuanian language. The agent in these statements (the Soviet political leaders) is never named. Moreover, euphemism ‘attempts were made to dose the truth’ is used to refer to the arrests and deportation of the ‘intelligentsia’ who have been seen as threat to the Soviet regime. It seems that the President has used a strategy of what could be referred to as deconstruction of a common political past or also what Wodak et al. (2009) refer to as the discursive strategy of mitigation, with the aim to direct the attention of the target audience away from the negative aspects of the past towards positive aspects or positive lessons of the past.

In most examples where a common political past is being constructed, passive voice is used, meaning that the agent of the action or the doer is omitted or avoided, left in the context of the speech, or referred to with obscure or vague expressions, though there are examples, where the agent is implied or indirectly referred to in the co-text, for instance,

*All of us remember the time when the day of February 16 was passed over in silence. Being afraid of even vague reminiscences of statehood, **strangers prohibited the celebrations** on that day. **They attempted to belittle** the importance of the Declaration of Independence and to convince us of the invalidity of decisions made by the Lithuanian Council. Very few, however, believed such propaganda even in **Soviet years** (A1B7).*

The example illustrates how the Soviet politicians and military troops are referred to as ‘strangers’ and others via the use of the third person plural pronoun ‘they’ pointing to the construction of out-groups. The mention of the ‘Soviet years’ at the end of the excerpt, however, points to the implied ‘enemy’ at the time being described in the speech. The example is followed by the thematic area of construction *the Homo Lietuvenis* or national spirit via reference to national symbols that are elements of Lithuanian identity, namely,

*The idea of a free State of Lithuania was alive in families and was spread by the **Church and the majority of intellectuals**. **February 16**, which was attempted to be **erased from our memory**, became a **symbol of freedom**. A **try-coloured national flags** hoisted by courageous resistance fighters reminded everybody that the spirit of freedom is alive and that the struggle for liberty continued. A number of political prisoners and dissidents joined the ranks of freedom fighters on **February 16** with the **national flag in their hands**. We should be grateful to the fighters who by concrete deeds were awakening the **nation to rebirth** (A1B8).*

The example illustrates one of the many uses of the birth metaphor that is present in the speeches of the Presidents of the Baltic States, who refer to the declaration of independence of the states as birth of the nation, papers being issued and signed by patriots of the nations at the time as the birth certificate and the restoration of the nation

as re-birth, which seems to be a biblical reference to a person re-born from sufferings. Moreover, the example illustrates how national symbols and values (16 February, tricolor flag, spirit of freedom) are repeated to emphasize their importance and aim at the construction of national spirit in the collective memory of people.

Furthermore, the Presidents of Lithuania similar to the Presidents of Estonia, use references to common people in the history of regaining independent statehood have acted bravely, in order to address all the citizens of Lithuania and illustrate that every citizen of the state can act to protect the state (see example No.73 in Appendix 6). Apart from mentioning the name and profession of the person the President refers to (**Jonas Basanavičius, a doctor**), the example also illustrates how metaphorical expression of psychological problems caused by physical sufferings and oppressions are referred to as wounds that are being cured with national values such as pride. Moreover, via the references to recognisable national object (newspapers, declaration) and dates in history, the President is constructing a common political past with the person honoured in the example, being a part of the common past.

An example of the thematic areas of constructing a common political past, present and future via the topos of history is also found in the speeches by the first President of Latvia Jānis Čakste, who has stated that *We are entering the **new national year** with better prospects than **last year**. **Last year**, when **we** were sitting **here**, **guns were clanking**; now they are not clanking, and **we** can turn all **our** attention straight to the **peace work that is needed to build the country*** (JC5, see original as example No.31 in Appendix 6). The example illustrates the use of the building metaphor STATE IS A BUILDING and shows the binary opposition in the form of antithesis between peace and war via the use of the word combination ‘clanking guns’ that via onomatopoeic word attached to the noun from the semantic area of military illustrates and reminds the people of the recent history. Similarly, the topos of history illustrates not only the application of the conditional (if history has been negative, it should not be repeated) but also the construction of national symbols and values that are embedded in the common national memory, for instance,

*11 years ago, when the **new Latvian state** was **torn apart from the east and west** by enemies who tried to suppress the **freedom and independence** of the people, **our best and bravest sons gathered to free the Latvian state from foreign rule and the centuries-old shackles**. This **great work required extraordinary sacrifices and the united strength of the people**. Only because of these sacrifices has the Latvian nation **freed** itself from hundreds of years of **dependence** and proved that it can rule on its own. Many **brave fighters** have **laid their heads for Latvia** and are now **resting in the free sands of Latvia: in the Latvian People's Shrine - the Brothers' Cemetery**, as well as in other grave hills. Let us commemorate these heroes in the first place today. (GZ3, see original as example No.32 in Appendix 6).*

The example incorporates the use of metonymy that is often used across political speeches ‘east’ standing for Russia and the ‘west’ standing for Germany. Moreover, the metonymy is mixed with personification metaphor indicating that these states are people who are tearing Latvia in two different directions, leading to it being torn. The example likewise makes use of synonyms indicating freedom and independence as well as contextual antonyms (independence-dependence, our-foreign, freedom – shackles). As regards the construction of national symbols and identity, the example illustrates the key words that characterise the *Homo Latviensis*, namely, *bravery*, *sacrifice*, and *work*. Moreover, the use of the family metaphor ‘*sons of Latvia – our sons*’ as well as reference to tone of the symbols of the common national past ‘Brother cemetery’ aid in the construction of the symbol of the nation as a mother, who has been protected by her sons in the past. Another example (see example 33 in Appendix 6) of the construction of a common political past and present via the use of the topos of history and several linguistic means of manipulation, illustrates the reference to a common national memory as part of national identity and emphasizes that this memory must not be avoided, otherwise the people would not be deserving the state that has been gained by the sacrifices of its people. The example likewise emphasizes the role of Latvia as a victim (of the Soviet Union), but this victimhood is implicit, as it only can be deduced by analysing the metaphorical expression of ‘foreign and hostile powers’ stamping (stepping on with feet) Latvia’s pride and honour (Latvian national values emphasized). Latvia has been positioned as a victim of the Soviet Union and Germany and as a spectacle to other nations that observed both Latvian identities being stamped by feet and its ‘flaring with glory.’ Moreover, the example indicates another typicality to the speeches of the Presidents of Latvia, specifically in the first Independence time (from 1918-1940), namely, that Latvians are masters of their own land, implying both the victory over the previous masters and the possibility to be masters of the destiny of the state as well. Moreover, the metaphor of state as home that has been and is still used by the Presidents of Latvia (also Estonia and Lithuania) appears in the speeches through the 100-year independence of the nations. Additionally, rhetorical question referring to the day of Independence of Latvia is used to emphasize the symbolism of the date and address the listeners inviting them to think about the importance of the date for themselves yet having been given the specific ‘food for thought’. The President Alberts Kvišis, specifically when addressing the nation on national holidays, has applied multiple linguistic techniques specifically when constructing a common political past via the topos of history and the topos of numbers and subsequently the topos of comparison to emphasize the horrors of the past and the sacrifices made to achieve a common political present, for instance,

20 years ago, at the beginning of the world war we were a captive nation whom the administration of the ruling nation did not always want to allow to sing our prayer because it contained the name of Latvia. When the enemies invaded Kurzeme, the same administration forced Latvians to leave their homeland. Long queues of refugees meandered along the plains of Zemgale in a distant stranger, towards an unknown future. The Russian Revolution, the fall of Riga, the German military occupation, the plans to divide Latvia between the two great neighbours - all these events and intentions wrap the future of the Latvian people in such a thick veil of fog that a ray of hope was seldom seen. but then the fog dissipated, and the sun of freedom rose for the Latvian nation. In a hectic hurry, without hearts full of joy and excitement, they embarked on the work of building the state, while at the same time waging fierce and bloody struggles for their independence. the battles ended with the brilliant victory of our weapons, and the work of nation-building began to move even faster. (AK2, see original as example No.1 in Appendix 6)

The example illustrates not only the construction of a common political past (via the topos of history – occupation, distant, strange, unknown, foggy future, the topos of numbers – 20 years before the speech, and the topos of threat) – enemies, Russian Revolution, German occupation, great neighbours), but also the construction of a common national body, by illustrating the connection of Latvian lands and cities (Kurzeme, Zemgale, Rīga) with the destinies of Latvian people. Moreover, the example likewise illustrates the national symbols such as the anthem of the state (referred to as prayer, because it integrates the words God, bless Latvia), sun and light as symbols of hope and freedom, as well as fog as symbols of uncertainty and unknown. The topos of threat is, in fact, a quite common argumentative strategy used in presidential speeches to argue for certain actions that must be taken in order to prevent history from repeating itself (explicitly) and in order to justify certain political actions and/or plans, such as, for instance, joining NATO and the EU (implicitly). The topos of threat formula presupposes that if certain people, objects, actions (for instance the aggressive military politics lead by the politicians of Russia) threaten the well-being or freedom of the nation, the people of the nation should unite and act in order to prevent the possible threat, whether it be entering the political organisation that protect its members or allowing more funding to go to the military areas or allowing the military personnel from other countries reside in the states to protect them from possible threat in future. The use of the topos of threat in combination with the topos of history illustrates the role of the Baltic States as victims of the past and possible victims of the future.

The thematic area of constructing a common political past also appears in the pre-occupation speeches by the Presidents of Latvia, where the common enemy is referred to as ‘stranger’ or ‘alien powers’ in an attempt to avoid direct naming of the common enemy, which is instead being implicitly constructed, for instance,

When alien forces destroyed the freedom and independence of the people, when warriors and conquerors ruled our land, for centuries work, love and faith held our people together, protected them from destruction, preserved the character and soul of the people and finally helped the people regain their freedom, build a nation and to take over the power and determination in their native land temporarily. We went through difficult times, we suffered

*heavy losses, often **heavy burdens threatened to bend us**, but **work, love, and faith** overcame everything. The greatest danger threatened us when one of these three **virtues perished**, when an easy-led life began to rise in the **workplace**, when **love for the homeland was overshadowed by foreign teachings** that denied the **holy name of the homeland**, when **faith** in the nation's future was overwhelmed by doubt. Even when the **independent** state was **dependent**, we were not yet fully aware of the only **right path that the ancient virtues showed us — love, work, and faith**. (KU10, see original as example No.34 in Appendix 6)*

The example above illustrates the use of repetition ‘work, love, faith’ in the speech to construct *the Homo Latviensis* or national spirit via reminding the listeners the Latvian values they should keep in their memory. Building metaphor and metaphor DEVELOPMENT IS PATH are one of the most frequently used metaphors in the presidential speeches of the Baltic States and these metaphors are also used in the speech by K. Ulmanis, where he refers to the building process of a free (from foreign powers) nation that belongs to those born in the land. The use of the metaphor together with the repetition of reference to native land and synonym homeland target the emotions of belonging, and the metaphor displaying development (meaning hard work as also implied by the ‘bending under burdens’ metaphor) invites the listeners to contribute to the ‘common goal of building the nation’ by doing their work. Moreover, synonymy and antonymy is present in the excerpt for the purpose of emphasis of past versus future (dependent-independent, free, foreign-native, warriors, conquerors- people). The lack of direct naming of the enemy being implicitly constructed seems to indicate that existent fear about the unstable status of the nation is present. Thus, the topos of threat is present, but implicit in the argument and follows the formula that if ‘easy-led life’ has resulted in negative consequences in the past, it should be avoided and substituted by work instead (easy life-hard work as binary oppositions). Additionally, the metaphor implying oppositions TRUTH IS LIGHT versus LIE IS DARKNESS is implied in the metaphorical statement ‘love for the homeland was overshadowed by foreign teachings’, where homeland (native land, a land one has been born in) is positioned as contextual antonym that is in opposition with foreign teachings, which cast a shadow over love (associated with light and truth). Furthermore, loss of a virtue is associated with drowning (virtues perished – tikumi pagrima), implying that it is still possible to ‘save’ those virtues by exercising them.

Repetition seems to a characteristic feature of the speeches by the President of Latvia Kārlis Ulmanis. Repetition in the speeches do not only pertain to the lexical cohesion (Halliday and Hasan, 1987) of the speech, but also, and more significantly to the current research, repetition targets the understanding and memory of the listeners (or readers) of the speech, as it emphasizes the key words that carry the main idea of particular speech or block of particular speech. Another interesting example of repetition in K. Ulmanis speech is found in the speech at the morning of the Soviet troops entering Riga where the phrase ‘stay in your places’ is

repeated throughout the brief speech with the purpose to invite people not to protest or show any type of resistance to the occupation of the nation, for instance,

Soviet troops have been entering our land since this morning. This is done with the news and consent of the government, which in turn stems from the existing friendly relations between Latvia and the Soviet Union. I therefore want the people of our country to see the incoming troops with friendship as well. At the same time, you need to know that the movement of troops must go smoothly, and you can promote this by curbing over-curiosity and refraining from disturbing order. This morning, you also heard the news that the full government has announced their resignation and that I have instructed the ministers to remain in their places until a new government is formed. The first task for all of us is to remain in our place and continue to serve the cause that is high and sacred to the interests of Latvia and our people. It is inevitable that the events to be experienced will bring some anxiety and disturbance to the course of our peaceful life so far. But these are temporary phenomena that we will be overcoming in a few days. At this moment, I invite you to prove in thoughts, deeds and positions the strength of the soul of the people caused by the flower years of the Renewed Latvia. Then I will be sure that everything that happens now and will continue to benefit our country and people our friendly relations with our great eastern neighbour, the Soviet Union. [...] My heart is with you, and I feel that your hearts also beat me in a friendly echo. So, let's go ahead and do our job. I will stay in my place; you will stay in your own. (KU4, see original as example No.35 in Appendix 6).

The examples above seems to indicate (implicitly) the existent fear of the common enemy (portrayed explicitly as friend), which illustrates the use of automation as the strategy of calming down realised through implicit the topos of threat (Wodak et al., 2009: 40). The premise in the topos of threat is that the Soviet army has entered the state and could attack (portrayed as being friendly), that leads the listeners to the conclusion that people should avoid aggression in order to prevent possible attack. The use of imperative moods (modal verb 'must' – imperative verb form 'jānorit,' 'palieciēt', 'pierādīet') supports the argument and orders the people to obey. Moreover, the use of personal pronouns displays the roles assigned in the speech, namely, the I-you dichotomy shows that the President assumes responsibility as a leader and addresses the people directly; however, the inclusive pronoun 'we' is used in the statement that target the emotions of the people and are aimed at emotional manipulation to achieve the effect of 'calming down' and creating the illusion of unity. The first-person plural pronoun 'we' in the possessive form refers to the President and the citizens of the state when positioned in phrases such as 'our land, our neighbour, our good and friendly relationship, our country, our task, our place, our people, our country's interests, our job.' The list of word combinations with the inclusive (explicitly) pronoun we, illustrates the how the attempt is made to create the illusion of calm and positive attitude towards the situation, nevertheless, it should be noted that the fully inclusive use of the pronoun is found only in one instance, namely, 'our relationship' that refers both to Latvia and the Soviet Union (common relationship), while the other cases refer only to the government of Latvia (led by the President at that time) and the citizens of the state.

President K. Ulmanis uses both inclusive and inclusive references to himself, the people of Latvia and the government to illustrate the roles allocated to each of the aforementioned, however, when referring to the common enemy, the President uses the term ‘*foreign forces, other forces*’ and avoids naming the specific enemy that is being discursively portrayed by constructing a common political past, for instance, ‘***Other forces said: "We will occupy Riga, we will liberate it." We were promised that we would all be in Riga together. But the big question was, what will we be there for? And the Provisional Government of Latvia replied: "Yes, gentlemen, but who will Riga belong to when we take it?" There was no answer***’ (KU5, see original as example No.36 in Appendix 6). The example above illustrates the use of intertextuality or referring to quotation from history that display a dialogue between political power of Latvia and foreign powers. The excerpt also illustrates use of rhetorical question that aims to illustrate the difference between inclusive and exclusive society, namely, inclusive use (we all together, who are the we) referring to the citizens of Latvia and the people brought in by the foreign politics (including the military and politicians) and exclusive referring to in one instance to the foreign forces (we will occupy Riga) and in the other to the citizens of Latvia (we could only be satisfied). Hus the example above illustrates the ambiguity of use of the pronoun *we*, which though seems to be inclusive in general, is exclusive at the same time.

Finally, another case of constructing a common political history with the use of pronoun *we* is found in the song festival speech by K. Ulmanis, where simultaneously with constructing political past, the President is also aiming at constructing *the Homo Latviensis* or national spirit and national body, for instance,

Once a single Midsummer flag, red and white ribbons on a young man's chest, now the red and white flag of independent Latvia. But still - it did not come by itself, it came, firstly, because we wanted it with the will of the iron, secondly, because we believed in it with unwavering faith, and thirdly, because nothing was too expensive for us, no sacrifice too hard to make our will and faith win and praise. We believed and wanted our homeland, our freedom, and we are now reading these words carved in stone on the Freedom Monument. We sang faithfully and sincerely: bend, the ends of the woods - and they bent, bent down before our songs, we won because we were and have grown together with this land like no other. Only we, with our heads on her breast, hear her voice, understand her language - and she has blessed us, just as Heavenly Father has blessed and guarded Latvia. (KU9, see original as example No.37 in Appendix 6)

First, the construction of a common political past involves references to the war of independence and bravery and will of the Latvian people to gain the status of an independence and free nation. The construction of *the Homo Latviensis* involves references to state symbols (red-white-red flag, will, that is metaphorically compared to iron that denotes the intensity, freedom monument, intertextuality reference to a folk song about forests, language and faith in God). The construction of national body is achieved through the intertextuality, namely, the quotation of the folk song ‘bend the apicals of forests’ which refers to the character of Latvia

as a land with forests, through the reference to the land itself, that is portrayed as a person via personification metaphor. The use of inclusive *we* creates the sense of unity and belonging and together with the use of the aforementioned national symbols constructs Latvian national identity.

Further on, after the restoration of independence of Latvia in 1991, the speeches seem to have become more explicit in terms of constructing a common political past and the common enemies of the past, however, metonymy ‘east and west’ is used to refer to Russia and Germany instead of a direct reference, for instance,

*Already in the late 1930s, the **great powers in eastern and western Europe** tried to outsmart each other and together to gain one-sided advantage and superiority. This superiority was then called **racial supremacy in one country** for several years, and it was called **supremacy in ideology in another country** for several decades. In both countries, only a categorical imperative that demanded "**overcoming history**" survived this era, as the end of the twentieth century allowed for a completely different philosophy in security policy. (GU5, see original as example No.38 in Appendix 6)*

The example above illustrates the construction of a common political past with an attempt to deconstruct the consequences of the past, namely, to deconstruct fear of the common enemy, which is identified later in the speech, namely, ‘*Latvia fully supports **NATO and the EU’s offer to establish special relations with Russia**. Russia also has self-isolation as an alternative. **Accepting the hand given does not indicate any contempt for the partner, as it is only a gesture to a strong partner*** (GU5, see original as example No.39 in Appendix 6). The example illustrates use of the idiom – to give a hand – as a gesture of making peace and offering help to the former enemy, which has been offered to Latvia by the international global organisations that Latvia wanted to a member of at the time of the speech.

It should be noted, that after the restoration of independence the Presidents of Latvia similarly as the Presidents of Estonia and Lithuania have employed a combination of various linguistic techniques that are aimed at the construction of national spirit that is rooted in national history, thus the construction of a common political history is also very present in the speeches. Example 40 in Appendix 6 illustrates the use of an extended metaphor **LATVIA IS AN OAK TREE** that both constructs a common political past of difficult times, compared to eclipse of sun that causes the tree to dry out, and constructs the *Homo Latviensis* via reference to the oak tree that is one of the national symbols of Latvia, as well as reference to national celebration dates and years and via a rhetorical question, the reference to Latvian values that stem from history – namely work and bread that have been voiced most frequently by the President Kārlis Ulmanis before the second world war. The example also illustrates the attempt to deconstruct the common enemy, as the reference to the enemy or the direct cause of the difficult history is omitted and instead referred to metaphorically as eclipse of history.

In fact, what is implicitly being constructed on several occasions is the image of victimhood that is being created with naming the victim, but omitting the offender, thus creating an image of the victim being unable to influence the past on the one hand, and having influenced it on the other, as well as the belief in the ability to influence the future, thus inviting the people to act in accordance to their values and their common identity. For example,

It was you who did not stop reminding and teaching us this real history during all the long years of occupation when we were abducted. Strangers tried to erase it from our consciousness even on November 18th. They were also afraid of your letters and lowered the iron curtain, lest the truth should break through and awaken us. However, this happened because the White Father put it down and Antiņš went up the hill of glass and Saulcerīte - Freedom has been awakened and given back to the people. But as after a long and unhealthy sleep, it is weak and protected. We could have rejoiced brighter and richer if, for all three quarters of the century, we had been allowed to build and build our own country on our own ethnic territory. But there was an evil, unjust conspiracy. Should we now live, looking back forever, and pretending that these 50 years have not been in the history of our country at all? But they were, and in them is left our lifetime. How fulfilled and how happy - yes, it is a question for everyone. (GU7, see original as example No.41 in Appendix 6)

The extract is again a very colourful example of the construction of a common political past and national spirit and victimhood without naming the agent or the offender yet emphasizing via passive voice (the state was stolen, abducted) and ambiguity (strategies, they) the threat having existed and possibly still existing in form of fear. Moreover, the example illustrates the use of reference to national folk tales as symbol of culture (*Antiņš, Baltais tēvs, Saulcerīte*) and hope, as well as building metaphor, REVOLUTION IS AWAKENING metaphor and rhetorical question referring to the role of the past in constructing national identity of the present and future.

President G. Ulmanis, further has attempted to deconstruct the role of the victim and deconstruct the belief in the common enemy and others that have been left and live in Latvia after the restoration of independence. At the same time, the President attempts to address the people who have chosen to stay in Latvia and invited them to integration. This is done via a more direct and explicit language referring to the problems and solution to the identified issues (see example No.42 in Appendix 6). The speech illustrates the use of we-they dichotomy, and the use of personification metaphor that refers the victimhood of Latvia as the younger brother of the Soviet Union that has been abused and commanded. Additionally, the President employs the use of the topos of definition, but a reversed form, where he states what Latvia is not (a hotel, a province) and what those choosing to stay in Latvia should act like (not consumers, but creators), inviting them to work for Latvia together with the citizens of the state, at the same time being patriots of their own states.

A slightly different approach to constructing the national and supra-national identity is taken in the international speeches, for instance,

*In November 1918 Latvia and Poland declared themselves active participants in **the building of the future of Europe**. That was the time when **our** peoples by **joint** efforts had to react to a challenge by **forces hostile to the essence of a human being**. In gratitude I bow my head to the **sons of Poland** who led by Marshal Józef Pilsudski did not spare **their lives to free Latgale region from the Soviet tyranny**. The similar understanding of Latvians and Poles on the highest values of humankind - **freedom, national independence and self-determination as well as geographical proximity of both states drew parallels in the destinies of our peoples both in 1939 and in early nineties**. (GU1998, Poland)*

The example shows use of the building metaphor; however, the metaphor refers to Europe as common home rather than a specific nation. Moreover, the President also uses the metaphor COUNTRY IS MOTHER to refer to the citizens of Poland who helped in the wars of independence of Latvia. The President refers to the former enemy – the Soviet Union, directly and explicitly in the international speeches. Another example illustrates the use of the topos of history including the construction of common enemy and the topos of comparison to compare how the Baltic States fought for freedom from the Soviet Union comparing with American soldiers fighting in Kuwait, for instance,

*In January of 1991 the Baltic States demonstrated their determination to **fight for restoration of their independence which was threatened by the Soviet militaries**. There were also **human victims**. At the same time American soldiers put their lives at risk for freedom of Kuwait (GU1998).*

Nevertheless, it should be stated that the topos of history is only used in the international speeches to illustrate the contrast between what Latvia was (a victim) at the beginning of its independence, and how it has and will improve (according to the president) in future within international organisation such as the EU and NATO. The topos of comparison is used to emphasize the similarity between Latvian (and people from the Baltic States) with other European countries and countries in NATO cooperation. Moreover, the Presidents use references to well-known personalities via the topos of history to illustrate common values, common elements of identity (see example No.75 in Appendix 6). The excerpt incorporates the topos of history via reference to the recognised German philosopher Herder (if Herder admitted that small nations have potential for Europe, then these nations should be integrated), and the topos of comparison (Baltic states shared European values then and they have common identity now). The use of commonly used binary opposition (small-large) is also used to refer to the Baltic States versus larger states in the EU.

Similarly, the topos of history and intertextuality in international speeches has been applied by President Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga, who also refers to the Soviet Union former enemy of the Baltic States, and also speaks for all three of the states, not just for Latvia as the state she represents. Via the topos of history, the President aims at constructing not only the common

political past of the Baltic States, but also their national and supra-national spirit and their common political future, namely,

*I had a conversation just two days ago at the International Forum on Genocide in Stockholm with a congressman from the United States who told me an anecdote of how **many years ago** when he had first got elected, he received a visit from **three persons, each one of them representing one of the Baltic states**, claiming to speak in their name and asking for continued support from the United States Congress to the idea of **non-recognition - the incorporation, the annexation, the occupation of Baltic states into the Soviet Union**. He said that he did not know much about it, that it was all news to him, and while he sat there patiently listening to these persons make their case, he thought to himself: "What an **incredible trio of dreamers**, and how **donquixotic** can you get in your **dreams and aspirations**?" And he said: "I tried not to show it but I thought to myself what a **hopeless** cause here was represented, where do they get a **courage** and a **strength** to continue **working hard** on such an idea that is so visibly **utopic** as the idea of **restituting the sovereignty, the independence** of three Baltic nations" (VVF, 1999 UN GA).*

The reference is anonymous, meaning that there is no specific author of the quotation named by the president, thus, no evident proof that the expression is factual, however, the incorporation if intertextuality into the speech creates an emotionally appealing effect as it also uses synonyms illustrating the negative history (incorporation, annexation, occupation) in comparison with contextual synonyms (dreams, aspirations, courage, strength, sovereignty, independence).

Similarly, the reference to the common enemy of the past is not voided in other international speeches by V. Vīķe-Freiberga, for instance,

*The UK was among the first countries to recognise **Latvia's statehood de facto in 1918**, when Latvia declared its independence. After **Latvia lost its independence in 1940**, the UK refused to recognise **de iure the occupation and annexation of the Baltic States by the former USSR**. Thanks to this policy of non-recognition, Latvia's diplomatic mission continued to operate in London throughout the **long years of Soviet occupation**. (VVF, 2000, UK)*

The example uses reference to the Soviet Union twice, once by the referring to it as the Soviet occupying power and the second time by referring to it by the acronym of the Soviet Union (USSR). Moreover, the President illustrates important dates in the history of Latvia in relation to its occupation, namely, the declaration of independence in 1918 with the use of legal term, or Latinism internationally recognised (de facto) and the loss of independence by directly addressing the agent (*the USSR*), the patient (*Latvia*), the date (*1940*) and the action – occupation, annexation.

As regards the construction of a common political past in the speeches to the nation by V. Vīķe-Freiberga, it seems that the main focus of the President has been to construct a common political future, a common culture and national (a supra-national spirit) rather than reconstruct history or refer to the victimhood of Latvia in history, for instance,

*Latvia is **returning** to Europe. **Historically, this is our real home**. **Geographically, we have never disappeared from Europe**. But now we are **returning to Europe as an independent, sovereign nation** that has become a credible political and respectable economic partner. The Europe we are **returning** to is a unique formation that has never been seen before in human history. Countries that have been **enemies** for hundreds of years decided to launch a new model*

of cooperation and coexistence after the Second World War. Everyone sat at the same table and continued to debate each issue until a solution was reached where everyone could see the benefits for themselves. (VVF6, see translation as example No.43 in Appendix 6)

The example illustrates the tendency to avoid naming explicitly the direct causes of Latvia having to 'return' to Europe (the occupation and loss of independence), but rather focuses on metaphorically constructing Europe as home and constructing Europe as common supra-national body of nations geographically belonging to it. The verb 'returning' has been repeated in the example which implicitly points to the history of Latvia as a victim of the larger states that divided Europe in history. Moreover, the President refers to these states but indirectly via the word 'enemies' that implies that they were enemies with one another.

It should be pointed out, however, that there are specific types of speeches that do require references to history and reconstruction of the common political past that pertains to representation of Latvia national identity of which history is a large part. These speeches are held on remembrance days of the soldiers who fought for independence and restoration of independence as well as those citizens who were deported during the occupation (see example No.11 in Table 68 in Appendix 6). The excerpt constructs a common political past and illustrates how Latvia had been in the middle of division of lands by two major 'foreign' forces which are referred to explicitly and specifically, not only naming the nations, but also specific leaders set form government in Latvia (*Niedra* and *Stučka*). The example illustrates contrast between the level of difficulty to gain independence and the 'strength, courage and faith' of the Latvian people. Thus, the excerpt illustrates the construction of *the Homo Latviensis* via the reference to values characterising the people of Latvia. Similar attempt to construct the national spirit via constructing a common political past is made in remembrance speech of the barricades in 1991 before the restoration of independence (see example No.44 in Appendix 6). The common enemy in the speech is anonymous, namely, it is not explicitly referred to by name, but rather implied in the context as the target audience is supposed to well-aware of who the 'foreign power' was at the time of regaining independence. The example rather emphasizes the national spirit, namely, the construction of *the Homo Latviensis* via the repetition of key words – *unity, gathering, willingness to sacrifice*.

Similarly, the construction of a common political past is less frequent or less present in the speeches of the Presidents of Latvia after joining the EU and NATO, when the focus of the speeches is to construct national and supra-national spirit (which started already in G. Ulmanis speeches after restoration of Independence), construction of a common political present and future. Moreover, the speeches of the Presidents of Latvia V. Zatlers and A. Bērziņš seem to be focused on the construction of a common political present and *the Homo Nationalis*, and, as the context shows, it seems that the economic crisis influences the choice of strategies used in the

speeches. Nevertheless, the speeches that are delivered on national remembrance days and on some occasions also Independence Day of the Republic of Latvia and the Day of Restoration of Independence also illustrate the construction of a common political past, for instance,

Latvia began with the bold idea of a national, independent state. It seasoned in the heroic War of Independence; with bitten teeth it only carried out through the years of occupation; reborn through the Singing Revolution; gained strength in barricade bonfires; then found its way to the European Union and NATO and through years of rapid upswing it came to the tough reality of today. From where, in difficult times, has our nation gained strength, endurance and faith in the future? These are the values of our people. Carved in the Freedom Monument, they tell the history of our nation, describe today and allow us to be sure of tomorrow. (VZ1, see original as example No.45 in Appendix 6)

The excerpt illustrates how construction of a common political past is used in the introduction of an Independence Day speech at the beginning of global economic crisis that influence Latvia significantly. However, through series of parallel constructions and extended personification metaphor (LATVIA IS PERSON) and metaphor NATION IS BOOK (Latvia began with the bold idea), the President aims to illustrate the opposition between hard times in history (War of Independence, occupation) of the nation that were overcome with keeping Latvian values (strength of an iron as symbolised by the word ‘norūdījās’ that comes from the idiom ‘kā rūdījās tērauds’, patience and will as symbolised by the metaphorical expression ‘sakostiem zobiem’ that symbolises pain, rebirth as a biblical symbol for the restoration of independence caused by the bravery, faith and self-sacrifice as Latvia values) and believing Latvia symbols (Freedom Monument). Moreover, the metaphor DEVELOPMENT IS ROAD is used to illustrate the joining of Latvia to the EU and NATO, which is characterised as the road of ‘rapid upswing.’ It is worth mentioning, that the deconstruction of what can be and is referred to as ‘the Soviet legacy’ that was present in the speeches of the first President of the newly restored Latvia, is also found in the speeches by V. Zatlers who invites people to leave the belief in the Soviet values in the past (see example 46 in Appendix 6). The example illustrates an attempt by the President to disseminate or deconstruct the historical legacy left by the Soviet Union, namely, the belief of the people that the government or political leaders (as represented by the metonymy ‘state’) is obliged to take care of all citizens providing them with work (symbolised by bread in the speeches of the first Presidents of Latvia, specifically A. Kviēsis and K. Ulmanis). Via the strategy of dissemination and discontinuation and the topos of a favourable time, V. Zatlers aims to illustrate the difference between the Soviet past and political present and invite people to act independently rather than wait for a ‘leader’ to do it for them thus also emphasizing the possibility of difference between the present and hopeful future. Moreover, for an additional effect, the President incorporates the technique of intertextuality or reference to a well-known national figure Garlībs Merķelis, who is the author of a book about Latvian identity. Thus, instead of suggestive rhetorical questions that would typically be applied in this strategy and

seem to be very typical to the speeches of V. Zatlers in general, the President has chosen intertextuality and the topos of appeal to authority (if an authority has done or said something, then we must repeat and listen to it). Thus, the function of the speeches of the Presidents of Latvia in the post-war period seem to be focusing not so much constructing the common enemy and a common political past of victimhood, but rather constructing a common political present and future and national spirit. International speeches and speeches to the politicians; however, do dwell on historical lessons and use the topos of history as a teacher to illustrate the formula – if actions in history have led to negative consequences, they should be avoided in future (see example No.76 in Appendix 6)

The construction of a common political past via the topos of history is used to construct an argument of supporting good political relations with Russia in order to avoid ‘the mistakes of the past.’ The President also uses euphemisms (wrongs done to the people of Latvia), and the metaphor HISTORY IS BOOK (to turn over a new page) to illustrate that relations can be improved. Moreover, the President vaguely mentions the ‘forces’ on both sides that are described as ‘pushing the countries in opposite directions’ and does not make a direct reference to these forces. The argument is being constructed to show contrast between what was in the past and what has been achieved (by the President personally as emphasized by the use of first-person singular pronoun), for instance,

*In the course of these years, **I have tried** to work on these issues. **I have** several times **met** the President of the Russian Federation Vladimir Putin. On **my initiative** and with **my continuous support** the Historians' Commission of Latvia has worked actively and **fruitfully** for many years (VZ2007).*

The example illustrates the emphasis of achievements made by the President for the sake of the state and via the statements ‘I tried, I have met, my initiative, my support’ the President emphasizes the idea that without him the ‘fruitful relationship’ might not have been constructed between Latvia and Russia. It should be noted that this personal reference is rather frequent in the speeches of the President of Latvia starting from the second decade of the 21st century, especially in the international speeches and speeches to the parliament by the President V. Zatlers and President E. Levits. This could be interpreted as taking on the responsibility and not sharing or avoiding it (which is typically achieved via the use of pronoun we) and as construction of individual identity and accomplishments, depending on the context (the use pronominal references by the Presidents in analysed in further chapters).

The construction of a common political past with the aim to influence the present and future and address the national spirit of the listeners has also been identified in the Independence Day speeches by A. Bērziņš, for instance,

*Therefore, on this holiday I want to wish us to **regain** at least a part of the **strength and faith** that the **people of Latvia had in 1918 and during the Awakening**. At that time, **all the peoples living in Latvia stood next to Latvians**, because the goal was one - to win and protect the **independence of their country**, and **we succeeded!** We were not looking for **enemies** at that time, because the **enemy** was one - **a foreign, imposed power**, from which a **free and self-confident** nation wanted to get rid! (AB6, see original as example No.47 in Appendix 6)*

In addition to the topos of history (if we could stand together in the past, then we can do it now), the President uses the inclusive 'we' to refer to Latvians and the citizens of Latvia (who are not Latvians) who fought to gain and regain the independence, noting that these people share the values and characteristics of common national identity, namely, strength and faith. Moreover, the President emphasizes the common enemy to the aforementioned group, however, does not specify the enemy as it has been done in the speeches by the other Presidents after the restored independence of the state. A different approach in constructing a common political past without avoiding naming the former enemy is applied in the speeches that are addressed to the army of Latvia (see example No.48 in Appendix 6). As the situation requires, the address of the military of Latvia of which the President is leader on a national Remembrance Day of freedom fights incorporates the construction of a common political past, including the direct and explicit reference to the common enemies of the past (Russia and Germany metonymically standing for the leaders of these states). Repetition of the date (11 November, Lāčplēsis day in Latvia), reference to Russian and German army, as well as the metaphorical expressions (scars of war) referring to personification metaphor (scars referring to the negative historical memory) display the contrast between now and then, and binary oppositions between war and peace, occupation, and independence. Similarly, construction of a common political past appears in international speeches, where the topos of history as a teacher is applied to lead the listeners to conclusion that Latvia has learned the lessons of history (see example No.74 in Appendix 6). The speech by R. Vējonis at the Baltic Independence conference celebrating the centenary in 2018 centres around the construction of a common political past and via the topos of history as a teacher portrays the difference between Latvia at the time of war and occupations and Latvia after having joined the EU and NATO. The aim of the speech is to illustrate that Latvia (metonymically) has learned the lessons of the past and is not going to make the same mistakes (neutrality towards military conflicts in the world). Moreover, as the example illustrates, the President does not hesitate to explicitly name the former enemies and does not euphemize the history. Moreover, personification metaphor (our friends) is used to refer to and emphasize the nations that supported Latvia's independence in history in opposition to those that occupied the state. Metonymy is used to refer to the politicians and leaders of the nations via the name of the nations (America was unwilling to become engaged in war). The emphasis of the former (common enemy) and direct and explicit reference in the international speeches of the

Presidents in the second decade of the 21st century may be caused by the contextual situation in the world, namely, the aggression of the Russian political leaders and thus Russian military towards former Soviet states such as Ukraine. The Presidents seem to not be hiding or obscuring fear from history repeating itself and via the topos of threat (if Russia acts aggressively to some of the former Soviet states, NATO should act to prevent it from happening to other states), for instance,

Russia has undertaken a huge military build-up over recent years, and it has recently turned to nuclear sabre-rattling. Combat operations are exercised next to NATO's borders. We have already seen in Georgia and Ukraine how such exercises can turn into aggression, occupation and annexation. Russia may have no immediate intention to use military force against NATO member states, but the regional capability is undeniable (RV2016).

The use of the topos of threat is very explicit in the example as the President refers to the military actions taken by Russian troops in Georgia and Ukraine as well as the military force displayed by the Russian army near the border of the states that are members of NATO (Baltic States and specifically Latvia implied) to address the potential threat and construct a common enemy. The use of the inclusive 'we' that refers to all of the members of NATO illustrates common responsibility to deal with the threat being constructed in the argument. The topos of comparison (if Russia has exercised military force towards Ukraine and Georgia, it might do so to other states) only emphasizes the construction of common enemy and fear.

A similar strategy is applied in the international speeches by the President E. Levits, the successor of R. Vējonis, who in the context of Russia's continuing 'aggression' also constructs the common enemy via the topos of history and the topos of threat. Nevertheless, the presence of legal discourse and contextually grounded in the professional background of E. Levits is very explicit in his speeches. Moreover, the use of personal reference of individual identity together with group reference is also frequently used in the speeches by E. Levits, for instance,

30 years ago, as a young politician and lawyer I had the opportunity to fight for the restoration of my country's independence. Latvia, like Estonia and Lithuania, was occupied by the Soviet Union at the beginning of World War II. Unlike the Western part of Europe, where the war ended in 1945, the Baltic states only regained their independence in 1991. We will forever be grateful to those states that never recognized the occupation of our countries as legitimate (de iure). Our independence was regained through strong mass movements, whose demands were rooted in international law. This was the result of a non-violent freedom fight – a rare occurrence in history. [...] Here I must point to Russia's open disrespect for the principles of international law, as violation of Ukraine's and Georgia's territorial integrity continues. Such brazen disregard for international law must not be accepted as the "new normal". (EL2019, UN meeting)

The argument constructed is very similar to that of the aforementioned example, namely, the use of the topos of history, the topos of threat and the topos of comparison displays not only implicit fear of Russia occupying Latvia (and the other two Baltic States), but also portrays the common enemy to all of the national of NATO alliance, thus simultaneously construction a

Western identity as an opposition to the Eastern identity. By repetition of the words 'international law, Russia, disrespect/disregards as contextual synonyms,' the President creates grounds or premise for the argument that is aimed at leading the target recipient to the conclusion that actions must be taken to prevent history and actions in neighbour states from occurring in other NATO member states. The topos of comparison is used not only to compare the potential threat to the Baltic States (similar to Ukraine and Georgia) but also to emphasize that other Western and NATO states did not have a history as difficult as the Baltic States, which shows fear. It seems interesting to note, that the construction of the common enemy is most frequently found in the speeches addressed to the international audience rather than to the citizens of the Baltic States, where the function of construction a common political past is instead to portray national values and to encourage people not to be afraid, but rather to act to protect the nation and work for the nation, for instance,

*The most severe pain is melted down into eternal life, which carries the power of the spirit of our people through the roots of the nation's tree. Through generations, through the ages, up. It is a never-ending sequel. In the **Baltic Way**, we melted an iron curtain in our palms. Instead, three free countries flourished, and a united Europe could once again breathe freely.* (EL5, see original as example No.49 in Appendix 6)

The example illustrates the use of metaphorical expressions which are generally not characteristic to the language of E. Levits, however, when construction a common political past in synergy with constructing *the Homo Nationalis* or the national spirit, the President has used the nature metaphors NATION IS A TREE, NATION IS FLOWER and personification metaphor EUROPE IS PERSON (breathes) to illustrate the unity and faith as characteristics of the Baltic identity. At the same time, the construction of a common political past in the speeches of the Presidents of Estonia after the restoration of independence is carried out via slightly different argumentative strategies and linguistic means. The topos of threat specifically characterising the politics lead by specific Russian politicians has been emphasized by the Presidents of Estonia, for instance, courage and willpower.

*That is why I am perturbed by "**Komsomolskaya Pravda**", a Moscow newspaper which a week ago expressed its amazement at the anniversary of the Republic of Estonia, particularly at a jubilee anniversary, more particularly at the "**unexpected**", as the paper put it, 75th jubilee anniversary. We are used to considering that paper democratic. We are, just like other law-abiding European and American states, used to supporting the young Russian democracy. But more keenly than other European and American states do we sense how the economic chaos in our neighbor state has retarded its transition to a free market economy, strengthened the leadership of its military-industrial complex, and weakened the positions of the young Russian democracy. Has all that really reached such lengths already that pages should be torn off from the annals? This, my friends, is not a rhetorical question. This, dear heads of state who grace the Republic of Estonia and its seventy-fifth anniversary either personally or through the presence of your ministers or ambassadors tonight, is a troublesome question addressed to you* (LM2).

The example incorporates not only the topos of threat, Estonia as a potential victim and Russia as a potential enemy, should its former political powers overthrow the ‘young Russian democracy,’ but also the topos of comparison (Estonia and other law-abiding states) and the topos of responsibility directed at the parliament of Estonia to avoid possible threat. The topos of comparison illustrates how the President of Estonia Lennart Meri compares Estonia and European and American states in terms of believing in democracy and being-law abiding states, but emphasizes how based on history, Estonia ‘senses more keenly’ than the other states that what is happening in Russia is not what is supposed to happen in a democratic and law-abiding state. The proof for this supposition as given in the example is the information gained from an article in a Russian newspaper and used to build up the further argument. Another implicit comparison ‘hidden’ in the example is the comparison between the law-abiding states and the opposite (young Russian democracy, chaotic neighbour state). Moreover, metonymy ‘paper put it’ refers to the paper instead of journalists having written specific piece of information, Estonia standing for its people and politicians as well as European and American states standing for their people. Metaphor HISTORY IS BOOK is used to illustrate how the potential enemy aims to destroy the national memory of Estonia portrayed as the action of tearing pages from a book. Rhetorical question, which is positioned not to be of rhetorical nature, is used for additional emphasis on both the potential enemy, and significant task directed at the parliament of Estonia. However, the fact that the President uses the question in his speech to the public, but addresses it explicitly to the politicians, denotes the implicit use of the topos of responsibility. The President continues by using the topos of threat to illustrate the politics of the past and the potential future as well as common enemy not only for Estonia, but also for Latvia. The example (see example 15 in Appendix 6) extracted from the Independence Day speech given by the former President of Estonia Lennart Meri on 26 February 1993, illustrates the situation in not only Estonia, but also other Baltic States two years after re-gaining their independence from the Soviet Union, namely, the fresh memory of the occupation and oppressions, the Soviet military troops still being present at the Baltic States, and the victimhood of the states being stringer than their renewed independence. The example is abundant in numerous linguistic techniques that have been classified under the strategy of manipulation, persuasion and argumentation as powerful linguistic tools that appeal not only to the logical thinking, but also to the cognition, human perception, and emotion. The topos of history appeals to the common national memory, by illustrating the images of an aggressive enemy versus a small state. The topos of comparison via linguistic means of simile and historical reference (to Hitler and plague in the Middle Ages) appeal to the emotions, specifically, fear of people from both war and devastating illness, which are deemed as similar in terms of their destructiveness. Moreover, metaphor that portrays

Russia as ‘large and heavily armed and aggressive continental body’ in comparison to the ‘small, but brave and tired of tyranny - Baltic States’ intensify the emotional effect of the argument being constructed in the example. The use of parallel sentence construction (I appeal to you), repetitions (Regrettably, Russia, cynical, Karaganov, Estonia and Latvia) as well as rhetorical questions, appeal implicitly to the cognition of the listeners inviting them to consider what they know and remember about history and their common enemy against what is put forward in the speech, the conclusion to which the use of the argumentative strategies or the aforementioned topoi lead is that if the politicians (specifically Karaganov, whose name has been mentioned several times across the speech) acts to carry out the threats described in the speech, the parliament of Estonia, Latvia and other democratic states, must act in order to prevent history from repeating itself on a larger scale (possible threat that Russia would colonize other states). The speech continues with the topoi of threat, comparison and history being complemented by the use of strategy and inclusion and exclusion and the strategy and creating the ‘we’ and ‘them’ groups, as illustrated in example No.69 in Appendix 6. The President portrays Estonia (and Estonians) as generous and helpful nation that has accepted people from Russia (positioned as out-group) into Estonia (home for Estonians, the in-group) and accepted them as citizens of the state providing them with security and confidence. While explicitly the example shows how citizens of the country across the border have been included in the newly independent, democratic and integrative state of Estonia, the language means used (we-they dichotomy, border politics repetition, references to well-known personalities, similes and comparisons as well as oppositions – monasteries versus concentration camps, and clergymen dragged to the scaffold like cattle, Sahharov/Hitler, Stalin, metaphor spreading of crime is like a wave that does not know borders and can spread everywhere from Russia to America and Europe) function implicitly as means of constructing common enemy, and a common political future of Estonia being united with the states that stand for democracy and European values. As the example illustrates, the most frequently used words which serve as key words in the excerpt are European values, Estonia, we, they, Russia, border. These words contain the main idea of one of the building blocks of the speeches, namely, that Estonia is a European country, thus integrates anyone who wants to share European values and European borders but fears of the potential threat (Russia) that must be secured and controlled with border politics.

Another key word appearing across the speech (and most of the speeches by the Presidents of Estonia) is ‘small,’ referring to small nations (a symbol of Estonia’s identity), who reach large goals, small steps on the metaphorical road to freedom and well-being. Likewise, the Presidents of Estonia often refer to Manifesto of people declaring Estonia an independence state and the state anthem ‘*Mu Isamaa*’ (my country) and use intertextuality by

referring to the citizens of Estonia who are not well-known, but rather representatives of common people, in order to construct *the Homo Nationalis* or national spirit and illustrate how every Estonian no matter the social status, may pertain to the well-being, security, and independence of the country, for instance,

The concluding words of my address have been borrowed from August Ots, parish elder of Valjala and an Estonian farmer, who with his dignity might provide an example for many politicians: "A man must work so hard that he does not need to cut his fingernails". Please, write these words down, and the ice will begin to move, the ice has already begun to move. (LM2).

Thus, it is concluded that the thematic area of narrating the common political past is the most frequently identified narrative in the presidential speeches. Nevertheless, it is also concluded that the thematic areas overlap on various occasions, for instance, the confabulation of a common political past may simultaneously be constructing the national spirit or *the Homo Nationalis*, or it can be used as a warrant in an argumentation scheme using the topos of history as a teacher, where the past, the present and the future are constructed simultaneously.

3.3.2. Construction of *the Homo Nationalis*

The construction of *the Homo Nationalis* has been referred to by Wodak et al. (2009) in the case of Austrian identity as the construction of *the Homo Austriacus*, thus in the case of the Baltic States the terms *the Homo Latviensis*, *the Homo Estonicus* and *the Homo Lietuvenis* have been proposed for the purpose of this study.

One of the typical features observed in the speeches of all Presidents of Estonia is reference to common people to address the national spirit of Estonians, to an example and in this way to address the emotions of the listeners. For example,

In Österby village in Swedish north-western Estonia, Adeele Paavelt sat on the edge of her bed and knitted a pair of socks as an Independence Day present for an unknown soldier in the defense forces of the Republic of Estonia. Many decades ago, she also knitted socks for her husband, who lies buried in Siberian earth. Now Adeele Paavelt asks you, my dear compatriots, have you knitted socks for the soldier boys. She has not run out of longing and will. Adeele Paavelt is 94 years old. We remain in her debt, and she remains our example. I hope that in ninety-four years' time, someone will say the same words about our generations (LM3).

The example above displays how President L. Meri has concluded his Independence Day speech in 1994 that addressed multiple aspects of the life of the nation in the past, present and future (such as security, patriotism, defence, international relations) with a powerful thematic area of constructing *the Homo Estonicus* via the topos of comparison and reference not to a perceived authority (as it is typically done in political and also presidential discourse across the world and also in the Baltic States), but rather to a layperson, the name of whom would typically not be known to most, yet the destiny and patriotism of whom is assumed to be known to all

and also proposed to all via the argument being constructed. Thus, the President refers to a specific geographical location via toponym *Österby* and location village in Swedish north-western Estonia (in this way also constructing a common national body) and pronounces the full name of a person, which is then repeated and referenced via anaphora (she, her) through the passage of the speech for additional emphasis. Likewise, the age of the person in reference (94 years) is repeated through the passage together with referencing the action of knitting socks for soldiers as a symbol of caring for the state and patriotism as an example of a life-long commitment. The aforementioned linguistic discourse markers not only connect the text in a logical sequence, but from the rhetorical perspective also address the memory of listener (repetition helps a phrase or a word to settle in the memory) and emotions of the listener (respect and compassion for older generation, collective memory of WWII and deportations, thus also patriotism and love for one's country and citizens as a family). Furthermore, having established an example of an ideal citizen, the President uses a form of an indirect rhetorical question *Now Adeele Paavelt asks you, my dear compatriots, have you knitted socks for the soldier boys* (LM3) to directly (via second person plural pronoun you) address the people of Estonia yet indirectly addressing the question from the perspective of the referenced person, which is aimed at a more thorough emotion arousal. Furthermore, the use of the topos of comparison displays how Adeele Paavelt's patriotism and devotion is set as an example and conclusion (that people of Estonia remain in her debt for the patriotism and should act accordingly) is offered. Consequently, the President incorporates emotional address forms (my dear compatriots) creating a proximity between the speaker and the listener and uses inclusive pronoun *our* generation, which refers to the listeners and the people of Estonia who share a common political present at the time (in 1990s). It seems that the combination of the thematic area, argumentation strategies and the incorporated linguistic techniques is a skilful attempt to construct national identity and invite patriotic reaction at the time when the state is newly established and needs all the effort to secure and develop it.

Likewise, the constructive strategy of transposition of subnational uniqueness onto a national character is used to create an emotional effect of pride (compliment to the audience) by mentioning the honourable deeds of a part of the population as an achievement of the whole nation, for instance,

I would instead like to recall some of the good things that Estonia's people have done this year. There is much to mention. Sixty Estonians are currently doing their part to keep the peace in Lebanon, Mali, Iraq, Kosovo and Afghanistan. A young girl invented an app that reminds parents of the right moment to wave encouragingly to their kid doing the same at the window of the kindergarten. Tens of thousands of times, grandmothers got help when their computers crashed. Millions of hugs were given to children and parents. Hundreds of thousands of examinations and tests were taken and graded. People learned

*songs and folk dances for various festivals next summer. The amount of **volunteer work done was equal to 10,000 people working full-time** (KK1).*

The strategy also incorporates the topos of numbers that exemplifies the statistics of the ‘good work’ done by Estonians in a year, while the linguistic forms of realisation are numerals, toponyms and similar sentence construction that create an impression of a list.

Furthermore, *the Homo Estonicus*, like *the Homo Latviensis* are also constructed via the topos of comparison within the strategy of balancing one thing against another (downplaying, trivialisation) in order not only to construct an idea of an ideal citizen, but also to deconstruct the ‘Soviet legacy,’ for instance,

*The **Estonian people**, who have been **liberated from a colonial yoke**, have more **idealism**, more **willingness to sacrifice in the name of freedom**, than the peoples of welfare states, who lack our **tragic historical experience**. Despite this, there is an increase in a **sceptical attitude** towards the Riigikogu and the Government. **Demeaning law and order**, the police in particular, has become almost a competition. The **mentality of the Soviet-era serf-worker**, who we have thrown out via the door, is now **creeping in through the window** - the attitude of: **it's the master's rope, let it run loose** (LM3).*

The example illustrates an argumentation scheme wherein the President L. Meri uses the topos of comparison of Estonians as superior that other states by additional emphasis on the characterisation of the states are ‘wealthier’, because one of the main goals of the post-Soviet Baltic States has been to achieve the level wealthiness that is in the western part of Europe, thus the President emphasizes the elements of *the Homo Estonicus* that are idealism, wish for freedom and common (tragic) history, noting that other states lack these. In the same time, the President addresses the unwanted part of Estonian identity, that is the Soviet way of thinking via a personification metaphor that is depicting the mentality of a former Soviet worker as an unwanted person that has been thrown out of the house (as an important symbol addressing basic emotions and feeling of security), but tries to sneak in through the window (arising negative emotions wherein the Soviet identity is compared to an intruder in one’s home). Similarly, the Presidents of Latvia also aim to dismantle the Soviet way of thinking by noting that the Soviet Union is in the past and people should look work for the future, for instance,

*Sen aiz muguras ir padomju laiki, kad tika garantēts darbs un algas. Mēs nedrīkstam gaidīt un paļauties uz to, ka valsts sakārtosies pati no sevis - bez mūsu katra līdzdalības (VZ2). - **Soviet times are long gone when jobs and wages were guaranteed. We must not wait and rely on the state to take care of itself** - without our participation.*

The example illustrates reference to the work policy in the Soviet Union wherein all citizens were given work by the state and addresses the nostalgic sentiment of the Latvian people that has also been discussed in Chapter 2, which needs to be deconstructed. Other examples of deconstructing the Soviet legacy have been identified in the speeches by the Presidents of Lithuania, who use the topos of comparison within the strategy of balancing one thing against

another seem to emphasize the positive traits of the European Union and European identity against the negative traits of the Soviet legacy, for instance,

European quality of life includes man's safety at home, at work and on the street. [...]. However, the most powerful tool in the fight against crime, offences and corruption is society itself. I believe that during the next five years Lithuania will be able to take pride in its active citizens' society, which is finally free of a depressing legacy of soviet moral standards. (VA8)

The example illustrates how European quality of life and safety is compared to the crimes and corruption in the Soviet Union. It seems that the main function the argument is in fact trying to construct common European identity that excludes elements of the Soviet legacy. It should be noted also that the Presidents of Lithuania seem to refer to the soviet legacy less frequently than the Presidents of Estonia and Latvia, but they seem to construct European identity as a supranational and civic identity more frequently and more explicitly. This has also been confirmed in the interview with the advisor to the President of Lithuania G. Nausėda (see Appendix 5.2.), namely, that there is no such sentiment for the Soviet Union and no explicit division of the society, therefore the Presidents of Lithuania do not address the Soviet legacy or minority issues in their speeches.

Furthermore, national character is also constructed via the strategies of transformation that often use the topos of authority, the topos of consequence and the topos of definition to introduce a way of action or way of thinking that is required from particular group of listeners. An example of such strategies used in the construction of the *Homo Estonicus* is as follows:

How to define a dignified country? What impacts that dignity? What does a dignified country do? What does it never do? And what does it even mean when we say that a country does something? It is what we all do – Estonia is the sum of all our deeds. Head of State Jaan Tõnisson once said, in 1928: "The State that is us. If we demand something from the State, we demand it of ourselves." (KK3).

The example illustrates the application of multiple linguistic means of realisation of the aforementioned strategies, for instance parallel construction of rhetorical questions addressing the national model character, metonymy (state is its people), inclusive pronominal referencing that transfers responsibility to the wider population, and consequently intertextuality is used to quote an authority whose words are to be accepted as truthful, yet the selection of specific quotation of purposeful as it also introduces a consequence via conditional if clause.

It is concluded that the type of speeches where the construction of *the Homo Nationalis* occurs with higher frequency and intensity in terms of the use of various linguistic means of persuasion and manipulation are the Independence Day speeches and speeches on such national celebrations as the song and dance festivals (taking place in all three of the states every five years and is considered to be representative part of the separate national identities). It is likewise

concluded that the construction of national spirit is often based on historical narratives (heroic character of the peoples, strong will and endurance, bravery).

3.3.3. Construction of a Common Political Present and Future

The construction of a common political present and future first of all is based on the time period within which the speech takes place and well as the context of that time period and speech. For example, the speeches that are held in the period from 1918-1940 focus on the idea of a new independent nation, state building and development as well as building the national character and national identity of the people (*the Homo Nationalis*) based on the achievement of a newly independent state, whereas speeches held at the time period from 1991-2004 focus more on the common political past during the war, loss and regaining of independence as well as the time of the Soviet Occupation. However, the uniting element is the direction towards better future and work to be done in order to achieve that common future. This has also been emphasized in the presidential interviews (Appendix 5), namely, that national identity is deliberately constructed (by the state representatives) in order to achieve the continuation and positive future (existence) of the state, which is only achieved with the common participation of its citizens. In fact, the word future appears 179 times (2054.47 pmw) in the corpus of the speeches by the Presidents of Latvia, 152 times (1735.59 pmw) in the corpus by the Presidents of Estonia, 107 times (1865.31 pmw) in the corpus of speeches by the Presidents of Lithuania and 331 times in total (1558.29 pmw) in the corpus of international speeches. One of the keywords in the collocations for the word future in the corpora is secure, which also implies the common political past. Other words are generation, build, word, and Europe, which implies the common vision of the citizens of the states in building a better state and the goal to join and remain in the EU in order to achieve security and prosperity. In case of the speeches by the Presidents of Latvia, a common political present and future is often based on the common past, for instance,

*Kronvalds Atis once uttered three words in one sentence - **idea, work, truth**. **We have these ideas, we are ready to invest in them, we will have a secure and independent future** - that is my truth. Let's create a new and contemporary myth about Latvia! It will be a modern and **Latvian Latvia**. It will be **eternal Latvia**. **God bless Latvia!** (GU3, see original as example No.69 in Appendix 6)*

The example illustrates reference to a well-known figure in Latvian history via the topos of authority and reference to a common culture and common past as the basis for constructing a common political present and future. The example likewise displays the use of parallel sentence construction and repetition of the state name in combination with the repetition of the pronoun we to arise emotions and the feeling of group unity and common goals.

In other instances, a common political future is constructed against the negative image of the common political past and present via the topos of threat and the topos of history as a teacher, for instance,

*Let us, therefore, look around in this very context and **evaluate the current economic crisis, and the relativity and weakness of our values.** Let us admit that seeking to answer the hackneyed question – **is this the Estonia we wanted?** – we seem to be looking into the future, and yet all we can see are the **diminishing and blurring features of the past in a back view mirror.** A citizen who has never experienced foreign occupation looks straight ahead and asks – in the present tense, which in Estonian also encompasses the future: **is this the Estonia we want?** (THI3).*

The example illustrates an example of invitation to forget about the past and do not hold to it but look straight into the future and compare the state (in this case Estonia) with other prosperous states in the present in order to achieve the same in future, rather than compare itself to what it was in the past. In order to create a strong emotional effect, rhetorical questions and repetitions are used in the argument. As regards references to future generations, it is noted that cooperation is one of the values that is emphasized in the construction of common future, for instance, ***Responsibility for the future of our children places the obligation on us to make necessary steps at the right time and to work hand in hand*** (VA5).

Furthermore, it is observed that the construction of a common political future is frequently realised through deliberate use of rhetorical questions in the speeches by the Presidents from all three Baltic States and both male and female Presidents across the whole period of time of the speeches. It is also noted that rhetorical questions are asked to introduce a political argument and invite a specific action (for instance attending elections), for instance,

Our constitution calls for the protection of our culture and language. How will we do that when our nation and our entire society is multinational? When will we provide Estonian children living abroad a boarding school so they can acquire an Estonian education? How will we provide social guarantees for our people when Estonia is no longer seen to be located on these 45 thousand square kilometres, but is a state that provides security that must reach out to its citizens and taxpayers in a global space? The local elections are approaching (KK2).

The example displays the use of the strategy of assimilation and the strategy of ‘we are all in the same boat’ that is realised via such linguistic means as inclusive pronominal references, metonymy, and spatial references.

It is also observed that K. Kaljulaid often uses positive strategies of construction of national character and such as singularization and emphasis on positive national uniqueness that is achieved via the topos of comparison and the topos of numbers and realised through linguistic means of lexemes with semantic components that are constructing uniqueness and singularity, inclusive pronoun we and contrasting adjectives (small/big) for example, *Let us rejoice because **we are prosperous** - out of the 192 countries in the world, **only one fifth** is*

wealthier than us. But Estonia requires more. Small countries need big ideas, and they need to aim big, we cannot just tag along in the wake of history (KK3).

Consequently, one of the main conclusions about the thematic area of a common political present and future in the speeches of the Presidents of the Baltic States (specifically Latvia and Lithuania) is that it is constructed on the basis of the European and Western dimension that incorporates such elements as security, prosperity, democracy, and human rights. In other words, the future of the nations is most frequently constructed discursively as part of Europe and the political organisation of the world, for example,

Assessing Latvia's possible development models, we clearly see only two alternatives: Latvia either becomes a member of NATO, the European Union and the Western European Union and thus a part of the European and transatlantic security zone or becomes a source of threat to regional and continental stability. (GU5, see original as example No.50 in Appendix 6)

The example illustrates the use of the constructive strategy of unificatory warning against the loss of national autonomy via the topos of threat and the topos of comparison that displays two options, one of which is the one intended by the speaker, the other being a threatening scenario. The Argument incorporates the use and repetition of key words displaying the dimension of international cooperation and security as the main condition for political continuity as well as the use of inclusive pronoun to share and demonstrate common responsibility. Similarly, constructive strategy is also used in the speeches by the President of Lithuania, for instance,

Today, the project of building a Europe based on shared values and co-operation, which took long decades if not centuries to implement, has become a reality. Since now on, the future of Europe is our common concern. Having joined the European Union, Lithuania enters a new stage of historical, economic and social development. I firmly believe that membership of the European Union will guarantee a better and more secure life for us and our children (AP1).

The strategy of continuation and the linguistic means emphasizing present and positive continuity towards future in addition to repetition of the keyword Europe as well as emphasis on security and family values aids in constructing a new dimension of the national identity of Lithuania that is part of a broader-supranational identity. Furthermore, while the construction of a common political present and future in Europe is more frequent in the speeches by the Presidents of Latvia and Lithuania, the speeches of the Presidents of Estonia also represent the nation in future as being part of Europe, for instance,

Tonight, you will experience my country through our fine children's choir, Ellerhein. Look at their faces: what you see is the future of Europe. And then, look at my face. My life story, as well as the life story of the 80-year-old Republic of Estonia, is the past of Europe. Nothing gives me greater pleasure than seeing that the young faces are more beautiful than old ones. (LM6)

The example illustrates the use of the strategy of continuation and unification, that via the topos of comparison metaphorical (personification metaphor) attribution of faces to represent past

and future create a positive humorous effect stating that the future of Estonia (within EU) is more beautiful than the past. Another example illustrates the strategy of emphasis on extra-national heteronomy and sharing common responsibility that via the topos of the force of facts aims to construct the argument of the future being common responsibility of the people of Europe: *Dear friends, let us start with Europe. The future of the European Union is the common concern of 500 million people.* (THI7).

Thus, the construction of a common political present and future is often simultaneous with the construction of a common political past as well as the construction of *The Homo Nationalis*. The construction of a common political future is relatively frequently and displays the co-construction of national and supranational identities (European and global).

3.3.4. Construction of a Common National Body

The construction of a common national body refers to the references to the geographical locations, monuments, places, and references to the country rather than the state or the national, because, because the country is the geographical location within certain borders on the common map of the world. It should be noted, however, that the references to this thematic content area are often intertwined with other content areas, such as national spirit or a common political past, for instance,

*in 1920s for the first time in the history the Estonians became **masters not only of their state but also of their land**. Small farms have been and will be one of the guarantees for the **maintenance of the Estonian spirit**. Our cultivated landscapes, a symbol of Estonian beauty, go back to these years. Many a **fundamental value developed** and became **rooted in the then Estonian villages**.* (AR5)

The example illustrates the emphasis on keywords that are elements of Estonian identity, namely, villages, land, spirit, landscapes and the expression ‘masters of the land’ which is a common expression used by the Presidents of the Baltic States and Baltic politicians in general that signify the years of occupation and living under foreign powers (see discussion in Chapter 2). The example also illustrates the application of the topos of a lovely and idyllic place within the strategy of singularisation and emphasis of national uniqueness. This is also common expression in the speeches by the Presidents of Latvia since the very beginning of independence statehood. Moreover, it should be noted that when comparing references to land in the corpora, it is notable that the most frequently (considerably more frequent) reference to the native land is found in the speeches by the Presidents of Latvia (169 times, 1939,7 per million words when compared to 19 times, 2017,17 pmw in the Estonian corpus and 25 times, 435,82 in the Lithuanian corpus). Examples of the phrase to become masters in own land (*Mēs esam kungi savā dzimtajā zemē – we are masters in our own land*) are found in the speeches by A. Kvišis (AK5), K. Ulmanis (KU10), G. Ulmanis (GU7) and V. Vīķe-Freiberga (VVF1 and VVF3,

VVF8). The native land is also constructed with references to rivers and place names, for instance, ‘*when on the same **bank of the Daugava** they had to fight for a long time to conquer our Riga, our Latvia, from the enemy. We are now in our own free land - that land is ours, that country is ours, its future is ours*’ (VVF8, see original as example No.70 in Appendix 6).

Similarly, the Presidents of Lithuania also combine several thematic areas together with the content area of a common national body, to create unity and sense of common land, for example,

*Next to me there stand wonderful people from **Marcinkoniai village of Dz kija**. Their is the **land of conifer trees, sands, clear-water rivers Skroblas, Merkys and the land of the biggest epkeliai swamp**. Their **land** is not fertile; it is generous only in **forest blessings** such as mushrooms and wild berries. This **land**, however, is **rich in marvelous people**. It is not for nothing that by **tradition**, which was started by **Vincas krovo**, the classics writer of the Lithuanian literature, it is called the **land of Dainava, land of Songs, and the source of legends and traditions**. (AB4)*

The example illustrates how the thematic areas of a common national body, and a common culture are used to construct national identity via the topos of lovely and idyllic place and the topos of authority. As regards the linguistic forms of realisation of these strategies, repetition, toponyms, and different emotional adjectives are used to describe and personify the land.

The construction of a common national body seems to be less frequent, nevertheless, it is identified in the speeches on Independence Days and in the speeches that are given on particular occasions in different cities of the states. The capital cities of the states (Tallin, Riga, and Vilnius) are referenced most frequently.

3.3.5. Construction of a Common Culture

As regards the thematic area of a common political culture, it seems to be constructed and represented comparatively less frequently than the thematic content areas discussed above, however, it is always addressed and constructed in speeches that are held on occasions such as Song Festivals and in speeches held on celebration of independence and restored impence. When addressing a common culture, the Presidents of the Baltic states often also address national language as the pillar of national identity and an element that unites all the other elements of the common identity, for instance,

*The world is interested only in a **Lithuania that has a distinctive character**. Therefore, we should foster our **distinctiveness** as there is no other alternative to **preserve our culture and hence our national identity**. Europe and the rest of the world take interest in our **distinctiveness, our ancient language, customs and traditions and our historical and natural heritage** (VA8).*

The example again addresses the elements of Lithuanian national identity but against the background of common supranational and global identities in order to invite people to show their cultural and national difference from other nations. Similarly, language is also referenced as an important aspect of national identity and national culture in the speeches by the Presidents of Latvia, for instance,

*The Latvian language is what unites all people living in Latvia. With the help of the state language, we exercise state power and state public life. At the same time, **all minorities have the right to preserve their culture and language.** In this respect, **Latvia has always been a shining example for other countries** - the Latvian state finances basic education in seven minority languages living in our country. We have reason to be proud of active and diverse minority communities. (VZ5, see original as example No.54 in Appendix 6).*

Another example of state language being positioned as the main element of Latvian identity and invites all people of Latvia to respect the elements of its identity in order to be included, for instance, *Latvia is a land with an **ancient culture, with an ancient language**, it is a land with **unique and rich traditions**. Latvia is ready to welcome everyone who is able to respect and join these traditions.* (VVF1, see original as example No.55 in Appendix 6). The example also illustrates like in the speeches by the President Lithuania the historical reference to the ancient roots of language and culture of the Baltic States. Thus, these can be considered references to the culturally based conception of nationhood, as also displayed in the interview with E. Levits who noted that the common language and culture of Latvian people existed long before 19th century, but it was unconscious, whereas the national consciousness that was based on the language and culture in the 20th century, started the idea of an independent statehood and nationhood (see Appendix 5.1.). Similarly, the Presidents of Estonia also frequently list language (Estonian national language) together with culture noting that they are inseparable elements of Estonian national identity, for instance,

*Equally essential were **song festivals in the homeland and Estonian World Festivals**. Steps taken and trade-offs achieved to **preserve the education and culture in the Estonian language** in the occupied homeland and the Estonians' efforts to provide **education and culture in their language abroad** are both of similar significance (AR5).*

When looking at the international speeches, it can be stated that the national language is most frequently referenced by the Presidents of Latvia and Estonia and it is especially visible in the speeches that are given in the period from 1991-2004, where the political importance and historical value of these languages are emphasized against the potential threat to their national identities (minority languages and cultures). The argumentation schemes that are used in reference to Latvian and Estonian display seem to address the requirements by the EU political bodies on the language policies adopted in Latvia and Estonia at the time. Examples of such arguments display the use of the strategy of singularisation (emphasis and presupposition of national uniqueness), for instance,

*The **discovery of German linguists** in the middle of the 19th century that **Latvian and Lithuanian languages** were **closest to the Sanskrit among all living European languages**, found a **deep resonance** in the **hearts of Latvians** (G. Ulmanis 1997); *We have understood that only independent statehood is a guarantee to **preserve the Estonian language, culture and nation*** (A. Rützel 2001).*

Furthermore, it is noted that the construction of a common culture that is realised via more emotional linguistic techniques is often applied in the speeches at song festivals and other

nationally significant cultural events that are aimed at the unification of the people and the celebration of nationhood, for instance,

And may we all in joy and delight remember that 65 years ago, in another Midsummer week, for the first time Riga was flooded with our songs, flowing from a thousand breasts, accompanied by ten thousand hot heartbeats. At that time, these strong sounds of songs thrilled not only the singers and listeners, but all Latvians, and their echoes, hopes and longings expressed in the songs did not subside for decades and have not subsided in their thoughts and memories. The links with which the songs and singers, as translators of the people's longing, then connected Latvians at the beginning of the national awakening, have not ripped out to this day, on the contrary - they became and are still growing stronger and closer. (KU9, see original as example No.56 in Appendix 6).

Via the topos of history and the topos of lovely and idyllic place, President K. Ulmanis simultaneously constructs a common national culture the main element of which is song and singing, that is described with metaphorical expressions, emotional adjectives, and repetitions of the keywords for additional emotional emphasis. The use of the aforementioned techniques together with the state name and toponym that emphasizes the location, the President implicitly uses the strategy of singularisation and emphasis on national uniqueness. This strategy is commonly used when constructing national spirit, national body, or national culture as well as in some instances also a common political present and future.

Consequently, it can be stated that the construction of a common culture and construction of a common national body seems to be comparatively less frequent in the speeches, they are often used horizontally across the speeches because on many occasions a common culture is emphasized when constructing national spirit or *the Homo Nationalis* or a common political past, while a common national body (geographical elements) are emphasized when constructing the past, present and future as well as *the Homo Nationalis*. Moreover, it seems that the most frequently constructed and referenced thematic area is a common political past, which has been observed in all types of speeches by all the Presidents of the Baltic States. The common political past of Estonia and Latvia more frequently refers to the hundred years of *de facto* and *de iure* existence of the Republics, while in Lithuania it also includes the ancient Lithuanian history that refers to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. A common political present and future are most frequently constructed together with the construction of supra-national identity, namely, in reference to Europe, and the Baltic States as being part of Europe and the world (and not part of the Soviet Union or Russia), and sharing elements of common identity such as democracy, human rights, diversity, security, environment and prosperity as well as religion in some cases. The construction of national spirit includes references to all the other thematic areas as well, because it is concluded that the Baltic nations are culturally-based and the main elements are language and culture as well as common history or national memory, however, they also share common civic elements such as orientation towards the future and common political goals (EU

and NATO) and geographical elements (Baltic Sea, the importance of being the smallest in Europe and the word- specifically Estonia, border with the 'East' which is mostly a metonymic reference to Russia). These elements are also identified in the corpus-driven and corpus-based study of the presidential speeches and are discussed in the next chapter as well as in the interviews with the Presidents and presidential advisors that are displayed in Appendix 5.

To conclude, Chapter 3 has reviewed the main results of the critical analysis of the discursive construction of national identity in the presidential speeches of the Baltic States synchronically and diachronically. The results of the critical analysis point to the conclusion that the construction of national identities depends on the period of time, namely, the period from 1918 until 1940 is very much focused on building an overarching national identity and defining the state, its goals, its allies and values such as people and work, while the period from 1991 until 2004 is more complex in that the Presidents aim to re-construct, transform and dismantle the hybrid identities that have been built and have emerged during the period of the Soviet occupation, as well as to introduce and strengthen a new supra-national identity (the European Union identity). The period from 2005 until 2021, however, is marked by an emphasis on the state continuation and development as well as the co-existence of multiple (hybrid) identities, the centre of which (the strongest identity) is the overarching national identity. It is also concluded that while the various discursive strategies of national and multiple identity construction and destruction in terms of their intensity seem to decrease over time in the speeches by the President of Latvia (most intensive from 1991-2011) and Lithuania (most intensive from 1991-2007), the Presidents of Estonia seem to retain a similar rhetorical tendency in terms of both the intensity and frequency of linguistic means aimed at the construction and representation of the Estonian identity. Furthermore, the use of the thematic (content) areas, discursive strategies and linguistic means also varies depending on the occasion of the speech. While the speeches given to the parliaments of the states as well as other formal speeches are less focused on the explicit construction of national identities, the speeches given on such occasions as the Independence Day, Restoration of Independence, remembrance days and song festivals are marked with high intensity and emphasis on national values, most frequently the national history and collective memory as well as such values as democracy, national language, and various national symbols. A more visual review of the differences in the speeches depending on various criteria can be seen further in the paper and in the appendices, and the following chapter displays the results of the corpus-driven approach and corpus-based approach to the analysis of the selected unmarked corpus of presidential speeches in the period from 1918 to 2021.

4. CORPUS DATA ANALYSIS : QUANTITATIVE APPROACH TO ANALYSIS OF IDENTITY REPRESENTATION

Chapter 4 provides a detailed review of the quantitative data analysis using the corpus-driven and the corpus-based approach to the analysis of presidential speeches. First, the results of the corpus-driven study are displayed and analysed. After that, the results of the further corpus-based study are introduced.

4.1. Corpus-Driven Approach

As discussed in the chapter above, the corpus of presidential speeches consists of 414 speeches (500 166 words). It is divided into several sub-corpora that have been categorised according to criteria such as the state the Presidents are representing, language and type of the speech (international or national), occasion of the speech, time of the speech, speaker, gender of the speaker, and the political affiliation of the speaker. The sub-corpus comparisons are made only for the speeches that have been provided by the offices of the Presidents in English, while the speeches in Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian are analysed on a descriptive basis (keywords, word lists, collocations) and are not compared with each other due the intra-linguistic differences.

The keyword analysis and word list analysis (corpus-driven approach) as well as the KWIC analysis (corpus-based approach) have been used to analyse the multilingual corpus that has been compiled for the purpose of the quantitative data analysis of the present study. The international speeches in English have been collected from the homepages of the Presidents of the Baltic States (see the list in references) as well as from the international archives of NATO database and include the official addresses of the Presidents of the Baltic States in NATO General Assembly meetings, European Commission meetings, EU summits, international conferences, cooperation summits and assemblies in the period from 1991 until 2021. In order to be able to properly reference the source of data (the specific corpus) the sub-corpora have been coded, see table below:

Table 6. Corpus codes

Type of corpus	Code
Speeches by the Presidents of Estonia in Estonian	<i>EstCorp</i>
Speeches by the Presidents of Estonia in English	<i>EstCorp</i>
International speeches by the Presidents of Estonia	<i>EstCorpInt</i>
Speeches by the Presidents of Latvia in Latvian	<i>LatCorp</i>

International speeches by the Presidents of Latvia	<i>LatCorpInt</i>
Speeches by the Presidents of Lithuania in Lithuanian	<i>LtCorpLt</i>
Speeches by the Presidents of Lithuania in English	<i>LtCorp</i>
International speeches by the Presidents of Lithuania	<i>LtCorpInt</i>
Corpus of international speeches	<i>IntCorp</i>

As to the contextual profile of the speeches, it is noted that although on international level the Presidents of the Baltic States are considered and position themselves as representatives of one region with single identity (Kasekamp, 2021), the country is an important criterion for the context analysis in the current study. Kasekamp (2021) notes that

Prior to the end of the First World War, Lithuania had been closely connected with Poland, while Estonians and Latvians had been under Baltic German domination for seven centuries, no matter whether the ruling power was Sweden, Poland or Russia. Lithuanian and Latvian are the two surviving Baltic languages, whereas Estonian belongs to a completely different language family, together with Finnish and Hungarian. Lithuanians are Catholic, while Estonians and Latvians are mostly Lutheran, though the latter are among the world's least religious societies. Of the Baltic States, Latvia is the most "Baltic," with two Baltic neighbours, while Estonia usually looks northwards towards Finland, and Lithuania westwards towards Poland. The Latvians, understandably, have always been the greatest proponents of Baltic solidarity. (Kasekamp, 2021: 15)

The current study confirms at least in part the conclusion made by Kasekamp (2021) as the Presidents of Latvia reference the Baltic identity more frequently than, for example, the Presidents of Estonia (see Appendix 3). It seems reasonable to note that Presidents among other political actors use strategic narratives in their public (be it national or international) discourses 'to attempt to construct a shared meaning of the past, present and future [...] and to shape the behaviour of domestic and international actors' (Mölder and Sozonov, 2020: 4). Moreover, 'identity-based strategic narratives are often based on a strong opposition between imagined collective identities – us and others' (ibid.). In this respect, it is reasonable to note that the common Baltic doctrine of state continuity discussed in Bergman (2020) is also observable in the corpus of presidential speeches, specifically visible in the keyword and frequency lists, where words such as *continue*, *remain*, *regain* appear frequently.

The second criterion is the time of speech, namely, whether the speech has been held in the period of re-independence until accession in the NATO and EU (in 2004), or in the period of belonging to the international organisations until the global pandemic caused by the SARS-CoV-2 or the Covid-19 disease caused by a new type of coronavirus (2005-2020). Several scholars (Klatt, 2020; Opiłowska, 2020; Radil, Pinos and Ptak, 2020; Lam 2021) have directed attention to the re-emergence of national borders and decline of the supra-national and global identities, where the container metaphor of a nation-state 'as a bordered container' (Klatt, 2020:

46) and the narrative of ‘social boundaries of the others as a threat’ are seen as topical issues (Opiłowska, 2020: 600).

4.1.1. Keyword Analysis

The keyword analysis (extraction of the most frequently used words in a specific corpus in comparison with a general corpus in the same language to see the keyness score of a specific word) has been carried out in each of the corpora separately, namely, the corpora of national speeches by the Presidents of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania and the corpora of international speeches.

The keyword list from the corpus of speeches by the Presidents of Estonia in Estonian has been extracted with minimum lemma frequency 1 and comparable with the available online Estonian national corpus (Estonian national corpus 2013). Keywords and collocations have been translated in English by the author of this study accordingly. The keyword list is displayed in the Table 7 below:

Table 7. Keywords and collocations in the EstCorpEst

Estonian 1937-2021				
Keyword	Frequency	Relative Frequency	Keyness score	Collocations (+-3)
rahwas (people)	27	478.1	219.1	teiste (others), terve (healthy), koosolekuid (meetings), wahekorrad (relationship), kaugem (distant), nõrgem (weaker)
austatud (dear)	12	212.5	383.9	Riigikogu (government), Balti (Baltic), kuulajad (listeners)
kestnud (years)	9	159.4	159.1	olnud (have been), on (is), ja (and)
ekstsellentsid (excellency)	14	247.9	152.1	daamid (ladies), ja (and) kaasmaalased (compatriots)
möödunud (last, passed)	9	159.4	147.9	kümne aasta (ten years), aste (year)
antud (been given)	15	265.6	145.5	meile (us), on (is), ei (no), ja (and)
lubatud (allowed)	9	159.36	129.4	pole (pole), on (is)
Jõgewa (placename)	8	141.7	142.7	mõisa (manor)
tasakaalustatud (balanced)	8	141.7	139.9	ja (and), riigi (country), stabiilne (stable), koostööga (cooperation)

Table 8 below displays the keyword list in the English version of the speeches by the President of Estonia since 1991 when the office of the President of Estonia started providing the official translated versions of the speeches.

Table 8. Keywords and collocations in the EstCorpEn

Estonian 1991-2021				
Keyword	Frequency	Relative Frequency	Keyness score	Collocations (+-3)
Estonia	800	9139.93	3783.4	Republic, of, in, has, is, people, was, independence, will, future
Estonian	362	4135.82	2431.7	people, language, culture, state, independence
Estonians	61	696.92	633.6	fellow, dear, were, well, who, if
Riigikogu	30	342.75	342.2	government, elections, act, will
Tartu	15	159.95	146.3	peace, Treaty, in, of
statehood	24	274.2	144.5	independent, our, is
countrymen	32	365.6	134.9	fellow, Dear, Excellencies, my, our
kroon	11	159.95	121.3	Estonian, single, currency
Tallin	14	159.95	112.9	tower, TV, in
Baltic	26	297.05	96.3	sea, States

As the keyword and collocation lists above indicate, the keywords in the corpora of speeches by the Presidents of Estonia emphasize place names (construction of a common national body) and history (construction of a common political past) as well as foreground values such as state name, state currency, people, and references to the government. The Presidents of Estonia also refer to the common Baltic identity that includes Baltic relations, common history, and common geographical area (the Baltic Sea region).

The keyword list from the sub-corpus of speeches by the Presidents of Latvia in Latvian has been extracted with the minimum lemma frequency 1 and comparable with the available online corpus of Latvian language (Latvian Web 2014). Collocations for the keywords have been extracted with the selected range -3/+3. The keywords and collocations have been translated in English by the author of this study accordingly. The keyword list is displayed in the table below:

Table 9. Keywords and collocations in the LatCorp

Latvian 1918-2021				
Keyword	Frequency	Relative Frequency	Keyness score	Collocations (+-3)
svētīt (to bless)	46	528	30.1	Dievs (God), Latviju (Latvia), lai (for/to), un (and)
tēvzeme (Fatherland)	38	436.1	29	Brīvībai, mīlestība, savā, tad, savu, mūsu

eksence (excellency)	23	264	86	dāmas (ladies), Jūsu (Your), kungs (gentleman), Latviju (Latvia)
valstsgriba (statewill - a neologism in Latvian, coined by E. Levits)	5	57.4	56.9	tautas (nation's, people's), un (and), stipri (strong), savā (own), latviešu (Latvian)
ģenerālasambleja (General Assembly)	5	57.4	51.2	darbs (work), lēmums (decision)
likteņkopība (common destiny, compound used by E. Levits)	4	45.9	46.4	Baltijas (Baltic), vienotā (united), īpaša (special), Latviju (Latvia)
saticība (saturation, concordance)	13	149.2	46.1	mierā (in peace), Latvijas, nemieru (unrest), valdīs (will dominate, govern), audzinās (will bring up), mājā (in the house)
simtgade (centenary)	15	172.2	46	otrajā (second), gads (year), aizgājušā (passed), daudzskaitlīgu (numerous), svinēt (celebrate), ikkatras (everyone)
varonīga (heroic)	9	103.3	42.7	armiju (army), Beļģu (Belgian), cildinādami (worth praising), nopelnus (achievements), garām (past, over), norūdījās (toughened)
proklamēt (to proclaim, establish)	8	91.8	40.8	Republika (republic), gadalaiks (season), neatkarīgi (independent), 18, Novembris (18 November), padome (council), sanākt (meet), lietus (rain), patstāvība (substantiveness), demokrātiska (democratic)
pašaizliedzība (selflessness)	9	103.3	40	Apbrīnot (admire), neieņemt, uzupurēšanās (sacrifice), deģsmē (passion), izturība (endurance), ziedošanās (sacrifice), pūliņš (effort), mērķtiecība (purposefulness), bruņas (armour)
majestāte (majesty)	8	91.8	39.1	Viņas (her), Viņa (his), uzņemšana (welcoming), apciemojumu (visit), skaistās (beautiful), klusu (silent), piecelšanos (standing), glāzi (glass, cup)

Table 9 displays the keywords in the corpus of speeches by the Presidents of Latvia in Latvian (local speeches), where some of the key values of Latvian identity are identifiable, for instance, God and religion (the phrase ‘God, bless Latvia’ is in the title of the anthem of Latvia and has often been referred to as the prayer of the Latvian nation and used at the end of majority of presidential speeches since 1918). It is interesting to note that the empirical data seem to suggest the opposite conclusions to the theory by Kasekamp (2021: 15), because while in the theory it is noted that Latvia is the least religious of the Baltic States, the list of keywords indicates that

that God and God's blessing is most often referenced in the speeches by the Presidents of Latvia. Furthermore, words such as fatherland is one of the most frequently used words to refer symbolically to Latvia to arise emotions and sense of belonging. The Estonian counterpart would be homeland, whereas Lithuanians would use either homeland or motherland. Other keywords, apart from those displaying the type of speech and the theme (general assembly, excellency, majesty), demonstrate the construction of *the Homo Latviensis* by addressing the traits of the character of an ideal Latvian or ideal citizen, namely, *statewill* that refers to the will of Latvian people to have their own state (coined and frequently used by E. Levits), common destiny (*likteņkopība* is an old word that is rarely used, but frequently applied among several neologisms coined by E. Levits in his public discourse) refers to the common political past of the Baltic States (occupation and annexation as well as the loss of population during the Second World War). Other characteristics are saturation (unity), heroic character and selflessness that are supported by characterising collocations addressing the historical characteristics of Latvian people during the time of war and occupation as well as the time of the proclamation of the independent statehood in 18 November 1918.

Furthermore, keyword list from corpus of speeches by the Presidents of Lithuania in Lithuanian has been extracted with minimum lemma frequency 1 and comparable with the available online corpus of Lithuanian language (Lithuanian Web 2014). Collocations for the keywords have been extracted with the selected range -3/+3. Keywords and collocations have been translated in English by the author of this study accordingly. The keyword list is displayed in the table below:

Table 10. Keywords and collocations in the LTCorpLt

Keyword	Frequency	Relative Frequency	Keyness score	Collocations (+-3)
ekscelencijas (Excellency)	6	262.04	180.6	ir (and)
šešioliktoji (sixteenth)	5	218.37	177.3	vasario (February)
pasimokykime (let us learn)	4	174.7	157.4	principingumo (principle), praeitin (past), atsakomybės (responsibility)
branginkime (let us cherish it)	4	174.7	137.4	Tėvynę (fatherland/motherland), laisvę (freedom),
brangieji (dear)	11	480.41	133.4	Lietuvos (Lithuanian), žmonės (people), tautiečiai (compatriots)
viltingesnę (more hopeful)	3	131.02	131.5	ateitį (future)
sieksiu (I will seek/strive)	6	262.04	118.4	bendradarbiauti (work), prezidento (president), Lietuva (Lithuania)
įprasmina (embrace, give meaning to)	7	305.72	118.1	laisvę (freedom), istoriją (history), Vasario 16 (February 16), nepriklausomybę (independence)

remsiu (I will support)	3	131.02	115.9	plėtotę (development), politinę (political), santarvę (cohesion)
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The keyword list in the speeches by the Presidents of Lithuania in Lithuanian shows a strong emphasis on the national calendar and specifically the day of independence (16 February) with signified both focus on a common political past (the topos of history) and present, indicating the occasion of the speech (Independence Day). It is also notable that politics and political work is referenced in the corpus of speeches.

Table 11. Keywords and collocations in the LTCorp

Lithuania 1991-2021				
Keyword	Frequency	Relative Frequency	Keyness score	Collocations (+-3)
Lithuania	715	12464.48	5031.2	people, state, Republic, of, is, in
Lithuanian	138	2405.73	1437.6	Council, people, language, politicians, members, nation, make, army, conference, identity
Seimas	47	819.34	814.3	constituent, government, members, second
Vilnius	44	767.04	550.2	capital, University, conference, spirit, between, would
Lithuanians	27	470.69	431.7	Poles, are, world, have
signatory	39	679.88	273	declaration, act, the
Kaliningrad	16	278.93	248.9	district, region, Lithuania
Baltic	44	767.04	248.2	states, sea, Black, region, three, states, Council, Europe
statehood	24	418.39	220.2	restoration, is, our, Lithuania
motherland	14	244.06	140.4	our, to, Lithuania, freedom

As the tables above indicate, the keywords display that national identity is constructed via the thematic areas of a common political past (references to 16 February, signatories of the independence act, fatherland, motherland) and a common national and supra-national body (references to cities and the region of location). Additionally, it is noted that references to politics and politicians and the government have also been used.

The results of the corpus-driven analysis show that the frequencies and emphasis on particular keywords in the speeches displays several factors, namely, time period of the speech (old or currently not used words appear in the speeches from the time period from 1918-1940, words displaying the context and situation appear frequently, for instance, war, economic crisis, political elections, Covid-19 virus), personality and individual identity of the speaker or the institution (elements of political discourse, legal discourse, economic, agricultural and other discourses), elements displaying the representation and construction of national identity, gender of the speaker (differences particularly seen in the use of pronouns and adjectives as well as construction of types of identities), speech occasion (international speeches seem to be more focused on regional and global matters, yet national values are emphasized,

commemorative speeches are strongly focused on history, unification and construction of a common national symbols, parliamentary speeches are focused on topical issues at state level, more formal vocabulary, speeches in song festivals and religious celebrations are more emotional, more cultural elements are used) (see the detailed results of corpus-driven approach in Appendix 3, where the lists of keywords and word frequencies of in the speeches by each of the Presidents are displayed).

Furthermore, in order to be able to make a single-language corpus comparisons, keywords in the corpus of international speeches given by the Presidents of each of the Baltic States from 1991 until 2021 have also been extracted. Thus, table 12 below displays the list of keywords, but multiword constructions in the corpus of international speeches of the Baltic states in the period from 1991-2021. The lists of single keywords in the international and national speeches of each of the Baltic States is displayed further in the chapter.

Table 12. Keywords (multiword terms) in the IntCorp

Keyword	Raw frequency	Relative frequency	Keyness score	Collocations span
International community	144	677.93	125.3	Support, must, whole, efforts, UN, including, bring, form, action, influence, should, continue, has, members
Baltic Way	21	98.86	99.3	Was, the, an, that, anniversary, political innovation, our, duty, demonstrate, human, UNESCO
international peace	28	131.82	97.1	Maintaining, maintenance, threat, security, role, and, to, in
preventive diplomacy	21	98.86	95.5	Peacekeeping, united, as, in, and, of
European Union	40	188.31	92.4	Terms, first, future, an, with, as, in, the
political will	38	178.90	88.6	Depends, will, commitment, find, you, council, by, on, all, must, we, has
territorial integrity	26	122.40	80	Sovereignty, Ukraine's, independence, annexation, illegal, Ukraine, force, against, use, political, states, other
reform process	20	94.16	77	Membership, national, support, can, will, our, that, is, in
European security	17	80.03	71.5	defence, NATO, stability, should, order, strategy, common, and is, a, of, to
Soviet occupation	18	84.74	70.2	fifty, under, during, years, Latvia, the, and

As the list of multiword constructions that have been identified as keywords (key expressions) in the sub-corpus of international speeches indicates, the international speeches are more concerned with the establishment of a common global and supranational identity (an elite type of identity rather than a civic identity). The use of such terms as *international peace* and *international community* display an attempt to include global audience and point to a common responsibility about such factors as security, territorial integrity, peace, and political reforms. Nevertheless, national identity (and common Baltic identity) is also expressed in the keyword list via references to the Soviet occupation as an essential element of the common political past of the Baltic States. It seems interesting to note that while in the local speeches NATO and the EU are portrayed as the future and protector of the Baltic States, the international speeches seem to display an expression of obligation towards the listeners to secure, protect, act on specifically military issues in the world (via the modal verbs *must*, *have to*, *should* and *will* as well as nouns such as *duty*, *order*, *action*, *influence* and *maintenance* that are displayed in the collocation lists). As the list of multiword constructions as keywords indicates, the most frequently used word combinations aim to refer to the elements of the common political history of the Baltic States (the Soviet occupation and the Baltic Way) and the causes and consequences of these political events. It has been observed that the European Union and NATO are most frequently referenced in relation to the security and economic development of the Baltic States (together and separately), which may be considered as an element of the national identities of the Baltic States, rooted in the histories of these nation-states.

When looking at the keywords lists in the international speeches by the Presidents of each of the states separately, some more notable differences are observed. While the Presidents of Latvia position the country as the ‘most Baltic’ of state states (that supports the conclusions made by Kasekamp, 2021) yet express frequent and explicit global identity traits, Lithuania seems to adopt a more European-inclined identity branding, and Estonia positions itself as a more Nordic country identity-wise, see the table below:

Table 13. References to other states in the IntCorp

Term/country	Estonia	Latvia	Lithuania
Baltic	109/1528.07	143/1755.29	60/1006.51
Nordic	12/168.23	4/49.1	3/50.33
Finland	8/112.15	2/24.55	5/83.88
Europe	300/4205.69	249/3056.41	290/4864.79
European	220/3084.17	298/3657.88	332/5569.35
Global	105/1471.99	137/1681.64	109/1828.49
Estonia(n), Latvia(n), Lithuania(n)	467/6546.85 74/1037.4	852/10458.09 100/1227.48	431/7230.09 52/872.31
We	987/13836.71	847/10396.72	758/12715.56

Furthermore, the identity-related keywords to each country may be drawn from the word sketches in the sub-corpus of international speeches by the Presidents of each country. The word sketch for the state name Latvia in the speeches by the Presidents of Latvia shows that the word (Latvia) is most often modified by words such as *year, president, country, community, addition, independence, Estonia*, verbs such as *visit, commit, convince, concern, include*. Specifically interesting is the combination of the word Latvia with other words, which seems to indicate the tendency to express relation and cooperation, thus the words that are used with conjunction *and* are *Poland, Turkey, president, year, Russia, Estonia, India, country, community, addition, Nations*, and *Lithuania*. Nevertheless, the list of words also indicates to the occasion of speeches, for instance meeting with the Presidents of Poland, Turkey, and India (see the data in Appendix 3.5.).

In the case of Estonia, the word (Estonia) is modified by *country, year, week, end, Group, Union, and time* as well as verbs *occupy, commit and be*. As regards the words occurring together with *Estonia* and conjunction ‘*and*,’ *States, country, Latvia, ally, Finland, year, Union, nation and people* are used. The state name *Estonia* is also modified by the state name of *Latvia*. It is interesting to observe that while the word *Latvia* attributes both the neighbouring Baltic States, the words *Estonia* and *Lithuania* are used less frequently in reference to one another, as it appears in the word sketch, because neither in the sketch of state name in the speeches by the Presidents of Estonia nor the speeches of the Presidents of Lithuania portray the farther Baltic neighbour, yet both refer to Latvia. The modifiers to *Lithuania* are *year, today, state, time, country, welfare, reason, gentlemen, independent, Europe, president, last* and verbs *engage, connect, visit, know, allow, make*. The words that are connected with *and* are *Brazil, Poland, state, Russia, reason, China, states, Latvia, today, country, EU*. The state name *Lithuania* is modified by *Latvia* and *Poland*. Thus, it is concluded that in terms of representing national identity, each state attributes itself together with its closest neighbours to mark the geographical area for the purpose of comparison and in some instances also for the purpose of sharing responsibility, sharing a common political history or common identity (as in the case of references to *the Baltic States*). Moreover, the European identity and the global identity are also often constructed in these speeches. Additionally, it is observed that the reverences to Russia seem to increase in frequency and intensity (use of different modifiers) in the speeches in the second decade of the 21st century, which displays the political and military situation in its neighbouring states and the implicit fear of its Baltic neighbours that history might repeat itself (see word sketch for ‘*Russia*’ in Appendix 3.5.). This fear and its representation in presidential speeches is also confirmed by the advisor of the President of Lithuania (see Appendix 5). As regards the representation of Europe, the division between Western and Easter Europe that has

been discussed in Chapter 2 is also supported by the corpus data (see Appendix 3.5.), because the word '*Europe*' is most frequently modified by '*Eastern*' followed by '*Western*' and '*Central*', as well as '*new*' and '*Northern*'. Moreover, a strong emphasis on *united* versus *divided* Europe is displayed in the word sketch.

4.1.2. Word Lists

Another corpus tool that is used in a corpus-driven analysis of identity construction research is wordlists that display the most frequently used words in the whole corpus and in the sub-corpora. The tool allows to distinguish between parts of speech and also allows concordance and collocation analysis for each of the words on the frequency list. Due to the fact that the corpus is multilingual, several tables with wordlists have been created. Thus, the first comparable wordlists are the lists from the local speeches by the Presidents. It is interesting to observe that when looking at the lists of nouns in the local speeches, the most frequently used noun is the proper noun- the name of the state, namely, Estonia (relative frequency 9139.93), Latvia (15414.28) and Lithuania (12464.48), the same is observed in the international speeches for each country (Estonia - 6546.85; Latvia – 10458.09; Lithuania – 7230.09). It is also observed that the Presidents of Latvia use the state name comparatively more frequently both locally and internationally than the Presidents of Lithuania, while the Presidents of Estonia use it least frequently. The following frequent nouns in the local speeches of the three states but with slightly different relative frequency and different order are *people*, *state*, *year*, *country*, *today*, *Europe*, *world*, and *future*, which point to the frequencies of thematic areas that are time-related (construction of a common political present and future) and focused on the nation and the people (*the Homo Nationalis*). Additionally, it is observed that the elements of national, supra-national and global identity appear in the frequency of use of the state name, references to Europe and references to the world which appear in the local speeches by the Presidents of all the states. The differences that have been observed are that the Presidents of Estonia often refer to *work* (1749.66), *children* (relative frequency 1715.35), *society* (1545.19) and *independence* (1405.25), the Presidents of Latvia reference *work* (4579.52) and *strength* (2433.23) comparatively more frequently, and the Presidents of Lithuania reference *freedom* (2423.17) more frequently. The most frequently used nouns in the international speeches are *Europe*, *state*, *world*, *security*, *year*, *union*, *development*, *United Nations*, *people*, *right*.

When looking at the most frequently used adjectives, the list includes *Estonian*, *Lithuanian*, *Latvian*, which are used as modifiers to words such as *language*, *culture*, *people*, *nation*, *politicians*, *identity*, *nation*, *independence*, *society*. Other adjectives which are frequently used are *new* (modifying nouns such as *year*, *century*, *beginning*, *generation*, *step*,

goals, page, opportunities, challenges), *large* (modifying *countries* and *states*), *good* (modifying *education, environment, future, example, work, neighbourly relations*), *international* (*relations, cooperation, security, environment, community, organisations, structures*). Other adjectives that are often used in local speeches by the Presidents of all three countries are *political, national, democratic, and human*. As regards international speeches, the most frequently used adjectives are *international, new, European, other, global, human, economic, political, important, good, common, democratic*.

Furthermore, the most frequently used verbs in the international speeches are *to be* (*is, was, must be, will be, should be*), *have* (*have been, have to, has*) displaying references to the past, present and future as well as expressing modality (necessity, obligation), *do* (negative form most frequently), *make* (collocations – *contribution, difference, sure, progress, effort, decisions*), *need* (collocations – *we, UN, change, world, strong, global, work, action*), *take* (*place, steps, action, account, opportunity, care, part*), *become* (*member, part, reality, region, Latvia, history*), *continue* (*support, Ukraine, work, must, Latvia, conflict, active, international, threat*). The verbs in the local speeches are similar (basic verbs); however, a few differences are observed, namely, the Presidents of Estonia use *see, know, and think, become* more often, while the Presidents of Latvia use *work, create, wish, become* and the Presidents of Lithuania use *build, live, and become*. This is an interesting observation that has also been displayed (confirmed) in the previous chapter (qualitative analysis), namely, that while one of the elements of national identity is work and working, the Estonian identity trait is ‘slower pace.’

Finally, the most frequently used pronouns in all the speeches are the second person plural pronoun *we* and possessive pronoun (*our*), followed by the pronoun *it*, personal pronoun *I* and pronoun *they*. Pronominal referencing is, in fact, an interesting aspect that requires a separate comparison, because it shows (together with the application of state name) how groups and individual identities are positioned. In terms of frequency, it seems that pronouns (all types) are more frequently found in local than in international speeches. It is also concluded that the Presidents of Estonia seem to use group pronouns comparatively and considerably more frequently than the Presidents of Latvia and, having analysed the frequency of the use of state name, it is concluded that the Presidents of Estonia seem to choose the pronoun *we* instead of metonymic application of ‘Estonia’ to refer to its population, while the Presidents of Latvia would choose to use the state name rather than the pronominal references. Furthermore, the Presidents of Latvia refer to the individual identity (their own and the identity of the institution) considerably more often than the other presidents. Additionally, it is confirmed (see also publication on keyword analysis in Appendix 12) that female Presidents use personal pronouns identifying with group more frequently than male Presidents while male Presidents reflect their

individual identity and use direct address more frequently than female Presidents. Moreover, pronouns are identified as being more frequently applied in the local rather than international speeches, which seems to indicate to the level of formality of international speeches (also confirmed in the presidential interviews) as well as the level of personality of the approach (local speeches are more personal and emotional than international speeches), which is also observed when looking at the list of keywords and most frequently used words.

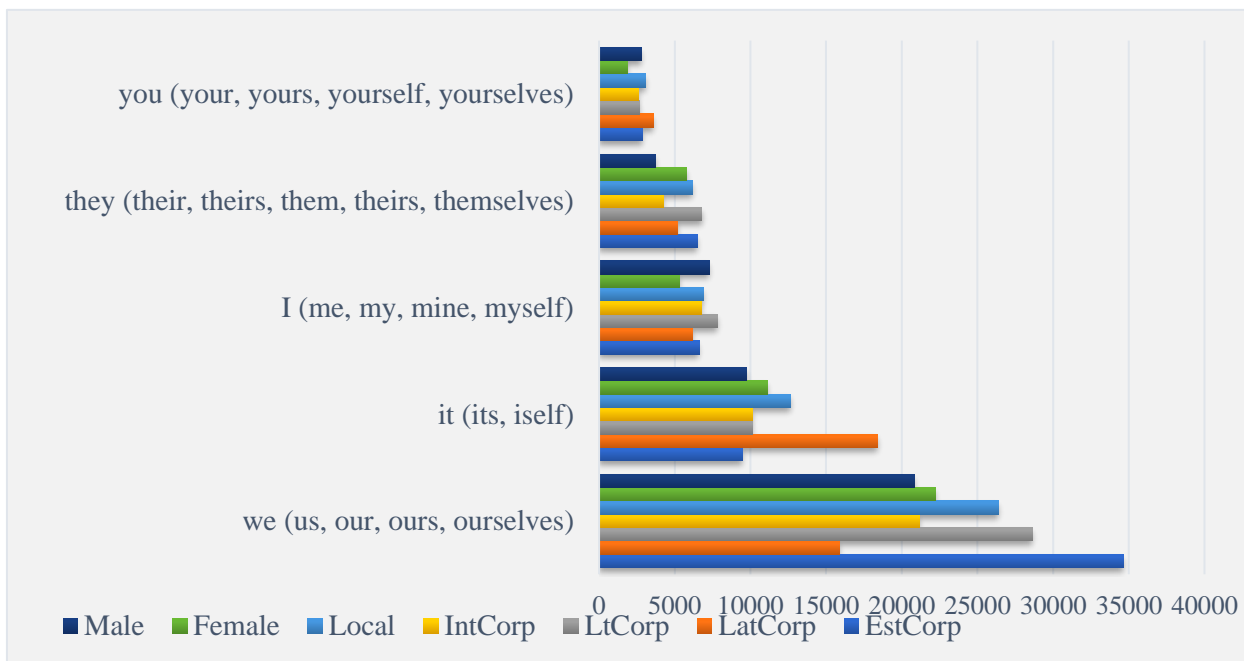


Figure 2. Pronominal references in the corpora

Thus, the figure above displays the differences in the use of personal references in the speeches by distinct categories, namely, state, gender, type of speech (international or local) and time. A more detailed analysis of corpus-based data is provided below.

4.2. Corpus-Based Approach

Corpus-based or corpus-as-a-method approach includes the application of such corpus techniques as concordance and collocation analysis as well as query analysis for specific vocabulary, which may be regarded as a useful tool in the case of discursive construction of national identity. Thus, several national identity related terms have been used in separate queries to investigate not only their frequency data, but also their co-textual environment in order to understand the patterns of use, similarities, and differences in use across time, countries, and types of speeches. Corpus-based analysis is grounded in the results of the corpus-driven analysis, namely, after the collection of data from keyword, wordlist and KWIC analysis, specific theme-related vocabulary is investigated in detail with the tools of corpus-based approach.

The first observation made during the corpus-driven analysis is that among the most frequency words concerning national identity in presidential speeches are the words that distinguish the geographical, political, and human factors of particular country, namely, the use of the words state, nation, and country. Here it should be specified that the term state refers to a political body based on elements such as territory, political integrity (independence, sovereignty), national elements, while nation refers to a cultural group of people who inhabit specific territory or territories and share common traits such as language, history, and identity. Country seems to refer to a geographical region of the nation-state (a politically sovereign body inhabited by a group of people sharing a common national identity). When looking at the corpora of presidential speeches, a corpus-based study shows that the term *state* is the most frequently used across all corpora. It appears 424 times (relative frequency 4844 per million words) in the English versions of the speeches by the Presidents of Estonia and collocates with words such as *our, a, the, own, and, is, as, Estonian, people, in, we, democratic, not from* which indicates that it is used to construct national identity due to the frequency of inclusive and exclusive pronominal references and words specifying the national belonging and values, for instance, *I assure you, Estonia is not a project of the elite and we should never have a governing democracy of the selected few. Our state is for our people.* (AR11 – construction of a common political present, strategy of continuation, the topos of definition, exclusive pronominal referencing: we- Estonians). It also occurs 231 times (3238.38 per million words) in the corpus of international speeches by the Presidents of Estonia (collocations – *member, small, Baltic, a, all, between, EU, have, among, independence, European*), and 474 times (8392.95 pmw) in the speeches in Estonian (the word *riik* for *state* with collocations – *oma (own), meie (our), ja (and), Eesti (Estonia), Balti (Baltic), on (is), kui (if), et (that), kus (were), ei (not), rahva (people, nation), Euroopa (Europe)*). The term *nation* is used less frequently, with 118 occurrences (1348 per million words) in the speeches by the Presidents of Estonia in English (collocations- *small, entire, other, into, culture, Estonian, which, restoring, common, our, have, history, future, countries, state*) and 272 occurrences (4816.21 per million words) of the word *rahvas* (Estonian for nation, folk, people) in the speeches in Estonian language with collocations *Eesti (Estonia), meie (our), oma (own), eesti (Estonian), riigi (state), ja (and), kogu (all)* and 72 occurrences (1009.36 per million words) in the international speeches by the Presidents of Estonia (collocations – *care, free, facing, small, host, about, therefore, between, community, states, democratic, my, we, world, their, state*). Finally, the term *country* occurs 268 times (3757.08 pmw) in the international speeches by the Presidents of Estonia (collocations - *other, small, candidate, with, European, developing, their, that, Estonia, in, each*), 70 times (1239.46 pmw) in the corpus of Estonian speeches (collocations – *rahva -*

nation, nüüd - now, siis - then, kus - where, olid - were, üle - over, riik - nation, meie - our, kogu -whole) and 218 times (2490.63 pmw) in the English version of the presidential speeches of Estonia (collocations – *other, our, Nordic, where, in, foreign, proud, small, are, and democratic*). It is notable in the collocational environment of the words *state, nation, and country* that while *state* and *country* seem to be bonded to a political context, *nation* seems to be a more emotional and culturally loaded term. However, an interesting observation is made, that all the three words are used together with the adjective *small*, which is an explicit and notable feature of constructing Estonian national identity in all the speeches by the Presidents of Estonia, namely, the element of ‘being the smallest’ discussed in previous chapters is confirmed by the corpus data. Similarly, it is observed that the second person plural pronoun *we* and possessive form *our* is also used with all three terms, which is also seen as an element of representing and constructing national and on some occasions also supra-national identity.

As regards Latvia, the term *state, nation, and country* are often referenced in Latvia via the word *valsts*, which generally refers to the term *state*, while *nation* would refer with the word *nācija*. Thus, the word *valsts* occurs 1179 times (13531.97 pmw) in corpus of speeches in Latvian language, which already indicates it being indicative of all the three aforementioned meanings. The collocations for the word are *un (and), mūsu (our), ir (is), Latvijas (Latvia’s), par (for), savu (our, own), ar (with), mēs (we), Eiropas (Europe), Baltijas (Baltic), prezidenta (president), tautas (folk, nation)*. The term *nācija (nation)* is used less frequently, with only 26 occurrences (298,41 per million words) in the corpus of speeches in the Latvian language and with collocations *United, organisation, Latvia, as, for, our, Latvia’s, is* displaying its terminological meaning, namely, it is mostly used in naming particular organisations such as the United Nations Organisation, however, on some occasions it also is used to refer to Latvians or people of Latvia as a nation, for instance, *Latvijas valsts dod satvaru un jēgu latviešu nācijas kopējai pagātnei, tagadnei un nākotnei - The Latvian state provides a framework and meaning for the common past, present and future of the Latvian nation* (EL8). The term is considered formal in Latvia, therefore, as in the example, it is only used via the topos of definition and name interpretation in strategies of perpetuation (continuation). When referring to *the Homo Latviensis* or national spirit, the Presidents would use another term which also represents nation, namely, *tauta* (folk, people), which appears 543 times (6232.28 pmw) in the corpus of Latvian speeches with collocations *mūsu (our), un (and), Latvijas (Latvia), latviešu (Latvian), valsts (state), par (for), latvju* (culturally /historically bounded word for *Latvian*), *savu (our, own)*. As regards the international speeches by the Presidents of Latvia, the term *state* appears 242 times (2970.49 pmw) with collocations *member, EU, nation, European, independent, new, Baltic, was, of, Union, other*, indicating the political meaning/shade of the term rather than cultural or

emotional, however it does indicate to the expression of the types of identities (national or supra-national). The term nation occurs less frequently 124 times (1522.07 pmw) with collocations *state, among, free, other, Indian, many, where, each, European, every, cultural, democratic*, and the term country occurs 356 times (4369.81 pmw) with collocations *other, our, European, has, in, with, among, development, Latvia, and, my*. Thus, the corpus results also seem to confirm the understanding of the term state as a political body, nation as a cultural body and country as a regional body, however, the three are bound together in case of the Baltic States, namely, a historical nation has acquired an independent state (belonging to international political organisations) in a developing country (territory).

Furthermore, the term *state (valstybės)* occurs 338 times (5892.3 pmw) in the speeches by the Presidents of Lithuania in English (collocations - *our, Lithuania, of, a, the, and, member, independent, European*), 97 times (4236.36 pmw) in the speeches in the Lithuanian language with collocations *atkūrimo (recovery), mūsų (our), dieną (day), Lietuvos (Lithuania), proga (occasion), ateitį (future), nepriklausomas (independent), institucijų (institutions)*, and 189 times (3170,5 pmw) in the international speeches by the Presidents of Lithuania with collocations *member, Baltic, small, new, other, democratic, of, European, Lithuania, EU*. The term *nation (tauta)* has 222 occurrences (3870.09 pmw) in the corpus of speeches by the Presidents of Lithuania in English (collocations- *and, of, other, our, the, we, will, together, that, as, to, people, world, European, state*), 28 occurrences (122.87 pmw) in the speeches in the Lithuanian language with collocations *kalbą (language), valstybe (state), Mūsų (our), ir (and)*, and 87 occurrences (1459.44 pmw) in the international speeches by the Presidents of Lithuania (collocations – *small, other, states, large, Baltic, Eastern, our, experience, those, help, role*). Finally, the term *country (šalies)* occurs 19 times (829.8 pmw) in the speeches in the Lithuanian language with collocations *dėl (for), mūsų (our), savo (own), ir (and)*, 146 occurrences (2545.19 pmw) in the speeches in the English language (collocations – *other, our, future, relations, with, central, for, their*) and 268 occurrences (4495.74 pmw) in the international speeches (collocations – *our, in, with, European, between, Eastern, two, these*). Thus, it seems that the translations of the terms in English are not direct in the respective Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian languages, however, the meanings are represented in the speeches with different terms. Moreover, it seems that the term state is the most frequently used in the corpora, when compared with the term's nation and country, however, this is also regionally bound and depends on the type of speech. It also seems that on many occasions the terms are used interchangeably (specifically in the international speeches) while in the national speeches the Presidents specify whether they talk about the state as political entity, about the nation in terms

of people or about the geographical area, all of which are considered to belong to the expression and construction of national identity.

Due to the potential differences of the representation of terminology in the official languages of the Baltic States, the use of the tree terms is comparable only in the international speeches that have been held in English. Figure 3 below displays the differences of the use of each word across the states.

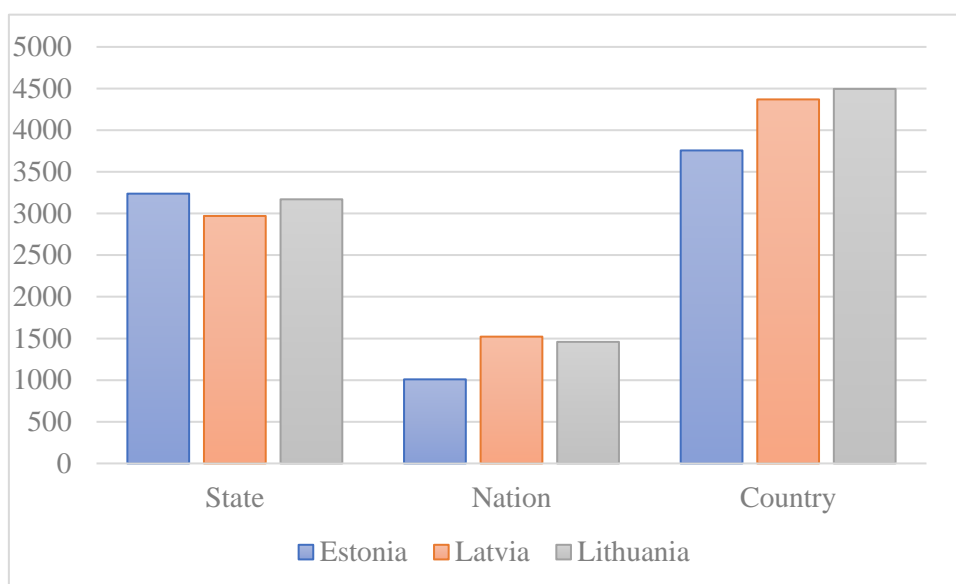


Figure 3. Distribution of state, nation, country across international speeches

As the figure above indicates, the term *state* is used with relatively similar frequency in Estonia and Lithuania, while it is used less frequently in the speeches by the Presidents of Latvia. The term *nation*, however, seems to be used less favoured by the Presidents of Estonia, while the Presidents of Latvia use it most frequently and the Presidents of Lithuania use it relatively frequently as well. Similarly, the term *country* is most frequent in the speeches by the Presidents of Lithuania, followed by Latvia, while it is least frequent in the speeches by the Presidents of Estonia. While the statistical data of the word use in the national speeches by the Presidents of each country are not displayed in the figure above, an observation is made based in the discussion above that the relative frequencies in the whole corpus of speeches for each of the countries seem to be similar, thus it can be concluded that the use of the terms seems to be determined country-wise. This is also supported by the fact that, for instance, in Latvian there is no distinction between state and country (both are referred to as *valsts*), while nation is formally referred to as *nācija*, but more frequently as *tauta*. While in Lithuanian the situation is similar, there is a word for country (*šalies*), thus the interpretation and distinction between the tree terms is more explicit the same as in Estonian and English. This has also been confirmed in the interview with the speech writer to the President G. Nausėda, namely, that there must be a clear distinction between state, country, and nation, where the state is a political unity, country

is a geographical area and nation is ethnically, culturally, and historically based unity of people. It is concluded that national identity is being constructed to comprise elements of all three.

Furthermore, the query for the term identity displays that it is more explicitly referenced by the Presidents of Latvia (particularly in the international speeches) and Lithuania (more frequent in national speeches), and least frequent references to the term are found in the corpus of speeches by the Presidents of Estonia. See visualisation in Figure 4 below:

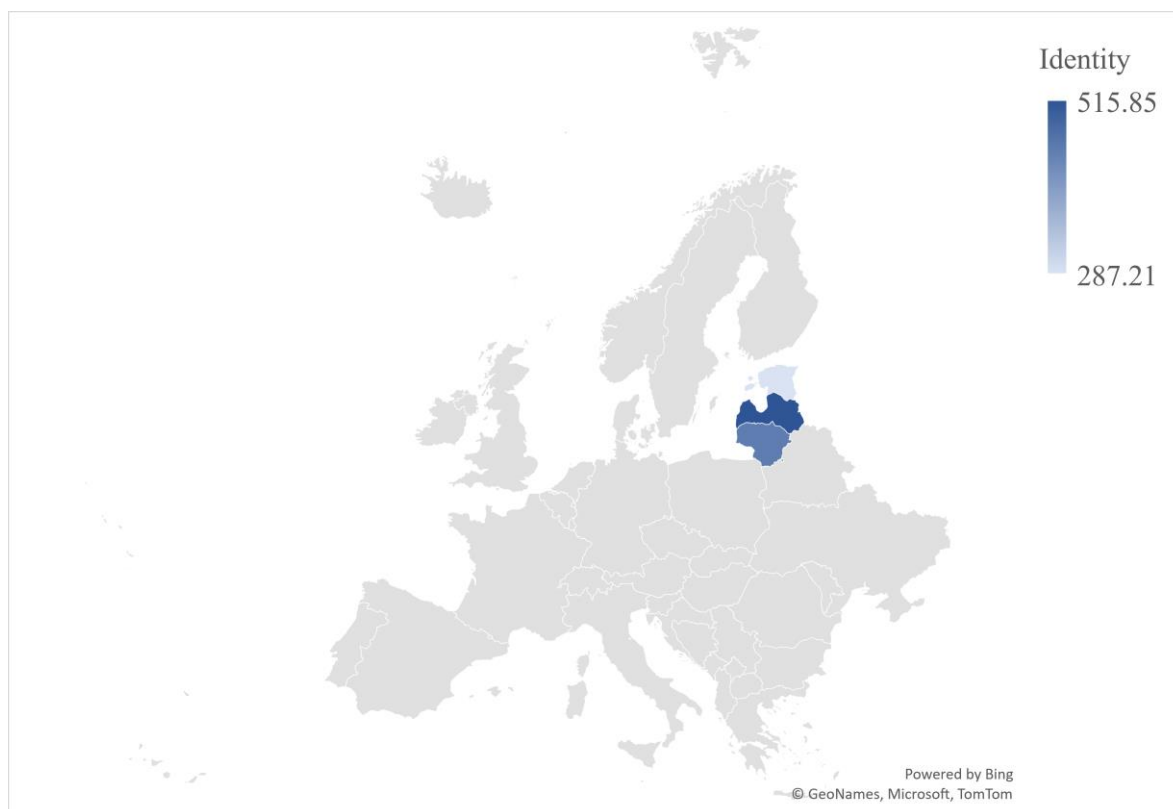


Figure 4. Relative frequency of the occurrence of the term identity in the corpora

As the figure indicates, the Presidents of Latvia seem to be considerably more explicit about the construction of identity (specifically national identity) which is also confirmed in the results of the collocation query for the term: *own, national, Latvian, Latvia's, future, European, their, our*, for instance, *Europe knows many criteria which serve as a foundation for a **nation's identity**. Here I refer to the language, birthplace and native region with which individuals associate themselves.* (GU1996, EUParl). The example above displays the use of the topos of definition within the strategy of continuation used to establish the notion of a general national identity, while specifically Latvian identity is implied, because the speech is held at the European Parliament during the negotiations for Latvia's potential accession to the European Union, where minority integration and multilingualism was an important criterion (as discussed in the theoretical chapters above). This is also displayed in another example from G. Ulmanis speech at the United Nations General Assembly in 1993: *We wish to **protect Latvia's historical and cultural heritage**, because **Latvians** can preserve their **national identity** only in **this small***

land on the shores of the Baltic Sea. Latvians never have and never will ask for any other land. (GU1993, UNGA). Under the thematic area of national body construction and via the strategy of singularisation and the topos of a lovely and idyllic place that is displayed in the use of deictic references (we, this) and words displaying singularity and individualism (Latvia's historical and cultural heritage, this small land, shores of the Baltic Sea, Latvians), President G. Ulmanis is constructing Latvia's national identity. It should be noted that while in the national speeches by the Presidents of Latvia, the term identity is used by several Presidents (G. Ulmanis, V. Vīķe-Freiberga, V. Zatlers, A. Bērziņš and E. Levits), in the international speeches it is most frequently used by G. Ulmanis and on some occasions also E. Levits. This seems to be based on the complex political situation in Latvia before entering the European Union, when the struggle to maintain Latvian national identity (which includes the preservation of one national and official language) as discussed above, was one of the most topical issues, which is also confirmed in the speeches by G. Ulmanis. National identity is also explicitly and deliberately constructed by E. Levits, for instance, *however, sooner or later almost everyone realizes that it is relatively difficult to fully realize and feel one's identity, one's selfness in a foreign land; it can best survive on its own land* (EL3, translated). The deliberateness of the construction of national identity has also been confirmed by E. Levits in an interview on 2 October 2020 (see interview data in Appendix 5).

In the case of Lithuania, the explicit references to national identity and European identity appear only in the period from 1991-2001, namely in the speeches by A. Brazauskas, V. Adamkus, R. Paksas and A. Paulauskas, for instance, *Cherish and preserve your **Lithuanian identity** and hand it down to your children. However difficult it may be, do not think of Lithuania only as the homeland of your parents and grandparents and the land of your native language and traditions.* (VA12). The example displays a personification metaphor within the thematic area of construction of *the Homo Lietuvenis*, where national identity of Lithuania is transpositioned as a personified object that can be given further as a heritage. Another case of constructing *the Homo Lietuvenis* or national spirit via strategy of simultaneous emphasis on subnational uniqueness and national model character is observed in a speech by R. Paksas, for instance, *At the most difficult times in our history Lithuania took strength in faith and the Christian values that are deeply rooted in our nation. Lithuania was always inspired by her distinctive identity and love for the Motherland* (RP4). The linguistic form of realisation of the aforementioned strategies is synecdoche (Lithuania standing for its people) and key words displaying national identity and singularity (Lithuania, motherland, Christian values).

4.2.1. Pronominal Indices and Deictic Map in Presidential Speeches

Following Botha's (2001) model of analysing deictic mapping and Wodak et al.'s (2009) and Guibernau's (2007) identification of national identity construction strategies in political discourse, pronominal indexing, and deictic mapping in the selected speeches of the Presidents of the Baltic States have been investigated.

The results show that the centre of the deictic map for the Presidents of Estonia slightly differs from those in the speeches of the Presidents of Latvia and Lithuania, as regards their use of personal pronouns (as discussed above). The Presidents of Estonia position the inclusive *we* (which includes the President and the citizens of the state) at the centre of the deictic map. Occasionally the central position is interchanged with a personal reference to the President himself or herself and an explicit reference to the citizens of Estonia, members of the parliament, or members of the EU parliament as listeners, for example: *We felt ourselves united as a larger and prouder family. This is an ineffably good feeling. We would like these wonderful moments to repeat themselves again and again* (TH11). With the help of the adverbs of space (*here*) and time (*now*), the Presidents of Estonia create their national identity via the thematic area of constructing a common political present and territorial identification with Estonia as a national and territorial body. Examples such as *That is here where our home is. Here is the place for our life and love. Let us protect it together!* (AR1), refer to the location where the President holds the speech, and the Baltic region and Europe as supranational bodies. This marking and emphasis of territorial boundaries is especially significant due to the common political past of being occupied (just like Latvia and Lithuania), and this tendency is likewise observed in the speeches of the Presidents of these nations as well.

As regards the usage of pronouns for distancing, the Presidents of Estonia position the emigrated citizens, the immigrated foreigners, and the politicians of neighbouring countries (such as Russia or the Nordic countries) or of other EU countries outside the deictic centre, thus displaying the use of the technique of otherization using the strategy of constructing political past and future (see example 71 in Appendix 6). Another example of this strategy shows how the strategy of exclusion is used together with the 'inclusive' *we* to single out the difference between 'us and them,' for instance:

Estonia's participation in the world culture, in political and security co-operation, has been supported by strong ties between the Baltic States. We have taken advantage of the support and opportunities arising from co-operation with the Nordic countries and their representatives in Estonia. We have learned the working culture of a free market economy from the Finns, our next-of-kin nation (AR3).

The map (see Appendix 10) is based on the results of both a corpus-based analysis with word search and wordlists as well as collocation lists, and a critical discourse analysis of the particular identified instances within the given context.

In addition, the deictic map in the speeches of the Presidents of Latvia show a slightly different deictic centre, as the Presidents of Latvia use the first-person singular pronoun *I* more frequently than the Presidents of Estonia do, thus taking up several roles or aspects of identity. One of these roles is the President as the leader of the state (taking personal responsibility), for example, ‘*Let me emphasize the principal and consequent belief of Latvia and the EU on the calm handling of conflicts and values such as democracy, judiciary and protection of human rights.*’ (AB2, see original as example No.57 in Appendix 6).

Another role is the President as a citizen and an ordinary person (the speech is like a dialogue with other citizens), and finally the President as a politician. The latter role also goes together with the use of the exclusive *we* referring only to the President and the government, which often occurs in the speeches of the Presidents of Latvia representing the state during the years 1919–1940, for example, *We will have a day of heroes, when Latvian folk will remember our brothers and sons that sacrificed their lives for Latvia* (JC2, see translation as example 58 in Appendix 6). The exclusive *we* represents the leaders of the EU and NATO member states (occurs in the speeches given at international meetings). The inclusive *we*, just like in the case of the Presidents of Estonia, here refers to both the President and the listeners, be it all the citizens of Latvia, all members of the EU or all participants of the particular event where the speech is held (for instance, the celebration of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary into Heaven in Aglona). The examples are as follows: ‘*We are united again – the sons and daughters of one land.* (KU1); *I am grateful to all of those who honour and love their land, because it is our mother who has nurtured us. It is not for us, her children, to ask if she deserves our love, but for reach of us to prove that we deserve to call ourselves her children.* (VVF2)’ (see originals as examples 59 and 60 in Appendix 6). Here the pronouns are used to index the Latvian identity (community, in-group) and together with the use of the metaphor COUNTRY IS MOTHER construct the national spirit of Latvians. Another example shows how the inclusive pronoun *we* is incorporated in a quotation from the anthem of Latvia, which not only creates the sense of unity and we-ness, but also displays Christianity as one of the national values of Latvia, for example: *Paldies par iespēju būt kopā ar Jums, un lai Dievs svētī mūsu Latviju!* – *I am grateful for the opportunity to be with you and let God bless our Latvia* (AB10). The president’s aim is also to construct the supranational identity of the sense of Europeanness via the use of the inclusive pronoun *we*, for instance: *Eiropas Savienības spēks ir mūsu vienotībā un daudzveidībā* – *The strength of the EU is in our unity and diversity* (AB11). The second-person pronoun *you* is used both as a generic you and as a direct reference to the listeners, for instance, all citizens of Latvia, the government of Latvia, all Christians, or all Latgalians, for example,

It is the land that belongs to us. It is ours even if it has been ruled by alien powers. These words refer to us, they address us. They address me, you, all the citizens of Latvia. We – the citizens of Latvia, strong in our will of nation, can build our state as home for each of us. (EL20, see original as example No.61 in Appendix 6).

As for the centre of the deictic map in relation to time and space, the Presidents use the adverbs *here* (*šeit, te*) and *now* (*tagad*) to refer to the moment and location of speaking, for example: *Today I am here [in New York] as the President of a free Latvia* (VZ2013, in New York), or to a broader area, extending the territorial boundaries to the city of Riga or Aglona, the region of Latgale, or the whole of Latvia or Europe, for example: *The same I would say on our region, here, around our Baltic Sea* (VZ2008, Baltic Sea forum). The president's position those Latvians who have migrated from the state and are abroad or who fought in the war of independence and are now in history outside the deictic centre (distancing), for instance: *I want to bow my head in memory of the Latvians who were deported there and perished in exile* (GU1996, EUParl). Similarly, the future citizens of Latvia and Europe, Christians and Latgalians (emphasizing them as a small minority of the total number of people in the nation), politicians (by the Presidents who have represented the state in the 21st century) and the EU leaders (in those speeches that address the citizens of Latvia) are distanced from the deictic centre, for example: *That is all the more true because for five years now, Latvian has been one of the official languages of the European Union* (VZ2009, EUParl).

Furthermore, among the historical events that occur outside the deictic centre are wars, deportations to Siberia, migration from Latvia to other countries (both during the war and during the economic crisis), as well as the common political future (within the EU and NATO). Likewise, the distancing of space includes such places as Russia, Siberia, other parts of Latvia that are not the capital, other countries of Europe, and the world (see the deictic map in Appendix 10). The rhetoric of the Presidents of Lithuania is again slightly different from that of the other Baltic States in terms of the use of pronouns and the indices of identity and deictic mapping. The use of the inclusive *we* in the speeches of the Presidents of Lithuania refers either to Lithuanians, or to Lithuania metonymically standing for the people of Lithuania, for example: *We are one people. We are one nation; You all are Lithuania!* (DG16). It is also used to refer to Europe metonymically standing for the Europeans, while the exclusive *we* refers to the political leaders of the EU (excluding the citizens), expressing the national identity of Lithuania and showing an attempt to construct a common European identity, for example: *We live in Lithuania, but we are Europeans. Therefore, we should look at the world through the eyes of the European Union* (AP2). The first-person singular pronoun *I* conveys the personal identity of the President as the head of state and as a Lithuanian citizen, while the second-person pronoun *you* addresses the listeners of the particular speech, be it all the citizens of Lithuania,

the Christians of Lithuania, or the leaders of the EU. The use of the pronoun *they* seems to be used in a strategically different way than in the speeches of the Presidents of Estonia and Latvia, as the othering pronoun here refers to the common enemy in the political past of Lithuania (the Soviet politicians), Lithuanian politicians as opposed to the citizens of Lithuania, as well as to other nations marking the identity of Lithuania as a separate entity from others, for example: *Ninety-six years ago, **there** too were **those** who doubted the very idea of Lithuanian independence* (DG9). Lithuanians who fought in the war, as well as the children and young people of Lithuania today are referenced via a distancing strategy that usually implies a common political past or the common future. Moreover, the adverbs of space and time that show proximity (*here* and *now*) refer to a common political present in the particular location of the president, in Lithuania (displaying national identity), or in Europe (aiming to create supranational identity), often accompanying the pronouns standing in the centre of the deictic map (*we*, *I* and *you*), for example: *Today **we** are **here** by the mandate of **our** nations and **our** states. **We** are **here** today to honour the people of **our** countries, all Europeans* (RP3). In contrast, the distancing adverbs *there* and *then* depict a common political history of Lithuania as a victim of wars, deportations, and oppression under the Soviet rule, for example: *It was the most significant deed in **their** lives, and even, without having contributed to any other domain, **they** would have remained in **our** history as prominent personalities. Today **we** bow **our** heads in memory of **their** wisdom* (AB10). In other instances, these adverbs of space and time refer to other countries outside Lithuania and express a common political present or past (when referring to the time of global economic crisis), for instance: *Since **then**, the history of Lithuania has been inseparable from the history of Europe, though **there** had been attempts to erase Lithuania from the map of Europe* (RP3). Finally, the distancing pronouns may also indicate a common political future and the role of national and supranational identity in the future. The deictic map of pronoun use can be seen in Appendix 10.

As to the frequency (relative/normalised frequency of occurrences per million words) of the pronoun and adverb use in the selected speeches, it seems that there is a slight difference depending on the type of index. The Presidents of Latvia and Estonia display the most frequent usage of the first-person plural pronoun *we* (subjective, objective, possessive, and reflexive cases), and the second person pronoun *you*, while the first-person singular pronoun *I* is more frequent in the speeches by the Presidents of Latvia. The third-person plural pronoun *they* is most frequent in the speeches of the Presidents of Lithuania and Estonia. As regards the adverbs of space and time, it seems that the Presidents of Latvia use them more often than the Presidents of Estonia and Lithuania. The absolute and relative frequencies of index use can be seen in Table 1 below. Moreover, the frequency of pronoun use seems to be increasing diachronically

in the speeches of the Presidents of Estonia and Lithuania, while in the speeches of the Presidents of Latvia it does not seem to be affected by historical change but rather by the political affiliation and political identity of the particular President (for instance the most frequent use of the pronoun *we* can be observed in the speeches of J. Čakste, V. Vīķe-Freiberga, R. Vējonis, and E. Levits). Moreover, it seems that the female Presidents (V. Vīķe-Freiberga, K. Kaljulaid, D. Grybauskaitė) use the pronouns more often than the male Presidents of the same states.

As for the KWIC analysis of the detected indices of identities in the speeches, the most frequently occurring collocations for the pronoun *I* are: *like, would, you, thank, wish, hope* (Estonia), *am, like, would, believe, honour, doubt, President and opportunity* (Latvia), and *am, would, believe, like, wish* (Lithuania). The pronouns that collocate with the second-person pronoun *you* in the speeches are: *your, thank, all, wish, congratulate, I* (Estonia), *I, thank you, know, today, wish* (Latvia), and *thank, your, dear, wish, all, congratulate* (Lithuania). The collocates of the first-person plural pronoun *we* are *have to, are, can, must, this, need* (Estonia), *are, can, our, Latvia, common, look* (Latvia). The collocations for the third-person plural pronoun *they* are: *free, freedom, all, were, did, only* (Latvia) and *have, are, our, should, today* (Lithuania). As for the indices of space and time, the collocations for the adverb *here* are: *Rose garden, want, home, gather, August, today* (Estonia), *today, belief, Aglona, monument, Riga, together* (Latvia), and *gathered, you, who, those, have, Lithuania* (Lithuania); the collocations of *there*: *no, are, other, nothing, hardly, agreement, people* (Estonia), *where, were, been, some, are, agreement, our* (Latvia), and *no, many, are, is, who, other* (Lithuania); the collocations of *now*: *years, time, choice, we, face* (Estonia), *already, being, look, we, are, however, countries* (Latvia), and *years, can, have, Lithuania, is, people* (Lithuania); the collocations of *then*: *make, it, now, can, other, be* (Estonia), *if, only, possible, was, which when* (Latvia), and *was, will, it, be* (Lithuania). The wordlists in each corpus are displayed in Appendix 3.

Consequently, while the deictic map of the usage of indices shows slight differences across the states, the KWIC analysis reveals a noticeable similarity in word choice: they include the names of the states or of particular cities, epistemic modal verbs such as *wish, believe, want, would like, need* (denoting the speaker's attitude and opinion on the discussed topic), and pronouns such as *I, we* and *you* denoting the people involved in the discussion.

4.2.2. Multiple Identities in the Speeches

The results of the corpus-based critical analysis of the levels of identities constructed in presidential speeches show that the presidential speeches display the presence of all the tree types of identities, namely, discursive identity that includes individual speaker identity and

audience identity (pronominal references – I, you, we), situational identities (individual identity of the President as a state representative or a representative of particular profession) and transformational identities (national identity, Baltic identity, European identity and global identity). Moreover, the compiled corpus of speeches was categorised into sub-corpora that allow making corpus comparison between male and female President speeches, local and international speeches, speeches by the Presidents of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania as well as speeches given before (1991-2004) and after joining international organisations such as European Union and NATO (2005-2020). The elements of constructing individual identity were selected from the word frequency lists and keyword lists and tested against the textual and contextual background of the speech, the situation and the profile of the particular President and those included the use of the first-person singular pronoun *I* and its forms *me* and *my*. The elements of constructing group identities that are further categorised into types were determined by the use of, for instance, state name or region or national symbols (Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, Latgale, Vilnius, Riga, Tallin, Mindaugas, Lāčplēsis, Kalevipoeg etc.), references to the common regional identity (Baltic States, Baltic region, Baltic sea, Baltic Way, common Baltic history, occupation etc.) and references to the supra-national identity (Europe, European Union, European values) as well as references to the global identity portrayed by the use of the words global, world, international. Table 14 below displays the results of the occurrences (relative frequency of the sum of the aforementioned words occurring in the particular sub-corpus per million words) of these categories across the corpora of speeches distinguished by the types of identities and categories of speeches:

Table 14. Relative frequency results of queries on markers of identities in the corpus

Corpus	National	Baltic	European	Global	Personal (I)	Group (we)
Female	5589.78	760.51	1826.23	3004.03	4011.71	13080.84
Male	9742.45	1701.96	4649.1	2978.43	5343.65	11913.7
1991-2004	10065.43	1648.8	5386.65	2969.56	5576.56	9676.97
2004-2020	7093.29	1252.98	2226.36	3003	4338.82	15232.47
Estonia	6546.85	1528.07	4205.69	2915.94	5046.82	13836.17
Latvia	10458.09	1755.29	3056.41	2933.67	4455.74	10396.72
Lithuania	7230.09	1006.51	4864.79	3136.95	5737.1	12715.56

Based on the obtained results in the table above, a frequency model of multiple identities in presidential rhetoric has been created (see below). The model displays and seem to confirm the theory of a ‘Russian doll’ metaphor of multiple identities (discussed in Chapter 2), where each separate identity is grounded on distinct levels of perception that influence the cognition and actions of people.

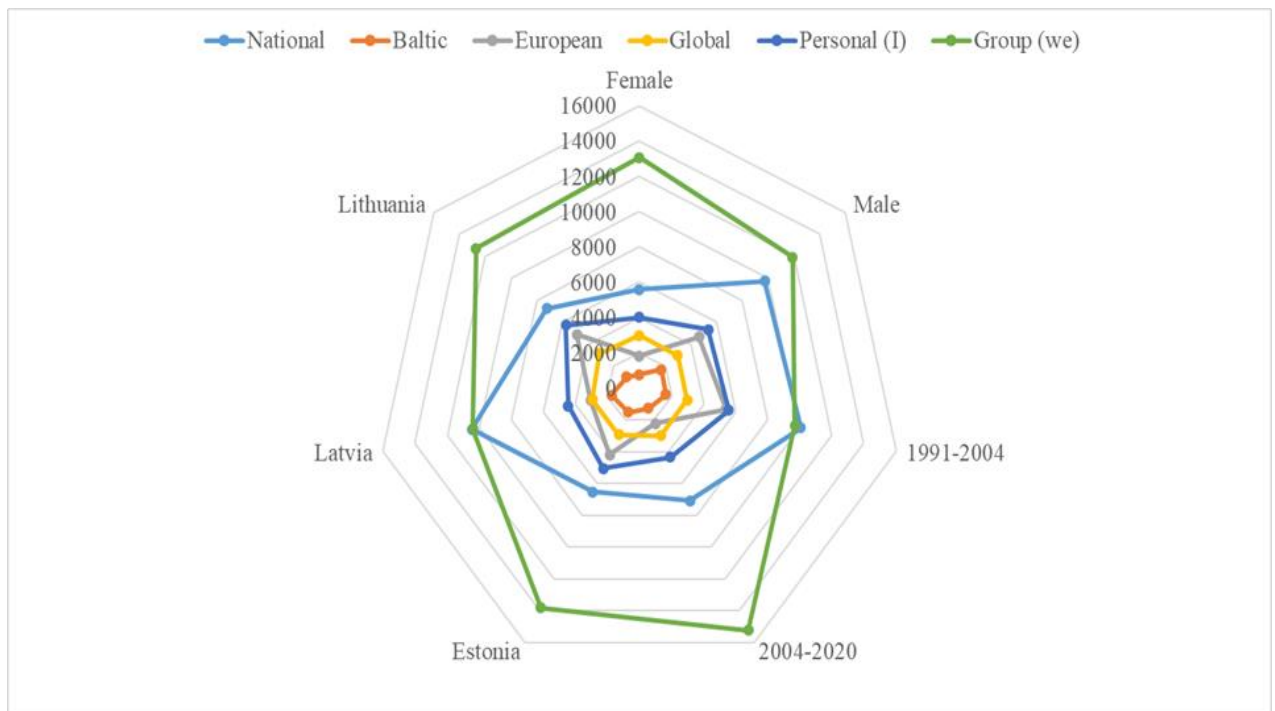


Figure 5. Multiple identities model in the corpus of presidential speeches

As the model displays, group identities are constructed considerably more frequently than individual identities; however, it also may be observed that, for instance, the Presidents of Lithuania and Estonia refer to individual identities more frequently than the Presidents of Latvia, male Presidents construct their individual identities more often than female Presidents and the period from 1991-2004 is the time frame where individual identity is constructed more frequently, for instance, ‘*During the first direct presidential elections in the history of Lithuania, people voted for me as I am and for what I am*’ (AIB1993, UN GA). Another example is ‘*I will not bore you with technicalities, especially since you probably are more versed in the EU's technical intricacies than I am. Furthermore, I don't want you to go home and claim that the Estonian President wouldn't let you eat. Thus, I will keep myself short and limit my remarks to explaining our political reasoning*’ (LM1997, EU conference). It has been likewise observed that the expression of individual identity in the speeches by female Presidents seems to be more emotional than in the male speeches, as the collocations of the pronominal references expressing individual identity are words such as *I am pleased, worried, very glad, firmly convinced, hopeful* while in the male speeches the collocation for the expression *I am* are *convinced, pleased, delighted, confident, happy, sure, proud*, for instance,

I am personally committed to addressing the challenges posed by the UN reform and promoting human rights, freedom and democracy, including gender equality. While women represent half of the world's population, no woman has ever been at the helm of this organization. I believe that the time has come for a woman to be considered a serious candidate for the position of Secretary General (VVF2006, UNGA).

Furthermore, when looking at the expression and construction of group identity, it seems that female presidents, the presents of Estonia and specifically in the period from 2004 until 2020 use more frequent pronominal references to groups than the other presidents. This tendency has also been observed in the corpus of national speeches, namely, that female Presidents seem to use pronominal references to group identities rather than metonymical references to the state name or broader geographical regions (Romāne-Kalniņa, 2020). Thus, it is observed that the female Presidents of the Baltic States use exclusive *we* to refer to national identities (*If **we** look at where **we** were in 2004 and where **we** are today, then the numbers speak for themselves: **Estonians** are 2.24 times richer than when **we** joined* (KK2017, EU conference) and inclusive *we* to refer to EU and global identities, for instance,

*Britons and Easterlings alike, **we are all** part of the main. Every country is a piece of **our Continent**, and **Europe** is made the greater by including **us all*** (VVF2000, London). ***In Europe, we are witnessing new attempts to redraw state borders by force*** (DG2017, world congress).

As the examples indicate, the collocational context of particular words, in this case the pronoun *we* (*we – Estonians, we- European countries, we – the world*) helps to identify the type of inclusiveness and type of identity being expressed.

Moreover, it is observed that national group identity is the most frequently constructed identity in all the speeches (wordlist and keyword list in the Appendix). Most frequent reference to the elements of expressing national identity is identified in the sub-corpus of speeches by the Presidents of Latvia, in the speeches by male Presidents as well as in the speeches of Presidents in office in the period of time from 1991 until 2004, for instance,

*I have stressed the matter of **Latvia's continuous identity** between 1918 and 1991 in order to emphasize that **Latvia is not a newly independent State**. This fact is important because the **de jure continuity of Latvian statehood** has legal, political and economic consequences for Latvia, in particular with respect to **our relations** with the Russian Federation* (GU1993, UN GA).

As the example indicates, national identity of the state is expressed via reference to the political history and the former enemy of the nation and its identity. Similarly, the identity of the state is expressed via references to geographical location as well as reference to supra-national and global values that may be seen as an attempt to integrate Latvian identity into a broader type of common identity, for example,

***Latvia is situated in the cross-roads of Eurasia and Atlantic**, it is a meeting-point of different world outlooks, values, political and economic systems. **Latvian identity is clear** - we see ourselves as an **integral part of Western civilization** and abide by Euro Atlantic values* (GU1998).

Similarly, it is observed that in many cases both national and global or national and European identities are constructed simultaneously to display the character of an individual state but within a larger geographical, political, or economic union, for instance, '*Estonia is a small state*

with moderate resources, playing a significantly small role in **world** economy and environment. Nevertheless, **we adhere** to the principle - act local, think **global**' (AR 2003, UN GA).

Furthermore, it seems that the European identity as a supranational or elite rather than civic identity (in this case because speeches are given to the international leaders) is constructed less frequently than national identity, but comparatively more frequently than global and Baltic identities, specifically in the first period before the Baltic States joined the European union. Nevertheless, it has also been observed that there are two sub-corpora that show a different tendency of the construction of the European identity, and those are female speeches and speeches in the period often joining the EU and NATO, where global identity is expressed more frequently than European identity. Moreover, it has been observed that while national identity and Baltic identity are constructed not only against the geopolitical context but also historical and cultural context, the European and global identities are most frequently constructed based on economic, political and geographical criteria, which is shown in the collocational context of the keywords expressing the types of identities, see Table 15 displaying the keywords and their collocations expressing different types of identities:

Table 15. Collocational environment of identity expressions

Words	Collocations span
World, global	Challenges, issues, scale, climate, economy, security, regional, crisis, change, level, parts, second, war, changed, better, whole
Europe, European (s), EU	Council, eastern, central, future, new, united, western, part, membership, enlargement, policies, states, countries, relations, integration, values
Baltic	Sea, states, region, Way, three, states, shores, strategy, countries, other, cooperation, nations, annexation, occupation, seaboard
Estonia, Estonian(s)	Language, defence, people, border, parliament, presidency, services,
Latvia, Latvian (s)	Independence, language, people, government, companies, support, delegation, first, identity, economy, national, today
Lithuania, Lithuanian(s)	European, Europe, people, business, economy, year, was, new, will

As the table above displays, global identity is in most cases expressed against the background of a common political and economic issues at the present time and future. Similarly, the common European identity is constructed as a more political and supranational (elite) identity, however, elements of civic identity (such as common values) appear when constructing European identity, specifically in the period leading to the Baltic States joining the EU. The common Baltic identity seems to be constructed to emphasize the common tragic history of the three states and their relationship with its neighbour - Russia as 'the other', in some cases also the Soviet Union as the common enemy. Likewise, the Baltic identity is constructed as a

geographical identity, referring to the regional belonging to the Eastern area of Europe and Baltic Sea region, though, it is observed that an emphasis is put on the Baltic States being rather western part in terms of values than an eastern region, because the eastern Europe would typically be associated with *Russia, aggression, annexation and the Soviet Union*, while the western part would be associated with *democracy, multilateralism and rules-based global order, respect, human rights*. Finally, national identities are constructed based on more criteria than regional and supranational identities, namely, not only on political or geographical belonging, but also on elements of historical legacy and cultural values, specifically Latvian and Estonian identities, where one of the main elements of national identity is language, which is also referenced in the presidential speeches. This, however, is explainable by the context, because the minority language (an identity) issues in Latvia and Estonia after leaving then Soviet Union have been more complicated due to the number of non-ethnic population that had increased significantly during the Soviet time and the number of ethnic populations that had decreased dramatically (Mole, 2012). It seems that because Lithuanian population had been more diverse already before the Second World War and suffered less loss of the ethnic population and less increase in the population arriving from the other Soviet states, the discourse of the Presidents of Lithuania is less focused on the emphasis on such elements of national identities as national language, national culture, and ethnicity. Moreover, the international requirements of minority integration given to Estonia and Latvia in order to join the EU and NATO also seems to have influenced the rhetoric of the Presidents of these states during the period before entering the European Union and NATO. Thus, it is concluded that while there are attempts to represent supranational and global identities in presidential speeches, national identity as a group identity seems to be stronger than any other identity in presidential speeches, specifically based on a common political history and national memory. While the tendencies vary across the states, the Presidents and across time, the general tendency seems to prevail. Moreover, the results of both corpus analysis and critical analysis leads to the agreement with the ‘Russian-doll’ model of multiple identities described by Wodak (2018) and Hermann et al. (2004), namely that when looking at the *we-identities*, national identity, which is constructed more frequently is at the core of group consciousness, followed by regional identity (Baltic), European identity and global identity.

Consequently, it can be said that the construction of national identity in the speeches by the Presidents of the Baltic States is indeed a complex and multi-layered process that eminently depends on various contextual factors; however, the common goals of the process are the unification of the people and continuation of the state (that depends on the unity of people and their readiness to support the idea of a nation-state). Moreover, it is concluded that the

construction of multiple (hybrid) identities is also observable in the speeches by the presidents, specifically after restoration of Independence of the separate Baltic States in 1990s of the 20th century, when together with the national identities of the separate states, regional (common Baltic identity and identity of the geopolitical West), supra-national (European and EU identity) and global identities emerge in a layer or network-type system (model as per above). Thus, it can be concluded that in terms of multiple identity construction, the system of various identities in presidential rhetoric concur to the ‘Matryoshka doll’ metaphor discussed in Chapter 2, where conceptually national identities are at the centre expanding to broader group identities. Nevertheless, it must be emphasized that the change in political and social context, specifically under the influence of global crises such as the Covid-19 pandemic and the war in Ukraine since 2014, has a significant influence on the construction of identities across different discourses, and particularly the discourses of power such as political and media discourse that often work in synergy to achieve certain, often political, goals.

Additionally, it is concluded that the keywords in the speeches point not only to the thematic areas in the construction of national and other collective identities in the speeches, but also to the period of time and its problems, issues, and topicalities as well as the occasion of the speech and, in some instances, the personality (individual identity) of the speaker. Moreover, both the lists of keywords and most frequently used words display the similar and different values of separate national identities of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania and their common values as neighbours sharing common sea border, common historical and potential enemies, common family of European and Western democracies and recently also the common responsibility to tackle various global crises such as climate change and the Covid-19 virus. Thus, it is concluded that multiple identities can co-exist in various discourses, specifically political discourse, where the goals, needs and necessities not only of the political elites and institutions, but also the civic society need to be portrayed, tackled, and represented. Moreover, although national identities seem to be the dominating (centre of the Matryoshka doll), other types of identities (such as the supranational identity) may surface (take the centre stage) depending on the context, goal and type of the speech as well as the target audience. Moreover, although, as has been discussed in Chapter 2, the common Baltic identity is often claimed to be non-existent, the results of the current study point to the opposite, namely, to the attempts to construct and reflect the common ‘we’ of the Baltic people. Additionally, it is concluded that while national and supra-national identity construction is found to be a deliberate process, the choice of specific linguistic means may also be instinctive or intuitive, nevertheless, a more intensive and creative use of figurative language in presidential speeches seems to be more effective in addressing the emotions of the target audience and thus constructing and perpetuating national identities.

CONCLUSIONS

Several conclusions have been made during the corpus-assisted critical discourse study of national identity construction in presidential rhetoric of the Baltic States through one hundred years of existence of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania.

The first significant conclusion made during the study and supported by the results of the qualitative and quantitative data analysis as well as by the interview data is that the thematic areas, discursive strategies of argumentation, persuasion and manipulation depend on the speech situation and broader socio-political and historical context. The more complex the situation, the longer and more complex speeches seem to be prepared as an instrument for the unification of the population of the particular state, performing not only the function of persuasion but also the informative and educational functions which have been identified in the speeches by G. Ulmanis, L. Meri, V. Adamkus at the time of restored independence of the Baltic States and the time of joining the international organisations (the EU and NATO), as well the speeches by V. Zatlers and T.H. Ilves at the time of the global economic crisis. It is, nevertheless, concluded that the discursive construction of the elements of national identity is identified in all the speeches by all the Presidents across the selected period of time, however, it seems that the intensity of emphasis on national elements seems to be higher in the periods from 1918-1940 and from 1991- 2011. Moreover, as regards the self-presentation or the presentation and construction of the national self, it is concluded that all three states construct *the Homo Nationalis* or the national spirit on the basis of a common political past (victimhood, bravery, common destiny, sacrifice, regaining independence) and a common political future (membership in the EU and NATO, security, economic development); however, when it comes to the construction of the common significant others, it seems that Russia is the negative external other that is emphasized in particular immediately after the Restoration of Independence (Estonia and Latvia) and after military conflicts between Russia, Georgia, Ukraine and Belarus from 2008, when the speeches by the Presidents of all three Baltic States incorporate the elements of the construction of the common enemy or the negative external other based on the topos of comparison (with the aforementioned post-Soviet states) and the topos of history (the common history of the Soviet occupation). Additionally, it is concluded that in the international speeches the history and victimhood elements are used together with the topos of threat in order to address the international leaders in a form of a warning against the common enemy (not only for the Baltic States, but after 2014 also the larger international community of the EU and NATO). Additionally, while the common element of the self-presentation for all three Baltic States is the common political history and their geographical

location at the shores of the Baltic Sea as well as their common membership in the EU and NATO, their separate national identities are constructed on the basis on different common positive others, namely, for Estonia the positive external others are the Scandinavian countries that the Presidents of Estonia reference frequently when talking about a common political future and making comparisons, while for Latvia the neighbouring Baltic States are referenced more frequently, followed by the European states such as Germany and the Scandinavian states, and for Lithuania the neighbouring states, specifically Poland is referenced more frequently. This, however, is also based on the common history before 20th century, because while the common other in Estonia and Latvia before the world wars was Swedish colonists, for Lithuania it was the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. It has also been observed that, although rare, the reference to these historical others has changed in time from negatively referenced to positive others, while the references to Russia are observed to be constructed from negative (from 1991-2004) to briefly neutral, specifically in the speeches by the Presidents of Lithuania (2005-2015) and to explicitly negative again (2015-2021), specifically in the international speeches.

The most frequently identified thematic areas in the presidential speeches are the construction of a common political past and construction of *the Homo Nationalis* or national spirit as well as the construction of a common political present and future, while the construction of a common culture and a common political body are found comparatively less often. Nevertheless, it is concluded that in most cases the thematic areas overlap, for instance, when constructing a common political present and future, the Presidents often refer to the past via the strategies of justification and the use the topos of history as a teacher or dismantling strategies, when attempting to deconstruct, for instance the Soviet legacy. It is concluded that a common political present is constructed as a point of reference either to the past as a terrible place or the past as a source of courage and self-sacrifice, or future as a secure, prosperous, and international place and time. The strategies of positive self and negative other presentation are used on several occasions (more frequently in the international speeches) when referring to the actions by the leaders of the former Soviet Union and the politicians in Russia. It is, however, noted that strategies of avoidance and euphemising are used in some instances in the local speeches (specifically by the Presidents of Lithuania) to implicitly avoid explicit reference to particular responsible actors and avoid negative representation of particular events. The function of the use of such strategies is not typical of political discourse (emotion arousal), namely, to avoid arising unnecessary negative emotions and associations. It is also noted that these strategies are used in the speeches by the Presidents in challenging times (such as economic crisis) to minimise the negative reaction of the audience. Additionally, the strategies of continuation and calming down are often used where via topoi of a lovely and idyllic place

and positive attribution as well as the strategies of assimilation, inclusion and continuation, the states are portrayed as beautiful place to live in and to work for together. The same function is achieved by the application of the strategies of unification and cohesivation, especially when referring to the common European or global, or Baltic identity, where the topos of comparison is often used. Other strategies (the strategies of legitimation and justification via the topos of authority and appeal to facts, numbers) are used in the international speeches when appealing to the language policies (specifically in Latvia and Estonia) after 1991 until joining the EU.

One of the most popular linguistic means of realisation of particular discursive strategies in presidential speeches is metaphor, which appears in speeches that are given on nationally important occasions such as Independence Day. Metaphor use in the Independence Day speeches of the Presidents of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania seems to be more intensive until the beginning of the second decade of the 21st century (1918-2010) and gradually decreasing since then (2011-2021). Moreover, the Presidents of Estonia use metaphors more frequently, yet they also have comparatively longer speeches, while the Presidents of Lithuania use them the least frequently (and have shorter speeches). The most powerful conceptual metaphors are used by L. Meri and T.H. Ilves (1992-2001; 2006-2016), G. Ulmanis (1993-1998), V. Vīķe-Freiberga and V. Zatlers (1999-2011), and A. Brazauskas and V. Adamkus (1993-2009) that marks the time of joining the international political organisations. As to the most popular metaphors, it seems that the metaphor COUNTRY IS MOTHER is the only common metaphor in the rhetoric of the Presidents of Latvia and reflects the strong emotional sense of belonging and family ties as an element of national spirit, while the metaphors COUNTRY IS PERSON, DEVELOPMENT IS ROAD and HISTORY IS BOOK are used by the Presidents of all three states at the beginning and the end of the speeches as an implied invitation to work for the development of the nation. Additionally, the target domains that are most frequently conceptualised with the metaphors in the speeches are the state, independence, war, the EU, Russia and the USSR, development and work, Independence Day that are the elements of national identity and show the common past, present, and future of the states and their people. In addition, the study of family metaphors or metaphors and metaphorical expressions reflecting family as a (supra)national value can be considered a significant part of the national identities of the Baltic States; therefore, the use of the family concept metaphorically as well as in combination with other linguistic means has a potential to create a strong emotional effect on the listener. The use of family metaphors targets emotions of the listeners in relation to their sense of belonging to and love for their immediate family and in the form of extended metaphor to their homeland and its people as a family. The Presidents of Latvia use the embodiment of Latvia as a mother figure to construct national spirit, while the Presidents of Estonia and

Lithuania use the metaphorical expressions referring to the state as home. The Presidents of Latvia refer to the state as fatherland (land of the founding fathers), while the Presidents of Estonia as homeland, and the Presidents of Lithuania as motherland accordingly. The personification metaphor of the state being born and raised by its people and the metaphor of the states belonging to the EU family is used by the Presidents of all three states.

The study of deictic mapping in the presidential speeches has led to the conclusion that the Presidents of Estonia index national identity via the inclusive pronoun *we* that refers in most cases to the citizens of Estonia and metonymically to Estonia as a state, and in some cases to the European Union and the Baltic States, while the Presidents of Latvia and Lithuania additionally use the pronoun exclusively to refer to the leaders of the EU states, politicians or Christians. Furthermore, the Presidents of Latvia and Lithuania index their individual identities as the leaders of the state, as citizens and as members of the community relatively more frequently than the Presidents of Estonia. The Presidents of all of the states use deictic references that indicate closeness in terms of space and pronominal indexing more frequently than distance, while the deictic map related to time seems to incline towards distance (history, future) which marks the use of the thematic area of constructing a common political past and future (history has also been emphasized as a fundamental element of national identity of Latvia in the interview with the current President E. Levits). Finally, the otherization strategy via the use of the indices *they, those, then, there* most frequently refers to the occupying powers in the history of the states, the political powers that threaten their independence, people who fought the war, people that have migrated from (Latvia, Lithuania) or to (Estonia) the states and the future citizens of the states. This thematic area seems to be favoured by the Presidents of Lithuania and Estonia, as the relative frequency of occurrence of these indices are more frequent than in the speeches of the Presidents of Latvia. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the use of the strategies of inclusion always means exclusion too, because if the Presidents of the Baltic States use the pronoun *we* to refer to the citizens of their states and themselves (or particular groups, for instance, Christians), it means that the groups outside the deictic centre are excluded and marked as 'others'. It has been also concluded that the use of pronouns as indices of national identities seems to be diachronically increasing in frequency in Estonia and Lithuania, while the frequency varies in the speeches of the Presidents of Latvia. Additionally, a conclusion is drawn that the female Presidents of the states seem to be using pronominal indexing generally more frequently than the male Presidents do on average.

The critical study of the use of rhetorical questions in presidential speeches has proved that RQs is one of the techniques of political persuasion and even manipulation used by the Presidents of the Baltic States on nationally significant occasions to aid national identity

construction and reflection. RQs are often used in combination with other rhetorical techniques and linguistic means such as metaphors and metonymies, parallelisms, emotive vocabulary, intertextuality markers and hyperboles to address a common political present and future as well as national spirit of the people, while the use RQs in constructing a common political past often reflects the time of the Soviet occupation and its consequences on the national identities of Latvia and Estonia in particular. The most frequent use of RQs is identified in the speeches by the Presidents of Estonia while the Presidents of Latvia and Lithuania use the technique less frequently. Nevertheless, the use of RQs does not seem to be subjected to a diachronic change but rather to the situational and political context and the occasion of the speech as well as the personality of the speaker.

The results of the keyword and KWIC analysis in the corpora of the speeches by the Presidents of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania show that all the Presidents tend to use the name of the state as well as personal pronouns referring to ingroups (*we, us, ours*) denoting the unity of people and the state repeatedly throughout the speeches. The keyword use seems to be more frequent during the period from 1991 to 2015 (Latvia and Estonia) and subjected to gradual increase in the case of Lithuania. The Presidents of Estonia focus more on the statehood and singularity of Estonia, while the Presidents of Latvia and Lithuania emphasize the relationship of the states with other countries and international organisations in terms of security and development (more emphasized by male presidents). Moreover, Independence Day speeches focus on historical events in terms of freedom, security, independence (Latvia), cooperation with other countries (Lithuania and Latvia), work of the government (Estonia and Lithuania) and summarising the values and accomplishments that denote singularity and unity of the people (Estonia). International speeches are found to be the type of speeches where multiple identities are constructed most frequently, including not only national identities of the states, but also common Baltic identity, European identity, Western identity, and global identity. The speeches given on the occasion of catholic celebrations seem to emphasize national values (in the case of Latvia) such as family, faith, love and hope more than other types of speeches, while the New Year and Christmas greeting speeches tend to be shorter than other speeches and mostly focus on congratulations and future goals (in the case of Estonia and Lithuania) and the feeling of unity (in the case of Latvia). Furthermore, the speeches by the female Presidents seem to focus more on the construction of the national spirit (*the Homo Nationalis*) and the feeling of unity, while the male Presidents seem to emphasize the common political past and its impact on the present situation as well as the importance of international cooperation for the better future. Likewise, the results indicate that there is a slight influence of political affiliation or ideology on the lexical choices of the Presidents – the Presidents representing socialist and

liberal and conservative parties tend to emphasize international relations, while the nationalist Presidents and the party independent Presidents emphasize ideas of democracy, independence, freedom, and the state as national body at present and in the future.

Additionally, it is concluded that language in discourse as social practice creates a circular process, whereby discursive practice both constructs social reality and is constructed by it. In this way it is possible not only to represent but also construct individual and collective identities including national and supra-national identities. Since human conscience and understanding affected by discourse, the person or institution who constructs that discourse can influence the thoughts, emotions, understanding, beliefs and even actions by people in a long term. The results of the questionnaire-based survey of the public opinion on the role of the President in constructing national identity show that the Presidents whose speeches have been linguistically richer (the use of metaphors, RQs, colourful and emotional keywords) seem to be considered to be better examples of a good political leader who successfully constructs and represents national identity of the state. The Presidents who are mentioned as the 'best' political leaders in Latvia are Jānis Čakste, Kārlis Ulmanis and Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga. The opinion surveys show that people seem to feel emotionally closer and more positive towards the Presidents who use more colourful language (strategies of positive linguistic manipulation, instances of intertextuality and references to folk songs and folk tales) rather than highly formal or educational in function (for instance, in several instances it has been noted that the speeches by E. Levits seem to be arrogant due to the fact that the language used is 'too smart', while the speeches by R. Vējonis and A. Bērziņš are seen as too simple and the Presidents are considered to lack oratory skills in general. R. Vējonis is also seen as a representative of the people, and the language of his speeches also confirms this conclusion).

Additionally, it has been concluded that all of the aforementioned rhetorical strategies have been used in the speeches of the Presidents of Latvia during the 100 years of its existence, however, the type of strategies used in the speeches differ not only across time, but also depending on the personality of the particular president, political, social and economic environment or context of the time when the speech is held, the type and occasion of the speech, and the target audience. It has likewise been concluded that positive manipulation appears in the speeches of G. Ulmanis, V. Vīķe-Freiberga, V. Zatlers and E. Levits, and in some instances also in the speeches of J. Čakste, A. Kvišis and K. Ulmanis. Argumentation seems to be more typical to the speeches of the Presidents whose presidency takes place during important historical periods in the collective memory of the state, such as the coup d'état of the state in 1935 (K. Ulmanis), admission to the EU and NATO (G. Ulmanis and V. Vīķe-Freiberga) and the time of the economic crisis in the world and in Latvia (A. Bērziņš and V. Zatlers). The

dialogue with the people is found in the speeches of R. Vējonis, as his speeches are structurally and linguistically simpler and are considered to be ‘more natural’ as shown by the results of the public opinion surveys. The speeches create an impression that the President is ready to listen to any argument that is given against or for his statements during the speech, thus it seems that the President is ready for an open dialogue, which is a peculiarity that is not identified in other presidential speeches across the Baltic States.

The interview data display a wide variety of conclusions, however, the main conclusions drawn from the interviews with the President of Latvia and with the advisor to the President of Lithuania are that national identity construction and representation is a deliberate process in order to create national unity, sense of belonging and share common national values, specifically a common political past and language. It is notable that the authorship of the speeches depends on the speech occasion and the audience because more formal speeches are designed and reviewed by a team of presidential advisors including the Presidents themselves. Thus, it is concluded that the individual identity in presidential speeches would most frequently be the institutional – namely, the identity acquired and distributed by the specific office of the president, which has also been noted by the advisor to the President of Lithuania. Nevertheless, the analysis of interviews displays the similarity of E. Levits linguistic choices during the interview with those in his presidential speeches, which indicates the presence of his individual identity in the public rhetoric.

Finally, it has been concluded that the use of the rhetorical techniques of persuasion, manipulation (positive), argumentation and dialogue can be seen as a positive aspect of presidential speeches if they are used for the good of the state and the nation, and, depending on the context and the target audience, they should be combined. Nevertheless, national identity construction is a complex process where different forms of discourses (specifically the discourses of power such as political discourse, media discourse and academic or education discourse) influence the results. Moreover, the effect of presidential speeches often depends not only on the speech itself, its contents, linguistic expression, or the personal character of the speaker, but also on the type of its transmission and on its later representation in the media. Additionally, it is concluded that in order to give a more detailed overview, a longitudinal study or a set of multiple studies involving the investigation of multiple data sets including a detailed analysis of speeches and interviews must be implemented together with a scrupulous analysis of the historical, socioeconomic and political factors that may have influenced the choices of the discursive strategies and rhetorical techniques used in the speeches by the presidents. Thus, the dissertation offers future prospects for several smaller scale studies that may be carried out on the basis of the current research.

THESES

1. The most intensively applied thematic areas in the presidential speeches are the construction of a common political past, which is often followed by the thematic area of constructing of a common political present and future, and in local speeches also the construction of *the Homo Nationalis* wherein such linguistic means as metaphors DEVELOPMENT IS ROAD, HISTORY IS BOOK, COUNTRY IS MOTHER, EU IS FAMILY, metonymies, rhetorical questions, pronominal references, parallel sentence constructions and intertextuality are often implemented.
2. The identified discursive strategies in the speeches on the macro and micro levels of discourse are the constructive strategies and the strategies of justification, including the strategies of perpetuation and continuation, as well as the strategies of transformation (positive self-presentation, continuation and calming down, assimilation, inclusion, and unification). The strategies of exclusion or negative other representation as well as strategies of casting doubt are identified when referring to the common enemy in the past and the potential threatening other in the present and future.
3. The national identity of Estonia is portrayed based not only on history and the role of victim, but also on its small size and population, technological advances, and Scandinavian character, while the national identity of Latvia is constructed as rooted in the importance of history (including the portrayal of the role of victim), the discursive construction of common Baltic values, love for work and belonging to democratic Europe. The national identity of Lithuania is built on the narrative of historical continuation, rooted in the long history of the Duchy of Lithuania and later independent Lithuanian Republic and belonging to the European Union.
4. Presidential speeches focus on national identity construction and negotiation both locally and internationally; however, the linguistic data confirms that multiple identities (individual, regional, national, supra-national, global and the identity of the common enemy) are nested in the social practices represented by presidential rhetoric and depending on the context, different types of identities may be foregrounded.
5. While the selection of particular arguments, strategies and linguistic techniques used in the speeches depends on the social, political, and historical context and thus varies across time and across countries, the deliberate function of presidential speeches to construct and represent national identity with the purpose of unifying the people and perpetuating the continuity of the state is present in all the speeches. At the same time, linguistically and discursively richer speeches seem to have greater impact on the target audience.

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APPENDICES

1. Preambles of the Constitutions of the Baltic States

Table 16. Preambles of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania

Country	Preamble
Estonia	<p>‘Unwavering in their faith and with an unswerving will to safeguard and develop a state which is established on the inextinguishable right of the Estonian people to <i>national self-determination</i> and which was proclaimed on <i>February 24, 1918</i>, which is founded on <i>liberty, justice and law</i>, which shall serve to protect <i>internal and external peace</i> and provide <i>security for the social progress</i> and general benefit of present and future generations, which shall guarantee the <i>preservation of the Estonian nation and its culture</i> throughout the ages, the Estonian people adopted, on the basis of Article 1 of the Constitution which entered into force in 1938, by Referendum held on June 28, 1992 the following Constitution [...]</p> <p>(Online 1)</p>
Latvia	<p>‘The State of Latvia, which was proclaimed on <i>18 November 1918</i>, has been established by uniting <i>historical Latvian territories</i> based on the unwavering <i>will of the Latvian nation for its own State</i> and on the inalienable right to self-determination in order to guarantee the existence and development of the <i>Latvian nation, its language and culture</i> for over centuries, to provide <i>freedom</i> and promote <i>prosperity</i> for the people of Latvia and for each individual.</p> <p>The people of Latvia created their State through the <i>Fights for Independence</i>. By way of a freely elected Constitutional Assembly they founded a state structure and adopted this Constitution.</p> <p>The people of Latvia did not recognise the occupation regimes, resisted them and <i>regained freedom by restoring independence of the State on 4 May 1990</i> based on the continuity of the State. They honour <i>their defenders of freedom</i>, commemorate victims of foreign powers, and condemn the Communist and Nazi totalitarian regimes and crimes committed by them.</p> <p>Latvia as a <i>democratic State</i>, based on the rule of law, and as social and national State is founded upon <i>respect for human dignity and freedom</i>; it recognises and protects fundamental human rights and respects national minorities. The people of Latvia protect their sovereignty, as well as the independence, territory, territorial integrity and the democratic political structure of the State of Latvia.</p> <p>Since times immemorial, <i>Latvia’s identity in the European cultural space is shaped by Latvian and Liv traditions, Latvian historical life experiences, the Latvian language, universal human and Christian values. Loyalty to Latvia, the Latvian language as the only state language, freedom, equality, solidarity, justice, honesty, the work virtue and family are the foundations of a cohesive society.</i> Everyone takes care of oneself, one’s relatives</p>

	<p>and the common good of society by <i>acting responsibly toward other people, future generations, the environment and nature.</i></p> <p>Mindful of her equality in the international community, Latvia protects its national interests and facilitates the sustainable and <i>democratic development of the united Europe and the world.</i></p> <p><i>God, bless Latvia!</i></p> <p>(Online 2)</p>
Lithuania	<p>‘The Lithuanian Nation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - having established the State of Lithuania many centuries ago, - having based its legal foundations on the Lithuanian Statutes and the Constitutions of the Republic of Lithuania, - having <i>for centuries defended its freedom and independence,</i> - having preserved <i>its spirit, native language, writing, and customs,</i> - embodying the inborn right of each person and the People to live and create freely in <p><i>the land of their fathers and forefathers, the independent State of Lithuania,</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - fostering <i>national concord</i> in the land of Lithuania, - striving for an <i>open, just, and harmonious civil society</i> and law-governed State, <p>by</p> <p>the will of the citizens of the reborn State of Lithuania,</p> <p>approves and declares this Constitution.’</p> <p>(Online 3)</p>

2. President Power Index: The Baltic States

The scores of presidential power of the Baltic States are displayed in the table below (obtained from online tool Presidential-power.net - Doyle, David and Robert Elgie. 2015. Maximizing the reliability of cross-national measures of presidential power. British Journal of Political Science, DOI: 10.1017/S0007123414000465.)

Table 17. Presidential power scores

Prespow1			Prespow2	
Country	Raw score	Normalised score	Raw score	Normalised score
Estonia (1992-)	0.217	0.184	-0.212	0.174
Latvia (1992-1997)	0.168	0.133	-0.282 (0.292)	0.081 (0.067)
1998-	0.05	0.01		
Lithuania (1993-)	0.311	0.282	-0.056	0.38

3. Corpus Data in Presidential Speeches: Keywords and Wordlists

3.1. The Presidents of Estonia

Konstantin Päts

The table below displays the most frequently used keywords and multiwords in the speeches:

Table 18. Keywords and multiword in the speeches by K. Päts in Estonian

Word	Raw Frequency	Relative Frequency	Multiword	Raw Frequency	Relative Frequency
põllumees (farmer)	31	3024.1	riigi elu (country life)	4	390.2
rahwas (people)	27	2633.9	põllumeeste seisus (the situation of farmers)	4	390.3
kaaskodanik (fellow citizen)	9	878	rahwa tahe (the will of people)	2	195.1
Wälja	8	780.4	andis seletus (gave an explanation)	2	195.1
Wastu	7	682.9	riigi jõud (state power)	2	195.1
kiiduavaldus (compliment)	7	682.9	riigi loomine (state creation)	2	195.1
auvärav (honour gate)	7	682.9	organisatsioonide esindaja (representative of the organisation)	2	195.1
Wõi	7	682.9	külalise wõts (high-ranking guest)	1	97.6
kaali (cabbage)	7	682.9	wõtame suurtööstus (we are a large industry)	1	97.7

Table 19. The most frequently used nouns in the speeches by K. Päts in Estonian

Word	Raw Frequency	Relative Frequency
riik (country)	109	10633.109
rahvas (people)	70	6828.602
aeg (time)	48	4682.47
töö (work)	41	3999.61
aasta (year)	41	3999.61
maa (land)	39	3804.507
elu (life)	38	3706.955
põllumees (farmer)	31	3024.095
kord (once)	22	2146.132

Lennart Meri

The Tables below displays the keywords extracted from the sub-corpus of the speeches by Lennart Meri in English and Estonian:

Table 20. Keywords and multiword in the speeches by L. Meri in English

Word	Raw Frequency	Relative Frequency	Multiword	Raw Frequency	Relative Frequency
Estonia	215	9355,962	national defence	12	522,193
Estonian	113	4917,319	market economy	12	522,193
Republic	62	2697,998	defence expenditure	9	391,645
defence	49	2132,29	Estonian state	6	261,097
Riigikogu	22	957,354	free market economy	6	261,097
Forces	17	739,774	Estonian society	5	217,581
Estonians	16	696,258	legal continuity	4	174,064
Continuity	14	609,225	Estonian economy	4	174,064

Manifesto	14	609,225	administrative reform	4	174,064
countryman	12	522,193	governmental body	4	174,064
NATO	12	522,193	Russian democracy	3	130,548

Table 21. Keywords and multiword in the speeches by L. Meri in Estonian

Word	Raw Frequency	Relative Frequency	Multiword	Raw Frequency	Relative Frequency
integreerumine (integration)	12	1065.909	kohustuste tasakaal (balance of liabilities)	4	355.303
Manifest	9	799.432	vabariigi riigipea (head of state)	3	266.477
Jõulurahu (Christmas peace)	7	621.78	riigi tunnus (country code)	3	266.477
Karaganov	7	621.78	elu kvaliteet (quality of life)	3	266.477
ekstsellents	6	532.954	vabariikide ajalugu (history of republics)	2	177.651
vabaturumajandus (free market economy)	5	444.129	kultuuri intensiivsus (cultural intensity)	2	177.652
idealism	5	444.129	ajaloo kaar (arc of history)	2	177.653
möödunud (passed)	4	355.303	kirjutaksime vabanemiskuupäev (we would write the release date)	2	177.654
tseremoniaalne (ceremonial)	4	355.303	soovitatud laienemismehhanism (proposed enlargement mechanism)	2	177.655
viidud (moved)	3	266.477	mõtlemise müür (thinking wall)	2	177.656

Table 22. Conjunctions in the speeches by L. Meri

English	Raw Frequency	Relative Frequency	Estonian	Raw Frequency	Relative Frequency
the	1660	72236.728	ja (and)	434	28550.364
of	982	42732.811	on (is)	305	27091.846
and	658	28633.594	eesti (Estonian)	185	16432.759
to	566	24630.113	et (and)	121	10747.913
in	412	17928.634	meie (of our)	105	9326.701
and	368	16013.925	kui (than)	95	8438.444
is	355	15448.216	ei (no)	93	8260.792
our	275	11966.928	See (it)	87	7727.838
we	236	10269.8	oma (own)	79	7017.323
that	323	10095.735	Me (we)	68	6040.149

Arnold Rüütel

Table 23. Keywords and multiword in the speeches by A. Rüütel in English

Word	Raw Frequency	Relative Frequency	Multiword	Raw Frequency	Relative Frequency
Estonia	239	11439.79	independent statehood	13	622.248
Estonian	70	3350.56	Estonian state	10	478.652
independence	63	3015.51	social contract	9	430.787
Republic	32	1531.69	own state	5	239.326
democratic	24	1148.765	external peace	4	191.461
statehood	17	813.709	participatory democracy	4	191.461

NATO	17	813.709	national culture	4	191.462
Estonians	15	717.978	independent state	4	191.463
sovereignty	14	670.11	Estonian language	3	143.596
Baltic	12	574.383	national pact	3	143.596
solidarity	12	574.383	democratic world	3	143.596

Table 24. Keywords and multiword in the speeches by A. Rüütel in English

Word	Raw Frequency	Relative Frequency	Multiword	Raw Frequency	Relative Frequency
lepe (pact)	21	1842.428	iseseisvuse taastamine (restoration of independence)	5	438.673
Assamblee (Assembly)	17	1491.489	põhiseaduse muutmise (amending the Constitution)	4	350.939
omariiklus (statehood)	12	1052.816	omariikluse idee (the idea of statehood)	3	263.204
suveräänsus (sovereignty)	9	789.612	riigi suveräänsus (national sovereignty)	3	263.204
eneseväarikus (dignity)	8	701.878	tuleviku kujundamine (shaping the future)	3	263.204
kestmine (duration)	7	614.143	ühiskonna tugevusvaru (strengths of society)	2	175.469
totalitarism	5	438.673	ametivolituste üleandmine (delegation of powers)	2	175.469
suveräänsusidee (idea of sovereignty)	4	350.939	riigipea lahkumine (departure of the head of state)	2	175.469
usaldatavus (reliability)	4	350.939	parlamendi vaidlus (parliamentary dispute)	2	175.469

Toomas Henrik Ilves

Table 25. Keywords and multiword in the speeches by T.H. Ilves in English

Word	Raw Frequency	Relative Frequency	Multiword	Raw Frequency	Relative Frequency
Estonia	270	8216.677	own state	12	365.186
Estonian	114	3469.264	Estonian independence	9	273.889
freedom	66	2008.521	Estonian language	8	243.457
ourselves	54	1643.335	Estonian state	8	243.457
independence	46	1399.878	foreign country	8	243.457
dear	39	1186.853	restoration of Estonian independence	5	152.161
democracy	29	882.532	Tv tower	5	152.161
gentlemen	24	730.371	free country	4	121.729
democratic	20	608.643	democratic state	4	121.729
Estonians	18	547.778	quarter century	4	121.729
defence	15	456.482	other buttress	3	91.296

Table 26. Keywords and multiword in the speeches by T.H. Ilves in Estonian

Word	Raw Frequency	Relative Frequency	Multiword	Raw Frequency	Relative Frequency
pagulaskriis (refugee crisis)	4	273.579	iseseisvuse taastamine (restoration of independence)	6	410.369
julgeolekunõukogu (security council)	4	273.579	tervise hoidmine (maintaining health)	4	273.579
Kaalep (Ain Kaleep, estonian poet)	4	273.579	pagulaskriisi lahendamine (resolving the refugee crisis)	2	136.79

peaassamblee (general assembly)	4	273.579	külmutatud konflikt (frozen conflict)	2	136.79
veerandsajand (quarter century)	3	205.184	vabariigi loomine (creation of a republic)	2	136.79
vabakonn (free community)	3	205.184	meeste eluiga (men's life expectancy)	2	136.79
endastmõistetav (self-evident)	3	205.184	arengu eesmärk (development goal)	2	136.79
viinapudel (bottle of vodka)	3	205.184	elu küsimus (a matter of life)	2	136.79
tarkmasin (I checked)	2	136.79	euroopluse aine (European substance)	1	68.395

Kersti Kaljulaid

Table 27. Keywords and multiword in the speeches by K. Kaljulaid in Estonian

Word	Raw Frequency	Relative Frequency	Multiword	Raw Frequency	Relative Frequency
vabadussõda (war of independence)	11	1198.9	vabaduste vaidlus (liberties dispute)	2	218
märkaja (noticeable)	5	545	seadusevalitsuse algus (beginning of the rule of law)	2	218
hoolimatus (negligence)	4	436	ühtekuulumise tunne (sense of belonging)	2	218
seadusevalitsus (government of law)	3	327	langes lumi (fell snow)	2	218
hädakell (emergency clock)	3	327	jõukuse tase (wealth level)	2	218
noorimees (young man)	2	218	maailma mure (world concern)	2	218

ühtekuulumine (cohesion)	2	218	päeva kinnihoidmine (day detention)	1	109
poliitikahooaeg (political season)	2	218	energia säilitusvõimsus (energy storage capacity)	1	109
rändeprobleem (migration problem)	2	218	nautige helilooja (enjoy composer)	1	109

Table 28. Keywords and multiword in the speeches by K. Kaljulaid in English

Word	Raw Frequency	Relative Frequency	Multiword	Raw Frequency	Relative Frequency
Estonian	65	6020.7	Estonian culture	6	555.8
Estonia	76	7039.6	Estonian language	6	555.9
independence	15	1389.4	Estonian nation	4	370.5
dignity	13	1204.1	centenary year	4	370.6
Estonians	12	1111.5	liberal democracy	4	370.7
neighbour	9	833.6	dignified country	3	277.9
centenary	8	741	Estonian state	3	277.10
dignified	6	555.8	Estonian education	2	185.3
Pärnu	4	370.5	Estonian school	2	185.4

Table 29. Wordlist EstCorpEn

the	5344	61054.75	more	243	2776.25	life	122	1393.84
of	3248	37108.13	do	239	2730.55	many	119	1359.56
and	2640	30161.78	their	239	2730.55	republic	114	1302.44
to	2199	25123.39	would	238	2719.13	these	113	1291.02
in	1641	18748.29	what	236	2696.28	ago	110	1256.74
a	1447	16531.85	if	234	2673.43	need	110	1256.74
we	1387	15846.36	years	231	2639.16	Europe	109	1245.32
is	1242	14189.75	they	203	2319.26	well	109	1245.32
our	1151	13150.08	been	198	2262.13	year	108	1233.89
that	1151	13150.08	one	183	2090.76	now	108	1233.89

not	744	8500.14	today	180	2056.48	had	106	1211.04
for	700	7997.44	should	179	2045.06	just	105	1199.62
Estonia	671	7666.12	those	178	2033.63	way	105	1199.62
have	653	7460.47	about	169	1930.81	freedom	104	1188.19
it	633	7231.97	only	169	1930.81	here	102	1165.34
this	627	7163.42	its	168	1919.39	into	101	1153.92
as	594	6786.4	time	168	1919.39	them	98	1119.64
be	594	6786.4	must	166	1896.54	national	98	1119.64
are	578	6603.6	you	166	1896.54	free	96	1096.79
on	490	5598.21	there	159	1816.56	past	96	1096.79
I	435	4969.84	world	157	1793.71	where	96	1096.79
people	427	4878.44	independence	155	1770.86	every	94	1073.94
us	410	4684.22	when	154	1759.44	ourselves	93	1062.52
will	389	4444.29	future	151	1725.16	my	90	1028.24
with	372	4250.07	let	147	1679.46	political	90	1028.24
state	366	4181.52	like	144	1645.19	such	87	993.97
estonian	362	4135.82	no	141	1610.91	could	87	993.97
but	358	4090.12	country	135	1542.36	day	86	982.54
has	353	4033	other	133	1519.51	development	86	982.54
or	349	3987.3	than	132	1508.09	make	85	971.12
from	349	3987.3	so	131	1496.66	up	84	959.69
by	323	3690.25	society	131	1496.66	become	84	959.69
all	320	3655.97	Estonia's	129	1473.81	nation	84	959.69
can	319	3644.55	new	129	1473.81	defence	83	948.27
at	290	3313.23	were	127	1450.96	same	83	948.27
which	266	3039.03	even	127	1450.96	union	82	936.84
was	266	3039.03	how	127	1450.96	still	81	925.42
also	262	2993.33	European	125	1428.11	because	80	913.99
who	261	2981.9	dear	123	1405.26	first	80	913.99
an	245	2799.1	own	123	1405.26	last	80	913.99
see	79	902.57	both	62	708.34	independent	50	571.25
your	79	902.57	policy	61	696.92	able	49	559.82
right	78	891.14	did	61	696.92	part	49	559.82
culture	78	891.14	through	61	696.92	forces	49	559.82
democratic	78	891.14	then	61	696.92	may	49	559.82
countries	77	879.72	being	61	696.92	very	49	559.82
work	77	879.72	any	60	685.49	public	48	548.4
history	77	879.72	already	60	685.49	long	48	548.4
good	76	868.29	too	60	685.49	two	48	548.4
citizens	76	868.29	better	59	674.07	international	47	536.97
government	75	856.87	sense	58	662.65	possible	46	525.55
democracy	74	845.44	his	58	662.65	system	46	525.55
social	72	822.59	am	58	662.65	war	45	514.12
power	72	822.59	support	58	662.65	interests	45	514.12
out	72	822.59	Estonians	57	651.22	next	45	514.12
yet	72	822.59	before	57	651.22	words	45	514.12
foreign	72	822.59	politicians	56	639.8	together	45	514.12
some	72	822.59	small	56	639.8	friends	45	514.12

language	71	811.17	over	56	639.8	however	44	502.7
between	71	811.17	each	56	639.8	young	44	502.7
economy	70	799.74	come	55	628.37	therefore	44	502.7
does	69	788.32	something	55	628.37	not	44	502.7
without	69	788.32	century	55	628.37	home	44	502.7
education	69	788.32	think	54	616.95	once	43	491.27
important	68	776.89	fellow	54	616.95	president	43	491.27
most	68	776.89	order	54	616.95	present	43	491.27
responsibility	67	765.47	live	54	616.95	gentlemen	43	491.27
know	67	765.47	again	54	616.95	ladies	43	491.27
security	67	765.47	restoration	53	605.52	anniversary	43	491.27
decisions	67	765.47	means	53	605.52	always	42	479.85
states	66	754.04	economic	53	605.52	wish	42	479.85
values	66	754.04	others	53	605.52	nations	42	479.85
during	65	742.62	want	52	594.1	constitution	42	479.85
take	65	742.62	times	52	594.1	back	41	468.42
much	65	742.62	place	52	594.1	whether	41	468.42
things	64	731.19	use	51	582.67	based	41	468.42
common	63	719.77	great	51	582.67	august	41	468.42
made	63	719.77	end	51	582.67	among	41	468.42
hope	62	708.34	children	51	582.67	after	40	457
different	62	708.34	me	50	571.25	problems	40	457

Table 30. Wordlist LatCorp

un (and)	3562	40882.85	daudz (many)	158	1813.44	tie (those)	90	1032.97
ir (is)	1827	20969.39	Latvijā	157	1801.97	tautu (people)	86	987.06
mūsu (our)	992	11385.68	Latviju	156	1790.49	Jums (you)	86	987.06
Par (about/for)	880	10100.2	šo (this)	156	1790.49	taču	85	975.59
mēs (we)	768	8814.72	vai	153	1756.06	darbu (work)	85	975.59
ar (with)	759	8711.42	tauta (people)	153	1756.06	tāpēc	85	975.59
ka (that)	693	7953.91	tagad (now)	138	1583.89	Baltijas (Baltic)	85	975.59
Latvijas	667	7655.49	visiem (everyone)	137	1572.42	darbs (work)	85	975.59
valsts (state/country)	639	7334.12	pēc	136	1560.94	būtu	83	952.63
kas (that)	625	7173.44	savas (our)	135	1549.46	valstij (for the country)	83	952.63
no (from)	556	6381.49	šī (this)	132	1515.03	ļoti	82	941.15
arī (too)	531	6094.55	tad	130	1492.07	savā	81	929.68
to	503	5773.18	kopā (together)	129	1480.6	šeit	81	929.68
mums (to us)	502	5761.7	var	127	1457.64	prezidenta (president)	80	918.2
lai	464	5325.56	darba (work)	127	1457.64	tieši	79	906.72
kā	392	4499.18	ja	124	1423.21	dzīves (life)	79	906.72
es (I)	387	4441.79	jūs (you)	118	1354.34	tomēr	78	895.24
uz	382	4384.4	varam	116	1331.39	kur	78	895.24
savu (my)	356	4085.99	visi	116	1331.39	pret	77	883.77

tā (that, fem.)	340	3902.35	drošības (security)	115	1319.91	bez	76	872.29
tas (that, mas.)	339	3890.87	laikā	113	1296.96	kuri	76	872.29
bet	316	3626.89	esmu (am)	112	1285.48	savienības (union)	76	872.29
nav	284	3259.61	Latvijai	111	1274	mūs (us)	75	860.81
esam (are)	270	3098.92	gadū (year)	108	1239.57	viņu (their)	74	849.33
Latvija	252	2892.33	gada (year)	107	1228.09	ne tikai	72	826.38
vēl	244	2800.51	jūsu (your)	105	1205.14	valstīm (countries)	72	826.38
bija	234	2685.73	ne	104	1193.66	viens (one)	72	826.38
tautas (people's)	224	2570.96	valstu (countries)	103	1182.18	visus (all)	71	814.9
gan	217	2490.62	būt	101	1159.23	tam	69	791.95
ko	198	2272.54	visu	98	1124.79	spēku (strenght)	66	757.51
būs	195	2238.11	līdz	98	1124.79	pasaulē (in the world)	66	757.51
tās (those)	190	2180.72	tik	97	1113.32	cilvēku (human)	65	746.04
tikai	187	2146.29	vairāk	95	1090.36	attīstības (development)	65	746.04
Eiropas (Europe)	182	2088.9	šajā (in this)	95	1090.36	pašu	64	734.56
pie	173	1985.61	gadā (year)	94	1078.88	Saeimas (parliament)	64	734.56
jau	170	1951.17	pasaules (word)	93	1067.41	sevi	63	723.08
valsti (country)	169	1939.7	man (to me)	93	1067.41	paši	63	723.08
šodien	168	1928.22	šis	93	1067.41	cik	63	723.08
kad	167	1916.74	šīs	91	1044.45	kuras	62	711.6
jo	167	1916.74	latviešu (Latvian)	91	1044.45	atkal	62	711.6
viņa (she)	61	700.13	darbā (in work)	47	539.44	gadus (years)	39	447.62
brīvības (freedom)	61	700.13	iespējas (possibilities)	47	539.44	bijis	39	447.62
šobrīd	61	700.13	arvien	47	539.44	dienā (day)	39	447.62
varētu	60	688.65	gribu	46	527.96	politisko (political)	39	447.62
gadiem (years)	60	688.65	nevis	46	527.96	jaunu (new)	39	447.62
jābūt	60	688.65	kā arī	46	527.96	svētī (bless)	39	447.62
tiem (to those)	60	688.65	vairs	46	527.96	šie	38	436.14
visas	60	688.65	tika	46	527.96	zemē (in land)	38	436.14
tai (to it)	59	677.17	cilvēki (humans)	45	516.49	visām	38	436.14
ari	58	665.69	kādu	45	516.49	zeme (land)	38	436.14
pat	58	665.69	iespēju (possibility)	45	516.49	būsim	38	436.14
savus (our)	58	665.69	zemi (land)	45	516.49	visa	38	436.14
kuru	58	665.69	laiks (time)	45	516.49	tajā	38	436.14
īpaši	57	654.22	nākotni (future)	45	516.49	iespējams	37	424.67
tautai (for the people)	56	642.74	sava (one's own)	44	505.01	katru	37	424.67
starp	56	642.74	visā	44	505.01	ekonomikas (economic)	37	424.67

viena (one)	56	642.74	dāmas (ladies)	44	505.01	šim	37	424.67
tādēļ	56	642.74	nevar	44	505.01	katram	37	424.67
NATO	55	631.26	pa	43	493.53	varu (power)	37	424.67
valdības (government's)	54	619.78	nekad	43	493.53	nozīmē	37	424.67
valstis (countries, states)	54	619.78	kara (war)	43	493.53	jomā	37	424.67
neatkarības (independence)	54	619.78	gads (year)	43	493.53	kam	36	413.19
kura	53	608.31	vien	42	482.05	teikt	36	413.19
viņas (her, they)	53	608.31	sabiedrības (society)	42	482.05	Nepieciešams (necessary)	36	413.19
gados (years)	52	596.83	vēlos	42	482.05	svētku (celebrations)	36	413.19
kungi (gentlemen)	51	585.35	godātie (dear)	42	482.05	augsti	36	413.19
ciņu	51	585.35	atbildību (responsibility)	42	482.05	tiesības (rights)	35	401.71
vienmēr (always)	51	585.35	ANO (UN)	42	482.05	sistēmas (system)	35	401.71
nekā	51	585.35	kungs (lord, gentlemen)	42	482.05	attiecības (relations)	35	401.71
kurā	50	573.87	priekšu	41	470.58	gribētu	35	401.71
bet arī	50	573.87	sev (to oneself, ourselves)	41	470.58	vienu	35	401.71
valstī	50	573.87	tos	41	470.58	strādāt (work)	35	401.71
katrs (every)	50	573.87	valdība (government)	41	470.58	Latgales	34	390.23
nākotnē (future)	50	573.87	joprojām	41	470.58	kopš	34	390.23
saviem (our)	49	562.4	ceļu (road)	41	470.58	šīnī (in this)	34	390.23
viņi (they)	49	562.4	spēkiem (strengths)	41	470.58	šogad (this year)	34	390.23
uzdevums (task)	49	562.4	priekšā	40	459.1	aicinu (invite)	34	390.23
kultūras (culture)	48	550.92	šai (to this)	40	459.1	gadi (years)	34	390.23
Dievs (God)	48	550.92	tālāk	40	459.1	toreiz (then)	34	390.23
pirms	48	550.92	neatkarību (independence)	40	459.1	politiku (politics)	34	390.23

Table 31. Wordlist LtInt

the	3860	67290.76	new	145	2527.76	international	78	1359.76
of	2703	47120.97	world	145	2527.76	foreign	76	1324.9
and	2238	39014.7	Europe	143	2492.9	most	75	1307.46
to	1531	26689.68	freedom	142	2475.46	work	73	1272.6
in	1021	17798.93	at	142	2475.46	country	73	1272.6
a	913	15916.18	Lithuanian	138	2405.73	no	72	1255.16
we	689	12011.23	an	131	2283.7	countries	71	1237.73
our	650	11331.35	can	128	2231.4	Lithuania's	71	1237.73

Lithuania	643	11209.32	union	128	2231.4	one	71	1237.73
that	562	9797.26	only	128	2231.4	like	71	1237.73
is	521	9082.51	independence	127	2213.97	well	69	1202.87
for	445	7757.61	would	126	2196.54	together	66	1150.57
it	371	6467.58	nations	118	2057.08	however	66	1150.57
will	334	5822.57	they	112	1952.48	them	66	1150.57
with	331	5770.27	years	111	1935.05	many	66	1150.57
this	331	5770.27	also	110	1917.61	been	65	1133.13
on	330	5752.84	future	107	1865.31	relations	65	1133.13
I	327	5700.54	those	105	1830.45	when	64	1115.7
not	322	5613.37	national	104	1813.02	he	64	1115.7
are	287	5003.23	time	102	1778.15	economic	62	1080.84
by	286	4985.79	states	102	1778.15	ago	61	1063.4
us	285	4968.36	you	102	1778.15	development	61	1063.4
be	285	4968.36	let	100	1743.28	between	61	1063.4
as	272	4741.73	other	100	1743.28	year	60	1045.97
have	257	4480.24	day	95	1656.12	president	60	1045.97
people	246	4288.48	my	94	1638.69	become	59	1028.54
state	245	4271.05	these	91	1586.39	human	57	993.67
was	225	3922.39	history	89	1551.52	about	56	976.24
all	221	3852.66	political	88	1534.09	up	56	976.24
which	214	3730.63	more	87	1516.66	take	55	958.81
European	206	3591.17	or	87	1516.66	must	55	958.81
their	203	3538.87	life	87	1516.66	EU	54	941.37
today	198	3451.7	united	86	1499.22	may	54	941.37
its	196	3416.84	were	84	1464.36	Russia	54	941.37
should	163	2841.55	dear	84	1464.36	there	53	923.94
from	156	2719.52	February	80	1394.63	just	53	923.94
has	154	2684.66	security	80	1394.63	great	52	906.51
nation	151	2632.36	policy	79	1377.19	declaration	52	906.51
who	150	2614.93	into	78	1359.76	council	52	906.51
but	149	2597.49	first	78	1359.76	do	52	906.51
act	52	906.51	century	40	697.31	active	31	540.42
NATO	51	889.07	every	39	679.88	both	31	540.42
live	50	871.64	now	39	679.88	signatories	31	540.42
need	50	871.64	what	39	679.88	peace	31	540.42
strong	50	871.64	never	39	679.88	cooperation	31	540.42
so	50	871.64	believe	39	679.88	goals	31	540.42
social	50	871.64	culture	39	679.88	difficult	30	522.99
your	50	871.64	independent	39	679.88	wish	30	522.99
each	48	836.78	historical	39	679.88	issues	30	522.99
therefore	48	836.78	where	38	662.45	over	30	522.99
citizens	48	836.78	agreement	38	662.45	global	29	505.55
during	48	836.78	interests	38	662.45	high	29	505.55
society	47	819.34	than	38	662.45	same	29	505.55
make	47	819.34	am	38	662.45	present	29	505.55
efforts	47	819.34	member	38	662.45	principles	29	505.55
Seimas	47	819.34	made	37	645.02	again	29	505.55

always	46	801.91	unity	37	645.02	memory	28	488.12
important	46	801.91	common	37	645.02	did	28	488.12
if	46	801.91	two	37	645.02	create	28	488.12
had	46	801.91	region	37	645.02	education	28	488.12
values	45	784.48	build	36	627.58	good	28	488.12
membership	45	784.48	democratic	36	627.58	strength	28	488.12
such	45	784.48	support	36	627.58	long	27	470.69
free	45	784.48	very	36	627.58	another	27	470.69
Baltic	44	767.04	still	36	627.58	republic	27	470.69
rights	44	767.04	without	36	627.58	conference	27	470.69
Vilnius	44	767.04	responsibility	36	627.58	towards	27	470.69
his	44	767.04	see	34	592.72	here	27	470.69
members	44	767.04	modern	33	575.28	small	27	470.69
ladies	43	749.61	military	33	575.28	anniversary	27	470.69
gentlemen	43	749.61	could	33	575.28	because	27	470.69
even	43	749.61	goal	33	575.28	better	27	470.69
hope	43	749.61	stand	33	575.28	Lithuanians	27	470.69
past	43	749.61	march	33	575.28	distinguished	27	470.69
through	43	749.61	historic	33	575.28	open	27	470.69
fellow	42	732.18	part	33	575.28	building	27	470.69
government	41	714.75	problems	33	575.28	continue	27	470.69
democracy	41	714.75	war	32	557.85	remember	26	453.25
spirit	41	714.75	experience	32	557.85	certain	26	453.25
after	40	697.31	being	32	557.85	law	26	453.25

3.2. The Presidents of Latvia

Jānis Čakste

Table 32. Keywords in the speeches by J. Čakste in Latvian

Word	Raw Frequency	Relative Frequency
sabiedrotā (ally)	6	1273.885
proklamēt (proclaim)	5	1061.571
upurēt (to sacrifice)	5	1061.571
priekšstāvis (representative)	4	849.257
patstāvība (independence)	4	849.257
atsvabināt (to free)	3	636.943
cienījama (honourable)	3	636.943
varmācība (violence)	3	636.943

upurēšanās (sacrificing)	2	424.628
dimdēt (dim)	2	424.628
Antante	2	424.628

Table 33. Conjunctions in the speeches by J. Čakste in Latvian

Word	Raw Frequency	Relative Frequency
un (and)	125	26539.278
ir (is)	96	20382.166
mūsu (our)	77	16348.195
ka (that)	63	13375.796
mēs (we)	48	10191.083
Latvijas	43	9129.512
no (from)	43	9129.512
kas (which)	39	8280.255
to (that)	35	7430.998

Gustavs Zemgals

Table 34. Keywords in the speeches by G. Zemgals in Latvian

Word	Raw Frequency	Relative Frequency
armija (army)	6	8683.068
majestāte (majesty)	5	7235.89
flote (navy)	5	7235.89
varonis (hero)	4	5788.712
latvju (Latvian)	4	5788.712
stiprināšana (strengthening)	3	4341.534
apsveikt (congratulate)	3	4341.534
zviedrs (Swede)	3	4341.534
upuris (victim)	3	4341.534

droširdīgs (brave)	2	2894.356
kavalieris (chevalier)	2	2894.356

Table 35. Conjunctions in the speeches by G. Zemgals in Latvian

Word	Raw Frequency	Relative Frequency
un (and)	31	44862.518
Jūsu (your)	8	11577.424
kas (that which)	8	11577.424
mūsu (our)	8	11577.424
par (for about)	8	11577.424
ir (is)	8	11577.424
valsts (state)	7	10130.246
savus (our own)	6	8683.068
no (from)	6	8683.068

Alberts Kviēsis

Table 36. Keywords in the speeches by A. Kviēsis in Latvian

Word	Raw Frequency	Relative Frequency
latvju (Latvian)	19	3521.127
tamdēļ (that is why)	14	2594.514
varonīga (brave)	6	1111.935
sabiedrota (ally)	6	1111.935
notecējušā (previous, last, about year, month)	4	741.29
vispārība (generality)	3	555.967
dēmagogija (demagogy)	2	370.645
elagu eesti (long live Estonia)	2	370.645
šablonisks (stencilled, about work of the government)	2	370.645

nesaticība (discord)	2	370.645
drudzaina (feverish about hurrying)	2	370.645

Kārlis Ulmanis

Table 37. Keywords in the speeches by K. Ulmanis in Latvian

Word	Raw Frequency	Relative Frequency
še (here)	17	1326.156
rosība (activity)	9	702.083
pakts (pact)	9	702.083
pacelšana (increasing)	7	546.064
vienprātība (unanimity)	7	546.064
zīmēties (to concern. relate to)	6	468.055
pakavēties (to stay)	6	468.055
tiklab (also)	4	312.037
vajaga (need)	4	312.037
Sarkabanlts (red-white-read, about flag)	4	312.037
daiļums (beauty)	3	234.028

Table 38. Conjunctions in the speeches by K. Ulmanis in Latvian

Word	Raw Frequency	Relative Frequency
Un (and)	600	46805.523
Ir (is)	195	15211.795
Mūsu (our)	181	14119.666
Ka (that)	120	9361.105
ar (with)	116	9049.068
Mēs (we)	102	7956.939
Kas (who. which)	99	7722.911

arī (too)	80	6240.736
Par (for. about)	78	6084.718
To (that)	77	6006.709

Guntis Ulmanis

Table 38. Keywords in the speeches by G. Ulmanis in Latvian and English

Word	Raw Frequency	Relative Frequency	Word (English)	Raw Frequency	Relative Frequency
kontinents (continent)	15	879.404	Latvia	102	11729.531
RES (Western European Union)	7	410.389	Europe	70	8049.678
gadskārta (anniversary)	7	410.389	nation	48	5519.779
laikmetīgs (contemporary)	6	351.762	European	38	4369.825
transatlantiska (transatlantic)	5	293.135	Latvian	24	2759.89
EDSO (Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe)	5	293.135	Baltic	21	2414.903
IFOR (International Fellowship of Reconciliation)	3	175.881	Poland	19	2184.913
laikmetīgums (modernity)	3	175.881	Soviet	15	1724.931
auglīgs (fruitful)	3	175.881	independence	15	1724.931
neitralitāte (neutrality)	3	175.881	notion	14	1609.936
renacionalizācija (renationalisation)	2	117.254	democracy	13	1494.94

Table 40. Conjunctions in the speeches by G. Ulmanis in Latvian and English

Word	Raw Frequency	Relative Frequency	Word	Raw Frequency	Relative Frequency
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un (and)	622	36465.967	the	554	63707.452
ir (is)	340	19933.165	of	393	45193.19
par (for, about)	161	9438.94	and	313	35993.56
ar (with)	151	8852.67	to	228	26218.951
ka (that)	150	8794.044	in	184	21159.154
mūsu (our)	115	6742.1	a	137	15754.37
Latvijas (Latvia's)	110	6448.965	is	137	15754.37
no (from)	106	6214.457	Latvia	95	10924.563
kas (which)	102	5979.95	that	85	9774.609
arī (too)	101	5921.323	the	72	8279.669

Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga

Table 41. Keywords in the speeches by V. Vīķe-Freiberga in Latvian and English

Word	Raw Frequency	Relative Frequency	Word (English)	Raw Frequency	Relative Frequency
lepni (proud)	12	1182.499	Latvia	114	8944.684
gādāt (take care. provide)	11	1083.957	European	84	6355.434
labvakar (good evening)	7	689.791	EU	70	5492.35
alianse (alliance)	6	591.25	UN	48	3766.183
izdevība (opportunity)	6	591.25	union	43	3373.872
māka (skill)	5	492.708	nations	26	2040.016
galotne (apex)	5	492.708	Latvian	22	1726.167
valstiskums (statehood)	4	394.166	Baltic	18	1726.167
lojāls (loyal)	4	394.166	gentlemen	18	1726.167
sirdsdegsmē (burning heart, metaphorically)	3	295.625	accession	14	1098.47
uguntiņa (fire, diminutive)	3	295.625	Turkey	14	1098.47

Valdis Zatlers

Table 42. Keywords in the speeches by V. Zatlers in Latvian and English

Word	Raw Frequency	Relative Frequency	Word (English)	Raw Frequency	Relative Frequency
godāt (to honour)	26	1442.761	Latvia	170	10762.9
ANO (United Nations, UN)	18	998.835	European	108	6837.607
Afganistāna (Afghanistan)	16	887.853	Union	49	3102.248
stratēģiska (strategic)	13	721.381	UN	33	2089.269
demogrāfija (demography)	12	665.89	Baltic	21	1329.535
latgaliētis (Latgalian)	10	554.908	border	21	1329.535
dzimstība (birth. about rate)	7	388.436	Russia	21	1329.535
strukturāla (structural)	7	388.436	nations	18	1139.601
ekselence (excellency)	6	332.945	EU	18	1139.601
partnervalsts (partner country)	6	332.945	Latvian	17	1076.29
ilgtspēja (sustainability)	6	332.945	rights	15	949.668

Table 43. Conjunctions in the speeches by V. Zatlers in Latvian and English

Word	Raw Frequency	Relative Frequency	Word	Raw Frequency	Relative Frequency
Un (and)	636	35292.159	the	1133	71731.561
Ir (is)	442	24526.941	of	636	40265.907
Latvijas	200	11098.163	to	451	28553.34
Par (for. about)	200	11098.163	and	430	27223.805
Valsts (state)	175	9710.893	in	346	21905.666
Ar (with)	149	8268.132	a	226	14308.325
Ka (that)	137	7602.242	we	214	13548.591
Mūsu (our)	134	7435.769	is	201	12725.546
Arī (also)	116	6436.935	that	178	11269.389

Lai (for)	106	5882.027	Latvia	145	9180.12
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Andris Bērziņš

Table 44. Keywords in the speeches by J. Bērziņš in Latvian and English

Word	Raw Frequency	Relative Frequency	Word (English)	Raw Frequency	Relative Frequency
ANO (United Nations. UN))	24	2469.898	Latvia	17	7252.56
godāt (to honour)	19	1955.336	country	17	7252.56
nācija (nation)	12	1234.949	UN	16	5221.818
svētīt (to bless)	8	823.299	education	14	5972.696
ģenerālsēkretārs (secretary general)	8	823.299	council	11	4692.833
ekselence (excellency)	8	823.299	president	11	4692.833
svētceļnieks (pilgrim)	6	617.475	international	10	4266.212
centrālāzija (centralisation)	5	514.562	democratic	6	1767.677
Aglona	5	514.562	general	6	1767.677
Melngalvju (blackhead, about building in Riga)	4	411.65	responsibility	6	1767.677
konkurētspējīga (competitive)	4	411.65	global	6	1767.677

Table 45. Collocations in the speeches by J. Bērziņš in Latvian and English

Word	Raw Frequency	Relative Frequency	Word	Raw Frequency	Relative Frequency
un (and)	419	43120.305	the	183	78071.672
ir (is)	249	25625.193	of	80	34129.693
par (for)	100	10291.242	and	79	33703.072
Latvijas	81	8335.906	to	73	31143.345

mūsu (our)	77	7924.256	in	61	26023.891
mēs (we)	76	7821.344	a	39	16638.225
valsts (state)	76	7821.344	is	37	15784.983
ka (that)	76	7821.344	we	32	13651.877
ar (with)	68	6998.045	this	23	9812.287
kas (which)	60	6174.745	that	22	9385.666

Raimonds Vējonis

Table 46. Keywords in the speeches by R. Vējonis in Latvian and English

Word	Raw Frequency	Relative Frequency	Word (English)	Raw Frequency	Relative Frequency
ticība (faith)	16	4672.897	Latvia	23	5915.638
brīvība (freedom)	14	4088.785	NATO	17	4372.428
ikviens (everyone)	13	3796.729	peace	17	4372.428
simtgade (centenary)	10	2920.561	UN	15	3858.025
svētīt (to bless)	7	2044.393	conflict	15	3858.025
Aglona	6	1752.336	global	14	3600.823
sveikt (to congratulate)	6	1752.336	Europe	13	3343.621
stiprināt (strengthen)	6	1752.336	Baltic	11	2829.218
stipra (strong)	6	1752.336	nations	10	2572.016
svinēt (celebrate)	6	1752.336	independence	7	1800.412
vizīte (visit)	6	1752.336	Syria	7	1800.412

Table 47. Conjunctions in the speeches by R. Vējonis in Latvian and English

Word	Raw Frequency	Relative Frequency	Word	Raw Frequency	Relative Frequency
un (and)	170	49649.533	the	234	60185.185

ir (is)	73	21320.093	of	142	36522.634
mūsu (our)	64	18691.589	and	139	35751.029
mēs (we)	41	11974.299	to	120	30864.198
par (for, about)	39	11390.187	in	78	20061.728
es (I)	30	8761.682	a	61	15689.3
lai (to, for)	28	8177.57	we	53	13631.687
Latvijas (Latvia's)	28	8177.57	is	44	11316.872
no (of, from)	28	8177.57	for	35	9002.058
mums (us)	27	7885.514	our	34	8744.856
valsts (state)	27	7885.514	are	32	8230.453

Egils Levits

Table 48. Keywords in the speeches by E. Levits in Latvian and English

Word	Raw Frequency	Relative Frequency	Word (English)	Raw Frequency	Relative Frequency
brīvība (freedom)	30	5832.037	Latvia	27	10830.325
neatkarība (independence)	19	3693.624	Baltic	23	9225.832
robežsargs (border guard)	16	3110.42	international	14	5615.274
tēvzeme (fatherland)	12	2332.815	climate	10	4011.321
okupācija (occupation)	10	1944.012	independence	8	3208.985
godināt (to honour)	7	1360.809	UN	8	3208.985
sargāt (protect)	7	1360.809	Europe	8	3208.985
varonība (bravery)	6	1166.407	global	8	3208.985
demokrātiska (democratic)	6	1166.407	democracy	7	2807.862
valstsgriba (state will)	5	972.006	freedom	7	2807.862
solidaritāte (solidarity)	5	972.006	Soviet	5	2005.616
Word	Raw Frequency	Relative Frequency	Word	Raw Frequency	Relative Frequency

un (and)	259	50349.922	the	3226	70189.944
ir (is)	117	22744.946	of	1875	40795.457
mūsu (our)	90	17496.112	and	1514	32940.972
mēs (we)	67	13024.883	to	1318	28676.487
par (about)	67	13024.883	in	958	20843.759
Latvijas (Latvia's)	60	11664.075	a	748	16274.668
valsts (state)	41	7970.451	is	565	12293.031
ar (with)	39	7581.649	we	509	11074.607
savu (own)	36	6998.445	that	468	10182.546
mums (us)	34	6609.642	for	415	9029.394
es (I)	33	6415.241	Latvia	388	8441.94

3.3. The Presidents of Lithuania

Algirdas Brazauskas

Table 49. Keywords and multiword expressions in the speeches by A. Brazauskas in English

Word	Raw Frequency	Relative Frequency	Multiword	Raw Frequency	Relative Frequency
Lithuania	213	11355.2	military transit	11	586.4
Lithuanian	61	3251.9	international community	9	479.8
Russia	43	2292.4	Lithuanian council	8	426.5
independence	36	1919.2	independent state	7	373.2
nations	30	1599.3	Lithuanian state	3	159.9
declaration	27	1439.4	Lithuanian language	3	159.9
signatory	21	1119.5	advent season	3	159.9
transit	21	1119.5	European integration	3	159.9
Baltic	20	1066.2	national holiday	3	159.9
Seimas	17	906.3	modern history	3	159.9

Vilnius	15	799.7	national identity	3	159.9
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Valdas Adamkus

Table 50. Keywords and multiword expressions in the speeches by V. Adamkus in English and Lithuanian

Word	Raw Frequency	Relative Frequency	Multiword	Raw Frequency	Relative Frequency
Lithuania	179	11742.3	national revival	4	262.4
nation	64	4198.4	second millennium	4	262.4
freedom	54	3542.4	contemporary world	4	262.4
independence	37	2427.2	national revival movement	3	196.8
Lithuanian	26	1705.6	national identity	3	196.8
dear	25	1640	national culture	3	196.8
Seimas	19	1246.4	joint work	3	196.8
nations	19	1246.4	Lithuanian nation	2	131.2
declaration	17	1115.2	ruling majority	2	131.2
democracy	15	984	European quality	2	131.2

Word	Raw Frequency	Relative Frequency
Pirmininke (Mr president)	12	1291.2

Gerbiamieji (dear ones)	11	1183.6
Pone (Mr)	8	860.8
Įprasmina (makes sense)	5	538
Moralinė (moral)	5	538
Ekscelencijos (excellence)	4	430.4
Moraline (moral)	4	430.4
Minime (we mention)	4	430.4
Viltingesnę (more hopeful)	3	322.8
Tikresnę (more real)	3	322.8

Arturas Paulauskas

Table 51. Keywords and multiword expressions in the speeches by A. Paulauskas in English

Word	Raw Frequency	Relative Frequency	Multiword	Raw Frequency	Relative Frequency
European	69	13487.1	foreign policy	22	4300.2
Lithuania	64	12509.8	new foreign policy	4	781.9
union	55	10750.599	security policy	3	586.4
policy	41	8014.1	eastern policy	2	390.9
NATO	29	5668.5	decisive impact	2	390.9
Europe	27	5277.6	good neighbour	2	390.9
foreign	25	4886.6	influential member	2	390.9

goal	19	3713.8	Baltic region	2	390.9
economic	18	3518.4	European security	2	390.9
membership	16	3127.4	working hand	2	390.9

Rolandas Paksas

Table 52. Keywords and multiword expressions in the speeches by R. Paksas in English and Lithuanian

Word	Raw Frequency	Relative Frequency	Multiword	Raw Frequency	Relative Frequency	Word	Raw Frequency	Relative Frequency
Lithuania	103	13862.7	active citizenship	3	403.8	brangieji (dear ones)	9	2518.9
Europe	52	6998.7	political development	3	403.8	uždėjot (putting on)	2	559.8
European	39	5249	Lithuanian identity	2	269.2	lipdęs (stuck)	2	559.8
union	27	3663.9	Iraqi crisis	2	269.2	prikėlęs (resurrected)	2	559.8
EU	16	2153.4	foreign oppression	2	269.2	garbingieji (honourable)	2	559.8
dear	14	1884.3	common foreign policy	2	269.2	įsiklausykime (let us listen)	2	559.8
Lithuanian	11	1749.7	national dignity	2	269.2	nebaudžiamumo (impunity)	2	559.8
democracy	11	1749.7	native town	2	269.2	išvedimas (derivation)	2	559.8
motherland	10	1345.9	western civilisation	2	269.2	klaupėme (we knelt)	1	279.9
unity	10	1345.9	European integration	2	269.2	negesusi (unstoppable)	1	279.9

Dalia Grybauskaitė

Table 53. Keywords and multiword expressions in the speeches by D. Grybauskaitė in English

Word	Raw Frequency	Relative Frequency	Multiword	Raw Frequency	Relative Frequency
Lithuania	112	17908.5	national tricolor	3	479.7
freedom	41	6555.8	Lithuanian state	3	479.7
nation	41	6555.8	happy centennial	2	319.8
independence	36	5756.3	happy freedom	2	319.8
dear	28	4477.1	Lithuanian independence	2	319.8
Lithuanian	26	4157.3	strong nation	2	319.8
February	19	3038.1	centennial celebration	2	319.8
unity	13	2078.7	national independence	2	319.8
declaration	11	1758.9	historic opportunity	2	319.8
twenty	11	1758.9	great hope	2	319.8

Table 54. Keywords and multiword expressions in the speeches by D. Grybauskaitė in Lithuanian

Word	Raw Frequency	Relative Frequency
Švente (on holiday)	9	1670.4
Būkime (let us be)	7	1299.2
Mielieji (dear ones)	7	1299.2
Signatarai (signatories)	6	1113.6
Šešioliktoji (sixteen)	5	928
Pasimokykime (let us learn)	4	742.4
Šešioliktąją (the sixteenth)	4	742.4

Signatarų (signatories)	4	742.4
Ryžtas (determination)	4	742.4
Branginkime (let us cherish)	3	556.8

Gitanas Nausėda

Table 55. Keywords and multiword expressions in the speeches by G. Nausėda in English

Word	Raw Frequency	Relative Frequency	Multiword	Raw Frequency	Relative Frequency
Lithuania	44	9647	international law	5	1096.3
freedom	15	3288.8	social exclusion	4	877
uprising	11	2411.8	territorial integrity	3	657.8
UN	10	2192.5	streamlined action	2	438.5
independence	9	1973.3	national agreement	2	438.5
Lithuanian	7	1534.8	historical legacy	2	438.5
insurgent	7	1534.8	joint work	2	438.5
well-being	7	1534.8	general welfare	2	438.5
integrity	7	1534.8	income inequality	2	438.5
homeland	6	1315.5	democratic cultural environment	1	219.3

Table 56. Keywords and multiword expressions in the speeches by G. Nausėda in English

Word	Raw Frequency	Relative Frequency
Klimato (climate)	20	6693.4
Kaitos (changes)	13	4350.7
Pone	5	1673.4

prezidente	5	1673.4
Globaliu (global)	3	1004
Žmoniškumui (humanity)	3	1004
Švaresnės (cleaner)	2	669.3
Šiurkštūs (rough)	2	669.3
Remiame (we support)	2	669.3
Tvaraus (sustainable)	2	669.3

3.4. International Speeches

Table 57. Keywords in the IntCorpEst

Estonia international speeches 1991-2021				
<i>Keyword</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Relative Frequency</i>	<i>Keyness score</i>	<i>Collocations (+-3)</i>
Estonia	467	6546.2	1881.7	has, is, in, that, been, supports, to, its, this, as, will
Estonian	74	1037.3	485.5	language, defence, people, border, parliament, presidency, president, an, have, on
Baltic	109	1527.9	325.9	sea, states, region, strategy, seaboard, three, countries, forces, defence, from, all, has, is, by, security, with
Estonians	26	364.5	321.8	who, are, that, have, is, and, of
eFP (NATO enhanced forward presence)	15	210.3	191.6	battle, is, in, the
Tallin	21	294.4	183.3	September, in, to, the, of
enlargement	41	574.7	135.4	current, why, NATO, European, EU, been, the, has, this, that
e-governance	10	140.2	124.3	to, the, on, and, of
NATO	104	294.4	123.4	enlargement, member, core, membership, Eastern, has, course, role, states, security, must
excellency	21	294.4	107.4	ladies, secretary, Mr., secretary-general, president, general
secretary-general	26	364.5	99.7	Mr, distinguished, president, to, the in
Zapad	7	98.1	96.4	2017, exercise

Table 58. Multiword list in the IntCorpEst

Multiword	Frequency	Relative frequency	Keyness score
cyber hygiene	12	168.2	168.8
European defence	8	112.1	100
legal space	7	98.7	97.5
territorial integrity	9	126.2	82.9
European Union	13	126.2	82.2
preventive diplomacy	6	84.1	81.5
member state	10	140.2	74.1
security environment	6	84.1	70.4
cyber defence	5	70.1	65.2
international community	25	350.4	66
inseparable part	5	70.1	65.2
Baltic Region	5	70.1	65
Small state	5	70.1	62.2

Table 59. Keywords in the IntCorpLat

Latvia international speeches 1991-2021				
<i>Keyword</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Relative Frequency</i>	<i>Keyness score</i>	<i>Collocations (+-3)</i>
Latvia	852	10453.9	3125.4	has, is, in, to, of, that, the, supports, and will, its, people, independence
Latvian	100	1227	615.5	language, companies, government, people, delegation, state, economy, national
Baltic	143	1754.6	374.2	Sea, Way, States, region, three, shores, the, was, nations, annexation, countries, territories, neighbours, occupation
Latvians	30	368.1	328.1	today, were, their, can
peacekeep*	35	429.4	162.6	operations, mission, UN, effective, make, can, more
excellency	35	429.4	155.5	your, ladies, |Mr, president, thank, you, general

statehood	20	245.4	123.9	continuity, Latvia's, our, its, has, of, Latvia, in
Riga	18	220.9	116.8	capital, in, a, to
Saeima	9	110.4	108.2	the, of, parliament
Estonia	27	331.3	95.5	Lithuania, neighbours, Latvia, its, our, and, is, of
Nations	212	2601.2	93.2	United, the, other, of, among, league, system, many, European
Multilateralism	10	122.7	92.4	and, to, a, the

Table 60. Multiword list in the IntCorpLat

Multiword	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Relative frequency</i>	Keyness score
Baltic Way	20	245.4	245.9
international community	70	858.9	161.5
international peace	18	220.9	154.3
reform process	16	196.3	153.5
Soviet occupation	13	159.5	139.3
preventive diplomacy	9	110.4	106.7
political will	17	208.6	100.3
Latvian language	8	98.2	97.7
international agenda	8	98.2	91.6

international system	11	135	90.6
Latvian government	6	73.6	73.3
territorial integrity	9	110.4	72.6
European Union	13	159.5	72

Table 61. Keywords in the IntCorpLt

Lithuania international speeches 1991-2021				
<i>Keyword</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Relative Frequency</i>	<i>Keyness score</i>	<i>Collocations (+-3)</i>
Lithuania	431	7227.2	1810.9	has, is, in, will, to, and, that, of, European, its, for, supports, with, you, people, Europe
Lithuanian	52	872	357.1	people, business, will, with, of, that, for, and, in, to
Vilnius	27	452.7	270.4	conference, in, to, of, and
Baltic	60	1006.1	214.6	States, sea, three, region, other, co-operation, into, council, countries, which, with, Lithuania
Lithuanians	15	251.5	206.4	have and, of to
Belarus	34	570.1	171.1	Moldova, Ukraine, Russia, we, in, as, are, with, for
transatlantic	29	486.3	168.5	link, partnership, cooperation, integration, community, European, we
Kaliningrad	13	218	165.2	district, co-operation, region, with, of, to, and
Euro-Atlantic	10	167.7	149.8	integration, in, of
peace-keeping	10	167.7	146.1	missions, operations, nations, united, and, of
excellency	23	385.7	140.6	your, ladies, Mr, chairman, general, president, you, and
Moldova	18	301.8	131.6	Georgia, Ukraine, Belarus, or, are, and

Table 62. Multiword list in the IntCorpLt

Multiword	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Relative frequency</i>	Keyness score
nuclear safety	16	268.3	154.5
international community	49	821.7	143
European security	10	167.7	132.8
European neighbourhood	8	134.1	105.8
European Union	14	234.8	104.8
political will	13	218	97.3
preventive diplomacy	6	100.6	94
international peace	8	134.1	89.3
energy security	10	167.7	88.1
territorial integrity	8	134.1	80.9
geopolitical situation	5	83.8	78.3
global responsibility	5	83.8	77.4
European state	5	83.8	74

Table 63. Wordlist IntCorp

the	14322	67425.57	from	544	2561.06	no	284	1337.02
of	8199	38599.51	united	536	2523.4	do	274	1289.95
and	7071	33289.08	but	526	2476.32	state	274	1289.95
to	6304	29678.17	new	516	2429.24	country	269	1266.41
in	4331	20389.62	must	512	2410.41	like	267	1256.99
a	3255	15323.99	union	507	2386.87	they	262	1233.45
we	2592	12202.7	development	507	2386.87	important	261	1228.74
is	2507	11802.53	more	501	2358.62	year	261	1228.74
that	2293	10795.06	their	484	2278.59	peace	250	1176.96
for	2013	9476.87	un	476	2240.93	first	249	1172.25
our	1442	6788.69	should	470	2212.68	between	242	1139.3

this	1438	6769.86	Estonia	466	2193.85	when	238	1120.46
as	1394	6562.72	us	446	2099.69	Russia	235	1106.34
be	1373	6463.85	was	444	2090.28	work	233	1096.92
it	1363	6416.77	been	425	2000.83	my	231	1087.51
on	1248	5875.37	human	419	1972.58	such	231	1087.51
with	1200	5649.4	or	419	1972.58	well	229	1078.09
are	1119	5268.06	Lithuania	417	1963.17	if	227	1068.68
have	1095	5155.08	would	415	1953.75	ladies	226	1063.97
will	1091	5136.24	rights	409	1925.5	gentlemen	226	1063.97
I	1067	5023.26	people	401	1887.84	region	218	1026.31
not	1009	4750.2	these	397	1869.01	efforts	217	1021.6
has	996	4689	you	395	1859.59	about	217	1021.6
by	959	4514.81	council	385	1812.52	community	216	1016.89
European	842	3963.99	only	383	1803.1	Mr.	212	998.06
Europe	774	3643.86	other	361	1699.53	common	211	993.35
Latvia	770	3625.03	one	356	1675.99	into	208	979.23
all	736	3464.96	global	351	1652.45	who	207	974.52
its	727	3422.59	years	344	1619.49	support	201	946.27
an	707	3328.44	EU	344	1619.49	democratic	200	941.57
nations	634	2984.77	president	332	1563	most	199	936.86
security	630	2965.93	future	330	1553.58	both	199	936.86
international	624	2937.69	economic	317	1492.38	make	199	936.86
states	612	2881.19	member	314	1478.26	so	199	936.86
can	610	2871.78	Baltic	312	1468.84	cooperation	198	932.15
countries	606	2852.95	time	308	1450.01	many	196	922.74
world	588	2768.21	there	304	1431.18	what	195	918.03
which	587	2763.5	today	296	1393.52	than	193	908.61
also	575	2707	political	292	1374.69	law	193	908.61

at	551	2594.02	need	284	1337.02	challenges	192	903.9
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even	191	899.2	take	148	696.76	past	124	583.77
general	190	894.49	two	147	692.05	since	121	569.65
were	189	889.78	free	147	692.05	yet	119	560.23
those	188	885.07	same	145	682.64	eastern	118	555.52
am	187	880.36	up	144	677.93	out	118	555.52
NATO	184	866.24	ago	144	677.93	crisis	118	555.52
role	184	866.24	part	144	677.93	strong	118	555.52
democracy	180	847.41	could	142	668.51	good	118	555.52
change	178	837.99	order	142	668.51	every	117	550.82
energy	177	833.29	climate	142	668.51	them	116	546.11
policy	174	819.16	foreign	142	668.51	without	116	546.11
values	172	809.75	however	141	663.8	better	114	536.69
national	171	805.04	war	140	659.1	help	114	536.69
process	168	790.92	any	139	654.39	conflicts	113	531.99
had	168	790.92	among	138	649.68	needs	113	531.99
together	164	772.08	against	137	644.97	respect	112	527.28
last	163	767.38	agreement	137	644.97	system	112	527.28
already	161	757.96	soviet	137	644.97	situation	112	527.28
continue	161	757.96	let	135	635.56	great	112	527.28
through	161	757.96	assembly	135	635.56	century	112	527.28
very	160	753.25	after	135	635.56	military	111	522.57
become	160	753.25	experience	135	635.56	Latvia's	111	522.57
issues	159	748.55	here	134	630.85	end	111	522.57
some	159	748.55	principles	133	626.14	see	110	517.86
goals	159	748.55	me	133	626.14	agenda	110	517.86
during	158	743.84	sustainable	132	621.43	rule	109	513.15

therefore	158	743.84	because	131	616.73	conflict	109	513.15
how	156	734.42	freedom	130	612.02	each	107	503.74
relations	156	734.42	thank	130	612.02	effective	106	499.03
still	156	734.42	economy	129	607.31	east	106	499.03
members	155	729.71	just	129	607.31	action	105	494.32
where	154	725.01	independence	128	602.6	level	105	494.32
your	153	720.3	social	128	602.6	regional	102	480.2
responsibility	153	720.3	society	128	602.6	protection	102	480.2
use	153	720.3	reform	127	597.89	history	102	480.2
now	150	706.17	over	127	597.89	conference	102	480.2
believe	150	706.17	sea	127	597.89	membership	102	480.2
small	150	706.17	Russian	126	593.19	women	101	475.49
way	149	701.47	own	126	593.19	Latvian	101	475.49
hope	149	701.47	stability	125	588.48	share	100	470.78

3.5. Word Sketches

WORD SKETCH International speeches

identity as noun 44x

modifiers of "identity"	nouns modified by "identity"	verbs with "identity" as object	verbs with "identity" as subject	"identity" and/or ...	prepositional phrases	adjective predicates of "identity"	possessors of "identity"	pronominal possessors of "identity"
explicit explicit Central European identity	culture identity, culture	preserve preserve its identity	be identity is	culture identity and culture	"identity" of of "identity"	clear identity is clear	nation nation's identity	her her identity
national national identity of		carry identity is carried		history history and identity	... on "identity"		group group's national identity	its its identity
religious religious identity		safeguard safeguard the national identity		value identity and the common values	... to "identity"		Union the European Union's future identity	their their national identity
civic civic identity		endanger endanger its identity		state State and national identity	"identity" in with "identity"		country country's identity	our our identity
continuous continuous identity		forge forging the identity		Union identity, our European Union	... about "identity"		Latvia Latvia's continuous identity	
secure secure digital identity		acquire acquired an explicit Central European identity		security identity, the security				
future the European Union's future identity		undermine undermining the identity						
central Central European identity		link identity is closely linked						
digital digital identity		seek seek only its own identity						
Latvian Latvian identity		maintain maintain their identity						
own own identity		continue continuing identity						
European European identity		create create identity						

Figure 6. Word sketch for 'identity' in the IntCorp

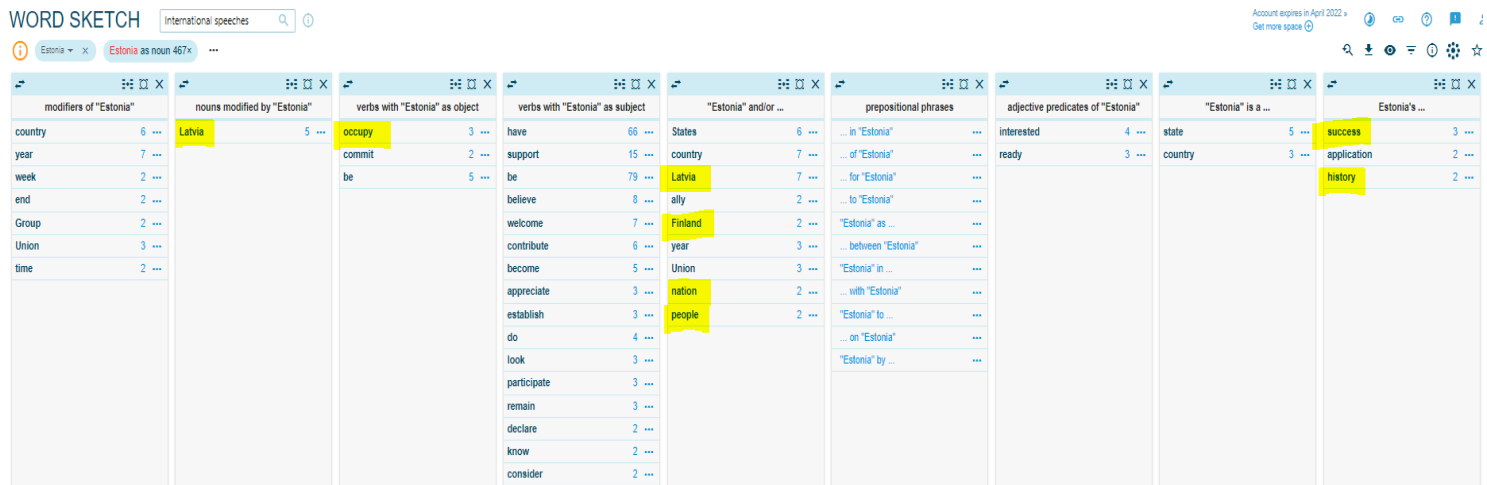


Figure 7. Word sketch for 'Estonia'

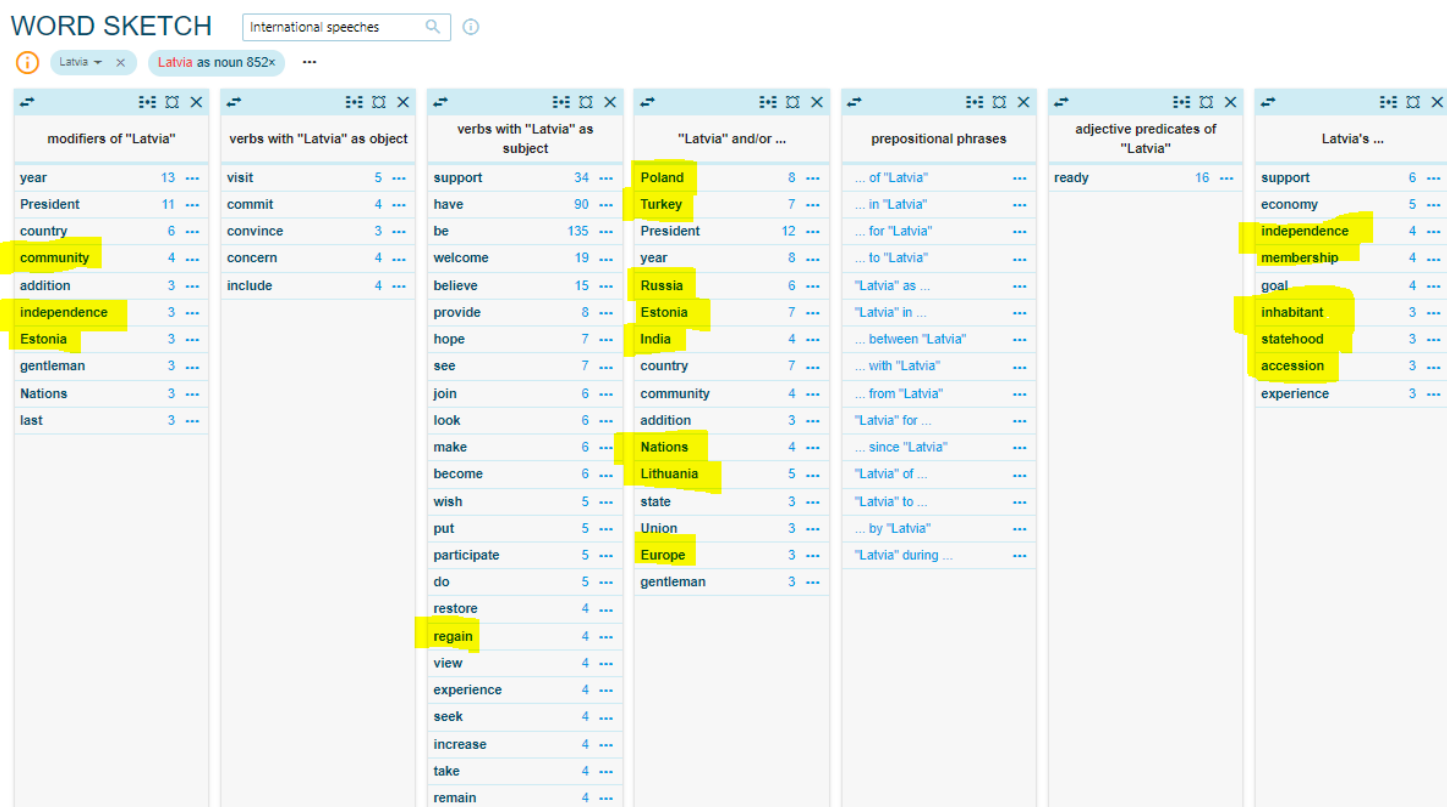


Figure 8. Word sketch for 'Latvia'

WORD SKETCH

International speeches

Account expires in April 2022
Get more space

modifiers of "Lithuania"	verbs with "Lithuania" as object	verbs with "Lithuania" as subject	"Lithuania" and/or ...	prepositional phrases	adjective predicates of "Lithuania"	Lithuania's ...	nouns modified by "Lithuania"	"Lithuania" is a ...	pronominal possessors of "Lithuania"
year 9 ...	engage 2 ...	support 13 ...	Brazil 6 ...	... of "Lithuania" ...	aware 3 ...	presidency 3 ...	Poland 2 ...	country 3 ...	its 2 ...
Today 5 ...	connect 2 ...	have 44 ...	Poland 6 ...	... in "Lithuania" ...	interested 3 ...	commitment 3 ...	Latvia 4 ...		
state 4 ...	visit 2 ...	be 66 ...	state 6 ...	... to "Lithuania" ...	ready 4 ...	view 2 ...			
time 3 ...	know 2 ...	seek 5 ...	Russia 5 ...	... for "Lithuania" ...		capital 2 ...			
country 3 ...	allow 2 ...	take 5 ...	reason 2 ...	... between "Lithuania" ...		growth 2 ...			
Welfare 2 ...	make 3 ...	embrace 4 ...	China 2 ...	"Lithuania" as ...		neighborhood 2 ...			
reason 2 ...		enjoy 4 ...	States 3 ...	... from "Lithuania" ...		integration 2 ...			
gentleman 2 ...		welcome 4 ...	Latvia 5 ...	"Lithuania" to ...		proposal 2 ...			
Independent 2 ...		become 4 ...	today 2 ...	"Lithuania" in ...		economy 2 ...			
Europe 2 ...		hold 3 ...	Europe 3 ...	... by "Lithuania" ...					
President 3 ...		achieve 3 ...	country 3 ...	... with "Lithuania" ...					
last 2 ...		remain 3 ...	EU 2 ...	... about "Lithuania" ...					
		make 3 ...	President 3 ...	... on "Lithuania" ...					
		choose 2 ...	Union 2 ...	"Lithuania" at ...					
		call 2 ...	gentleman 2 ...	"Lithuania" by ...					
		feel 2 ...		... through "Lithuania" ...					
		meet 2 ...		"Lithuania" into ...					
		join 2 ...							
		contribute 2 ...							
		believe 2 ...							
		do 2 ...							

Figure 9. Word sketch for 'Lithuania'

WORD SKETCH

International speeches

Account expires in April 2022
Get more space

modifiers of "Europe"	verbs with "Europe" as object	verbs with "Europe" as subject	"Europe" and/or ...	prepositional phrases	adjective predicates of "Europe"	Europe's ...	nouns modified by "Europe"	pronominal possessors of "Europe"
Eastern 33 ... Central and Eastern Europe	unite 8 ... a united Europe	be 64 ... Europe is	Central 14 ... in Central and Eastern Europe	... of "Europe" ...	ready 4 ... Europe is ready	East 5 ... Europe's East	Agreement 5 ... ratification of the Europe Agreement	our 5 ... our Europe
Western 12 ... Western Europe	divide 3 ... divided Europe	have 35 ... Council of Europe has	America 12 ... America and Europe	... in "Europe" ...		policy 3 ... Europe's policies	today 8 ... in Europe today	
Central 12 ... of Central Europe	build 3 ... build Europe	need 6 ... Europe needs	Russia 7 ... Europe, Russia and the	... to "Europe" ...			Russia 3 ... Europe, Russia and the	
new 21 ... the new Europe	develop 3 ... developing Europe	go 5 ... Europe is going to	Europe 8 ... Europe and Europe	... for "Europe" ...				
Northern 6 ... in Northern Europe	create 3 ... create a competitive Europe	do 3 ... Europe as do	world 5 ... Europe and the world	"Europe" as ...				
united 5 ... a strong and united Europe	be 7 ... is Europe		States 5 ... the United States and Europe	"Europe" of ...				
unified 5 ... a more unified Europe			Western 3 ... Western and Central Europe	"Europe" in ...				
strong 7 ... more competitive and stronger Europe will be			Lithuania 3 ... Lithuania	... from "Europe" ...				
central 4 ... eastern and central Europe			Latvia 3 ... Latvia and a free Europe	... between "Europe" ...				
free 5 ... a whole and free Europe			gentleman 3 ... Ladies and gentlemen Europe	"Europe" for ...				
democratic 6 ... of democratic Europe				"Europe" at ...				
competitive 3 ... competitive Europe				"Europe" through ...				
prosperous 3 ... and prosperous Europe								
gentleman 3 ... Ladies and gentlemen Europe								
eastern 3 ... in central and eastern Europe								

Figure 10. Word sketch for 'Europe'

WORD SKETCH

International speeches

Account expires in April 2022

modifiers of "Russia"	verbs with "Russia" as object	verbs with "Russia" as subject	"Russia" and/or ...	prepositional phrases	adjective predicates of "Russia"	Russia's ...	nouns modified by "Russia"	pronominal possessors of "Russia"	"Russia" is a ...
Europe Europe, Russia and the clout clout, Russia size size, Russia period period, Russia USA USA, Russia present-day present-day Russia east east, Russia Poland Poland, Russia China China, Russia Moldova Moldova, Russia democratic democratic Russia Belarus Belarus, Russia Soviet Soviet Russia Ukraine Ukraine, Russia fast fast, Russia today today, Russia power power, Russia neighbour neighbours, especially Russia Western Western Russia open open Russia modern modern Russia year year, Russia new new Russia	tell tell Russia ask asked Russia agree agreed, Russia condemn Russia is condemned help help Russia assist assist Russia grant Russia was granted draw drawing Russia link Russia that is linked neighbour neighbouring Russia accept accept Russia include including Russia welcome welcoming Russia develop develop Russia be is mostly Russia	respect Russia respecting choose if Russia chooses try Russia are still trying do Russia does cause Russia causing use used by Russia continue Russia continues to have Russia has need Russia needs cruise Russia is cruising invade Russia invaded devote Russia devotes ignore Russia ignores withdraw Russia withdrew annex Russia annexed reduce Russia is reducing evaluate Russia evaluates link Russia linked indicate Russia indicate build Russia building view Russia view lose Russia has lost pose Russia is steadily posing	Union the European Union and Russia Belarus Russia and Belarus neighbour neighbours, especially Russia country countries and Russia Europe Europe, Russia and the Poland Russia, Poland Lithuania relations between Lithuania and Russia Ukraine Ukraine, Russia Latvia relations between Latvia and Russia Finland Finland and Russia States by the United States and Russia relation Russia, and our own relations Germany Russia, Germany Moldova Russia, Moldova EU Russia and the EU AllianceM Russia and the AllianceM clout clout, Russia period period, Russia size size, Russia USA USA, Russia past Russia and its Stalinist past enlargement Russia and enlargement China China, Russia	...with "Russia" ...of "Russia" ...in "Russia" "Russia" in ......between "Russia" ...on "Russia" ...to "Russia" ...by "Russia" ...towards "Russia" "Russia" to ... "Russia" for ... "Russia" as ... "Russia" on ......from "Russia" ...for "Russia" ...as "Russia" "Russia" with ......since "Russia" "Russia" at ... "Russia" against ......against "Russia" "Russia" towards ... Russia and the EU "Russia" into ......upon "Russia" ...vis-à-vis "Russia" ...if "Russia" ...vis-a-vis "Russia" ...beside "Russia"	irreversible Russia is irreversible ineffective Russia is still ineffective several Russia several equal Russia is equal	aggression able to stop Russia's aggression against Ukraine and willingness Russia's willingness to action Russia's appalling military actions relation in Russia's relations with membership Russia's membership policy Russia's neighbourhood policy invasion Russia's invasion complex Russia's insulation complexes disrespect Russia's open disrespect burden Russia's unenviable inherited burden trouble Russia's troubles choice Russia's choice respect Russia's respect exercise Russia's nuclear trade exercise candidacy Russia's candidacy resource Russia's rich natural resources responsibility Russia's special responsibility weapon Russia's weapon position Russia's positions enlargement Russia's enlargement democracy Russia's democracy accession Russia's speedy accession interest Russia's own interests	Poland Russia, Poland sound Russia's sound move Russia's move First Russia First Belarus Russia, Belarus Finland Russia, Finland Moldova Russia, Moldova Germany Russia, Germany Yeltsin Russia Boris Yeltsin Ukraine Russia, Ukraine II Russia Aleksey II relation Russia, relations today Russia today issue Russia several key issues	our our east, Russia	approach Russia's (increasingly revisionist approach) history Russia is indeed a history neighbour Russia is not a new neighbour step Russia is the right step country Russia was the first country

Figure 11. Word sketch for 'Russia'

WORD SKETCH

International speeches

Account expires in April 2022

modifiers of "world"	verbs with "world" as object	verbs with "world" as subject	"world" and/or ...	prepositional phrases	adjective predicates of "world"	world's ...	nouns modified by "world"	pronominal possessors of "world"	possessors of "world"
entire the entire world whole the whole world modern of the modern world analogue in the analogue world good a better world prosperous stable and prosperous world where conflict third of the world Western of the Western world stable stable world interdependent interdependent world virtual the virtual world resilient garrison, climate resilient world. Mr President globalised a globalised world outside the outside world fourth fourth world integrated of a more integrated world lies in democracy peaceful peaceful world cyber the cyber world democratic democratic world free the free world climate the climate, climate resilient world. Mr President global global world	change changing world globalize globalized world divide divides the world into transform world is only digitally transformed extend goal is to extend world wide the peace need needs the world develop the developing world create world created make to work to make the world a better place bring bring that world be is a world	face challenges the world is facing today change The world has changed need The world needs a strong UN lack world still lack lie a more integrated world lies in democracy and become the world has become a go world is going come world came be the world is have the world has	world of the entire world, a world in which today misery parts of the world, the misery brought on by procedure part of the world, the selection procedure should not restrict democracy Europe and the world Nations the United Nations	...in "world" ...of "world" ...around "world" "world" of ......throughout "world" ...to "world" "world" in ......for "world" "world" by ... "world" with ......from "world" "world" into ......to "world" "world" to ... "world" as ......as "world" ...with "world" ...towards "world" "world" over ......across "world"	poor blight of the world's poor. These important wide is to extend world wide the peace stable world was more stable	population half of the world's population, no woman nation to help the world's poorest nations become more self-sufficient majority the world's majority attention world's attention	order world order leader large world leaders to save every war the second world war population bigger segments of world population as citizens affair world affairs community of the world community economy the world economy map erased from the world map today the world today heritage world cultural heritage arena on the world arena view world view peace the world peace society world society to event world events security to world security	our our world	today in today's world

Figure 12. Word sketch 'world'

4. Speeches and Mark-Up for Qualitative Analysis

Table 64. The speeches by the Presidents of Estonia

Code	Year	Occasion	Speech length
LM1	1992	New Year	942
LM2	1993	Independence Day	2502
LM3	1994	Independence Day	2324
LM4	1996	Independence Day	2286
LM5	1998	Restoration of Independence	402
LM6	1998	Independence Day concert	823
LM7	1999	Independence Day	3205
LM8	2000	Independence Day	4807
LM9	2001	Independence Day	3445
AR1	2001	New Year	1342
AR2	2002	Restoration of Independence	1248
AR3	2002	Independence Day	2727
AR4	2003	Restoration of Independence	916
AR5	2003	Independence Day	2797
AR6	2004	Restoration of Independence	986
AR7	2004	Independence Day	2581
AR8	2005	Restoration of Independence	830
AR9	2005	Independence Day	2927
AR10	2006	Restoration of Independence	685
AR11	2006	Independence Day	2258
THI1	2006	New Year	886
THI2	2007	Independence Day	3160
THI3	2007	Restoration of Independence	1728
THI4	2008	Restoration of Independence	1829
THI5	2011	Independence Day	3280
THI6	2011	Restoration of Independence	871
THI7	2012	Independence Day	3465
THI8	2012	Restoration of Independence	1357
THI9	2013	Independence Day	3116
THI10	2013	Restoration of Independence	1369
THI11	2014	Restoration of Independence	1864
THI12	2015	Restoration of Independence	1847
THI13	2016	Independence Day	2959
THI14	2016	Restoration of Independence	1627
KK1	2016	New Year	825
KK2	2017	Restoration of Independence	1737

KK3	2017	Independence Day	3980
KK4	2018	Independence Day	2343
KK5	2018	Restoration of Independence	1896
KK6	2018	New Year	850

Table 65. Speeches by the Presidents of Latvia

Code	Year	Occasion	Speech length
JC1	1919	Opening of first University	233
JC2	1919	Independence Day	1050
JC3	1920	After elections	182
JC4	1920	Baltic conference	251
JC5	1920	Independence Day	612
JC6	1921	International recognition of Latvia	606
JC7	1926	Independence Day speech	258
JC8	1922	Speech at the parliament	787
GZ1	1927	Speech to the king of Sweden	203
GZ2	1927	Speech to the army on Independence Day	199
GZ3	1930	Speech to the army at Lāčplēsis day on November 11	197
AK1	1934	New Year	1344
AK2	1934	Independence Day	2172
AK3	1934	Lāčplēsis war Orden speech	388
AK4	1933	Independence Day speech	424
AK5	1933	To the leader of Estonia	353
KU1	1934	coup d'état on May 15	96
KU2	1937	Independence Day	1270
KU3	1940	Song festival	476
KU4	1940	Radio speech at the Soviet Troops entering Latvia	367
KU5	1934	Celebration in Liepāja	2714
KU6	1940	Speech to Riga Latvian association	776
KU7	1940	In Lāčplēsis Remembrance Day	1465
KU8	1939	Song Festival	901
KU9	1938	Independence Day	910
KU10	1936	Independence Day	1739
GU1	1995	to the newly elected sixth Parliament	1869
GU2	1996	meeting with ambassadors of NATO and EU	2670
GU3	1997	Independence Day	1629
GU4	1996	visit in Brussels	2527
GU5	1996	New Year	573
GU6	1998	Independence Day	1855
GU7	1993	Independence Day to Latvians in Toronto	2687
GU8	1993	Speech in Daugavpils to the public	1638

GU9	1993	Welcoming Pope Jon Pavel II in Latvia 1993	727
VVF1	1999	Independence Day	928
VVF2	2000	Independence Day	1187
VVF3	2001	song festival	505
VVF4	2002	Assumption of Virgin Mary into Heaven celebration in Aglona	220
VVF5	2002	Independence Day	1084
VVF6	2003	Song festival	517
VVF7	2005	Barricade Remembrance Day	388
VVF8	2005	Restoration of independence	431
VVF9	2005	Independence Day	1069
VVF10	2005	New year	289
VVF11	2006	Lāčplēsis day	955
VVF12	2006	Independence Day	1078
VZ1	2009	Independence Day	891
VZ2	2009	New Year	842
VZ3	2011	Speech for Lithuanian barricades remembrance	397
VZ4	2010	Millennium conference	596
VZ5	2011	In the university of Latvia	6558
VZ6	2010	In ANO General assembly	1596
VZ7	2008	Independence Day speech in Latgale	760
VZ8	2010	Assumption of Virgin Mary into Heaven celebration in Aglona	309
VZ9	2010	speech in the parliament	2093
VZ10	2011	to the ambassadors of Latvia	1436
AB1	2011	in the parliament	353
AB2	2011	speech in ANO meeting	1154
AB3	2011	New year	1001
AB4	2012	science congress	698
AB5	2012	Independence Day	603
AB6	2012	Independence Day concert	777
AB7	2012	Lāčplēsis day	343
AB8	2012	European leader summit	777
AB9	2013	ANO conference	1246
AB10	2013	Assumption of Virgin Mary into Heaven celebration in Aglona	221
AB11	2014	Meeting of European leaders	464
AB12	2014	Assumption of Virgin Mary into Heaven celebration in Aglona	406
AB13	2014	Independence Day concert	394
RV1	2017	Assumption of Virgin Mary into Heaven celebration in Aglona	324
RV2	2017	Independence Day	538
RV3	2017	New year	307
RV4	2018	song festival	298

RV5	2018	Assumption of Virgin Mary into Heaven celebration in Aglona	437
RV6	2018	visit of the Pope of Rome	386
RV7	2018	Independence Day	370
RV8	2018	New Year	305
EL1	2019	At the Freedom Monument July 2019	548
EL2	2019	In the National Library, Inauguration speech	470
EL3	2019	Assumption of Virgin Mary into Heaven celebration in Aglona	386
EL4	2019	Anniversary of airBaltic	289
EL5	2019	Visit at Likteņdārzs	179
EL6	2019	Visit at the state military office in Rēzekne	453
EL7	2019	Military parade	608
EL8	2019	Independence Day	504
EL9	2019	Christmas Speech for families at the President Castle	466
EL10	2019	New year speech	455

Table 66. Speeches by the Presidents of Lithuania

Code	Year	Occasion	Speech length
AIB1	1994	Speech at the Parliament	3825
Alb2	1994	Speech in New York	3831
AIB3	1995	Speech to the EU members	580
AIB4	1995	Advent	287
AIB5	1996	Independence Day	1974
AIB6	1996	Speech to the EU members	721
AIB7	1997	Independence Day	2133
AIB8	1997	Easter	148
AIB9	1997	Freedom Defenders Day	1291
AIB10	1998	Independence Day	2347
VA1	1998	United Nations Meeting	2092
VA2	1999	EU conference	773
VA3	2000	Restoration of Independence	775
VA4	2000	Independence Day	1145
VA5	2001	Restoration of Independence	675
VA6	2002	Restoration of Independence	312
VA7	2003	Restoration of Independence	722
VA8	2004	Inauguration	2242
VA9	2005	Restoration of Independence	771
VA10	2006	Restoration of Independence	724
VA11	2007	Independence Day	536
VA12	2007	New Year and Christmas	360
VA13	2008	Independence Day	1446

VA14	2008	New Year and Christmas	411
VA15	2008	Independence Day	1181
RP1	2003	Inauguration	2084
RP2	2003	Holy See Conference	880
RP3	2003	Signing the Treaty of EU	503
RP4	2003	Independence Day	1927
RP5	2003	EU congress	1396
AP1	2004	speech in the parliament	1430
AP2	2004	on the foreign policy	3283
DG1	2009	Inauguration	314
DG2	2009	Independence Day	426
DG3	2009	Restoration of Independence	174
DG4	2010	Independence Day	558
DG5	2011	Freedom defender's day	468
DG6	2011	Independence Day	421
DG7	2012	Independence Day	389
DG8	2014	Awards ceremony	243
DG9	2014	Independence Day	333
DG10	2015	Independence Day	439
DG11	2016	Restoration of Independence	438
DG12	2017	New Year and Christmas	285
DG13	2017	Independence Day	400
DG14	2018	Visit of the Pope Francis	508
DG15	2018	Independence Day	229
DG16	2018	Baltic Independence	443
GN1	2019	at the United Nations General Assembly	1643
GN2	2019	at the state burial ceremony for the leaders and participants of the 1863-1864 uprising	1116
GN3	2019	Inaugural address	1331

Table 67. International Speeches Markup

Code	President	Year	State	Occasion	Words
AR1991, UNGA	Arnold Rüütel	1991	Estonia	United Nations General Assembly meeting	738
AR2001, USA	Arnold Rüütel	2001	Estonia	To the Ambassador in USA	462
AR2001, EUconf	Arnold Rüütel	2001	Estonia	At the European Conference	663
AR2002, EUPARL	Arnold Rüütel	2002	Estonia	At the EU Parliament	1076

AR2002, EUCOUN	Arnold Rüütel	2002	Estonia	to the Council of Europe	350
AR2003, CONF	Arnold Rüütel	2003	Estonia	at international conference	950
AR2003, UNGA	Arnold Rüütel	2003	Estonia	United Nations General Assembly meeting	1840
AR2004UNGA	Arnold Rüütel	2004	Estonia	United Nations General Assembly meeting	1958
AR2005, EUSUM	Arnold Rüütel	2005	Estonia	to the Council of Europe	953
AR2005UNGA	Arnold Rüütel	2005	Estonia	United Nations General Assembly meeting	1361
AR2006, STUN	Arnold Rüütel	2006	Estonia	conference in Stanford University	1522
AB2011, UNGA	Andris Bērziņš	2011	Latvia	United Nations General Assembly meeting	1496
AB2012, UNGA	Andris Bērziņš	2012	Latvia	United Nations General Assembly meeting	1327
AB2013, UNGA	Andris Bērziņš	2013	Latvia	United Nations General Assembly meeting	1132
AB2014, UNGA	Andris Bērziņš	2014	Latvia	United Nations General Assembly meeting	1547
AB2015, EDMIN	Andris Bērziņš	2015	Latvia	ASEM meeting of education ministers	640
AIB1993, UNGA	Algirdas Brazauskas	1993	Lithuania	United Nations General Assembly meeting	2951
AIB1994, EUParl	Algirdas Brazauskas	1994	Lithuania	At the EU Parliament	3182
AIB1994, UNGA	Algirdas Brazauskas	1994	Lithuania	United Nations General Assembly meeting	3813
AIB1995, Eum	Algirdas Brazauskas	1995	Lithuania	EU member lunch	558
AIB1995, UNGA	Algirdas Brazauskas	1995	Lithuania	United Nations General Assembly meeting	750
AIB1996, Eul	Algirdas Brazauskas	1996	Lithuania	To the EU ambassador lunch	694
EL2019, BalW	Egils Levits	2019	Latvia	Baltic Way conference	686
EL2019, UNGA	Egils Levits	2019	Latvia	United Nations General Assembly meeting	1576

EL2019, UNSUM	Egils Levits	2019	Latvia	Summit of the leaders of the United Nations	407
EL2020, UNJUB	Egils Levits	2020	Latvia	United Nations 75 Jubilee	344
EL2020, BALUN	Egils Levits	2020	Latvia	Baltic Appeal to the UN	935
EL2020, EUINFO	Egils Levits	2020	Latvia	EU information providers forum	1499
EL2020, EUC	Egils Levits	2020	Latvia	to the Council of Europe	589
EL2020, LVEU	Egils Levits	2020	Latvia	About Latvia's interests in the EU	730
EL2020UNGA	Egils Levits	2020	Latvia	United Nations General Assembly meeting	1386
EL2021, Conf	Egils Levits	2021	Latvia	International conference about the future of jobs	1737
EL2021, UNGA	Egils Levits	2021	Latvia	United Nations General Assembly meeting	1680
VVF1999, UNGA	Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga	1999	Latvia	United Nations General Assembly meeting	1427
VVF2000, LDNS	Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga	2000	Latvia	in London School of Economics	3197
VVF2000, UNMA	Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga	2000	Latvia	At the United Nations Millennium Assembly	782
VVF2002, UNGA	Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga	2002	Latvia	United Nations General Assembly meeting	1907
VVF2003, UNGA	Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga	2003	Latvia	United Nations General Assembly meeting	1686
VVF2003, EUParl	Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga	2003	Latvia	At the EU Parliament	2895
VVF2004, UNGA	Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga	2004	Latvia	United Nations General Assembly meeting	1348
VVF2004, LVEX	Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga	2004	Latvia	About Latvians in Exile	654
VVF2005, UNGA	Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga	2005	Latvia	United Nations General Assembly meeting	2484
VVF2005, TRK	Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga	2005	Latvia	Speech in Turkey	972
VVF2006, UNGA	Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga	2006	Latvia	United Nations General Assembly meeting	649

VVF2007, UNGA	Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga	2007	Latvia	United Nations General Assembly meeting	2476
GU1993, UNGA	Guntis Ulmanis	1993	Latvia	United Nations General Assembly meeting	3595
GU1994, UNGA	Guntis Ulmanis	1994	Latvia	United Nations General Assembly meeting	3066
GU1995, UNGA	Guntis Ulmanis	1995	Latvia	United Nations General Assembly meeting	735
GU1996, EUParl	Guntis Ulmanis	1996	Latvia	At the EU Parliament	3175
GU1997, TRK	Guntis Ulmanis	1997	Latvia	Speech in Turkey	931
GU1997, Ind	Guntis Ulmanis	1997	Latvia	Speech in India	1145
GU1998, FORAF	Guntis Ulmanis	1998	Latvia	Speech on foreign affairs of Latvia	1324
GU1998, PL	Guntis Ulmanis	1998	Latvia	Speech in Poland	1357
GN2019, FINT	Gitanas Nausėda	2019	Lithuania	at FinTech conference	518
GN2019, UNGA	Gitanas Nausėda	2019	Lithuania	United Nations General Assembly meeting	1643
GN2020, UNGA	Gitanas Nausėda	2020	Lithuania	United Nations General Assembly meeting	1794
GN2020, EUC	Gitanas Nausėda	2020	Lithuania	at EU conference	1248
GN2021, HRUN	Gitanas Nausėda	2021	Lithuania	at the Un human rights council	881
GN2021, UNGA	Gitanas Nausėda	2021	Lithuania	United Nations General Assembly meeting	1680
DG2009, UNGA	Dalia Grybauskaitė	2009	Lithuania	United Nations General Assembly meeting	896
DG2010, CWL	Dalia Grybauskaitė	2010	Lithuania	to the council of women leaders	447
DG2010, IGF	Dalia Grybauskaitė	2010	Lithuania	in the internet governance form	410
DG2010, UNGA	Dalia Grybauskaitė	2010	Lithuania	United Nations General Assembly meeting	766
DG2010, OSCE	Dalia Grybauskaitė	2010	Lithuania	OSCE summit	250

DG2011, UNGA	Dalia Grybauskaitė	2011	Lithuania	United Nations General Assembly meeting	830
DG2012, UNGA	Dalia Grybauskaitė	2012	Lithuania	United Nations General Assembly meeting	685
DG2013, UNGA	Dalia Grybauskaitė	2013	Lithuania	United Nations General Assembly meeting	338
DG2013, EUP	Dalia Grybauskaitė	2013	Lithuania	To the EU Parliament	743
DG2014, UNGA	Dalia Grybauskaitė	2014	Lithuania	United Nations General Assembly meeting	296
DG2014, NATOM	Dalia Grybauskaitė	2014	Lithuania	at the NATO military conference	611
DG2015, UNGA	Dalia Grybauskaitė	2015	Lithuania	United Nations General Assembly meeting	768
DG2015, UNS	Dalia Grybauskaitė	2015	Lithuania	United nations summit	453
DG2016, UNGA	Dalia Grybauskaitė	2016	Lithuania	United Nations General Assembly meeting	574
DG2017, UNGA	Dalia Grybauskaitė	2017	Lithuania	United Nations General Assembly meeting	527
DG2017, WCJ	Dalia Grybauskaitė	2017	Lithuania	at the world congress of justice	569
DG2018, UNGA	Dalia Grybauskaitė	2018	Lithuania	United Nations General Assembly meeting	482
THI2007, UNCL	Toomas Henrik Ilves	2007	Estonia	at the Un conference on climate	913
THI2007, UNGA	Toomas Henrik Ilves	2007	Estonia	United Nations General Assembly meeting	1143
THI2008, PLAEU	Toomas Henrik Ilves	2008	Estonia	at the plenary assembly of EU	2690
THI2009, BALSC	Toomas Henrik Ilves	2009	Estonia	at the Baltic Sea conference	1735
THI2009, UNGA	Toomas Henrik Ilves	2009	Estonia	United Nations General Assembly meeting	1303
THI2010, UNGA	Toomas Henrik Ilves	2010	Estonia	United Nations General Assembly meeting	1140
THI2011, UNGA	Toomas Henrik Ilves	2011	Estonia	United Nations General Assembly meeting	2049

THI2012, UNGA	Toomas Henrik Ilves	2012	Estonia	United Nations General Assembly meeting	1823
THI2014, UNGA	Toomas Henrik Ilves	2014	Estonia	United Nations General Assembly meeting	2001
THI2016, UNGA	Toomas Henrik Ilves	2016	Estonia	United Nations General Assembly meeting	1675
KK2017, BALEUD	Kersi Kaljulaid	2017	Estonia	Baltic and EU defence conference	1468
KK2017, EUD	Kersi Kaljulaid	2017	Estonia	European defence conference	1730
KK2017, FEU	Kersi Kaljulaid	2017	Estonia	Future of Europe conference	2293
KK2017, UNGA	Kersi Kaljulaid	2017	Estonia	United Nations General Assembly meeting	1993
KK2017, UNSE	Kersi Kaljulaid	2017	Estonia	Un security council	709
KK2018, NATO	Kersi Kaljulaid	2018	Estonia	speech o NATO challenges	2750
KK2019, UNGA	Kersi Kaljulaid	2019	Estonia	United Nations General Assembly meeting	3018
KK2019, UNC	Kersi Kaljulaid	2019	Estonia	United Nations conference	1956
KK2020, UNGA	Kersi Kaljulaid	2020	Estonia	United Nations General Assembly meeting	917
KK2021, UNGA	Kersi Kaljulaid	2021	Estonia	United Nations General Assembly meeting	2399
LM1992, UNGA	Lennart Meri	1992	Estonia	United Nations General Assembly meeting	1843
LM1993, UNGA	Lennart Meri	1993	Estonia	United Nations General Assembly meeting	3248
LM1994, EUC	Lennart Meri	1994	Estonia	EU conference	854
LM1995, EUP	Lennart Meri	1995	Estonia	at the EU parliament	2087
LM1996, NATO	Lennart Meri	1996	Estonia	at dinner to honour NATO secretary	741
LM1997, CES	Lennart Meri	1997	Estonia	at the Council of Europe summit	441
LM1997, BALEU	Lennart Meri	1997	Estonia	at the Baltic EU integration conference	973

LM1998NATO	Lennart Meri	1998	Estonia	address at the NATO workshop	799
LM1999EUP	Lennart Meri	1999	Estonia	at the annual European prize ceremony	2446
LM2000, EUC	Lennart Meri	2000	Estonia	at the conference of European ministers	2590
RP2003, CEU	Rolandas Paksas	2003	Lithuania	at the congress of Europe and the Future	1358
RP2003, EUC	Rolandas Paksas	2003	Lithuania	at the conference of Europe	598
RP2003, LTEUS	Rolandas Paksas	2003	Lithuania	Lithuania signing accession to the EU	473
RP2003, USAC	Rolandas Paksas	2003	Lithuania	meeting with the USA commerce chamber	1369
RP2004, EMB	Rolandas Paksas	2004	Lithuania	meeting with ambassadors	1712
AP2004, FD	Arturas Paulauskas	2004	Lithuania	meeting with foreign diplomats	1921
RV2015, UNGA	Raimonds Vējonis	2015	Latvia	United Nations General Assembly meeting	1483
RV2016, RC	Raimonds Vējonis	2016	Latvia	International Riga conference	753
RV2016, UNGA	Raimonds Vējonis	2016	Latvia	United Nations General Assembly meeting	1464
RV2017, UNGA	Raimonds Vējonis	2017	Latvia	United Nations General Assembly meeting	1483
RV2018, EUC	Raimonds Vējonis	2018	Latvia	European conference	1070
VA2004, UNGAS	Valdas Adamkus	2004	Lithuania	at the UN General Assembly session	1089
VA2004, UNGA	Valdas Adamkus	2004	Lithuania	United Nations General Assembly meeting	1089
VA2005, CEPS	Valdas Adamkus	2005	Lithuania	at the Central European plenary session	913
VA2005, MMG	Valdas Adamkus	2005	Lithuania	at the meeting of millennium goals	1016
VA2005, LPC	Valdas Adamkus	2005	Lithuania	at the Lisbon process conference	594
VA2006, CHBF	Valdas Adamkus	2006	Lithuania	at Chinese business forum	581

VA2006, ENDF	Valdas Adamkus	2006	Lithuania	at the EU new democracies forum	517
VA2006, EDF	Valdas Adamkus	2006	Lithuania	at European Russia democracy forum	985
VA2006, SGE	Valdas Adamkus	2006	Lithuania	on solidarity of global Europe	1370
VA2006, UNGA	Valdas Adamkus	2006	Lithuania	United Nations General Assembly meeting	1254
VA2007, EUUSR	Valdas Adamkus	2007	Lithuania	at the EU and US relations conference	2350
VA2007, EVAC	Valdas Adamkus	2007	Lithuania	at European voice award ceremony	644
VA2008, EUI	Valdas Adamkus	2008	Lithuania	speech on EU integration	2194
VA2008, LBRA	Valdas Adamkus	2008	Lithuania	on Lithuania Brazil relations	1696
VA2008, UNGA	Valdas Adamkus	2008	Lithuania	United Nations General Assembly meeting	1410
VA2009, EPW	Valdas Adamkus	2009	Lithuania	on Europe's place in the world	1383
VZ2007, UNGA	Valdis Zatlers	2007	Latvia	United Nations General Assembly meeting	1445
VZ2007, LVRB	Valdis Zatlers	2007	Latvia	about Latvia-Russia borders	2305
VZ2008, UNGA	Valdis Zatlers	2008	Latvia	United Nations General Assembly meeting	1722
VZ2008, BALSF	Valdis Zatlers	2008	Latvia	at the Baltic Sea forum	902
VZ2009, EUP	Valdis Zatlers	2009	Latvia	at the EU Parliament	4217
VZ2009, UNGA	Valdis Zatlers	2009	Latvia	United Nations General Assembly meeting	1690
VZ2010, UNGA	Valdis Zatlers	2010	Latvia	United Nations General Assembly meeting	1967
VZ2013, NY	Valdis Zatlers	2013	Latvia	in New York	598



OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF LITHUANIA

Līga Romāne-Kalniņa
ligaromane@inbox.lv

2018-10-29 No. (1D-3430)-2D- 5306
Re: e-mail
10/3/2018

REGARDING DOCUMENTS FROM THE ARCHIVE

The Office of the President of the Republic of Lithuania responding to your e-mail received on 3 October 2018 where you requested for speeches by Presidents of the Republic of Lithuania in English hereby kindly informs you that speeches are available at the websites of former Presidents. Please follow the links below:

<https://www.lrp.lt/en/>;
<http://adamkus.president.lt/en/>;
<http://archyvas.lrp.lt/en/>;
<http://www.adamkus.lt/en/activities/speeches/p15.html#>;
<http://paksas.president.lt/en/>;
<http://paulauskas.president.lt/en/>.

The website of President Algirdas Brazauskas does not exist. We are forwarding three speeches in English by President Algirdas Brazauskas which are available at the archive of the Office of the President.

We kindly inform you that the Office of the President does not provide translations following the Amendment to the Order of the Chancellor No. 25A-32 of 27 January 2009 regarding the Description of the procedure of issue and use of documents kept at the archive of the Office of the President of the Republic of Lithuania approved by the Order of the Chancellor No. 25A-134 on 19 December 2017.

ANNEXED. A list of speeches by President Algirdas Brazauskas, 1 page.

Sincerely,
Vitalija Rancovienė 
Head of the Finance Unit, acting as Deputy Chancellor

Original copy will not be send.

Virgina Stasevičienė, tel. +370 706 64 028, e-mail: virgina.staseviciene@prezidentas.lt

Restored 100
Lithuania

5. Interview Data

Semi-structured interview data (Q – question, A – answer)

5.1. Interview with Egils Levits, 3 October 2020

1.Q. Ar ko Jums asociējas jēdziens identitāte (individuālā, nacionālā, pārnacionālā)? Kā to var apspoguļot valodā? Vai šis identitātes savā starpā konkurē? (*What does the concept of identity (individual, national, supranational) associate with? How can this be reflected in the form of language? Do these identities compete?*)

A. Tātad vispirms identitāte tiek uzskatīta par konstrukciju, kas tā daļēji arī ir. Bet, ja mēs pieņemam, ka identitāte ir konstrukcija, tad man jāsaka, ka jebkurš sociālo zinātņu jēdziens ir konstrukcija. Piemēram, valsts, sabiedrība, partija, teiksim - kultūra. Tas viss ir tādā nozīmē konstrukcija – apziņas, prāta, darba rezultāts. Andersona teorija... Būtībā visa mūsu apkārtnē ir konstrukcija. Arī Jūsu vārds Līga ir konstrukcija. Egils Levits ir konstrukcija. Tas ir mans priekšstats par to, kas es esmu. Tāpēc no tā izdarīt secinājumu, kas tas ir kaut kas izdomāts un neeksistējošs, nav pareizi. Dažreiz saka, ka nacionālā identitāte jau faktiski neeksistē, ka viņa ir iedomāta, bet, tādā gadījumā, jebkurš sociālo un humanitāro zinātņu jēdziens ir tikpat izdomāts, kā šis. No otras puses, teorētiski, ja šis jēdziens tiek analītiski lietots, tad mēs redzam konkrētus rezultātus, kur to var izteikt. Piemēram, zināmos faktos, zināmos skaitļos, parādībās. Kaut vai tas, ka 1.5 miljoni cilvēku sevi uzskata par latviešiem... Un tā ir realitāte. Tiešām, tie ir 1.5 miljoni cilvēku... Viņus var saskaitīt... Tā ir realitāte... Tas ir fakts. Un, tiešām, tas, ka identitāte, tāpat kā visi sociālo un humanitāro ... vai gandrīz visi ..., ir zināmā mērā konstruēti, tas nerunā pret to, vai neapgāž to, ka tā ir reāls sociāls fakts. Tas būtu viens.

Otrais pie identitātes. Identitāte ir, un šeit varbūt tas padara to reālāku nekā citus sociālo un humanitāro zinātņu jēdzienus, identitāte ir viens fenomens, no kā mēs nevaram izbēgt. Mēs nevaram būt bez identitātes. Tad mēs neesam vispār, jo, ja es saku vārdu “es”, tu stādies kaut ko priekšā. Kas esmu šis es. Un, ja tev parādās virkne ar priekšstatiem, tēliem no mazotnes, vai kaut kur skolas laikā, vai kaut kādas sarunas [...], tas viss ietilpst šajā jēdzienā “es”. Tas ir viss, ko tu uzskati par sevi. Tādā pašā veidā es redzu citus cilvēkus, un viņiem ir sava seja, un viņiem ir sava patība. Sava esība, ar ko viņi atšķiras no citiem cilvēkiem, un tā ir identitāte. Tātad, bez identitātes cilvēks nevar eksistēt. Cilvēks vienmēr domā – kas esmu es, un kas ir kāds cits. Tātad, kā saka, identitāte ir indivīda būtība. Jautājums - kas šajā būtībā ir ietverts, tas jau ir cits jautājums, bet es vienkārši saku, ka nevar būt cilvēks bez identitātes.

Identitāte ir ļoti centrāls jēdziens, ja mēs gribam indivīda, bet vienlaikus arī sabiedrības un valstu būtību aprakstīt. Līdz šim runājām par cilvēku, un, protams, ir arī grupu identitātes. Tās ir kā torte, kā šis galds. Viens gabaliņš no tās ir man, un viens ir Jums, un vēl desmit tūkstošiem cilvēku, kuriem ir līdzīgi šie gabaliņi. Tas veido šo grupas kopējo identitāti. Un tādas ir daudz. Piemēram, nu, Jūs laikam arī dzīvojat Rīgā, un es dzīvoju Rīgā. Redziet, mums ir šis kopējais elements. Mēs abi ejam iepirkties Rimi, arī šis ir mums kopējais elements. Rīdzinieks vai klients kādā veikalā... Un tādi ir milzums daudz, kas mums pārklājas ar citiem cilvēkiem – lielāku skaitu, mazāku skaitu. Ir tāds jēdziens kolektīvā identitāte. Šīs identitātes ir dažādas un ar dažādu svarīguma pakāpi. [...]. Jūs nodarbojaties ar sociālajam

zinātnēm un es arī. Arī tas mums ir kopīgs. Un es teiktu, ka šajā gadījumā tas mums ir svarīgāks nekā tas, ka iepērkamies Rimi vai varbūt pat tas, ka abi dzīvojam Rīgā.

(So, first of all, identity is considered to be a construction, which it partly is. But if we assume that identity is a construct, then I must say that any concept of the social sciences is a construct, such as the state, society, party, say - culture. All this is a construction in a sense - the result of the nature of consciousness, of the mind. Anderson's theory. Our whole environment is a construction. Your name Līga is also a construction. Egils Levits is a construction. This is my idea of who I am. Therefore, to conclude from this that it [identity] is something invented and non-existent is not correct. It is sometimes said that a national identity does not in fact exist, that she is imaginary. But in that case any concept of the social sciences and humanities is as fictional as this. On the other hand, in theory, if this concept is used analytically, then we see specific results where it can be expressed, for example, in certain facts, in certain numbers, and phenomena. For example, 1.5 million people consider themselves Latvians, and that is the reality. Indeed, they are 1.5 million people. They can be counted. That is the reality. That is a fact. And indeed, the fact that identity, like all social and humanitarian, or almost all concepts, are to some extent constructed does not contradict or overturn the fact that it [identity] is a real social fact. That would be the first [argument].

The second [argument] with regards to identity is that identity, and here perhaps this makes it more real than other concepts in the social sciences and humanities, is one phenomenon from which we cannot escape. We cannot exist without identity. Then we do not exist at all because when I say the word 'I,' you imagine something [tangible]. Who is this I?

And if you imagine a series of notions, images from an early age, or somewhere during school, or some kind of conversation, it is all part of the concept of 'I,' that is all you think of yourself. In the same way I see other people and they have their own face, and they have their own self. It is their being [essence] that sets them apart from other people, and that is their identity. So, man cannot exist without identity. One always thinks - who am I and who is someone else. So, as they say, identity is the essence of the individual. The issue that is at stake here is another matter, but I am simply saying that there can be no person without identity. Identity is a very central concept if we want to describe the nature of the individual, but also [the nature] of society and countries.

So far, we have been talking about individuals but, of course, there are group identities. They are like a cake, like this table. One piece of it is me, and one is you, and other several thousand people who have similar pieces of it make up the overall identity of this group. And there are many [identities]. For example, well, you probably also live in Riga, and I live in Riga. You see, we have this common element. We both go shopping to Rimi, this is also our common element. A resident of Riga or a customer in a store. And there are a lot of them [common elements] that more, less overlap with other people. There is such a concept of collective identity. These identities are in some and of varying degrees of importance. [...]. You work in social sciences and so do I. We also have something in common. And I would say that in this case it is more important to us than the fact that we buy Rimi or maybe even that we both live in Riga.)

Tā kā šiem kopīgajiem elementiem vienmēr būs dažādas svarīguma pakāpes, un noteiktos kontekstos tās mainās. Ja mums būtu jādomā par Rīgu un Rīgas vēlēšanām, tad mēs varētu domāt par Rīgu, kas mums ir šī identitātes daļa, un tad šodien mums ir svarīgāki šīs identitātes kopīgie elementi. [...] Un tad ir tādas identitātes starp šīm grupu identitātēm, kas ir, pēc šīs Hansena teorijas, un es tagad vienkārši to pats nosaucu tā – beznosacījumu pamatidentitātes. Tātad tas ir mans nosaukums, bet būtībā, tā doma ir līdzīga arī Hansenam, tikai cits nosaukums. Un proti, tās ir tās identitātes, un tā ir mana teorija, ka ir identitāte kā komunikācijas kopiena, respektīvi, tas, ka mēs šeit varam sarunāties, un es varu sarunāties šajā valodā, ko es visbrīvāk pārvaldu un, kur es vislabāk varu izteikties ar vēl pusotru miljonu cilvēku pasaulē. Un šī ir tā komunikācijas kopiena, kas mūs vieno... vienalga par ko mēs runājam, kaut vai mēs strīdamies savā starpā, bet mēs strīdamies vienā valodā. Tad tur nāk vēl dažādi elementi, kas šo komunikācijas kopienā padara vēl ciešāku, kas ir ļoti būtiski, kopēja kultūra, piemēram, kā mēs sasveicināties, neverbālā kultūra - ko mēs sagaidām no otra. Tātad valoda, kultūra...

Tad nāk, un ļoti būtiski, šis jautājums par vēsturi, jeb, ja mēs labāk iedziļināties šajā jautājumā, faktiski vēsture ir kopējie kolektīvie piedzīvojumi un kopējā kolektīvā pieredze. Un tas ir ļoti, ļoti būtisks elements šajā identitātē. Tas nozīmē sekojošo: tātad, katrs indivīds ir savas dzīves gaitā kaut ko piedzīvojis, un gadu gaitā viss ir sakrājies, taču absolūti lielāko daļu, kā mēs redzam, pasauli, mēs neesam paši piedzīvojuši. Mēs to esam uzzinājuši. Mums ir savs viedoklis. Nu, piemēram, mēs neviens neesam bijuši Otrajā Pasaules karā, bet mēs, protams, zinām par Otro Pasaules karu. Mēs neesam bijuši neatkarības karā Latvijā, bet mēs to zinām. Un būtībā lielākā daļa no šīs pieredzes, ko mēs uzskatām, ka tas ir - kā mēs redzam pasauli, ir tas, ko mēs esam ieguvuši dzīves gaitā, uzzinot no grāmatām, no citiem cilvēkiem. Un šeit mums arī veidojas šis kopīgais elements ar komunikācijas kopienā, kur mums ir zināšanas par pasauli, par mūsu kopējiem piedzīvojumiem, pārdzīvojumiem, pieredzi. Piemēram, ja mēs runājam par Krišjāni Valdemāru - Jūs zināt, kas ir Krišjānis Valdemārs, un es zinu. Un es domāju, ka lielākā daļa tie, kas uzskata sevi par latviešiem, arī zina. Bet, ja mēs runātu ar vienu vjetnamieti un teiktu, ka Krišjānis Valdemārs ... un tā, un tā ... - viņam tas neko neizteiktu. Un, ja es Jums pasaku vārdu Nguyễn Văn Thiệu, Jums tas neko nenozīmē, tāpat kā lielākajai daļai latviešu, taču vjetnamiešiem tā ir ļoti nozīmīga persona. Tas bija Vjetnamas valsts prezidents kara laikā. Bet mums ir Krišjānis Valdemārs. Un tās ir šīs nacionālās identitātes, kas šos cilvēkus sasaista kopā, kā komunikācijas un pasaules redzējuma kopienā. Tātad mēs varam runāt, teorētiski, ne ar visiem 1.5 miljoniem latviešu, lai arī tagad ir sociālie tīkli, bet tomēr mums ir tāda iespēja. Mēs pazīstam to, kā mēs izturamies, un mēs līdzīgi uztveram pasauli, izejot no tā, ko mēs zinām. Nu, piemēram, šodien mums Latvijā, pasaulē, Eiropā - mēs skatāmies un diezgan daudz domājam par Baltkrieviju. Un kāpēc mēs par to runājam? Tāpēc, ka viņi ir šeit mums tuvumā, tādā garīgā tuvumā. Fiziskā, bet arī garīgā. Mēs mazāk domājam par to, kas ir svarīgi Lībijā. Mums tas ir mazāk svarīgi. [...] Tas viss kopā veido šo nacionālo identitāti. Tā ir dabiska un no tās faktiski nevar izbēgt, jo kā zīdāinis tu piedzimsti vienā vidē un šī vide tevi veido, valodas skaņas, apkārtējā vide.

(Because these common elements will always have different degrees of importance and change in certain contexts. If we had to think about Riga and the Riga elections, then we could think about Riga,

which is part of this identity for us, and then today the common elements of this identity are more important to us. [...] And then there are identities between these group identities that are, according to this Hansen theory, and I now just call it that - unconditional basic identities, so that is my term, but basically the idea is similar to Hansen's, only different term. And, namely, these are these identities, and it is my theory that there is an identity of a communication community, that is, that we can speak here, and I can speak in the language I speak most freely and where I can best speak to one and a half million people in the world, and this is the community of communication that unites us, no matter what we talk about, even if we argue with each other, but we argue in the same language. Then there are the various other elements that make this community of communication even closer, which is very important, a common culture, such as, as we say, the non-verbal culture that we expect from each other. Thus, language and culture [are elements of national identity].

Then comes this very important question of history, or, if we delve deeper into it, in fact history is the common collective adventures and the common collective experience. And that is a very, very important element of this identity. This means the following: so, every individual has experienced something in their life, and over the years everything has accumulated, but we have not experienced ourselves the vast majority of how we see the world. We have learned that. We have our own opinion. Well, for example, none of us has been in World War II, but of course we know about World War II. We have not been in the War of Independence in Latvia, but we know about it. And basically, most of this experience that we believe in and how we see the world is what we have gained in the course of our life-learning from books, from other people. And here we also form this common element with the communication community where we share knowledge of the world, of our common adventures, memories, experiences. For example, if we talk about Krišjānis Valdemārs - you know who Krišjānis Valdemārs is, and I know it. And I think most of those who consider themselves Latvians also know it. But if we talked to a Vietnamese and said that Krišjānis Valdemārs ... and so on, he would not know anything. And if I tell you the name Nguyễn Văn Thiệu, it means nothing to you, as it does to most Latvians, but it is a very important person for the Vietnamese. It was the President of Vietnam during the war. But we have Krišjānis Valdemārs. And it is this national identity that binds these people together as a community of communication and worldview. Theoretically, not all 1.5 million Latvians communicate with one another, although they now have social networks, but we still have such an opportunity. We know how we behave. And we perceive the world similarly based on what we know, for example, today we in Latvia and in the world and in Europe look and think quite a lot about Belarus. And why are we talking about it? Because they [Belarus] are here near us, in such a spiritual presence. Physical, but also spiritual. We think less of what is important in Libya. It is less important to us. [...] All this together forms this national identity. It is natural and you cannot actually escape it, because as an infant you are born in one environment and this environment creates your identity, the sounds of language, the environment.)

Tātad, objektīvi, nacionālo identitāti veido kopiena, kuru vieno vienota valoda, kultūra un vienots redzējums, pasaules skats, bet tas nenozīmē, ka mums ir vienādas domas. Tas, ka mēs varam strīdēties,

nenozīmē, ka mēs vairs neesam latvieši, vai, ka viens ir latvietis, otrs nav latvietis. [...] Un šajā gadījumā, tā ir kļūda vai tāds vienkāršs skatījums, kad cilvēki domā, ka identitāte ir cieta nemainīga. Šī identitāte pastāvīgi pieaug, jo nāk klāt jauna pieredze. Katru dienu šī identitāte mazu gabaliņu paliek dziļāka, slānis paliek dziļāks. Varbūt senie slāņi, atmiņas pazūd nebūtībā, bet tā virzās uz priekšu. Bet ļoti svarīgi ir šis kopīgums, ka tu vari komunicēt, kopēja kultūra, kopējs redzējums, kas balstās arī kopējā vēsturiskā pieredzē, tādēļ nacionālā identitāte ir būtisks cilvēka eksistences režīms vai vide.

Tas par nacionālo identitāti. Ja mēs ejam vēl tālāk - tā kā šis [identitātes jēdziens] ir tāds konglomerāts ar dažādiem elementiem un dažādām svarīguma pakāpēm, kas, kad dažas [pakāpes] kļūst svārstīgākas, un dažas mazāk svarīgas, tad to, protams, var arī mērķtiecīgi iespaidot, ietekmēt. Un tas [identitātes ietekmēšana] arī notiek, un tas arī ir legītīmi. Bet identitāte ir, kam mēs ļaujam notikt, kā tas bija, piemēram, latviešiem līdz 19. gadsimtam - mēs par to nedomājām, mēs vienkārši bijām latviešu zemnieki. Viņiem bija komunikācijas kopiena, viņiem bija kopēja kultūra, lauku darbi un instrumenti, kas radīja kopēju vielu komunikācijai, un bija kopējs skats uz dzīvi. Piemēram, svētdienā gāja baznīcā, mēģināja izvairīties no klaušu darbiem, tas viss satuvina cilvēkus, bet tas viss tā vienkārši bija, un par to daudz nedomāja.

Tā ir esme, esība... Un tad nāk tālāk jau no 19. gadsimta sākot... un tas laikam ir franču revolūcijas ietekmē, kas piedod šai identitātei politisku raksturu. Tas nozīmē, ka šī identitāte kļūs politiska, kad mēs apzināmies ne tikai, kas mēs tādi esam, bet arī, ka mēs varam komunicēt ar šiem cilvēkiem. Varbūt mēs kopā varam kaut ko paveikt, darīt..

Tātad šis jaunais elements, uz nākotni vērstais elements, ka ne tikai mēs esam, bet mums arī var būt kādi kopēji projekti, tāpēc, ka mēs varam komunicēt savā starpā un tas ir nācijas moments. Nācija faktiski balstās uz nacionālo identitāti, kas līdz šim bija neapzināta, bet tagad piešķir šai kopienai vienu politisku raksturu ar domu, ka mēs varam [...] šīs daudzās kopējās intereses arī politiski pārstāvēt, aizstāvēt. Nu, un latviešiem tas bija sākot ar jaunlatviešiem, kur viņi faktiski pat neiedomājās, ka viņi ir politiski, jo tā bija kulturāla kustība. Bet tas, ka latviešu kultūrai un valodai ir vērtība, tas ir faktiski viens politisks teiciens. Un tādā veidā šis politiskais moments izpaužas, ka mēs savas intereses pārstāvam uz āru, uz iekšu, un tautas, dažādas etniskas vai nacionālas grupas kļūst par nāciju. Nācija ir uz nacionālās identitātes pamata veidota politiska vienība, kura ir spējīga formulēt savas prasības. Un tā vistālāk esošā prasība ir prasība pēc neatkarīgas valsts, pēc autonomijas. Tas ir labākais instruments, kā nodrošināt šīs nācijas ilgtspēju. [...]

Latvija beigās izveidoja savu valsti, un šī identitāte ir uz kulturālās identitātes pamata - spēja vienoties par kopējām prasībām izveidot savu valsti. Tātad, lai valsts un sabiedrība ilgstoši pastāvētu, tur šai nacionālajai identitātei ir svarīga loma. Tas nozīmē, ja mēs gribam pārstāvēt jūsu un manas kopējās intereses, kopējās prasības, [...] tad mēs šo kopējo projektu varam veikt kā valsti. Un tādēļ valsts ir arī ieinteresēta šo nacionālo identitāti stiprināt.

(So objectively, national identity is formed by a community united by a common language, culture and a common vision, a worldview, but that does not mean that we have the same thoughts. The fact that we can argue does not mean that we are no longer Latvians or that one is Latvian, the other is not

Latvian. [...] And in this case, it is a mistake or such a simple view that people think that identity is static, unchanging. This identity is constantly growing as new experiences come. Every day this identity of small pieces gets deeper, the layer gets deeper. Perhaps the ancient layers, the memories disappear into nothingness, but it [identity] moves forward. But it is very important - this commonality, that you can communicate, a common culture, a common vision, which is also based on common historical experience, therefore national identity is an essential mode of human existence or environment. This is about national identity.

If we go even further, as this [identity] is a conglomerate with different elements and different degrees of importance, which, when some [elements of identity] become more volatile and some less important, can, of course, also be purposefully influenced. And it also happens, and it is also legitimate. But the identity allows for it to happen. As it was for Latvians until the 19th century, we did not think about it, we were just Latvian farmers. We had a community of communication, they had a common culture, fieldwork and tools that created a common topic for communication, and a common vision of life. For example, on Sunday we went to church, tried to avoid the tenancy to landlords, it all brought people together, but it was just that and we did not think much about it. It was our essence, our existence. And then came the beginning of the 20th century, and it is probably under the influence of the French Revolution that this identity was given a political character. This means that this identity became political when we realized not only that we are, but also that we can communicate with other people. Perhaps we could do something together, plan something. So, this new element, the forward-looking element that not only we have, but we can also have some common projects with others because we can communicate with each other. And that is the moment of the nation. The nation is, in fact, based on a national identity that was hitherto unconscious, but now gave this community a single political character, with the idea that we can [...] also represent and defend these many common interests politically.

Well, for Latvians, this was the case with young Latvians [jaunlatvieši cultural movement in Latvia in the early 20th century], where they did not actually even think that they were political because it was a cultural movement. But the fact that Latvian culture and language have value is actually one political statement. And in this way, this political moment manifests itself in the fact that we represent our interests outwards, inwards, and that nations, different ethnic or national groups, become a state. A nation is a unit of politics based on national identity, capable of formulating its own requirements. And its most far-reaching demand is the demand for an independent country. For autonomy. It is the best tool to ensure the sustainability of this nation. [...]

Latvia eventually created its own state, and this identity is the ability to agree on common ground in the requirement to establish one's own state based on cultural identity. Thus, for the long-term existence of the state and society, this national identity has an important role to play there. This means that if we want to represent your and my common interests, our common demands, [...] then we can conduct this common project of a country. And therefore, the state is also interested in strengthening this national identity.)

Tātad ir arī nepieciešams šo kopējo apziņu – šo nacionālo identitāti – stiprināt, lai mēs varētu šo kopējo projektu, šo valsti, visefektīvāk, labāk īstenot. Un, kā jau teicu, šī nacionālā identitāte ir katram. Arī tiem, kas nejūt savu valsti, atbildību par savu valsti, bet viņi jau kaut kādā valodā runā, viņiem ir kaut kāda izturēšanās kultūra, viņiem ir kaut kāds pasaules redzējums, kas nepietiekoši daudz dod šim kopējam projektam.

Demokrātiskam projektam, mūsu gadījumā, jo mēs visi kopā veidojam šo valsti. Un tādēļ valstij ir būtiski šo nacionālo identitāti stiprināt. Kā to dara? Nu, padara to vairāk apzinātāku publiskajā telpā. Valstij ir uzdevums nodrošināt savu tālāku eksistenci, jo tas jau nav tāds īslaicīgs projekts – nu ko, tagad uztaisījām valsti un tagad izklīstam. Manuprāt, šī valsts loma ir viens no daudziem uzdevumiem, stiprināt un veicināt šo nacionālās identitātes apziņu, lai mēs būtu efektīvāki savas valsts veidošanā. Ja mēs apzināmies, ka mums ir viens kopīgs projekts, Jums un man, un šī apziņa ir lielā mērā saistīta, jo mēs varam sarunāties, tāpēc, ka mēs saprotam, ka tas projekts attieksies uz mums abiem, bet neattieksies uz vjetnamieti, nu vai maz attieksies. Kaut vai Latvijas Universitātes reforma – vjetnamietim tas maz, bet mums tas ir svarīgi. Tāpēc arī valsts uzdevums ir to veicināt. Kā to dara? Cita starpā arī tas, ko Jūs pētāt, jo tur arī valsts prezidentam ir zināma loma. Valsts prezidenti runā, valsts prezidentiem ir reprezentatīva loma. Zināmā mērā valsts ir ļoti abstrakts jēdziens, mēs nevaram valsti ne redzēt, ne sasmaržot, mēs valsti identificējam ar zināmām amatpersonām, tai skaitā [ar] valsts prezidentu, jo viņš skaitās tā amatpersona, kas visvairāk reprezentē, un tad, protams, visas pārējās. Un tāpēc es uzskatu, ka valsts prezidentam, ir šis nacionālās identitātes [konstruēšanas] uzdevums, veicināt to, lai mēs, mūsu valsts būtu efektīvāka, labāk funkcionētu, labāk pārstāvētu, aizstāvētu, īstenotu to cilvēku intereses, kuri veido šo valsti.

Un tad nu ir šis runas moments, un šajās runās es šo domu mēģinu dot tālāk. [...] Vienam prezidentam tas ir būtiski, vienam nav tik būtiski, bet man tas ir būtiski, jo, izejot no mans biogrāfijas, redzu valsti kopumā. Valsts vienmēr bija manas profesionālās darbības centrālais objekts. Bet es domāju, ka, vairāk vai mazāk, visi prezidenti apzināti vai mazāk apzināti arī šo nacionālās identitātes apziņu veicina. [...] Un elementus, kas īsti neiederas mūsu identitātes apziņā, piemēram, padomju identitātes, mēs mēģinām dekonstruēt.

(So, it is also necessary to strengthen this common consciousness, this national identity, so that we can better implement this common project, this country, most effectively. And as I said, everyone has this national identity. Even those who do not feel responsible for their country, but they do speak a language, they have a culture of behaviour, they have a vision of the world, although that does not give enough to this common project.

A democratic project in our case because we are all building this country together. And therefore, it is important for the state to strengthen this national identity. How is it done? Well, we make it more conscious in the public space. The task of the state is to ensure its continued existence because it is no longer such a short-term project - well, we have now made the state and that is it. In my opinion, the role of this state is, among other tasks, to strengthen and promote this sense of national identity so that we can be more effective in building our state. If we realize that we have one project in common, you

and me, and that awareness is largely related because we can talk and because we understand that this project will apply to both of us, but not to the Vietnamese, or only a little. For example, the reform of the University of Latvia, for the Vietnamese it is not important, but it is important to us. Therefore, it is also the task of the state to promote it. How is it done? Among other things, via what you are studying, because the President also has a role to play there. The Presidents speak, the Presidents have a representative role. To some extent, the state is a very abstract concept, we cannot see or smell the state, we identify with the state via certain officials, including the president, because he counts as the official who represents the state the most, and then of course everyone else. And that is why I believe that the President of the country has this task of national identity construction. To promote that we, our country, could more efficient, better functioning, better represented, defended, implemented in the interests of the people who make up this country.

And then there is this moment of speech, and in these speeches, I try to convey this idea. [...] It is important for one president; it is not so important for another. Yet, it is important for me, because when looking at my biography, I see the country as a whole. The state has always been the central object of my professional activity. But I think that more or less all Presidents consciously or less consciously also promote this sense of national identity. [...] And elements that do not really fit into our sense of identity, such as the Soviet identity, we are trying to deconstruct.)

2. Q. Vai Padomju Savienības mantojums (upura loma) tiek apzināti dekonstruēta? (Is the legacy of the Soviet Union (the role of the victim) deconstructed deliberately?)

A. Faktiski tā es to arī domāju, un tas ir ļoti interesanti, ka Jūs to analizējat un atklājat, jo tas man ir ļoti svarīgi. Faktiski, latviešu nacionālā identitāte ir tā kā ķīte, varētu teikt – saistviela, kas saista šos cilvēkus, un, jo spēcīgāka ir saistviela, jo labāk mēs varētu īstenot mūsu vēlmes. Un tāpēc uz iekšpusi es šo latvisko nacionālo identitāti, latvisko identitāti redzu atvērtu, iekļaujošu... Un šeit varbūt ir viens zināms moments, atvērtā latvietība, kas ir mans jēdziens. Es domāju, ka tas ir primārais latviskuma definīcijā, šis, ko es Jums teicu, valoda, kultūra, pasaules redzējums, ieskaitot vēsturi, bet ne tikai vēsture, bet es īpaši neuzsveru šo izcelsmes momentu, jo, līdz ar to, cilvēkiem, kuriem ir cita izcelsme, tiem būtu grūtāk iekļauties šajā atvērtajā latvietībā. Un protams, ka mēs esam ieinteresēti, lai būtu spēcīgāki, iekļaut šos cilvēkus, kuri pieņem to, ka mēs šeit esam Latvijā, mums ir kopēja valoda, kopēja kultūra, mums ir šis redzējums un strīdi, un diskusijas, kādu [valsti] mēs redzam..., un kāds mums tas kopējais projekts ir, bet tas ir šis kopējais elements, arī šie demokrātiskie strīdi.

Līdz ar to, kas ir tavi vecāki vai pie kādas tautības tu pieder, tas nav tik būtiski, teiksim, tas ir tāds sociāls elements, jo, ja tu piedzimsti latviešu ģimenē, tad tava pirmā valoda ir latviešu, un tas tā izveidojas, taču, ja tu piedzimsti poļu vai krievu ģimenē, tas ir citādāk, bet tas nenozīmē, ka tu nevari iekļauties latviskumā, un tāpēc man šķiet svarīgi, ka ir šīs atvērtās latvietības jēdziens, kas ir samērā jauns. Un arī šis mantojuma moments ir svarīgs, jo kāpēc tu jūties piederīgs? Tāpēc, ka mani vecāki tādi bija. Tas ir svarīgi, taču tas nav izšķirošais. Ir arī citi faktori, kā es teicu šie trīs- valoda, kultūra, pasaules

redzējums. Un citām nācijām ir citi elementi, piemēram, reliģiskais, bet mēs tieši otrādi - mums ir dažādas reliģijas, bet tās mūs nešķir kā latviešus.

Līdz ar to, kā Jūs to pareizi konstatējāt, un to laikam var tā tiešām pateikt, ka es uz iekšu to konstruēju tā, lai neuzsvērtu šo kopējo pretinieku, bet vairāk iekļaujošu latvietību. Bet es redzu arī mūsu vēsturiskajā mantojumā dažādus elementus, piemēram, padomju mantojumu, kas ir neiederīgs mūsu modernajā identitātē un kuru vajadzētu attīrīt. Tā kā ar identitāti tu vari zināmā veidā strādāt. Kā saka, kas nav iederīgs, to mēs mēģinām atnest, bet mums nāk kaut kas jauns kopīgs klāt, piemēram, mūsu līdzdalība Eiropas Savienībā, ko mēs kopā veidojam ar zviedriem vai ar itāļiem.

(In fact, this is what I think, and it is very interesting that you are analysing and revealing it, because it is particularly important to me. In fact, the Latvian national identity is like a glue, one might say, a binder that binds these people [together], and the stronger the binder, the better we can realize our desires. And so, on the inside, I see this Latvian national identity, the Latvian identity, as open, inclusive, and there is perhaps one known moment here, open Latvianness, which is my concept. I think this is the primary definition of Latvianness, this is what I told you, language, culture, worldview, including history, but not only history. But I do not particularly emphasize this moment of origin, because, consequently, for people who have other origins, it would be more difficult for them to fit into this open Latvianness. And of course, we are interested in being stronger, to include these people who accept that we are in Latvia, we have a common language, a common culture, we have this vision and the disputes and discussions... we see that we have this common project, it is this common element, also these democratic disputes.

So, who are your parents or what nationality you belong to, it is not so important, let us say it is such a social element because if you are born in a Latvian family, then your first language is Latvian and it is formed that way, but if you are born Polish or in a Russian family, it is different, but it does not mean that you cannot fit into Latvianness, and therefore it seems important to me that there is a concept of this open Latvianness, which is relatively new.

And this moment of inheritance is also important, because why you do feel belonging? Because my parents were like that, it is important, but it is not decisive. There are other factors, as I said these three- language, culture, worldview. And other nations have other elements, such as religious, but we have different religions and they [religions] do not distinguish us as Latvians. So, as you rightly said, and it can probably be said that I construct it [inclusive identity] inwards so as not to emphasize this common opponent, but more inclusive Latvianness. But I also see various elements in our historical heritage, such as the Soviet heritage, which is unsuitable for our modern identity, and which should be deconstructed. Because you can work with identity in a certain way. As they say, we are trying to give up elements that are not valid, but we have something new in common, such as our membership of the European Union, which we are building together with the Swedes or with the Italians.)

3. Q. Kā nacionālā un pārnacionālā identitāte savā starpā un vai konkurē? (How do national and supranational identities compete?)

A. Nacionālā identitāte ir spēcīgākā no šāda tipa politiskām identitātēm, jo tā ir visaptveroša, viņa aptver Tevi kā personu. Tu esi latvietis visās savas dzīves jomās. Bet ir citas identitātes, piemēram Rīdiniēks - viena daļa, Eiropietis - arī viena daļa. Un šeit rodas šī atšķirība. Eiropiskā identitāte balstās arī uz līdzīgu kultūru, bet ne uz vienu valodu. Tā ir liela atšķirība. Piemērām, pa tiešo mēs ar portugāļiem parasti nevaram sazināties, vai ar spāņiem, taču mums ir arī kopīgi pamati, jo mums ir šis kristīgās Eiropas pamats, kas veido arī šo sekulāro pasaules izpratni. Jo, piemēram, Turcijā ir citādāk, un Irākā ir vēl citādāk, bet mums šis ir kopējais [elements] ar portugāļiem. Eiropa, kā mūsu kopējs projekts, kas zināmā veidā veido šo pārnacionālo identitāti, kas ir aptveroša un ilgstoša, bet viņa ir drusciņ citādākā tajā ziņā, ka viņa nav nacionāla, jo mums nav šis valodas moments, bet mums ir šis nākotnes moments un šis projekta moments. Tātad viņa nav visaptveroša.

Un vēl tālāk uz augšu ir globālā identitāte, ko veido tādi elementi kā globālā sasilšana un klimata pārmaiņas, kas mums visiem pasaulē ir kopīgas un ko mēs jūtam visi, un, par ko mēs varam runāt arī ar, teiksim, Sahara zonas iedzīvotāju. Šīs identitātes nekonkurē, bet papildina viena otru, jo šis darbības rādiuss, ko varam ietekmēt ir citādāks, bet arī mūs ietekmē, ja mēs apzināti skatāmies uz pasauli. Tātad identitāte ir kā sīpols. Visapakšējākā identitāte ir ģimenes identitāte.

(National identity is the strongest of these types of political identities because it is all-encompassing, it embraces you as a person. You are a Latvian in all areas of your life. But there are other identities, for example, one part is Rigans, one part is Europeans. And this is where the difference arises. European identity is also based on a similar culture, but not on a single language. That is a significant difference. For example, we cannot usually communicate directly with the Portuguese, or with the Spaniards, but we also have common ground, because we have this foundation of Christian Europe, which also forms this secular understanding of the world. Because, for example, in Turkey it is different and in Iraq it is even more different, but we have this in common with the Portuguese. Europe as our common project, which in a way forms this supranational identity, which is comprehensive and long lasting. But this identity is a little different in the sense that it is not national because we do not have this moment of language, but we do have this moment of the future and this moment of the project. So, it [supranational identity] is not comprehensive. And even further up is a global identity made up of elements such as global warming and climate change that we all share in the world and that we all feel. And what can we talk about, say, with the people from Sahara?

These identities do not compete, but complement each other, because is this radius of action that we can influence is different, but it also affects us if we consciously look at the world. Identity is like an onion. The most basic identity is family identity.)

4.Q. Lūdzu, komentējiet valodas līdzekļu izvēli, jeb savu tiešo un skaidro (bez mākslinieciskiem izteiksmē līdzekļiem valodu). Kās komentēsiet manipulācijas jēdzienu? Komentējiet, lūdzu, savu runu funkciju. (Could comment on the choice of language means or how would you comment on your rather straight-forward language? How would you comment on the concept of manipulation and the functions of presidential speeches)?

A. Pozitīvā ietekmēšana. Mēs visi mēģinām viens otru ietekmēt, bet ir leģitīmi, un ir neleģitīmi veidi, kā ietekmēt. Tie tad arī ir manipulācija. Šis ir skaidrojams ar katra cilvēka individuālo identitāti. Es esmu jurists un politologs. Līdz ar to, man ir šis analītiskais skats uz visiem šiem jautājumiem, kurus es arī diezgan automātiski lietoju, bet neesmu pie tā piedomājis.

Līdz ar to, skatoties zinātniski un analītiski, tad arī skaidroju [savu redzējumu] citiem. Tas ir automātiski. Līdz ar to, domāju, ka šie argumenti ir pārlicinoši pašam sev. Līdz ar to, arī [īstenojas] šī izglītojošā funkcija. Tā patiešām tas arī ir, kad to stāstu citiem. Ja man ir labi argumenti un racionāli [argumenti], tad tiem vajadzētu būt pārlicinošiem. Bet praksē ne vienmēr tā ir. Jo ir manipulatīvi argumenti, ir emocionāli argumenti. Tos es tā mazāk [lietoju], es vairāk lietoju racionālus argumentus. Līdz ar to, es teiktu, ka šis ir vairāk individuāls jautājums.

Bet valodai es pievēršu lielāku uzmanību, jo es redzu, ka mūsu valodā netiek izmatots viss potenciāls, kas mūsu valodā ir. Viņa bieži ir plakana, varētu teikt - pat primitīva. Līdz ar to, es to daru apzināti, gan arī bieži vien neapzināti, jo man bieži jādomā par fenomeniem, par ko citi nedomā, bet ar valodu tie kaut kādā veidā jāaptver. Un tur bieži rodas situācijas, kad latviešu valodā šāda veida jēdziens nav, jo neviens par to latviski nav domājis. Līdz ar to, man pašam jārada, kas man arī patīk, jo tas ir tāds kreatīvs moments. Un otrkārt, es tomēr cenšos latviešu valodu paplašināt un padziļināt savās runās, jo ir tā, ka valoda nosaka tavu apziņas stāvokli, tavu pasauli. Bet to esmu darījis arī agrāk, ne tikai saistībā ar prezidenta amatu.

(Positive influencing. We all try to influence each other, but there are legitimate and there are illegitimate ways to influence, and they are seen as manipulation. This can be explained by the individual identity of each person. I am a lawyer and a political scientist. So, I have this analytical view on all these questions, which I also use quite automatically, and I have not thought about it.

Thus, looking scientifically and analytically, I also explain [my view] to others. It is automatic. So, I think these arguments are compelling to myself. So, this educational function is really the same when I tell it to others. If I have good arguments and are rational, then they should be convincing. But in practice this is not always the case. Because there are manipulative arguments, there are emotional arguments. I use them [emotional arguments] less; I use more rational arguments. So, I would say that this is a more individual issue.

But I pay more attention to language because I see that our language does not use all the potential that it has, it is often flat, you could even say – primitive. So, I do it consciously, and often unconsciously, because it is often necessary to think about phenomena that others do not think about, but they have to be covered with language in some way. And there are often situations when there is no such a concept in Latvian because no one has thought about it in Latvian. So, I have to create my own [term], which I also like doing because it is such a creative moment. And secondly, I still try to expand and deepen the Latvian language in my speeches because it is the language that determines your state of consciousness, your world. But I have done it before, not just in connection with the presidency.)

5. Q. Kāpēc jūsu valodā retāk parādās mākslinieciskie valodas līdzekļi? Vai nedomājat, ka šie līdzekļi spēj palīdzēt nacionālās identitātes konstrukcijā. (Why are artistic language tools less common in your language? Do you not think that these tools can help in the construction of national identity?)

A. Tas atkal izriet no mana rakstura. Esmu vairāk analītisks cilvēks, līdz ar to, emocionālus argumentus es mazāk lietoju. Bet metaforas es lietoju, jo tās ir ļoti svarīgas, jo tās palīdz izskaidrot lietas gan racionālā, gan emocionālā vidē. Retorisko jautājums es lietoju šad tad, kā retorikas elementu.

(It follows again from my character. I am more of an analytical person, so I use less emotional arguments. But I use metaphors because they are particularly important. Because they help to explain things in both a rational and emotional environment. The rhetorical questions I use every now and then as an element of rhetoric.)

6. Q. Vai pieskaņojat runas mērķa auditorijai? Kas ir tas, ko cenšaties uzsvērt, piemēram, nacionālajās runās vai starptautiskajās runās? Runu veidi un valodas izvēle. (Do you adjust the speeches to your target audience? What are you trying to emphasize, for example, in national speeches or international speeches? Types of speech and choice of language.)

Ir būtiski, lai tas, ko tu saki arī nonāk pie tā, kam tu gribi to teikt. Ja tu uzrunā nāciju, tad ir saturs, gan arī valoda, kas ir pakārtota saturam, kam vajadzētu būt tādām, kas liek daudziem cilvēkiem domāt vai aizdomāties. Bet ir jāsaprot un jābūt uz viena izpratnes viļņa ar savu auditoriju. Ar skolēniem es runāju citādāk nekā ar skolotājiem, un ar vispārējo auditoriju es runāju citādāk nekā ar politiķiem. Gan valodas formālie aspekti, gan saturs ir pēc iespējas jāpiemēro auditorijai. Arī starptautiskajās runās, tad runāju par jautājumiem, kas mums ir svarīgi, bet arī Eiropiešiem ir aktuāli. Tās ir šīs globālās lietas.

(It is important that what you say also reaches those whom you address. When you address a nation, there is content and language that is subordinate to the content, which should be what makes many people think. But you need to communicate and be on the same wave of understanding with your audience. I speak differently to pupils than to teachers, and I speak differently to the general public than to politicians. Both the formal aspects and the content of the language should be adapted to the audience as much as possible. Also in international speeches, I am talking about issues that are important to us, but also relevant to Europeans. These are these global things.)

7.Q. Vai Jūs apzināti izvēlaties uzrunas veidus? (Is the choice of types of address deliberate?)

A. Jā, tos izvēlos apzināti, ņemot vērā kontekstu. Ja es gribētu izcelt latviskuma elementu, tad es saku: “dārgie latvieši”, vai emocionālāk, tad saku: “mīlie latvieši”, piemēram, izceļot to tautisko elementu, Jāņu uzrunā saku: “mīlie latvieši”. “Dārgie latvieši” ir tuvi, bet ne tik intīmi kā “mīlie latvieši”. Citos kontekstos es teiktu: “godātie klātesošie, cienījamie skolotāji”, piemēram.

(Yes, I choose them deliberately, given the context. If I would like to highlight the element of Latvianness, then I say 'esteemed Latvians', or if more emotionally, then I say 'dear Latvians'. For example, when highlighting the national element in the midsummer holiday address I say - dear Latvians. 'Esteemed Latvians' is a uniting form of address, but not as intimate as 'dear Latvians'. In other contexts, I say honourable teachers, for example.)

8.Q. Vai varat komentēt intertekstualitātes lietojumu – citātus? (Could you comment on the use of intertextuality, quotations)

A. Es lietoju citātus apzināti, bet ne pārāk bieži, un apzināti izvēlos citātus. Esmu citējis K. Valdemāru, J. Čaksti, Kaudzīti.

(I use quotes deliberately, but not too frequently, but I choose them deliberately. I have quoted K. Valdemārs, J. Čakste, Kaudzīte.)

9.Q. Vai varat pastāstīt par runu autorību? (Could you comment on the speech authorship.)

A. Runas prezidentam ir svarīgākais darbības instruments, jo citu instrumentu principā nav. Līdz ar to, tur ir tāda problēma, ka, ja es kaut ko saku, es nevaru būt apmierināts ar kāda cita rakstīto, jo man ir savi uzskati un savas domas, un tos neviens cits nevar izteikt, kā tikai es pats. Bet ir rutīnas uzrunas, kur man nav nekas jāieliek un to sagatavo padomnieki. Bet, ja man kaut kas jāsaka saturiski, tad es to daru pats un dodu izskatīt padomniekam. Bet es nevaru dot uzrakstīt manu runu kādam citam, jo tā nebūs mana runa, pat, ja tie cilvēki mani labi pazīst un zina manu nostāju. Tātad pamatā es rakstu pats, bet mazāk svarīgas uzrunas, kur nav nekas pateikts, tos raksta padomnieki, bet saturiskās rakstu pats.

(The presidential speech is the most important instrument of action because there are no other instruments in principle, so there is the problem that if I say something, I cannot be satisfied with what someone else has written. Because I have my own thoughts and considerations, and no one can express them except myself. But there are routine speeches where I do not have to put anything in, and these are prepared by advisors. But if I have to say something substantial, then I do it [write the speech] myself and then give it to an advisor. But I cannot give my speech to someone else [to write] because it will not be my speech [anymore], even if those people know me well and know my position. Thus, I write them [speeches] myself, but less important speeches, where nothing is said, are written by advisors)

5.2. Interview with Antanas Manstavičius - the speechwriter to the President Gitanas Nausėda, 6 August 2021

1.Q. What is the role of the President of Lithuania and his speeches in the construction of representation of national identity?

It is not really reflected in the speeches so much, although identity is a narrative that can change during some time, because it is in motion. Because it is not like Lithuania that was in the past will be such in the future. No. Some elements will change, and some will remain in the future. But the President has to speak about a lot of issues that are in the state and a lot of speeches to make. And speeches on various national days and remembrance days have a role to play, because there is always a large audience that is invited to think about the past and the future of the state in a certain way. It is not being reflected that we have to construct identity, but we are looking into the past and then thinking about the present and the future. Like the history speaks to us.

2.Q. What are the symbols of Lithuanian identity that are kept from the past and what are the new elements that are introduced by the president?

One of the major themes is firmness of character of Lithuanians. In many speeches Lithuanian nation is being represented as having suffered and fought a lot, but despite difficulties we are here and proud members of the EU and NATO. It is always possible to use this history as inspiration no matter how difficult it is at present. We have proven to ourselves many times in history that we can overcome the difficulties. Thus, for Lithuanian's history is both heroic and tragic at the same time. In many speeches, not only presidential, but this tragic moment is also quite strong, and it is inevitable to speak about it when you speak about history.

3.Q. About the history of Lithuania. Which beginning of Lithuanian history is more important for the speeches 13th century or 20th century?

A. Every Lithuanian knows that we have long history and there is no big discussion about that. Nobody believes that Lithuania started in 1918, and most of the people think about many centuries, but which time to refer to in the speeches depends on the occasion of the speech. For instance, in international speeches such as speech to Ukraine, the Presidents looked back at the long history, the grand Duchy of Lithuania, because this is our common history, and the speech was quite emotional. The President also started the speech in Ukrainian, which was very emotional. The President learned how to speak the first sentences. The same (strategy) was used in Poland, in Warsaw, but it should not be used too often. But it was also used to express common history, because the Polish language was the language of Lithuania elites for a long time. It was used as a way to invoke this past.

4.Q. What are the specific linguistic means that are used to construct national identity? Are they purposefully selected?

A. This is a difficult question, because sometimes those linguistic means choose me and not, I choose them. This is not so intentional. But it could be some cultural code that is used to express certain messages that are then taken by the audience, the Lithuanian people. But most of the time it is not intentional.

But the use, for example, of address brother and sisters is intentional to express closeness. Lithuania as a motherland is purposefully used, but in English it sounds strange, because English countries do not speak about country as a motherland, but rather our country. But for Lithuania it is important because for a long time the nation was separate from the state, we did not have our own state, but we had the idea of our state, our motherland. This sense of motherland helps to fight for independence when the time comes. In fact, we talk in Lithuania about *tevine* (fatherland), but in English it is translated motherland. In German it is also fatherland. I think it could be about the translation of the speech. But there is other word from German *gimtine*, birthplace, but it is almost not used in political speeches. But *tevine* (fatherland) is very strong, sometimes stronger than *Lietuva* in speeches.

5.Q. You speak of nation, country, and state. How do you differentiate between them?

A. You could say that *tauta* is a nation, but it is always ambiguous, because the same word can mean ethnic group and the political nation. The way we are trying to use this word is always to mean the political nation. The President sees himself as the unitor of the nation. He does not want to differentiate between the ethnic Lithuanians and other minorities, which he tries to avoid in the speeches.

Country is everything that is inside the border. It is more in a geographic sense and also in the sense of the people. *Lietuva*, the country, but also the nation. But the state is more often this political structure, as a sovereignty, independence, historic prize that was being fought for and achieved. This is something we have achieved and trying to defend and make it stronger.

6.Q. How do you refer to the common enemy that is considered to be the common Baltic legacy from the Soviet Union?

A. In general Lithuanian discourse you can sometimes feel this division of ethnic minorities, but in the presidential speeches it cannot be done. It is not acceptable to speak about something that would insult ethnic minorities. The whole Lithuanian political nation needs to be united to work together for a better, wealthier future. In Lithuania, if there are internal division of people, they are not ethnic. Its more about the sentiment towards the past, the soviet legacy. But we are pushing the discourse that social inequality should be lessened, and the state should be made wealthier. But this ethnic element is not addressed.

Speaking about the other, we could not call it enemy, but the most significant other for Lithuania is Russia. It could be different, but at the moment the political situation encourages this though, because we are looking at Russia and we are seeing the state that does not want to change. It is still being rule by an authoritarian leader, it has no regrets for the past and its wrongdoings, it is still aggressively attacking the neighbours and showing its military might, so we Lithuania, we see that we are not like Russia. We are part of the West. We are democratic and we are trying to use peaceful means in our communication. But Russia can change. And we are still waiting more than 30 years past our independence if Russia will change, and f democracy will come there.

In Lithuania, this element of Russia is more emotional because we have a very long history with Russia, and it can be used in speeches when searching for some parallels with the present day. It can be different when speaking to the foreign audience because they have no knowledge of our history with

Russia, thus the appeal to human right, basic principles and law can be used in the international speeches that may become more technical. But they are still truthful, because there is not denying that the present-day Russia is not a responsible member of the international community.

7.Q. ‘Rules-based global order and effective multilateralism’ are quite common expressions to all Presidents of the Baltic States. Is this intentional?

This comes from the documents of the foreign office and is repeated every year to maintain the state identity. They come from the advisors responsible for the foreign policy. This comes from international law. And multilateralism is very important for small countries like Lithuania, because it encourages to solve conflicts peacefully. So, it is one of the most important principles of Lithuanian foreign policy.

8.Q. How about the use of euphemisms and understatements? Does the President use these to address the fear from history repeating itself?

A. There are two points currently where the fear has to be addressed, when Russia started military conflict in Georgia and in Maidan. So, I guess the rhetoric reflects this change and it is very natural to address it as it is. Every responsible politician needs to speak about the situation as it is. There is also the need to mobilise the population, to strengthen the armed forces, the need for the universal defence. So not only the army has to be prepared but also Lithuanians for anything that can challenge the independence of the state.

9.Q. How do you choose if any, the authorities, and quotations to refer to?

I personally do not use quotations. Sometimes I or the other team members can find something interesting and use it, but most often it comes from older times when Lithuanian statement used them. However, we recently quoted the statemen Vytautas Lansbergas and it was used because thirty years ago he said that we had hoped that Russia would change and would be a good example. But now we see that in the present day we see that those hopes were not met. So, this quotation was a string way to emphasize the past.

I think it is always good to look at the tradition and it must be respected, but not always followed. I also noted that the former President Dalia Grybauskaitė never or almost never quoted anyone. That was a way to show her uniqueness. Our approach is a bit different, but we try not to put too much emphasis on quotations.

10.Q. How about other linguistic means, for instance, rhetorical questions, repetitions? When do you choose them and why?

A. This might come to personal stylistic choices and differences. There are members of the team who like rhetorical questions, but for me it is difficult to find a place for them. However, there are times when the President wants them, so they are being added. But I think you have to do it right for them to make an impact. But that is a good question. This is something for me to think about.

Repetition is used to emphasize certain keywords, depending on the occasion and the message that needs to be sent. Sadly, there are no rules for this. It comes from the instincts. So, this is not very deliberate. But sometimes it can come from the message that we want to send.

11.Q. How do you choose pronouns for referencing? For example, the use of the pronoun we. How do you choose if use the reference Lithuania or reference “we”?

A. The personal pronoun *we* is stronger and more active. For example, we all have the responsibility. When someone says that Lithuania needs to do something, it is like keeping a distance and everyone will think: ‘oh, not me.’ This is specifically in political speech, because political speech is not only about the President but about the future, where you need to mobilise and share responsibility with people. Even when the President is speaking in improvisation, he often uses *we*, but he means the team, because he feels that he has a team, and he is the part of it. Maybe he has the main responsibility, but the team is important to give advice. Thus, sometimes he uses *we* to refer to the team, but sometimes to the society. And also, it is peculiar to our President that he does not use the personal pronoun *I*. Most of the presidential speeches are formal and it is very difficult to use ‘*I*’, which seems not to be very appropriate. In some speeches that are not so formal, the President can be himself, but in most of the speeches we feel that it is not appropriate to use personal pronoun *I*.

12.Q. Are speeches written differently when addressing local audience, international audience, or the parliament?

A. Yes, the audience is particularly important. It is being televisive when the President addressed the parliament so it is not so different from addressing the people, because everyone can see it. When the President addresses the people, it is expected to be inspiration, but when the President addresses the politicians, it should be more of a political discourse, political outline. In most of the cases the speeches are about the interpretation of the present (events), so the outline should be about that in any case. But about the international speeches, it is different. It is different kind of identity that is being constructed. The global identity. Human rights and international law. It is not so much about the history, because there is no common history, so it is not so emotional. Every speech is an attempt to unite the audience. And common identity is being used in this attempt to unite. Because without common identity, an attempt to unite would be failure. And the speaker always needs to merge with the audience, to show that he is one of them.

13.Q. Could you comment on the authorship of the speeches and the process of speechwriting.

In general, the President had to write a lot when he was economist, and he had to write a lot here, so he is used to writing. But as President there are so many duties that he cannot write all the speeches himself. That is why the speeches are written by the team. The messages to be included in the speeches are discussed with the President and the team. When the speech is not so important, it is written by the

political team. So, depending on the type of speech and event, the political team comes with ideas. In many cases the President expressed his ideas, and it is usually in higher level speeches about politically sensitive topics where the President wants to make an impact. My task is to collect all these different ideas and to put them into a draft. I am passionate about the history so it is interesting to look at the history and see what parallels I can include in the speech. After that, the President looks at the speech, he makes revisions, and he can add something or send it back. Sometimes he adds even whole pages in handwriting. So, I put everything together and see that the text is fluent and coherent. But the main decision and approval depends on the president.

International speeches are being written in English. Local speeches are translated by the office of the President (translators) in several languages (also French and Russian). But only the most important speeches are reviewed.

5.3. Interview with Vita Savicka - the press secretary and advisor to Presidents Guntis Ulmanis and Valdis Zatlers and a freelance advisor to President Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga

1.Q. Kā notika runu rakstīšanas process, kas bija runu autori? (*How did the process of speech writing take place? Who were the authors of the speeches?*)

A. Ļoti dažādi. Tas ir atkarīgs no runas konteksta. Ļoti bieži prezidents [G. Ulmanis] pats rakstīja runas vai runāja no galvas. Reizēm viņš palūdz uzrakstīt kādas tēzes, un tad bija ļoti interesanti, ka es klausījos tajā runā, un manas tēzes tur nemaz nebija, bet tad pēkšņi citā runā es tās sadzirdēju. Viņš mācēja pielāgot runu situācijai un ļoti juta atmosfēru. Viņš mācēja just publiku, just situāciju un viņam arī spontāni izdevās radīt ļoti spēcīgas runas. Lielās runas tapa, kad prezidents saaicināja visus padomniekus un notika diskusija par runas tēmu. Izrunājām konceptu, ko tad tajā runā gribam, un tad devām Ulmaņa kungam lasīt. Tad viņš pirmo reizi lasīja un laboja, tad atkal diskutējām un tā arī cīnījāmies.

Viena runas pieredze bija ļoti interesanta, tas bija par pilsonības jautājumiem, un tad jau lielākā daļa sabiedrības bija pret. Un tieši pirms referendumā prezidentam televīzijā bija paredzēta lielā runa. Viņš uzdeva man uzrakstīt runu, un tad tas process izvērtās tā, ka visas runas, aptuveni desmit versijas, ko mēs uzrakstījām, viņš atdeva atpakaļ. Un tad pēdējā vakarā teica, lai neuztraucos. Runas dienā viņš norunāja runu no galvas, divdesmit minūtes, pat nestostoties. Es biju tik ļoti pārsteigta. Es sapratu, ka viņš šo uzdevumu mums deva, lai redzētu visa veida argumentus, visāda veida salīdzinājumus. Viņš mēģināja radīt to runu caur sevi, caur palīgiem, caur citiem veidiem.

(Various ways. It depends on the context of the speech. Very often the President [G. Ulmanis] wrote the speeches himself or spoke from memory. Sometimes he asked me to write some theses, and then it was very interesting that I listened to that speech and my theses were not there at all, but then suddenly I heard them in another speech. He learned to adapt speech to the situation and felt the atmosphere very much. He learned to feel the audience, to feel the situation and he also managed to create very strong speeches spontaneously. The big speeches took place when the President summoned

all the advisers and there was a discussion on the topic of the speech. We spoke the concept, which we then want to talk about, and then we gave Mr Ulmanis a read. Then he first read and corrected, then we discussed again, and we fought this battle in that way. One speech experience was very interesting. It was about citizenship issues, and then most of the public was against it. And just before the referendum on the president, there was a big talk on television. He instructed me to write a speech, and then the process turned out so that all the speeches (about 10), and we wrote, he gave back. And then last night told me not to worry. On the day of the speech, he made a speech from his head for 20 minutes without even stopping. I was so surprised. I realized that he gave us this task to see all kinds of arguments, all kinds of comparisons. He tried to create that speech through himself, through helpers, through other ways.)

Runājot par vērtībām, mums bija ļoti skaidri definētas vērtības, Latvijas attīstības stratēģijā, tas, kādu mēs gribam redzēt Latviju Eiropā, un tas gāja cauri visam, katrai runai. Mums bija ļoti skaidri uzstādījumi, kuriem pēc tam dažādās runās tika likta klāt interpretācija. Tās vērtības tika parādītas caur vēsturi, vai uzrunas uzņēmējiem - caur uzņēmējdarbību pielāgotas, bērniem atkal caur citu prizmu. Bet tas ziņojums, ka Latvija top par Eiropisku valsti un tas skaidrojums, ko tas nozīmē - būt par Eiropisku valsti, tas bija visur. Tad arī, protams, tās mūsu vērtības, kas tad mēs esam, ka mēs esam Latviešu tauta, ka mums ir svarīga vēsture, drošība un, protams, tā Eiropas dimensija. Es uzskatu, ka Ulmaņa kungs ļoti skaisti nobruģēja ceļu, lai mēs skaisti ieietu Eiropas Savienībā, bet tā bija cīņa, lai sabiedrība šīs vērtības pieņemtu, un tas bija ļoti grūti. Piemēram, nāvēssoda jautājums vai pilsonības jautājums.

(When it comes to values, we had very clearly defined values in Latvia's development strategy, the way we want to see Latvia in Europe, and it went through everything, every speech. We had very clear settings, which were then interpellated in various speeches. The values were shown through historical perspective, or addressed to entrepreneurs through entrepreneurship, children again through a different prism. But the idea that Latvia is becoming a European country and the explanation of what it means to be a European country was everywhere. Then, of course, our values, who we are, that we are the Latvian people, that history, security and, of course, its European dimension are important to us. Mr Ulmanis paved the way for us to enter the European Union beautifully, but it was a struggle for society to accept these values, and it was very difficult. For example, the issue of the death penalty or the issue of citizenship.)

2.Q. Kā tika izvēlēti valodas līdzekļi? (How were linguistic means selected?)

A. Es neatceros, ka mēs būtu runājuši par epitetiem vai sinonīmiem. Tas nāca tā dabiski, un tā bija mijiedarbība, klausoties prezidenta runas stilu un mēģinot pielāgot runas viņa valodas stilam. Protams, bija prieks, ja izdevās atrast kādu skaistu salīdzinājumu un tas izrādījās veiksmīgs, taču Ulmaņa kungs nepieņēma tādu valodas stilu, kas "nesēž viņam mutē". Es jutu viņa valodas stilu, ne vienmēr trāpīju, bet sadarbojāties labi, mums bija tāda laba saspēle. Ulmaņa kungs bija ļoti vieds un dzīvesgudrs, līdz ar to, no viņa ļoti daudz varēja paņemt un mācīties, piemēram, no intervijām, jo tas jau ir viņš, un viņš jau saka to runu.

(I do not remember talking about epithets or synonyms. It came naturally and it was an interaction, listening to the president's speech style and trying to adapt the speech to his language style. Of course, it was a pleasure to find a beautiful comparison and it turned out to be successful, but Mr. Ulmanis did not accept a language style that "does not sit in his mouth". I felt his language style, I did not always hit, but we worked well together, we had such a good match. Mr. Ulmanis was very intelligent and wise in life, so a lot could be taken from him and learned, for example, from interviews, because that is already him and he is already saying the speech.)

3.Q. Kā tika konstruēta Eiropas identitāte un Latvijas vieta Eiropā? (How was the European identity and Latvia's place in Europe presented?)

A. Tā bija retorika, jo mums bija tas jādefinē. Ko nozīmē pateikt - Eiropas demokrātija? Bija uzdevums skaidrot, uz ko mēs ejam un kas ir tas jaunais, ko mēs pieņemam. Ir deviņdesmito gadu beigas, mēs ejam uz Eiropu, mēs esam ceļā uz Eiropu. Kaut vai šis piemērs par nāvessoda moratoriju, tas jau arī parāda Eiropas vērtības, šajā gadījumā. Un viņas jau bija jāskaidro, jo tās runas jau ir instruments kaut kādas politikas veidošanai. Un šī politika bija tas stingrais ceļš uz Eiropas Savienību, un tas tika aizstāvēts katrā runā. Būtībā tie trīs bloki, tie iet visur cauri, dažādos formātos, dažādos vārdos, visur. Un bija tas lielais izaicinājums pateikt to pašu dažādās situācijās un dažādām auditorijām. Mēs centāmies iezīmēt tās vērtības cauri vēsturei, un mēģinājām saskatīt un parādīt, kā tās vērtības cauri vēsturei velkas līdzī un atspoguļojas šodienā. Un šīs vērtības bija ES integrācija, Latvijas nacionālās vērtības, Latvija kā vienotība, drošība. Būtībā šie trīs (Eiropas Savienība, Latvijas vērtības, drošība).

(That was rhetoric because we had to define it. What does European democracy mean? It was a task to explain what we are going for and what it is that we are now accepting. It was the end of the nineties, we were going to Europe, we were on the road to Europe. Although this example of a moratorium on the death penalty already showed European values, in this case. And they already had to be explained. And the speeches are a tool for some kind of policymaking. And this policy was the hard way to go to the European Union, and it was defended in every speech. Basically, those three blocks, they go everywhere, in different formats, in different words, everywhere. And it was a big challenge to say the same in different situations and to different audiences. We tried to mark these values through history and tried to see and show how those values are drawn through history and reflected today. And these values were EU integration, Latvia's national values, Latvia as united, and secure country. Basically, these three (European Union, Latvian values, security).

4.Q. Runājot par drošību, kā tika izvēlēti argumenti un lingvistiskie līdzekļi runām, kas tiek teiktas lokālai auditorijai un starptautiskās runas? (In terms of security, how were the arguments and linguistic means chosen for the speeches made to the local audience and the international speeches?)

A. Nu šeit atkal jāuzsver, ka katra runa ir instruments. Un, protams, starptautiskās runas tika mērķtiecīgi veidotas, lai bruģētu Latvijas ceļu uz Eiropu un NATO, jo drošība bija ļoti svarīgs jautājums. Savukārt Latvijas iekšpolitiskajās runās vajadzēja izskaidrot, kāpēc mēs tur ejam. Tur nebija tās pašas stratēģijas, kas starptautiskajās runās, kad parunā konceptuāli, cik tas ir būtiski visai Eiropai un tā, uz iekšu tika skaidrots, cik mums tas ir svarīgi. Bet esmu rakstījusi runas arī Zatlera kungam.

(Well here again it must be emphasized that every speech is an instrument. And, of course, the international speeches were purposefully designed to pave Latvia's path to Europe and NATO, because security was a very important issue. In turn, Latvia's domestic political speeches had to explain why we go there. It was not the same strategy as in international speeches, when it is conceptually how important it is for the whole of Europe, and so it was explained inwards how important it is to us. But I have also written speeches to Mr Zatlers.)

5.Q. Un kāds bija šis process ar Zatlera kunga runām? (And what was the process like with Mr Zatlers' speeches?)

A. Es atceros, ka arī Zatlera kungam bija grūta situācija un, kad bija jāsaka runa pie Brīvības pieminekļa, viņš man pateica, ka vajag izdomāt, kā runā pateikt, ka neviens nenāks glābt, ka jātiek katram pašam cauri krīzei. Un tad es lasīju dzeju, vēsturi, un tad pēkšņi izdomāju izlasīt par brīvības pieminekli. Un tad tā bija tiešām ļoti spēcīga runa, kas tā palikusi atmiņā. Tad es iedevu to runu Zatlera kungam, viņš izlasīja, pielaboja un teica – jā, mums ir sanācis.

(I remember that Mr Zatlers also had a difficult situation, and when it came to speaking at the Freedom Monument, he told me that we needed to figure out how to say that no one could save anything, that everyone had to go through the crisis. And then I read poetry, history, and then suddenly I decided to read about the monument of freedom. And then it was really a very strong speech that it stuck in my memory. Then I gave that speech to Mr Zatlers, he read it, corrected it, and said - yes, we have come.)

6.Q. Un kā atšķīrās šis vērtību atspoguļojums Zatlera kunga un Ulmaņa kunga prezidentūras laikā? (And how did this reflection of values differ during the presidency of Mr. Zatlers and Mr. Ulmanis?)

A. Ulmaņa kungam es biju tuvāk, es biju preses sekretāre, bet Zatleram kungam biju ārštata konsultante. Bet jāsaprot, ka šie bija divi dažādi laikmeti. Ulmaņa kungam bija laiks, kad mērķis bija ļoti skaidrs, bija jādefinē vērtības, un pēc tām ļoti jāskaidro arī jābruģē ceļš uz Eiropas Savienību. Tad Zatlera kungs mēģināja uzaustīt to, kas ir aktuāls sabiedrībā. Jāsaprot arī, ka bija laiks, kad Eiropas Savienībā mēs jau bijām. Un jautājums bija – ko tagad? Bija krīze. Un Zatlera kungs mēģināja noformulēt, kas tai sabiedrībai ir svarīgs tieši šobrīd. Viņš ir ļoti vieds un ļoti gudrs cilvēks, un mēs ļoti daudz filozofējam par dzīvi. Bet viņš ļoti precīzi pateica, ko viņš grib, viņš ļoti daudz rakstīja un arī laboja. Tā kā abi prezidenti ir ļoti daudz paši ieguldījuši.

(I was closer to Mr. Ulmanis, I was a press secretary, but I was a freelance consultant to Mr. Zatlers. But it must be understood that these were two different eras. Mr Ulmanis had a time when the

goal was very clear, values had to be defined and the road to the European Union had to be paved very clearly. Then Mr. Zatlers tried to touch what is relevant in society. It must also be understood that there was a time when we were already in the European Union. And the question was - what now? There was a crisis. And Mr. Zatlers was trying to articulate what is important to that society right now. He is a very smart and very wise personality, and we philosophized a lot about life. But he said very precisely what he wanted, he wrote a lot and also corrected many of my writings. Thus, the two Presidents have invested a lot themselves.)

7.Q. Kā ar runas valodiskā ietēra pielāgošanu auditorijai un runas tipam? (What about adapting the language of speech to the audience and the type of speech?)

A. Es teiktu, ka drīzāk mēs pielāgojām un apspriedām tos argumentus un tēmas, bet mans uzdevums bija uzspodrināt, rediģēt un nogludināt tās runas. Un to es darīju, kā jau teicu, pielāgojot to valodu prezidenta runa stilam.

(I would say that rather we adapted and discussed those arguments and topics, but my task was to polish, edit and smooth out those speeches. And I did, as I said, adapting the language to the style of the President's speech.)

8.Q. Kā ar retorisko jautājumu biežo lietojumu? (What about the frequent use of rhetorical questions?)

A. Tajā laikā jau ļoti audz vajadzēja skaidrot, kāpēc mums kaut kas jādara, kāpēc mēs ejam šajā virzienā. Un Ulmaņa kungam šis darbs bija ļoti grūts. Izskaidrot, kāpēc jāpieņem Eiropas vērtības, ka nepieciešams atbrīvoties no šī te provinciālisma. Un sabiedrība aptaujās norādīja, ka Ulmanim nav mugurkaula, ka viņš lokās Eiropai. Bet Ulmaņa kungs bija ļoti vieds un spēcīgs prezidents.

(At that time, we had to explain why we needed to do something, why we were moving in that direction. And for Mr. Ulmanis, this work was very difficult. Explain why European values must be accepted, that it is necessary to get rid of this provincialism here. And public opinion polls indicated that Ulmanis had no backbone, that he was bowing to Europe. But Mr. Ulmanis was a very smart and strong president.)

9.Kā tika veidoti argumenti par to, ka jāatbrīvojas no šī padomju savienības mantoju, jeb šī provinciālisma idejas? Vai apzināti tika lietots nākotnes salīdzinājums ar pagātņi? (How were the arguments about the need to get rid of the legacy of this Soviet Union, or the idea of this provincialism constructed? Was the future comparison with the past deliberately used?)

A. Jā, tas jau ir tas transformācijas ceļš. Bija jādefinē, kas mēs bijām un kas mēs gribam būt. Kādas ir mūsu vērtības un kādas ir Eiropas vērtības. Jāsaprot, ka dažādu gadu runās arī dažādi parādās šis atspoguļojums. Tas pilnīgi cits laiks, prezidents nodibināja valsts prezidenta institūciju, definēja, kas ir valsts prezidents un kāda ir viņa loma. Un caur šīm, runāt tad viņš pats arī to atrada. Līdz ar to šajās runās iezīmējas šis modernisms, tīrības un skaidrība. Tā arī iezīmējās šis skaidrais ceļš. Un prezidents

nekad neteica, nē, neteiksim to, jo tas sabiedrībai nepatīk. Nē, viņš teic to, kas bija jāsaka. Bija ļoti svarīgi nenokavēt un tikt tajā Eiropas Savienībā. Un es atceros, ka bija situācija, ka notika briesmīga diskusija un briesmīgi pārmetumi prezidentam par 16. martu, ka viņš nejūt tautas sāpi, ka viņš nesaprot, ka viņš nekop nedara. Bet cilvēki nezināja, ka viņš pats ir represētais, bet viņš neko tajā reizē neteica. Noklausījās un nestrīdējās pretī, jo bija jāvirzās un noteikto mērķi. Bet vēlāk tas parādījās runās, ka represijas bija mūsu tautas traģēdija un ka mēs to nekad neaizmirsīsim.

(Yes, that is the path of transformation. We had to define who we were and who we wanted to be. What are our values and what are the European values? It must be understood that this reflection also appears differently in the speeches of different years. It was a completely different time, the President established the institution of the president, defined who the President is and what his role is. And through these speeches then he himself found it [the answer]. Thus, his modernism, purity and clarity stand out in these speeches. This is also the clear path. And the President never said no, let us not say it because the public does not like it. No, he said what had to be said. It was very important not to be late and to manage to get into the European Union. And I remember that there was a situation where there was a terrible discussion and terrible reproach to the President on 16 March, that he did not feel the pain of the people, that he did not understand that he was not doing anything at all. But people did not know that he himself was repressed, but he did not say anything at that time. He listened and did not argue against anyone, because he had to move forward and set a goal. But later it appeared in speeches that repression was a tragedy for our people and that we will never forget it.)

10.Q. Kā ar vietniekvārdu lietojumu? Kā tika izvēlēts vai uzrunāt sabiedrību ar vārdu “mēs” , jeb iekļaujoši, vai neitrālāk? (What about the use of pronouns? How were they chosen to address the public with the word "we", or inclusive, or more neutrally?)

A. Šeit gan bija ļoti lielas diskusijas un domas par to, vai uzrunāt tautu kā Latvijas tauta, kas būtu iekļaujošāka, vai latviešu tauta, kas būtu nacionālāk, jo sabiedrība to sagaidīja. Tāpēc jau mēs cīnījāmies, tāpēc notika barikādes, lai mums būtu latviska Latvija. Bet viena no šīm vērtībām Ulmaņa kungam bija vienotība un iekļaušana, tāpēc vienmēr tika lietots šis vairāk iekļaujošais uzrunas veids, jeb “mēs” kā visi gan prezidents gan viss tauta. Jo mērķis jau bija viens, bet vienlaikus nedrīkstēja pazaudēt arī nacionālās vērtības. Un tas bija ļoti grūti runās apvienot šos divus blokus.

(There were very serious discussions and thoughts here about whether to address the nation as the people of Latvia, which would be more inclusive, or a Latvian nation, which would be more national, because the society expected it. That is why we were already struggling. That is why there were barricades for us to have a Latvian Latvia. But one of these values for Mr. Ulmanis was unity and inclusion, so this more inclusive form of address was always used, or "we" as to refer to all - the President and the whole nation. Because the goal was one, but at the same time national values were not to be lost. And it was very difficult [for the president] to combine these two blocks in the speeches.)

6. Three-Dimensional Model of National Identity Construction in Presidential Speeches of the Baltic States

Table 68. Results of thematic areas, strategies, and linguistic means

Thematic areas	Discursive strategies	Linguistic means of realisation	Examples
Construction of the Homo Nationalis	Strategies of demontage (macro level strategies), dismantling and destruction (negative other presentation, heteronomization – micro level strategies)- the topos of external threat, the topos of horrible place, the topos of comparison, the topos of history	metaphors, lexical units with semantic components constructing singularity in connection with negative attributions	1. <i>Vēl gadus 20 atpakaļ pasaules kara sākumā mēs bijām nebrīva tauta kurai valdošās tautas administrācija ne katrreiz gribēja atļaut dziedāt mūsu lūgšanu tamdēļ, ka tajā bija Latvijas vārds. Ienaidniekiem iebrūkot Kurzemē, tā pati administrācija piespieda latviešus atstāt savu dzimto zemi. Garas bēgļu rindas aizlocījās pa Zemgales līdzenumiem tālā svešumā, pretim nezināmai nākotnei. Krievijas revolūcija, Rīgas krišana vācu militārā okupācija, plāni par Latvijas sadalīšanu starp abiem lielajiem kaimiņiem- visi šie notikumi un nodomi ietina latvju tautas nākotni tik biezā miglas plīvurī, ka retumis tik bija saskatāms kāds cerības stars, bet tad migla izklīda un latvju tautai uzlēca brīvības saule</i> (AK2, original language)
	Constructive strategies (macro level), singularisation (micro level), the topos of comparison, the topos of positive self-presentation	Deixis, repetition, parallelisms	2. <i>We are always worried about our survival. This distinguishes us from other states and peoples. But, dear listeners, in the same way, we are distinguished by the conviction that Estonia is not like the others. We can cope; we are faster, smarter, more flexible; we find and invent solutions. And this is what we have done for a quarter century.</i> (THI13)
	Constructive strategies, strategies of singularisation, the topos of positive self-presentation	repetition, inclusive pronouns, parallelisms, metaphorical expressions	3. <i>The Latvian has not disappeared, because it cannot disappear as long as we are aware - we are a nation with a future our eyes. We come with confirmation, with the morning star. We do not come with hatred; we are a nation of goodness and sun. We are a country whose youth, has just began. We are Latvia.</i> (GU7, translated)

	Constructive strategies, strategies of singularisation, the topos of positive self-presentation	repetition, inclusive pronouns, parallelisms, metaphorical expressions	4. We are a small tribe; we will be as big as our will. We have come out on the world stage, and we participate in world processes on an equal footing. We are engaged in free dialogue with others. We listen, but we are also listened to. We also have something to say and show. (VVF1)
	Strategy of casting doubt, the topos of illustrative example	Rhetorical questions, parallel sentence constructions, emotional adjectives, metaphorical expressions, inclusive pronouns	5. We love our country, and we are proud to be Estonians. How do we use our national pride? As a source of joy? Or a source of anger? Do we use our national pride as a chain of armour or a daisy-chain which would connect us all across the world? Is it a duty to be shouldered, as we were born to be members of this small nation, or is it a wonderful feeling which carries us through life and sustains us? (KK3)
	Strategy of singularisation, emphasis on national uniqueness, the topos of lovely, idyllic place	Keywords emphasizing identity, positively connotated attributions	6. Therefore, please think about coming back home no matter how far away you are. Cherish and preserve your Lithuanian identity and hand it down to your children. However difficult it may be, do not think of Lithuania only as the homeland of your parents and grandparents and the land of your native language and traditions. Remember that Lithuania is the country of your spiritual fulfilment where you are always welcome, needed, and loved. (VA12)
Construction of a common political history	Strategies of justification and relativisation (shift of blame and responsibility) - the topos of comparison, the topos of external force	lexical units with semantic components creating singularity or difference, parallelisms, metaphors, metonymies, synecdoche, hyperboles	7. Forced under the fist of Germany, the Latvian nation took the most ardent participation in this fight. She sacrificed 10,000 of her flowering youth who fell on various battlefields. She sacrificed all her possessions, she left her native lands and homes, leaving them so that she would not fall into the hands of the enemy. The Latvian nation carried all the victims of this great war with a deep conviction that the war would bring them a better future, that they would also be expected to have freedom. The former regime in Russia, which had lent its principles of violence, oppressed and oppressed the Latvian people. Her genius could not develop (JC2, translated)

	Strategy of continuation, emphasis on positive political continuity	Temporal references, references to authorities (symbols of state), references to history, inclusive pronouns	8. <i>With our strength rooted in national history and its heroes – from King Mindaugas to the Signatories of the Act of Independence, from the first Lithuanian army volunteers to partisans, from deportees to Soviet dissidents – we created Lithuania from the very foundations. A state that is now member of the family of European Union nations and a committed NATO partner. (GN3)</i>
	Strategy of discontinuation and emphasis between then and now and state-external differences.	Deictic references showing inclusion and exclusion, us and them, then and now, here and there, lexemes with semantic components constructing difference (to the contrary)	9. <i>We fought for freedom. Everything was simple and clear. Freedom was the right to do everything totally differently from the occupiers – and instinctively, our liberal democracy grew out of doing everything to the contrary. We see that, of the countries formerly behind the Iron Curtain that have now been freed, it is the Baltics that have grown rapidly and unhesitatingly into democratic states that follow the rule of law, value personal liberties, have a free media and keep the power of the state in a predictable framework. Because we were most vividly and explicitly not free. Thus, it was very easy for us to understand how to be free – we had to make a 180-degree turn away from what the occupying power wanted. (KK2)</i>
	Strategy of unification and cohesivation, the topos of comparison	Emphasis on common values and symbols, emphasis on unifying keywords	10. <i>We went through hard times, we suffered severe damage, often severe burdens threatened to bend us, but work love and faith overcame everything. The greatest danger threatened us when one of these three virtues perished, when an easy life started to rise in the workplace, when love for the homeland was overshadowed with foreign teachings that denied the holy name of our fatherland, when faith in the nation's future was doubted and the views sought unnecessary foreign defenders. (KU10, translated)</i>

	<p>Strategy of negative presentation, emphasis on negative aspects of national uniqueness, the topos of terrible place (history)</p>	<p>Emotional adjectives, reference to state symbols, repetition, references to common enemy</p>	<p><i>11. Demokrātiskā rietumu pasaule 1918.gada 11. novembrī atceras kā dienu, kad plkst.11. vienpadsmitā mēneša vienpadsmitajā dienā tika noslēgts pamiers un beidzās I Pasaules karš. Tikai nedēļu vēlāk, 1918.gada 18.novembrī, Latvija proklamēja savu neatkarīgo republiku. Taču mums nebūt karš toreiz vēl nebija beidzies. Pēc Latvijas teritorijas tikoja gan Vācijai lojāli spēki, kas cerēja pievienot Latviju Vācijai un kas pat iecēla Niedras nodevīgo valdību, cerot aizstāt 1918.gada 18.novembra dibināto Latvijas valdību. Uz austrumu un ziemeļu robežas bija vēl lielinieku spēki, kas taču starplaiķā vēl paguva nodibināt Stučkas valdību un kuru mērķis nebija nekas cits kā pievienot komunistisku Latviju topošajai komunistiskajai Padomju Savienībai. Bija vajadzīga drosme un ticība Latvijas suverenitātei un neatkarībai vairāk kā gada garumā, lai visgrūtākos iespējamajos apstākļos bez apgādājuma un bez līdzekļiem, bez pietiekama apbruņojuma, tikai ar drosmi, sirdsdegsmi un pārliecību Latvijas tobrīd vēl topošie Bruņotie spēki spētu ar savām asinīm izpirkt Latvijai brīvību, atbrīvot Latvijas teritoriju no svešiem kara pūļiem un garantēt, ka 18.novembra republika patiešām varētu turpināt dzīvot. (VVF 11) <i>The democratic western world remembers November 11, 1918, as the day when at 11 o'clock, on the eleventh day of the eleventh month, a ceasefire was concluded, and World War I ended. Only a week later, on November 18, 1918, Latvia proclaimed its independent republic. But the war was not over for us at that time. After the territory of Latvia, longed the forces loyal to Germany, which hoped to annex Latvia to Germany and which even appointed the treacherous government of Niedra, hoping to replace the Latvian government founded on November 18, 1918. On the eastern and northern borders there were still Bolshevik forces, which in the meantime managed to</i></i></p>
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			<p>establish the Stučka government and whose goal was nothing more than to connect communist Latvia to the emerging communist Soviet Union. It took courage and faith in Latvia's sovereignty and independence for more than a year to free the territory of Latvia from foreign war crowds and to guarantee that the republic of November 18 could indeed continue to live.</p>
	<p>Strategy of heteronomisation, the topos of external force</p>	<p>The topos of history as a teacher, inclusive pronouns, toponyms, the topos of numbers, metaphorical expressions</p>	<p>12.History is a great teacher. It teaches us not to repeat the mistakes of the past. It also inspires us to move on to new heights. Just a month ago, we commemorated the 80th anniversary of the infamous Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. This criminal conspiracy led to World War II and the occupation of the three Baltic States. The same day every year we also celebrate a moment of great triumph. 30 years ago, the people of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia joined hands in a 650-kilometer-long Baltic Way, strongly condemning the Pact. That was an important step in our struggle for freedom – and we will never forget it. (GN1)</p>
<p>Construction of a common political present and future</p>	<p>Constructive strategies (presupposition of/emphasis on positive political continuity - the topos of definition, rebirth</p>	<p>temporal references, adverbs of time, indications of continuity, metaphors, proper names indicating descent and belonging, parallelisms, inverted word order.</p>	<p>13.This day marks the biggest break in the course of the Latvian nation since November 18, 1918, when the people gained their country. This time the nation gained itself. The people gained themselves, this time. We are united again - sons and daughters of one land. (KU1, translated)</p>
	<p>Strategies of discontinuation- the topos of threat, the topos of time, strategy of pronouncing somebody/thing dead</p>	<p>derogatory metaphors as predicates, rhetorical questions, hyperboles</p>	<p>14.Everybody talks of the death of communism, but where is the corpse? (LM4)</p>
	<p>Negative other representation, exclusion, and dissimilation (the topos of comparison, the topos of external force, the topos difference)</p>	<p>metaphors, hyperbole, labelling enemy via dissimilative references, negative attributions via implicit and explicit comparisons</p>	<p>15.Excellencies, through you, I appeal to the world. I appeal to the Estonian people with a word of warning. Regrettably, the democratic rearrangements of our neighbour state are retreating before a new, aggressive conception of foreign policy, oriented to</p>

neocolonialism.
Regrettably, the danger that all treaties of recent years on arms reduction and confidence building - which were welcomed with such sincere delight - are turning into mere pieces of paper is becoming a reality. I am directing your attention to a new foreign policy conception of the Russian Federation, recently published in issue no. 21-22 of the journal "Diplomaticheskyy Vestnik". With a cynical outspokenness, its author **Karaganov** claims that **Russia** is to pursue an active post-imperialist policy. With a cynical outspokenness **Karaganov** declares that **they have to start with Estonia and Latvia.** And unafraid to find himself in the same seat with bourbons, or - why not - even with Dr. Goebbels, or - why not - even with the so-called Academician Vyshinsky, who has gone on record both as the stage director of Moscow terror trials and the ambassador of his state to the United Nations, **Karaganov** foretells: the world will approve the economic sanctions **Karaganov** has designed for **Russia** against **Estonia and Latvia.** **Russia** continues to be more like a continent than a state, armed to the teeth with nuclear missiles, but also with the world's biggest propaganda machine. **Estonia and Latvia** continue to be among the smallest states of Europe like 75 years ago, an eyesore to the empire-minded, since it was us who brought along forbidden ideas of democracy from Europe; it was us who

			<p><i>brought along behind the iron curtain the parliamentary tradition from Europe, which infected the Russian democracy; our country, this foot of ground here was the cradle of multi-party system, confidence in free market economy and in human rights - ideas and practices which began to spread here until they reached the shores of the Pacific, ideas and practices most dreaded by colonial states, or in fact the only survived colonial state, like plague was dreaded in the middle ages. And what if not the Middle Ages is it? Dear heads of state, what Karaganov demands from you is much the same as Hitler demanded in Munich: a legitimate right to use his armed forces for establishing a new rule on the territories of foreign states, the so-called nearby foreign countries. Does this include Alaska? The mouth of the Danube? Port Arthur and Harbin? (LM1)</i></p>
	<p>Strategy of continuation, the topos of name interpretation</p>	<p>Metaphor, rhetorical questions, particles marking continuity (again)</p>	<p><i>16. Once again, standing at the threshold of the new year, we ask ourselves again: “what will it bring us? what prospects does it open up for the course of both personal and national life?” The current uncertain political situation around the world can be likened to an ocean ravaged by world wars, it is still impossible to calm down today and allow our blind, destructive force of nature to be unleashed at the first storm. It is unfortunate that the political barometer from time to time foresees such signs of a thunderstorm on the political horizon around the world (AK1, translated).</i></p>

	Strategy of continuation, the topos of comparison	Rhetoric questions, parallel sentence construction, metaphorical expressions, particles marking continuity (again)	<i>17. Having gathered here, in this palace, today we again feel the flow of time. Do we still continue to see ourselves in it as brave and united people who had will and determination to seize freedom and independence from the clutches of a powerful empire? Do we remember how we guided by ideals and elevated by thought had rallied our powers to open a new page in the history of Lithuania? Do we still feel the spirit of SÓjdis that inspired us, was our source of strength during the most difficult days and helped us survive the tragic losses? (VA3)</i>
	Strategy of continuation, emphasis on positive political continuity	Repetition of state name, appeal to political continuity in the future	<i>18. Tomorrow our new century will begin. We will have a compass in hand, the Estonian language on our tongue and we will be supported by the foundation laid by the Estonian culture and education, gathering strength from the clean nature of Estonia, we will follow our path. (KK3)</i>
Construction of a common culture	Strategy of singularisation, emphasis on positive and unique national character	Intertextuality, emotional adjectives	<i>19. "Raibi ziedi pupiņai, Kas tos raibus darināja? Mīļa Māra darināja, Dieviņam cimdu rakstus." (Latvian folk song) All the beauty we see in nature was understood by our ancestors as an expression of the divine creative spirit, and man as a doer of creative work then becomes not only an imitator of this divine creation, but also in a sense a co-worker and transmitter of it. (VVF6, translated)</i>
	Strategy of unification and cohesivation, the topos of comparison	Emphasis on positive uniqueness, references to symbols of national identity, references to history and common features with Europe	<i>20. Here, less than 50 meters from me, is the Song closet (Dainu skapis, a closet with Latvian folk songs collected by Krišjānis Barons), which preserves Latvian ethical principles and cultural foundations that have grown and developed over hundreds and thousands of years, and which usually still unconsciously still affect our worldview - yes, even today, in the 21st century. The manuscripts on the covers tell how closely Latvia was bound to the European cultural space, its paths of history and destiny in the Middle Ages, the Reformation and more recent times (EL2, translated).</i>

	<p>Strategy of assimilation and continuation, the topos of name interpretation, the topos of similarity</p>	<p>Inclusive pronouns, references to state symbols and traditions, repetition</p>	<p>21. According to Lithuanian tradition the Advent season is the time of strenuous work, spiritual contemplations and tranquillity before the sublime event -Christmas. The Advent season is not the time for entertainments. Our ancestors observed keenly the weather during it and thus predicted next summer yield, peaceful, good and friendship full life. We, Lithuanians, preserve in our souls the most beautiful childhood memories of the Advent. So let us share today the traditions of the Advent together and thus enrich ourselves with an ancient ever-lasting experience of our ancestors and the spirit of their outlook towards the world. (AIB4)</p>
	<p>Strategy of continuation, emphasis on positive political continuity, the topos of definition</p>	<p>Repetition, emphasis on particular keywords, metaphorical expression</p>	<p>22. It would now be an appropriate time to say that culture is politics, and politics is culture. Culture is politics because it is primarily in culture where the national identity becomes apparent - identity is a necessary element, a substance which is difficult to describe, but from which nations are born. Politics is culture primarily because the ultimate aim of politics is to defend the individual, to assist the individual to determine and deepen the characteristics of a person. The primary characteristic of a person is the phenomenon: that a person does not exist outside a culture. (LM3)</p>
	<p>Strategies of singularisation</p>	<p>inclusive pronouns, parallelisms</p>	<p>23. We are bringing to Europe our rich heritage. We have a live ancient Indo-European language. Language is a source of our culture. We shall never subscribe to the belief of sceptics who claim that language is merely a means of communication. (RP4)</p>
	<p>Constructive strategies of assimilation, inclusions, and continuation (the topos of similarity)</p>	<p>anthroponyms, toponyms, metaphors, tropes, personal references, inclusion</p>	<p>24. A very important part of learning to be a human being is culture and the fine arts. The technocratic world may make us forget that the Estonian language and Estonian culture help to keep all of the components of our society cohesive. (KK5)</p>

Construction of a common national body	Strategies of singularisation, emphasis on positive national uniqueness, the topos of lovely and idyllic place	Lexemes with semantic component constructing uniqueness, toponyms, inclusive pronouns, positive adjectives	25. <i>We are in the Daukantas Square. It is both symbolic and meaningful. This square that stands next to the ancient Vilnius University radiates the spirit of our ancient temple of knowledge. It stands next to the Cathedral which guards the secret of the grave of Vytautas the Great. We are in the heart of Lithuania and the very centre of our capital city, where each house, each turret of churches and even each pavement stone speak to us in the language of our Motherland. (RP4)</i>
	Strategy of singularisation, the topos of a lovely and idyllic place	Toponyms, repetition, metaphorical expressions	26. <i>Latgale is the third star in the crown of Latvia - the youngest, the most beautiful, the brightest star. Latgale, keeping its beauty, in cooperation with both older sisters, in the power and vigour of her youth will go to work to further brighten her splendour. Fertile land, people's energy, enthusiasm, mental thirst, patriotism, faith and trust in even the most imaginably impossible to make possible, imaginably unattainable-to be attainable. (KU3, translated)</i>
	Strategy of legitimisation, the topos of appeal to authority	Quotations, inclusive pronominal references, emotional adjectives, repetition of national symbols	27. <i>Recently a foreign ambassador reminded us of the beautiful words of his king: «No country is small, the shores of which are washed by a sea, for the whole world is open to her. " The sea border, access to the sea - is an invaluable capital with which Latvia is richly endowed. Some may think that The Baltic Sea is not as important as other seas closer to the ocean traffic at major crossroads. But such a thought is misleading. The Baltic Sea washes the coasts of nine countries. (KU5, translated)</i>
	Strategy of singularisation, the topos of a lovely and idyllic place	Toponyms, repetition, emphasis on national symbols, metaphorical expressions (cities are sisters)	28. <i>So show me a city that in a short span of time has so much changed her face, her character, which has achieved so much new beauty – and will gain even more than our Riga; old Riga is becoming more Latvian! Latvian Riga with its new, wide views, new squares, with new buildings, new gardens, new streets - as a pearl emerges from old time dust and debris. She is followed by her sisters – other Latvian cities. The statues of Jelgava Castle are already shining on the banks of river</i>

			<i>Lielupe</i> , where these days after hundreds of years dropped anchor again the first seagoing ship. The cities of Latgale are already growing and getting rid of the old time residues. The countryside in Latgale is also flourishing (KU10, translated)
	Strategy of singularisation, emphasis on national uniqueness, national model characters	pronouns, lexemes with semantic components constructing uniqueness, toponyms	29. <i>From Vilnius to Klaipėda. From Telšiai to Šalčininkai. We are one Lithuania. Singing together and raising the national tricolor. Protecting the most precious we have – Lithuania, our home. Lithuania – our duty and ultimate purpose.</i> (DG11)
	Strategy of singularisation, emphasis on national uniqueness, national model characters	Inclusive pronouns, lexemes with semantic components constructing uniqueness, toponyms	30. <i>There are a lot of heroes in our story of freedom – more than a million of them, who yearned for a free state and who were not afraid to stand shoulder-to-shoulder with those in Hirve Park, or at the Song Festival Grounds, or in Pilstvere, or in the Baltic Chain, or on Freedom Square during the putsch in August 1991, or at the TV tower in Tallinn when it was besieged by the tanks of the Pihkva landing division.</i> (THI6)
Examples analysed in the main text, translations	<p>31. <i>Mēs dodamies jaunajā valsts gadā ar labākām izredzēm nekā pērnajā gadā. Pērnajā gadā, kad mēs šeit sēdējām, žvadzēja ieroči; tagad viņi nežvadz un mēs varam visu savu vērtību piegriezt taisni miera darbam, kas priekš valsts izbūves nepieciešams</i>(JC5).</p> <p>32. <i>11 gadus atpakaļ, kad jauno Latvijas valsti no austrumiem un rietumiem plosīja ienaidnieki, kas centās nomākt tautas brīvību un pastāvību, pulcējās labākie un drošsirdīgākie mūsu dēli, lai atbrīvotu Latvijas valsti no svešas varas un raisītu gadu simteņos kaltās važas. Šis lielais darbs prasīja ārkārtīgus upurus un vienotus tautas spēkus. Tikai pateicoties šiem upuriem latvju tauta ir atsvabinājusies no simtiem gadu atkarības un pierādījusi, ka viņa var pati par sevi valdīt. Daudzi drošsirdīgi cīnītāji ir nolikuši savas galvas par Latviju un tagad atdusas brīvās Latvijas smiltīs: latvju tautas Svētnīcā — Brāļu kapos, tāpat citos kapu kalniņos. Šos varoņus lai pieminam šodien pirmajā vietā (GZ3)</i></p> <p>33. <i>Visi dziļi izjūt, ka tā diena, kad latviešu apdzīvoto zemi izsludināja par brīvu, neatkarīgu Latvijas valsti, ir turama visaugstākā cieņā, godā, pateicībā un neizdzēšamā piemiņā. Cieņā tamdēļ, ka tā diena atdeva latvju tautai atpakaļ viņas pašcieņu, kura vēsturisko notikumu gaitā bija apspiesta, bet tai dienā no jauna uzliesmoja visā spožumā, rodot līdz ar to latvju tautai pienācīgo cieņu pie pārējām pasaules tautām; godā tamdēļ, ka tai dienā tika atjaunots tautas dibināšanas un atdzimšanas svētkos tas gods, kas gadu simteņiem no svešām un latviešiem naidīgām varām tika noliegts, visādi mazināts un pat kājām mīts; pateicībā tamdēļ, ka sākot a to dienu latvju tautai radās visplašākās iespējas iekārtot un vadīt savu dzīvi pēc pašas gribas un savām vajadzībām. Vārdu sakot: „kļūt kungiem savā dzimtajā zemē” neizdzēšamā piemiņā tamdēļ, ka ļaujot kādreiz tās dienas nozīmei visai latvju tautai pamazām izgaist vai pat galīgi aizmirsties, latvju tauta būtu līdz ar to atsacījusies no savas nākotnes, jo nebūtu vairs cienīga baudīt tos augļus, kuriem</i></p>		

zemi sagatavojuši Latvijas valsts proklamētāji un to slacījuši savām asinīm brīvības cīnītāji. **Bet kamdēļ taisni šodien visi tik dziļi izjūt valsts dibināšanas dienas lielo nozīmi?** (AK2) - Everyone deeply feels that the day when the land inhabited by Latvians was declared a **free, independent** state of Latvia is to be held with the highest **respect, honor, gratitude** and **indelible memory**. Respectful because that day returned to **the Latvian people her self-esteem, which was suppressed in the course of historical events, but on that day flared up again in all its glory**, thus finding the Latvian people the proper respect before the rest of the nations of the world; pays tribute to the fact that on that day, on the feast of the founding and rebirth of the nation, the **honour of Latvians** that was **denied for centuries by foreign and hostile powers, diminished in every way and stepped on with feet** was restored; thanks to the fact that from the beginning of that day the Latvian people had the widest opportunities to arrange and manage their lives according to their own will and needs. In short, **"to become masters in their homeland"** in an **indelible memory** because by allowing the whole Latvian nation to gradually disappear or even be forgotten once and for all, the Latvian people would have given up their future, as it would no longer be worth **enjoying the fruits the land was prepared by the proclaimers of the Latvian state and the freedom fighters sprinkled it with their blood, but why does everyone today feel so deeply the great significance of the day of the founding of the state?** (AK2)

34. Kad sveši spēki iznīcināja tautas brīvību un neatkarību, kad karotāji un iekarotāji valdīja mūsu zemē, gadu simteņus ilgi darbs, mīlestība un ticība saturēja kopā mūsu tautu, pasargāja to no iznīcināšanas, paglabā tautas raksturu un dvēseli un beidzot palīdzēja tautai **atgūt brīvību, uzcelt valsti** un pārņemt varu un noteikšanu **dzimtajā zemē** uz laiku laikiem. Mēs pārdzīvojām grūtus laikus, mēs cietām smagus zaudējumus, bieži **smagās nastas draudēja mūs saliekt, bet darbs, mīlestība un ticība pārvarēja visu**. Vislielākās briesmas mums draudēja tad, kad **pagrima kāds no šiem trim tikumiem**, kad darba vietā sāka pacelties viegla dzīve, kad **mīlestību uz dzimto zemi aizēnoja svešas mācības**, kas noliedza **tēvzemes svēto vārdu**, kad **ticība tautas nākotnei bija šaubu nomākta un skati meklēja nevajadzīgus svešus aizsargātājus**. Pat tad, kad neatkarīgā valsts bija atkarota, mēs vēl pilnīgi neapzinājāmieš **vienīgo pareizo ceļu**, kuru mums rādīja senie tikumi — **mīlestība, darbs un ticība**..(KU10)

35. **Mūsu zemē** kopš šī rīta ienāk **padomju karaspēks**. Tas notiek ar valdības ziņu un piekrišanu, kas savukārt izriet no **pastāvošām draudzīgām attiecībām starp Latviju un Padomju Savienību**. Es tādēļ vēlos, ka ari **mūsu zemes iedzīvotāji ienākošās karaspēka daļas uzlūko ar draudzību**. Tai pašā laikā **Jums jāzina, ka karaspēka kustībai jānorit bez traucējumiem**, un to Jūs variat veicināt, **ierobežojot pārlieto zīnkāri un atturoties no kārtības traucējumiem**. Šorīt Jūs arī dzirdējāt ziņu par to, ka valdība pilnā sastāvā man ir pieteikusi savu atkāpšanos un ka es esmu uzdevis ministriem **palikt savās vietās līdz jaunās valdības sastādīšanai**. Pirmais **uzdevums mums visiem ir līdzšinējā vienprātībā un darba gribā palikt savās vietās** un turpināt kalpot tai lietai, kas mums ir augsta un svēta Latvijas un mūsu tautas interesēm. Ir neizbēgams, ka pārdzīvojamie notikumi ienes zināmu satraukumu un traucējumus **mūsu līdzšinējās mierīgās dzīves ritumā**. Bet tās ir pārejošas parādības, kurām mēs pēc dažām dienām tiksīm pāri. Šinī brīdī es Jūs **aicinu – pierādiet domās, darbos un stājā tautas dvēseles spēku, ko izraisījuši Atjaunotās Latvijas ziedu gadi**. Tad es būšu drošs, ka viss, kas tagad notiek un tālāk notiks, nāks par labu mūsu valsts un tautas nākotnei un **mūsu labām un draudzīgām attiecībām ar mūsu lielo austrumu kaimiņu - Padomju Savienību**. [...] Mana sirds ir ar Jums un es jūtu, ka arī jūsu sirdis pukst man pretī draudzīgā atbalsī. Tā iesim uz priekšu un veiksīm savu darbu. Es palikšu sava vietā, Jūs palieciet savās (KU4)

36. Vēlāk, kad mūsu stāvoklis nesolījās labāks palikt, un kad pasaules **lielās politikas mezgli metās**, tad Rīgu bija ieņēmuši **sveši spēki**. **Citi spēki** teica: «Mēs ieņemsim Rīgu, mēs atsvabināsim to». **Mums solīja, ka mēs visi kopā būsim Rīgā**. Bet lielais jautājums bija tas, kas tad **mēs tur būsim?** Un Latvijas pagaidu valdība atbildēja: «Jā, kungi, bet kam tad Rīga piederēs, kad mēs to paņemsim?» Uz to atbildes nebija. **Mēs varējām**

apmierināties tikai ar atbildi: tā būs Latvijas galvas pilsēta. Bet šādu atbildi **mums** nebija iespējams dabūt, un **mēs** pateicām: kamēr tādas atbildes nav, rīdzinieki un vidzemnieki, lai cik grūti arī viņiem neietu, vēl drusku pacietīsies. Riga had been occupied by **foreign forces**. **Other forces** said: "We will occupy Riga; we will liberate it." **We** were promised that **we** would all be in Riga **together**. **But the big question was, what will we be there for?** And the Provisional Government of Latvia replied: "Yes, gentlemen, but who will Riga belong to when we take it?" There was no answer. **We** could only be satisfied with the answer: it will be the capital of Latvia. But **we** could not get such an answer, and **we** said: until there is no such answer, the people of Riga and Vidzeme, no matter how hard it may be for them, will still be a little patient. (KU5)

37. Reiz viens vienīgs Līgo karogs, **sarkanbaltas** lentītes uz jaunekļu krūtīm, tagad **sarkanbaltais neatkarīgās Latvijas karogs**. Bet tomēr — tas nenāca pats no sevis, tas nāca, pirmkārt, tāpēc, ka **mēs to ar dzelzs gribu gribējām**, otrkārt tāpēc, ka mēs tam **ticējām ar nesalaužamu ticību**, un, treškārt, tāpēc, ka mums **nekas nebija par dārgu, neviens upuris par smagu, lai liktu mūsu gribai un ticībai uzvarēt un uzgavilēt. Mēs ticējām un gribējām savu tēvzemi, savu brīvību, un šos vārdus tagad akmenī kaltus lasām uz Brīvības pieminekļa. Mēs dziedājām ticīgi un sirsnīgi: Lokatiesi, mežu gali, — un tie locījās, noliecās mūsu dziesmu priekšā, mēs uzvarējām, jo bijām un esam ar šo zemi saauguši kā neviens cits. Tikai mēs, galvu pie viņas krūts pielikuši, sadzirdam viņas balsi, saprotam viņas valodu, — un viņa mūs ir svētījusi, tāpat kā Debesu Tēvs svētījis un sargājis Latviju.** (KU9)

38. Jau trīsdesmito gadu beigās **lielvaras Eiropas austrumos un rietumos** mēģināja pārspēt viena otru un kopā kādu citu viltībā, lai gūtu vienpusējas priekšrocības un pārākumu. Šis pārākums tad vairākus gadus **kādā zemē saucās rasu pārākums**, un vairākus gadu desmitus to **kādā citā zemē sauca par pārākumu ideoloģijā**. Abās zemēs šo laikmetu pārdzīvoja tikai kategoriskais imperatīvs, kurš pieprasa "**pārvarēt vēsturi**", jo XX gadsimta beigās pieļauj pavisam citu filozofiju **drošības politikā**. (GU5)

39. Latvija pilnībā atbalsta **NATO un ES piedāvājumu** izveidot ar **Krieviju īpašas attiecības**. Arī Krievijai kā alternatīva ir pašizolācija. **Pieņemt pasniegto roku — tas neliecina par kaut kādu partnera noniecināšanu, jo tas ir žests tikai stipram partnerim.** (GU5)

40. Pirms 78 gadiem tika iestādīts tas **ozols**, kura gadskārtas mēs tagad skaitām. **Ozols, kura saknes izstiepjas dziļi latviešu tautas pagātne** un pat vissenākajos slāņos atrod tautas brīvības gribu. Tā dod šim ozolam spēku augt un zaļot. Bet viņa gadskārtu apli ir tik dažādi. **Šauros un sakropļotos ir apzīmogojuši kari, grūtības, trūkums. Okupācija kā ilgs saules aptumsums ir liegusi tiem gaismu.** Sausumam līdzīgs mēdz būt mūsu pašu vājums, bet reizēm šis ozols ir audzis kā purvā, piesūcies ar mitrumu no savtīguma un intrigu akačiem. Un tomēr tā stumbrā ir daudz platu un skaistu gadu gredzenu. Tas ir dzīvs un kupls, tāpat kā Latvijas tauta, kas pratusi pasargāt savu valsti no iznīcības. Un 18. novembri varam stāvēt zem šī ozola zariem, kuri cenšas, savukārt, pasargāt mūs, savas valsts pilsoņus, pacelt acis augšup un neslēpt lepnumu par to, ka mums ir šī valsts. Reizēm nāk prātā doma - cik gudri mūsu priekšteči ir darījuši, dodami uz laiku laikiem Latvijas valstij tieši 18. novembri par pieturas punktu, kur apstāties un pārdomāt, kas mēs esam un kā dzīvojam... Protams, tā bija dažādu vēsturisku apstākļu sakriība, nevis īpaši izvēlēts datums. Bet tas šīm pārdomām lieliski pieder, tāpat kā Neatkarības atjaunošanas deklarācijai lieliski pieder 4. maijs, atmodas pavasaris. 18. novembris, mūsu valsts piedzimšanas diena, katru rudenī nāk kā rituāls. [...] . Kas bija tie divi zīmīgie vārdi, kas 1918. gadā ministru prezidenta uzrunā tūlīt pēc vārdiem "Latvijas valsts izbūve", izskanēja uz šīs skatuves? - "Darbs un maize".(GU6) **The oak**, whose anniversaries we now count, **was planted 78 years ago. An oak, the roots of which stretch deep into the**

past of the Latvian people and finds the will of the people's freedom even in the deepest of strata. It gives this oak the strength to grow and green. But his anniversary the circles are so different. Narrow and mutilated ones are marked by wars, difficulties, poverty. The occupation, like a long solar eclipse, has deprived them of light. Drought-like tends to be our own weakness, but sometimes this oak has grown like a swamp, soaked with moisture from selfishness and intrigue acacia. And yet its trunk has many wide and beautiful year rings. It is alive and well, just like the people of Latvia, who know how to protect their country from destruction. And on 18 November, we can stand under the branches of this oak, who, in turn, is trying to protect us, the citizens of our country, by raising our eyes and not hiding the pride that we have in this country. Sometimes the thought comes to mind - how clever our ancestors have done, temporarily giving the Latvian state exactly November 18 as a stopping place to stop and rethink who we are and how we live. Of course, it was a coincidence of different historical circumstances, not specially selected date. But it fits in perfectly with these reflections, just as May 4, the spring of revival, fits in perfectly with the Declaration of the Restoration of Independence. November 18, our country's birthday, comes every autumn as a ritual. [...]. What were the two significant words that appeared on this stage in 1918 in the address of the Prime Minister immediately after the words "Construction of the State of Latvia"? - "Work and bread".

41. Tieši Jūs mums šo īsteno vēsturi nebeidzāt atgādināt un mācīt visus ilgos okupācijas gadus, kad mums valsts bija nolaupta. Svešinieki centās izdzēst no mūsu apziņas pat 18. novembri. Viņi baidījās arī no jūsu vēstulēm un nolaida dzelzs aizkaru, lai tikai tam cauri neizsprauktos patiesība un nepamodinātu mūs. Tas tomēr notika, jo Baltais tēvs tā bija nolīcis un Antiņš uzjāja stikla kalnā un Saulcerīte — Brīvība atkal ir uzmodināta un atdota tautai. Bet kā jau pēc gara un neveselīga miega, tā ir vārģa un sargājama. Mēs varētu priecāties gaišāk un bagātāk, ja visus trīs gadsimta ceturkšņus mums būtu bijis ļauts savā etniskajā teritorijā veidot un celt savu valsti pēc pašu gribas. Bet notika ļauna, netaisna sazvērestība. Vai mums tagad dzīvot, mūžīgi atpakaļ skatoties, un izliekoties, ka šo 50 gadu vispār nav bijis mūsu valsts vēsturē? Bet tie bija, un tajos ir palicis mūsu mūžs. Cik piepildīts un cik laimīgs — jā, tas ir jautājums katram. (GU7).

42. Mūsu ārpolitikai jāieņem brīvas valsts cienīga stāja un jāatsakās no "jaunākā brāļa" kompleksiem kā attiecībās ar Rietumiem, tā Austrumiem. [...] Būtu maldīgi apstrīdēt tiesības krieviem būt Krievijas, poļiem - Polijas, lietuviešiem — Lietuvas patriotiem. Līdz ar viņiem mēs vēlam viņu tautām labklājību un gaišu nākotni. Taču mēs vēlētos, lai tie, kas nolēmuši savu mūžu un savas dzimtas nākotni saistīt ar Latviju, attiektos pret to kā pret savu mājokli, kurā tie nav tikai patērētāji, bet radītāji. Tā kā to šo no dzimtas dzimtā darījuši vecticībnieki, krievu, ebreju un citu tautu kopienas gan Latvijas brīvvalsts laikā, gan vēl ilgi pirms tam. Še nav iebraucamā vieta un viesnīca īsam brīdim, še nav guberņa ar tai raksturīgo kārtību. Še ir valsts, kas atminas un veido savu kārtību ilgām darbām un ilgām laikam. - Our foreign policy must take a position worthy of a free state and abandon the "younger brother" complexes in both relations with the West and the East. [...] It would be a mistake to challenge the right of Russians to be patriots of Russia, Poles of Poland, Lithuanians — of Lithuania. Along with them, we wish their peoples prosperity and a bright future. However, we would like those who have decided to connect their life and the future of their family with Latvia to treat it as their home, in which they are not only consumers, but creators. Just as the Old Believers, the communities of Russians, Jews and other nations have done here from their families, both during the independence of Latvia and long before that. This is not an entry point and a hotel for a short time, there is no province here with its characteristic order. This is a country that remembers and shapes its order for a long work and a long time. (GU8)

43. Latvija **atgriežas Eiropā. Vēsturiski** tās ir **mūsu īstās mājas. Ģeogrāfiski** mēs no Eiropas jau **nekad neesam pazuduši**. Taču tagad **mēs atgriežamies Eiropā kā neatkarīga, suverēna nācija**, kas ir kļuvusi par uzticamu politisko un respektējamu ekonomisko partneri. Tā Eiropa, kurā **mēs atgriežamies**, ir unikāls veidojums, kāds varbūt vēl nekad cilvēces vēsturē nav redzēts. Valstis, kas gadu simtiem bija **ienaidnieces**, pēc **Otrā pasaules kara** nolēma uzsākt jaunu sadarbības un sadzīves modeli. Visi sēdās pie viena galda un katrā jautājumā turpināja debatēt tik ilgi, līdz kamēr tika nonākts pie risinājuma, kur katrs arī sev varēja saskaņot kādu ieguvumu. (VVF6).

44. Šīs **barikādes**, kas tika uzceltas **Rīgas ielās, Zaķusalā** un citur – ne jau šīs fiziskās **barikādes** būtu varējušas **svešu varu** un tās **militāro spēku** apturēt, bet tās bija **pulcēšanās un kopā stāvēšanas simbols**, jo tauta tajā brīdī parādīja savu **drosmi**, savu **varonību** un savu **vienotību**, un savu **gatavību visu likt uz brīvības altāra**, tajā skaitā paši savas **dzīvības**. Ar **kailām rokām, bez bruņojuma uzbrukumiem, zenīartilērijai un armijas šāvieniem** tauta nebūtu varējusi turēties pretim, bet tā parādīja savu **gribu to darīt, un šis gribas spēks un šī vienotība bija tā, kas lika ienaidniekam izlaist pašam ieročus no savām rokām, un apstāties šīs tautas vienotības un varonības priekšā. Gara spēks – tas vienoja latviešu tautu. Tas, ka viņa skaļi pauda savu izpratni par savas tautas tiesībām, savas ilgas, savas prasības pēc neatkarīgas, suverēnas Latvijas valsts – šī balss izskanēja visā pasaulē, pateicoties moderniem saziņas līdzekļiem. Nobijās tā vara, kurai bija fiziskās iespējas asiņaini apspiest šo tautas sacelšanos, kā pagātnē bija tikušas apspiestas tik daudzas citas. Šoreiz tauta izvarēja. Uzvarēja ar savu drosmi, ar savu gribasspēku, ar savu gatavību ziedot visu.** - These **barricades**, which were built on the **streets of Riga, Zaķusala** and elsewhere, could not have stopped the **foreign power** and its **military power**, but they were a **symbol of gathering and standing together**, because the people at that time showed their **courage**, their **heroism** and their **unity**, and their **willingness to put everything on the altar of freedom**, including **their own lives**. With **bare hands**, without **armament attacks, anti-aircraft artillery and army shots**, the nation would not have been able to resist, but it showed its will to do so, and it was this **willpower** and **unity** that led the **enemy to drop his own weapons** and stop this nation. in the face of **unity** and **heroism**. The **power of the spirit - it united the Latvian people**. The fact that she loudly expressed her understanding of the rights of her people, her longing, her demands for an independent, sovereign Latvian state - **this voice was heard all over the world** thanks to modern means of communication. Terrified was the power that had the physical ability to bloodily suppress this popular uprising, as so many others had been oppressed in the past. This time the people won. They won with their **courage**, with their **willpower**, with their **willingness to sacrifice everything** (VVF7).

45. **Latvija sākās ar pārdrošu ideju** par nacionālu, neatkarīgu valsti. Tā norūdījās varonīgajās Brīvības cīņās; ar sakostiem zobiem tā tika iznesta cauri okupācijas gadiem; atdzima caur dziesmoto revolūciju; guva spēku barikāžu ugunsuros; tad atrada ceļu uz Eiropas Savienību un NATO un caur straujas augšupejas gadiem nonāca līdz skarbajai šodienai. No kurienes ikreiz grūtos laikos mūsu tauta ir smēlusies spēku, izturību un ticību nākotnei? Tās ir mūsu tautas vērtības. Iekaltas Brīvības pieminekļi, tās stāsta par mūsu tautas vēsturi, raksturo šodien un ļauj būt drošiem par rītdienu. (VZ1)

46. Sen aiz muguras ir padomju laiki, kad tika garantēts darbs un algas. Mēs nedrīkstam gaidīt un paļauties uz to, ka valsts sakārtosies pati no sevis - bez mūsu katra līdzdalības.[...] Šodien daudz runā, ka ir vajadzīgs vadonis. Ka viens vadonis varēsot atrisināt visas mūsu problēmas. Vadonis došot ticību, vadonis rādīšot ceļu. Vēlme pēc vadoņa ir vēlēšanās meklēt patvērumu pagātnē, gūt aizbildniecību. Tā ir nevēlēšanās uzņemties atbildību par sevi un savu valsti. Valsts ir tik stipra, cik stipri ir tās pilsoņi. Paļaušanās uz vadoni agri vai vēlu sagandē valsti. Garlībs Merķelis darbā „Latvieši” runā par dažādiem cilvēkiem - viens iet pa ceļu, bet - nevis tur, kur pats vēlas - bet kurp dodas vairākums. Turpretī cits nogriežas no lielceļa, dodas pats sevis izvēlētajā virzienā, noguris apstājas, novērtē, ko **ar savām pūlēm paveicis, un tad stingrā gaitā turpina tuvoties savam mērķim.** - The Soviet times, when jobs and wages were guaranteed, are long gone (behind our backs). We must not wait and rely on the state to take care of itself

- without the participation of each of us. [...] There is a lot of talk today about the need for a leader. That one leader could solve all our problems. The leader gives faith, the leader shows the way. The desire for a leader is the desire to seek refuge in the past, to gain guardianship. It is a reluctance to take responsibility for oneself and one's country. A country is as strong as its citizens. Relying on the leader sooner or later spoils the country. In his work "Latvians", **Garlībs Merķelis** talks about different people - one goes on the road, but - not where he wants to - but where the majority goes. On the other hand, another turns off the highway, goes in the direction of his choice, stops tired, evaluates what he has done with his own efforts, and then continues to approach his goal in a rigorous course. (VZ2)

47. Tādēļ šajā svētku dienā gribu mums novēlēt atgūt kaut daļu tā spēka un ticības, kas Latvijas tautai piemita 1918. gadā un Atmodas laikā. Toreiz līdzās latviešiem stāvēja visas Latvijā dzīvojošās tautas, jo mērķis bija viens – izcīnīt un nosargāt savas valsts neatkarību, un mums tas izdevās! Mēs toreiz nemeklējām ienaidniekus, jo ienaidnieks bija viens – sveša, uzspiesta vara, no kuras vēlējās atbrīvoties brīva un pašapzinīga tauta! (AB6)

48. Vēsturiski 11.novembris vienmēr tiks saistīts ar Latvijas brīvības cīņu posmu, kura laikā notika vācu un krievu karaspēka mēģinājums ieņemt Rīgu un likvidēt Latvijas neatkarību. Tieši pirms 93 gadiem, 11.novembrī Latvijas valsts armija atbrīvoja Rīgas Pārdaugavu no bermontiešiem, un jau novembra beigās šis vācu-krievu karaspēks tika padzīts. Tomēr Latvijas brīvības cīņas ilga vēl divus gadus līdz pat 1920. gada 11.augustam, kad tika noslēgts Latvijas – Krievijas miera līgums, un beidzot Latvija bija brīva un Krievija atteicās no tiesībām uz Latvijas zemi. Diemžēl, Latvijai viena gadsimta laikā pat divreiz ir nācies kļūt par divu totalitāru lielvaru kaujaslauku, samaksājot visaugstāko cenu - valsts neatkarības zaudēšanu un tautas sadalīšanu karojošās frontēs, tāpēc kara rētas nav sadzijušas vēl šodien.- Historically, November 11 will always be associated with the stage of Latvia's freedom fights, during which German and Russian troops tried to occupy Riga and eliminate Latvia's independence. Exactly 93 years ago, on November 11, the Latvian State Army liberated Riga Pārdaugava from the Bermontians, and at the end of November this German-Russian army was expelled. However, Latvia's freedom fights lasted for another two years until August 11, 1920, when the Latvia-Russia peace treaty was concluded, and finally Latvia was free, and Russia relinquished the right to Latvian land. Unfortunately, in one century, Latvia has twice had to become the battlefield of two totalitarian superpowers, paying the highest price - the loss of national independence and the division of the nation into warring fronts, so the scars of war have not healed today. (AB7)

49. Visskaidrākās sāpes ir pārkausētas par mūžīgu dzīvību, kas caur tautas koka saknēm nes mūsu tautas gara spēku. Cauri paaudzēm, cauri laikiem, uz augšu. Tas ir nebeidzams turpinājums. Baltijas ceļā savās plaukstās izkausējām dzelzs priekškaru. Tā vietā uzplauka trīs brīvas valstis, atkal brīvi varēja elpot vienotā Eiropa. (EL5)

50. Vērtējot Latvijas iespējamās attīstības modeļus, skaidri saskatām tikai divas alternatīvas: Latvija vai nu kļūst par NATO, Eiropas Savienības un Rietumeiropas Savienības dalībvalsti un līdz ar to sastāvdaļa Eiropas un transatlantiskās drošības joslā, vai nu kļūst par apdraudējuma avotu reģiona un kontinenta stabilitātei (GU5)

51. Lai uzrāda man pilsētu, kas īsā laikā tā mainījusi savu seju, savu raksturu, kas ieguvusi tik daudz jauna daiļuma — un iegūs vēl vairāk kā mūsu Rīgā; vecā Rīga top latviskāka! Latviskā Rīga ar saviem jauniem, plašiem skatiem, ar jauniem laukiem, Ar jaunām celtnēm, jauniem dārziem, jaunām ielām — kā pērle iznirst no veco laiku putekļiem un gruvešiem. Viņai seko viņas māsas —Latvijas pilsētas (KU10).

52. Šodien mums Lāčplēsis jāatrod sevī un savos līdzcilvēkos - tikai tā varēsīm tikt galā ar izaicinājumiem. Tēvzemes mīlestība, darbs, griba, mērķtiecība un vienotība ir mūsu šodienas Lāčplēsis (VZ1)

53. **History can be called our aide and ally.** By numerous links it connects us with the past, it is a spring of wisdom, values and hopes and a springboard into future. Throughout the decades, up to the restoration of independence on 11 March 1991, the obvious historic truth had been driven away from the memory of the nation. The truth is that under favourable occurrence of historical circumstances and thanks to resoluteness of the nation and by its decision, a free and independent state of Lithuania was restored. This significant act took place on 16 February 1918. We remember well how eagerly and by all possible means we probed for information about the root sources of independent Lithuania. How restricted was the access to many sources of information! We remember how we were interested in various aspects of the prohibition on the Lithuanian book-printing in the Latin alphabet, the first national liberation movement and outstanding people who participated in it. No restrictions or prohibitions could quench the desire to study the spiritual heritage of the country. Attempts were made to dose the truth, but they only aroused stronger admiration for those who published "Auora" and "Varpas" newspapers, smuggled into the country books printed in the Lithuanian language and awakened the nation. Educated people, intelligentsia as well as those who were torn away from their Motherland by force preserved and fostered historical and cultural values to be used in the final fight for freedom; they worked and struggled for the preservation of national identity and dignity. The nation has never forgotten the ancient state of Lithuania and those who ruled it: King Mindaugas and the Grand Dukes Gediminas, Kastytis and Vytautas. The memory of a decisive battle of our ancestors for freedom as well as the tolerance of nations and religions which existed in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and was embodied in progressive at that time three Statutes of Lithuania, was passed from generation to generation. Interest in the language, literature and its most memorable piece "Katekizmas" ("Catechism") by Martynas Majvydas, has never subsided. This year we will mark the 450th anniversary of the first printed book in the Lithuanian language. In villages and huts of the peasants one could enjoy fairy tales from the treasure trove of the nation and listen to the tunes of melodious songs and the ringing of the Lithuanian language. Archaic features of the language and its close affinities with Sanskrit have attracted the attention of a number of outstanding linguists in the world (A1B5).

54. **Latviešu valoda ir tā, kas vieno visus Latvijā dzīvojošos cilvēkus.** Ar valsts valodas palīdzību mēs īstenojam valsts varu un valsts sabiedrisko dzīvi. Tajā pašā laikā visām mazākumtautībām ir tiesības saglabāt savu kultūru un valodu. Šajā ziņā Latvija vienmēr ir bijusi spilgts piemērs citām valstīm - Latvijas valsts finansē pamatizglītību septiņās mūsu valstī dzīvojošo mazākumtautību valodās. Mums ir pamats lepoties ar aktīvām un daudzveidīgām mazākumtautību kopienām. (VZ5)

55. **Latvija ir zeme ar senu kultūru, ar senu valodu, tā ir zeme ar savdabīgām un bagātām tradīcijām. Latvija ir gatava uzņemt visus, kas spēj šīs tradīcijas cienīt un tajās iekļauties.** (VVF1)

56. **Un lai mēs visi priekā un liksmībā atcerētos, ka pirms 65 gadiem, tāpat Jāņu nedēļā, pirmo reizi Rīgu pāršalca mūsu dziesmas, plūzdamas no tūkstoš krūfīm, pavadītas ar desmit tūkstoš karstu siržu pukstieniem.** Šīs spēcīgās dziesmu skaņas toreiz saviļņoja ne tikai dziedātājus un klausītājus, bet visus latviešus, un to atbalss, dziesmās izteiktās cerības un ilgas nenorima gadu desmitos, nav norimušas vēl tagad domās un atmiņās. Saites, ar kurām dziesmas un dziedātāji kā tautas ilgu tulkotāji toreiz sasēja latviešus tautiskās atmodas sākumā, nav irušas līdz šai dienai, gluži otrādi — tās tapa un top arvien stiprākas un ciešākas (KU9)

57. *Ļaujiet **man** šajā jomā uzsvērt Latvijas un Eiropas Savienības principiālo un konsekvento pārliecību par konfliktu miermīlīgu risināšanu, kā arī par tādām vērtībām kā demokrātija, tiesiskums un cilvēktiesību aizsargāšana. (AB2)*

58. ***Mēs** noliksim varoņu dienu, kurā latviešu tauta atcerēsies ik gadus tos **mūsu dēlus un brāļus**, kas nolika savu galvu par Latviju. (JC2).*

59. ***Mēs** atkal esam vienoti – vienas zemes **dēli un meitas**' (KU1).*

60. ***Es** pateicos visiem tiem, kas ciēna un mīl savu zemi, jo tā ir **mūsu** māte, kas **mūs** ir izauklējusi. Ne **mums**, viņas bērniem prasīt, vai viņa **mūsu** mīlestību būtu pelnījusi, bet gan **mums** katram pierādīt, ka **mēs** esam pelnījuši saukties par viņas bērniem (VVF2).*

61. *Tā ir zeme, kas **mums** pieder. Tā ir **mūsu** arī tad, ja šeit kādreiz saimniekojusi **sveša** vara. Šie vārdi vēršas pie **mums**, uzrunā **mūs**. Uzrunā **mani, jūs, visu Latvijas tautu. Mēs** – Latvijas tauta, stipri savā valsts gribā, spējam veidot **savu** valsti kā mājas katram no **mums** (EL20)*

62. *ir jālauž negatīvisma **inerce** (GU3); es redzu, cik cieta vai mīksta ir **jūsu maizes garoza** (GU4); Drošības nemilitārie aspekti ieņem svarīgāku vietu reģiona un kontinenta **drošības vienādojumā** (GU5).*

63. *Today **Lithuania** stands as an **equal** partner among the nations. **Our voice** is not only heard. It is listened to because of **our unique historical experience**. We know what it is like to lose your land. To lose your home and those you love. They tried to silence us and take away our native language. They tried to divide our people and society (DG10),*

64. *Five long decades were ripped away from the one hundred years of our journey by the Soviet occupation which left us with many **unhealing wounds**. Some are like **permafrost** that no spring can thaw (DG13),*

65. *Today we stand proud of the path Lithuania has travelled. Proud of the free spirit, courage and resilience of those who walked it all the way. Proud of their love for Lithuania that survived through wars, deportations and Soviet gulags – and was never sold, never traded. Our ultimate wish and duty to preserve and defend the nation binds us with the Romantics of the early 20th century determined to give **Lithuania back its statehood, identity, language, and self-respect that had been taken away and wrecked by successive occupations**. There's a lot to learn from **February 16**. At that time, just like today, new lines were being drawn all over the world. Back then Lithuania was a budding nation bravely pushing through the ice of occupations. Today it's like a one-hundred-year-old oak tree (DG15).*

66. *The illegitimate use of force and serious violations of sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity have become part of Europe's every-day life. Russia, a permanent member of the UN Security Council, encouraged by the feeble international response to its 2008 aggression against Georgia, attempts to further destabilize countries in its near neighbourhood. Russia's appalling military actions against Ukraine have been continuing for five years now. Lithuania strongly condemns this prolonged violation of international law and urges the aggressor to respect the UN Charter, the Helsinki Final Act and bilateral agreements with Ukraine. We will continue supporting Georgian and Ukrainian independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity; we will never recognize the illegal annexation of Crimea, the occupation of Abkhazia and South Ossetia. We hold that the implementation of the Minsk agreements is an absolute precondition for normalizing relations with Russia (GN1).*

*Seimas of Vilnius. After the members of the Lithuanian Council agreed on the text of the **Independence Declaration**, Dr. Basanavičius chaired the sitting of the **Council on February 16** (A1B19).*

*74. **Latvia's century has not been an easy one. Independence** was declared at a time when **foreign troops** were occupying our land. The first task of the **new Latvia** was to **liberate our country from Bolshevik and German imperialists**. There were no Latvian Armed Forces, and in **1918 people were sick of war**. Yet the **cause of freedom was so strong** that by 1920 a force of some 50,000 had **cleared our land of enemies** and in August a **peace treaty was signed with the Soviet Union**. In January 1921 **Aristide Briand**, the **Prime Minister of France** and the President of the Inter-Allied Conference, signed a note regarding the **recognition of Latvia de jure**. The **War of Independence might have lasted much longer** if not for the help of **our friends**. In particular **Estonia, France, Poland, and the United Kingdom** helped militarily while others gave non-military assistance. After the **horrors of the First World War Europe felt safe again**. **Latvia** chose a position of **neutrality**, perhaps ignoring the lessons of the **War of Independence**. The consequences are well known to us all: **half of our 100 years were spent under Soviet, then Nazi, then again Soviet occupation**. We have learned this lesson of history. That is why, when we **regained independence in 1991**, our main foreign policy **objective was membership of the European Union and NATO**. Twice in the last century, **together with America, Europe has defeated the tyrannies of imperialism, fascism, and communism**. So, at this **Baltic Centenary**, let us look more closely at the central importance of Atlanticism to our security. When we found ourselves **left behind the Iron Curtain**, the importance of the Sumner Welles declaration of 1940 became clear. At that time, **America was still unwilling to become engaged in Europe's latest war**. But **America**, and many others, **refused to recognize the annexation of the Baltic States** by the **Soviet Union**. This was a lifeline which helped to keep the **hopes of independence** alive for half a century (RV2018, Baltic Conference).*

*75. **Latvia has several links with the seat of the Council of Europe**. Almost two and a half centuries ago, **Herder**, the **German philosopher**, came to Strasbourg. He had just spent five years in **Riga** and for a long time his attention was focused on the **ideas of cultural heritage of the European nations and the preservation of their identities**. The years he spent in the **Baltic states proved that Europe is more than the culture of the large nations**. The philosopher was particularly interested in the **spiritual world of the small nations**. The **frequently forgotten smaller nations** have a world of ideas that make the **European mosaic perfect and complete**. The Baltic – **both in Herder's Day and today – is a cultural region with a European identity** (GU1996, EUParl).*

*76. The **restoration of relations between Latvia and Russia** as two sovereign states began after the recognition of the independence of the state of Latvia in **August 1991** by the Russian Federation, based on the Constitutional law "On the Status of the Statehood of the Republic of Latvia", adopted by the Supreme Council. In the first years both **Latvia and Russia were still on the quest for their place in the world**. In both countries there were forces, which wanted to push their country in incompatibly opposite directions. In Latvia there were forces, which wanted "**to turn over a new page**" and forget all **wrongs** done to the people of Latvia over the fifty years of **occupation**. **Some other forces** insistently denied the legitimacy of the restoration of the Republic of Latvia and referred to the Supreme Council and later the Saeima as institutions of "the unlawful regime of 4th May". **In Russia** there was a confrontation between **those**, who wished to **develop Russia into a Western democracy** and **those**, who **cherished hope of the restoration of the Empire**, no matter in what form. [...] When I entered upon office more than seven years ago, Latvia-Russia relations still could often best be **described as verbal wars**. (VZ, 2007 on Latvian Russian relations).*

7. Sample Qualitative Data Analysis

Mūsu augstskolas **vārti šodien ir atvērušies**, Mācību spēki pa lielāku daļu jau savās vietās, gatavi stāties pie darba, un nākošās dienās pildīsies auditorijas studentiem.

Šis svarīgais notikums **apzīmē jaunu laikmetu latviešu tautas kultūras dzīvē**, un Latvijas Tautas padomes vārdā es nesu uz to sveicienu tikpat mācību spēkiem – profesoriem, docentiem, kā arī studējošai jaunatnei. **Šis sveiciens no Latvijas Tautas padomes ir sveiciens no latviešu tautas**, jo Tautas padome **mums** ir vēl vienīgā tautas reprezentācija.

Mācību spēkiem es novēlu sekmes **viņu** darbā; **brīvi** lai **viņi** izdara savus pētījumus **zinību dziļumos** un **brīvi** lai viņi māca tās patiesības un taisnības, ko **viņi** izpētījuši. **Brīva Latvija** var būt tikai **brīva** augstskola. **Viņas** darbu nedrīkst jautāt un traucēt **ārejie spēki**, kas **viņu** varētu **nogriezt no taisnības un patiesības ceļa**. Uz viņu es gribētu attiecināt Arhimēda vārdus: *noli turbare circulos meos*. **Brīvi** pētīt, **brīvi** mācīt ir pamata nosacījums arī **priekš mūsu jaunās gaismas pils**.

Mūsu jaunatnei, kas jau iestājusies un vēl iestāsies **Latvijas** augstskolā, jo nav šaubu par **viņas** čaklumu un izturību, bet arī to, ka no **viņas** mums rastos krietni tautas darbinieki, kas nodarētu citiem par priekšzīmi. To sagaida **latviešu tauta** no **viņiem**. **Pie mums** nepastāv, kā citur, **plaisa starp inteligēnci un pašu tautu** un arī neradīsies uz priekšu, kad **mūsu** **augstskola mums** dos demokrātiski audzinātus darbiniekus, kas paliek ar **tautu** dzīvē sakarā. Bet pašai **mūsu** jaunajai gaismas pilij, kura nu šodien atvērta, novēlu: *vivat, crescat floreat in aeternum!*

- Liga Romāne... *metaphorical expression,*
- Liga Romāne... *Common political present and*
- Liga Romāne... *Anaphora, atsauce uz iepriekš*
- Liga Romāne... *Repetition 5 times, key word*
- Liga Romāne... *Knowledge is well, metaphorical*
- Liga Romāne... *Vīna – Latvija, vīna: augstskola*
- Liga Romāne... *Research is road to truth*
- Liga Romāne... *Intertextuality, code switching,*
- Liga Romāne... *Topos – hardworking Latvians,*
- Liga Romāne... *Topos of comparison*
- Liga Romāne... *Uzēša saskarē*
- Liga Romāne... *repetition*
- Liga Romāne... *latīn, code switching, displays*

Dear countrymen!

Long ago, when lead was still available, people used to cast it to foretell what future the New Year might bring. Let us do without lead-casting today and ask soberly, as hundreds of generations have asked before us: **where do we come from? Where are we going?**

You know the answer as well as I do: we come from **the era of Russian colonial supremacy**, to make headway to the **Estonian era of democracy**. **We are standing on the threshold, with our hand on the doorknob** and with anxiety in our heart: progression has been slow, **painful and difficult**. It has involved **distress and poverty for our countryfolk** want and cold for their toil and moil; it has dealt blows on our intellectuals, our scientists, universities, writers, artists and composers, **who had carried the glistening star of Estonian identity through the decades of darkness**.

Dear countrymen! Your anxiety is alive in my hear as well. **I have never promised you fleshpots or milk and honey**. And yet I want to recall tonight that anxiety is always born into this world with a twin brother whose name is hope. **Shade never occurs without light**, night is followed by day. No matter how meagre your supper tonight is, **there is hope sitting at your table**, and his features are already emerging in the *dawnlight*.

What is it that Estonia's hope feeds on? And what is it that overshadows it?

In a free and fair plebiscite, you adopted the **Constitution, whose first Article is the most beautiful and glorious of anything I have ever read in Estonian**: "Estonia is a sovereign and independent democratic republic where the highest state authority is vested in the people. **Estonia's sovereignty and independence are interminable and inalienable.**"

What eclipses the joy of this glorious text?

Our Constitution came into force on the **3rd of July**, almost half a year ago, but its influence on our everyday life, in other words the effect it exerts on the management of state affairs, on the moulding of a law-abiding state, on the measured distribution of rights and duties, on securing the division of powers - that effect, for the present, is too small not to cause anxiety. The principle of equilibrium of powers, upon which the entire life system of the **democratic world is based**, in **Estonia still needs patient elucidation as well as protection from the Soviet way of thinking**.

Hope feeds on the free and fair elections in September, which showed the world that you had **chosen for Estonia a path to free Europe**, a part and member of which **we had been for the past eight centuries**. At the same time, **Estonia's hope is eclipsed by the tardiness of privatisation and of the agrarian reform**; by the delay of the mortgage law and hence the accruing uncertainty. We all wish to be just and honest. **So we engage in dividing the cow this way and that way, until we end up finding that all there is left to divide is a hen**. Hope has fed on the red-introduction of the **Estonian national currency, the kroon, which**

Topos of history

LR **Līga Romāne-Kalniņa**
Topos of comparison, positive self-negative other

LR **Līga Romāne-Kalniņa**
intertextuality
Līga Romāne-Kalniņa

LR **Līga Romāne-Kalniņa**
strategy of dismantling of negative elements of the past, common for all Baltic States

LR **Līga Romāne-Kalniņa**
strategy of continuation. Re-joining Europe

LR **Līga Romāne-Kalniņa**
metonymy passive voice, avoidance of naming the doer

Līga Romāne-Kalniņa

Feminism	Belief in the advance of the social roles of women and typically against the supremacy of men.
Greenism/ecologism	Belief that nature is an interconnected whole, embracing humans and non-humans as well as inanimate world. Focuses on environmentalism, sustainability, environmental ethics, entitlements of future generations, intrinsic value of nature.
Anarchism	Belief that political authority in all its forms and especially in the form of the state is both evil and unnecessary.
Multiculturalism	Belief in a cultural diversity arising from an existence of various groups (ethnic, religious, linguistic, or other) within a society, endorsing diversity.

9. Results of Opinion Surveys on the Role of the President of Latvia in the Construction of National Identity

Aptauja "Latvijas valsts prezidents kā politiskais līderis"

Respondentu statistika:

Respondentu skaits	24
Vīrietis	9
Sieviete	15
Vidējais vecums	32.9 gadi

Rezultātu kopsavilkums:

1. Kuras no zemāk minētajām funkcijām Jūsaprāt būtu atzīmējamas kā valsts prezidenta amata galvenie pienākumi? (vairākas atbildes iespējamas)

Valsts iedzīvotāju uzrunāšana, vienošana un nacionālā gara (identitātes) veidošana un stiprināšana	19		19.2%
Valsts interešu pārstāvēšana un valsts reprezentācija starptautiskā līmenī	19		19.2%
Valsts iedzīvotāju interešu pārstāvēšana parlamentā	12		12.1%
Valsts bruņoto spēku virsvadība	6		6.1%
Likumu ierosināšana, pārskatīšana un apturēšana	12		12.1%
Saeimas darba pārraudzība un pārtraukšana	15		15.2%
Izpildvara - ministru kabineta sastādīšana/pārraudzība	11		11.1%
Tiesu varas funkcija - noziedznieku apzēlošana	5		5.1%
Cits	0		0%
Iesniegto atbilžu summa	99		

2. Kādas Jūsaprāt ir galvenās laba prezidenta kā politiskā līdera prasmes/zināšanas? (vairākas atbildes iespējamas)

valodu prasmes - tikai valsts valodas prasmes	2		1.8%
valodu prasmes - valsts valodas un lielāko starptautisko valodu prasmes	19		17.4%
publiskās runas prasmes	21		19.3%
komunikācijas un diplomātijas prasmes	21		19.3%
vadības un plānošanas prasmes	14		12.8%
argumentācijas un diskusiju prasmes	16		14.7%
konfliktu/problēmu risināšanas prasmes	16		14.7%
Cits	0		0%
Iesniegto atbilžu summa	109		

4. Kurš/a no Latvijas valsts prezidentiem/ēm Jūsaprāt vislabāk atbilst/da valsts politiskā līdera lomai? (vairākas atbildes iespējamas)

Jānis Čakste	6		14%
Gustavs Zemgals	1		2.3%
Alberts Kviesis	0		0%
Kārlis Ulmanis	10		23.3%
Guntis Ulmanis	1		2.3%
Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga	19		44.2%
Valdis Zatlers	2		4.7%
Andris Bērziņš	0		0%
Raimonds Vējonis	1		2.3%
Egils Levits	3		7%
Neviens	0		0%
Iesniegto atbilžu summa	43		

5. Lūdzu, pamatojiet savu atbildi (Kāpēc?)

1) V. Vīķe Freibergai piemīt visas nepieciešamās prasmes un īpašības valsts prezidenta amata pienākumu veiksmīgai pildīšanai kā arī starptautiskā pieredze un izcilas valodu prasmes;

V. Zatleram piemīt vairums no prezidentam nepieciešamajām prasmēm;

E. Levitam ir starptautiskā pieredze un vairums no prasmēm

2) oo

3) Jo šīs personības bija tuvāk tautai. Iedzīvotāji viņus uztvēra, kā labus valsts vadītājus, kuri sevi pierādīja gan nacionālā, gan starptautiskā līmenī. Pārstāvēja valsts un iedzīvotāju intereses.

4) Argumentēts viedoklis dažādos jautājumos, līdera dotības

5) Pacēla valsti.

6) Jo viņu ievēlēšanu laikā Latvijas tauta tika stiprināta, Latvija citu valstu priekšā tika izcelta pozitīvi, Latvija ieguva daudz priekšrocības un daudz ieguva (VVF laikā), tika stiprināta latviešu identitāte, Latvijas tauta bija svarīgākā valstī

7) Viņa starptautiskajā līmenī labi un prasmīgi pārstāvēja Latviju.

Latvijas līmenī viņa bija spēcīga vienojoša persona.

Kad bija nepieciešams viņa iebilda pret Saimas patvaļu un ar personības spēku un diplomātiju panāca virzības maiņu vai korekciju vairākos lēmumos. Taču neiesaistījās kad tas nebija nepieciešams, saglabājot labu reputāciju.

8) Nebija kauns par Freibergu, valodu zinašanas.. Karlos labs loderis un organizators kurš saveda visi kartībā

9) Prezidente zināja ko dara, un domāja par tautu! Pārejie ir tikai skata pēc un amata dēļ bijuši prezidenta

krēslā!

- 10) Viņa izdarīja daudz reformu labā nozīmē, uzlaboja cilvēku dzīves līmeni.Latvija iestājās ES.
- 11) Šo cilvēku vadībā Latvijā bija pozitīva izaugsme.
- 12) Tapeč ka ta bija.
- 13) Pirmkārt- ar šiem valsts vadoņiem bija sajūta kad valstī viss ir kārtībā, arī nejūtu to nedrošības sajūtu ik gadu!

Otrkārt- Kā mēs visi labi zinām, viens no viņiem tiešām saprata kas ir pie vainas Latvijas ekonomikā, un nekavējoties centās to labot atlaižot saeimu...! Bravo!

- 14) Jo viņa mācēja prezentēt savu valsti..
- 15) Rūpējās par tautas vienotību un uzplaukumu.
- 16) Daudz nāca pretī cilvēku vēlmēm
- 17) Tāpēc,ka viņš darija visu ko varēja valsts un tautas labklājībai
- 18) Manuprāt vieni no specigakajiem prezidentiem kas darbojusies Latvijas laba.
- 19) Spēja argumentēt un izcili pasniegt savu viedokli. Attīstīta oratorspēja
- 20) Ārpolitikā perfekti prezentēja valsti un iekšpolitikā- saliedēja tautu.
- 21) @
- 22) 1.Ar labām komunikāciju prasmēm

2.Parzīn svešvalodas

3.Saglabā objektivitāti

4.Pārstāv valsts intereses

- 23) Gudra, prot valodas, spēj uzstāties un sevi pārstāvēt valstiskā un starptautiskā līmenī, harizmātiska personība
- 24) Vairāk domāja par Latviju

6. Vai varat nosaukt laba valsts prezidenta kā laba oratora piemēru? (Latvijas vai pasaules) Pamatojiet savu atbildi.

- 1) B. Obama kā ASV prezidents spēja apgāzt visus stereotipus un aizspriedumus, kas bija valdījuši Amerikā kā daudznācionālā valstī kā arī veiksmīgi uzrunāt un vienpoties ar starptautiskajiem partneriem. Prezidents prata ne tikai uzrunāt, bet arī iedvesmot cilvēkus Amerikā un pasaulē uz labākiem darbiem un domām.
- 2) oo
- 3)
- 4) V.-V.Freiberga
- 5) K.Ulmanis.Ekonomiskā izaugsme
- 6) Vaira Vīķe Freiberga,jo viņa prata uzrunāt gan tautu,gan citas valstis,spēja Latviju ievest citā līmenī,padarīja Latviju kā neatņemamu ES sastāvdaļu
- 7) Vaira vīķe-Freiberga. Skatīt iepriekšējo komentāru.
- 8) ne
- 9) Labam prezidentam ir jāvada valsts, jādomā par tautu, jākontrolē ministri, deputāti utt... jākontrolē un prezidentam vajadzētu būt lielākai teikšanai un pēdējam vārdam valdība, nevis ministru kabinets ko lemj tā ir! Jānes atbildība par visu!
- 10) Vaira Vīķe Freiberga. Pamatoju iepriekšējā jautājumā.
- 11) Nav ne jausmas
- 12) Artuss Kaimins
- 13) Gudni Thorlacius Johannesson - Īrija.

Bezmaksas izglītība, mazi nodokļi, augsta medicīna!!!

- 14) Manuprāt ir jāzina zināt svešvalodas,publici uztāties un būt godīgam
- 15) Kārlis Ulmanis
- 16) Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga
- 17) Vaira Vīķe Freinberga,(oti labas diplomātiskās dotības
- 18) Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga, Egils Levits
- 19) Vīķe Freiberga
- 20) Vaira Vīķe Freiberga- laba valoda, dažādu valodu prasmes, spēj saliedēt un pārliecināt.
- 21) Nevaru
- 22) Domāju, ka Levits ir labs orators,ar ļoti labām svešvalodu zināšanām, pārtiecību.
- 23) Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga
- 24) Labi runāja Vaira Vīķe Freiberga

7. Vai Jūsaprāt valsts prezidents ar savu uzrunu un retorikas palīdzību var ietekmēt valsts iedzīvotāju vai citu valstu pārstāvju viedokli par valsti un nāciju?

Jā	22		91.7%
Nē	0		0%
daļēji	1		4.2%
Cits	1		4.2%
Iesniegto atbilžu summa	24		

Citas atbildes:

Tikai lētticīgos un pensionārus.

8. Kuras publiskās prezidenta uzrunas Jūsaprāt spēj radīt vislielāko iespaidu uz klausītājiem? (vairākas atbildes iespējamas)

Valsts neatkarības dienas uzrunas	8		23.5%
Jaunā gada uzrunas	5		14.7%
Starptautiskās runas	7		20.6%
Aglonas svētku uzrunas	3		8.8%
Lāčplēša dienas un citu valsts svētku svinīgās uzrunas	3		8.8%
Dziesmu un deju svētku uzrunas	4		11.8%
Inaugurācijas runas	3		8.8%
Cits	1		2.9%
Iesniegto atbilžu summa	34		

Citas atbildes:

Ne šie prezidenti. Atvainojiet!

9. Vai valsts prezidents spēj ietekmēt nacionālo pašapziņu, garu, identitāti ar publisko uzrunu palīdzību?

Jā	17		70.8%
Daļēji	5		20.8%
Nē	2		8.3%
Cits	0		0%
Iesniegto atbilžu summa	24		

10. Kā valsts prezidents savās uzrunās spēj ietekmēt nacionālo pašapziņu?

- 1) Valsts prezidentam ir liela loma nacionālās identitātes viedošānā valstiskā līmenī un tās atspoguļošānā starptautiskā līmenī. Caur savām uzrunām, prezidents spēj iedvesmot tautu uz domām un rīcību (gan pozitīvām gan negatīvām, emocionālām, agresīvām), kam var minēt vairākus piemērus pasaulē (B. Obama, N. Mandela, D. Tramps, V. Putins)
- 2) oo
- 3) Ar stilu kādā viņš uzrunā tautu, aizstāvot iedzīvotāju intereses un pārstāvot valsti tādā līmenī, kas sniedz lepnuma sajūtu tautā.
- 4) Iedeamojot, motivējot
- 5) Ar savu piemēru un darbiem.
- 6) Pašam būt latvietim un ar to lepoties
- 7) Vairas spēcīgais uzsvars (aktivitātes) uz Dziesmu un deju svētkiem ir labs piemērs kā celt tautas pašapziņu un to vienot.
- 8) neka
- 9) Jābūt pareizajai nostājai no valsts prezidenta puses!
- 10) Grūti atbildēt.
- 11) Ar savu darbu un rīcību iedrošinot iedzīvotājus, ka prezidents darbojas tautas labā!!!
- 12) Nekā
- 13) Grūti spriest par visiem...
- 14) Ticēt Latvijas cilvēkiem un sakartot savu valsti
- 15) Ticot pats saviem vārdiem, runājot kaislīgi un no sirds.
- 16) Uzrunājot tautu
- 17) Jāuzrunā tauta tā, lai viņa runa aizskartu viņu visdziļākās un svētākās jūtas

18) Manuprāt jebkuras publiskas runas spēj celt nacionālo pašapziņu, īpaši ja tas notiek nacionālo svētku laikā, kad tauta ir vairāk vienota. Un ja savas uzrunas vārdus var apliecināt ar iepriekš paveiktiem darbiem un tauta notic ka valsts tiek attīstīta un veidota pareizi tad tas noteikti cels nacionālo pašapziņu.

19) Veidot kopības sajūtu sabiedrībā, celt pašapziņu

20) Ar savu uzrunu tautai, pozitīvismu, mērķu nosprašanu, motivēšanu, kopā būšanu.

21) @

22) Jau vien esot spēcīgs savā runā, un ceļot mūs kā tautu, atgādinot par mūsu sūri grūto valsts pirmo mūža pusi, kuru kā nācija esam izdzīvojuši un pārdzīvojuši. Par mūsu stiprājiem, kas izcīna medaļas pasaules olimpiādēs, ne tikai sportā, bet arī matemātikā, fizikā, ķīmijā.

23) Atgādinot par valst vērtībām, mudinot uz patriotismu, valsts mīlestību, runājot par sasniegumiem

24) Esot pašam ar nacionālo pašapziņu.

11. Vai kāds no Latvijas valsts prezidentiem savās uzrunās spēj ietekmēt vai mainīt Jūsu viedokli/uzskatus/emocijas par valsti un tajā notiekošo? Kurš/a un kā?

1) Jā, vairāki no prezidentiem (V. Vīķe-Freiberga, V. Zatlers, E. Levits) savās uzrunās valsts svētkos, jaunajā gadā un Aglonas Dievmātes svētkos spējusi pozitīvi ietekmēt manas emocijas un uztveri par Latviju kā manām mājām un daļu manas identitātes.

2) ooooo

3) Diemžēl, nē.

4) Nē

5) No mūsdienu nē.

6) Īsti nē

7) Pagaidām nav bijis, bet varbūt jaunais prezidents spēš mainīt manus uzskatus atsevišķos jautājumos.

8) ne

9) Neviens neko nav mani mainījis, nekādus uzskatus utt...

10) Vaira Vīķe Freiberga. Manuprāt viņa bija stiprā sieviete, kurai nebija bail rīkoties kā īstais līderis nevis vienkārši nosēdēt mierīgi savu termiņu klausoties citus un baidoties no atbildības.

11) Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga, radīja iespaidu, ka viņai rūp viss tas kas notiek valstī.

12) Ne

13) Valdīs un Vaira.

14) Noteikti, ka Vaira Vīķe Freiberga. Viņa bija vislabākā prezidente kāda mums bijusi.

15) Nē

16) No Vairās Vīķe-Freibergas varēja kaut ko uz klausīt

17) Nē

18) Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga manuprāt spēja to izdarīt un arī Levitam bus visas iespējas to izdarīt, ja savedis valsti kartiba.

19) Nē

20) Prezidents iedvesmo, mudina lepoties ar savu valsti.

21) Nē.

22) Nē.

23) Mēs esam stipri, mēs esam vareni.. Dziesmusvētku uzruna/Vaira Vīķe Freiberga. Sajust mazās tautas lielo vienotības garu.

Aptauja "Valoda sabiedrībā, valodas loma identitātes veidošanā"

Respondentu statistika:

Respondentu skaits	13
Vīrietis	2
Sieviete	11
Vidējais vecums	29 gadi

Rezultātu kopsavilkums:

1. Kura/s no zemāk norādītajām uzrunām Jums šķiet vistuvākā jeb uzrunā Jūs visvairāk? (iespējamās vairākas atbildes) (vairākas atbildes iespējamās)


Vienotā tauta! Apsveicu visus mūsu kopējos valsts Svētkos. Reti svinīgs noskaņojums valda šodien visā valstī.	0	0%
Mana tauta! Tautieši un tautietes! Jau šodien varam teikt, ka 15. maijs ievada svarīgu posmu Latvijas neatkarības vēsturē.	4	13.3%
Mīļie latvieši! Cienītie Latvijas valstssvētku viesi! Šodien mums ir lieli un priecīgi svētki.	2	6.7%
Labvakar, Latvija! Šovakar, mūsu valsts svētkos, sirsnīgi sveicu jūs Latvijas deviņdesmit pirmajā dzimšanas dienā.	3	10%
Godātie Latvijas ļaudis! Visi, kam ir svarīgi, kādā valstī dzīvojam un kādu to vēlamies redzēt nākotnē! Sirsnīgi sveicu Jūs Latvijas 94.gadadienā!	4	13.3%
Mīļā Latvijas tauta! Es sirsnīgi sveicu jūs Latvijas dzimšanas dienā! Es to daru ar patiesu lepnumu.	5	16.7%
Mīļie latvieši! Latvijas cilvēki Rīgā, Latgalē, Vidzemē, Zemgalē, Kurzemē un visā pasaulē!	3	10%
Mani mīļie līdzcilvēki! Ir mirkļi, ko mēs visi - tik atšķirīgie un neatkārtojamie - izdzīvojam kopā.	3	10%
Labdien, mīļie bērni! Labdien vecāki, vecvecāki, onkuļi un tantes, visi klātesošie!	1	3.3%
Labvakar Likteņdārzā, Labvakar Latvijā! Mūsu tauta ir sirdsgudra. Cauri laikiem, laikmetiem, režīmiem, sāpēm, dziļām brūcēm un reibinošiem gandarījuma un pacēluma brīžiem - mūsu tauta nesadalās.	2	6.7%
Kāpēc?	3	10%
Iesniegto atbilžu summa	30	

Citas atbildes:


Uzrunas liekas personiskākas un nav sajūtas, ka to teiktu kāds varas vīrs., bet gan tāds pats Latvijas iedzīvotājs. Šīs uzrunas līkās dabiskāk as, nākušas no sirds, nevis mākslīgi izskaistinātas.

2. Kurš/i no zemāk norādītajiem prezidenta runu citātiem Jūs uzrunā visvairāk? (vairākas atbildes iespējamas)

Latviešu tautas attīstība, viņas spējas, viņas kulturālās mantas deva garantiju par to, ka latviešu tauta, reiz kļuvusi par valsti, spēs pilnīgi nostāties pati uz savām kājām. Šī apziņa, kura pamazītiņām arvien vairāk pieņēmas spēkā, izvērtās un izauga ar laiku par ciešu apņemšanās gribu. Latviešu tautā nodibinājās uzskati, ka: mēs gribam, būt brīvi un būsīm brīvi!

2  10%

Visi dziļi izjūt, ka tā diena, kad latviešu apdzīvoto zemi izsludināja par brīvu, neatkarīgu Latvijas valsti, ir turama visaugstākā cieņā, godā, pateicībā un neizdzēšamā pieminā. Cieņā tamdēļ, ka tā diena atdeva latvju tautai atpakaļ viņas pašcieņu, kura vēsturisko notikumu gaitā bija apspiesta, bet tai dienā no jauna uzliesmoja visā spožumā, rodot līdz ar to latvju tautai pienācīgo cieņu pie pārējām pasaules tautām; godā tamdēļ, ka tai dienā tika atjaunots tautas dibināšanas un atdzimšanas svē

1  5%

Šī diena apzīmē lielāko lūzumu latvju tautas gaitās kopš 1918. gada 18. novembra, kad tauta ieguva savu valsti. Šoreiz tauta ieguva pati sevi. Pati sevi tauta šoreiz ieguva. Mēs atkal esam vienoti - vienas zemes dēļi un meitas. 15. maijs liek pamatu jaunai nākotnei, par kuras iespējamību daudzi šaubījās, bet kuras nepieciešamību visi atzina. 15. maijs liecina, ka ticība un ilgas bija stiprākas par šaubām un svārstīšanos.

3  15%

Gara spēks - tas vienoja latviešu tautu. Tas, ka viņa skaļi pauda savu izpratni par savas tautas tiesībām, savas ilgas, savas prasības pēc neatkarīgas, suverēnas Latvijas valsts - šī balss izskanēja visā pasaulē, pateicoties moderniem saziņas līdzekļiem. Nobijās tā vara, kurai bija fiziskās spējas asiņaini apspiest šo tautas sacelšanos, kā pagātnē bija tikušas apspiestas tik daudzas citas.

1  5%

No kurienes ikreiz grūtos laikos mūsu tauta ir smēlusies spēku, izturību un ticību nākotnei? Tās ir mūsu tautas vērtības. Iekaltas Brīvības pieminekļī, tās stāsta par mūsu tautas vēsturi, raksturo

šodien un ļauj būt drošiem par rītdienu. Te - virs mūsu galvām - Rīgas debesīs mirdz Kurzeme, Vidzeme un Latgale. Tur mirdz mūsu tautas galvenās vērtības - Latvijas zeme, tauta un brīvība.

3 15%

Mūsu Dziesmusvētku vēsture skaidri rāda, kā dzimst un aug nacionālā apziņa - vajadzība dzīvot savā un brīvā valstī, kur skaļi skan latviešu valoda un kur mūs vieno tēvzemes mīlestība. Tā satiekas Vidzeme, Kurzeme un Latgale, tā augšāmceļas mūsu nogrimusī Gaismas pils. Un par valsts himnu kļūst Baumaņu Kārļa sacerētā, aizkustinošā tautas lūgšana.

1 5%

Divi vārdi, divi lietvārdi - Tēvzemei un Brīvībai. Tās ir divas vērtības, pēc kā latviešu tauta vienmēr ir tiekusies. Tās ir divas vērtības, kas bija reiz izcīnītas, pēc tam zaudētas, un tad atkal atgūtas. Tēvzeme - tā ir mūsu zeme. Tā ir zeme, ar ko mēs esam saistīti paaudžu paaudzēm. Vienalga, kur mēs fiziski atrodamies. Tā ir zeme, kas mums pieder. Tā ir mūsu arī tad, ja šeit kādreiz saimniekojusi sveša vara. Tā ir zeme, kas nosaka mūsu likteni. Tā ir zeme, kuras likteni nosakām mēs.

7 35%

Kāpēc?

2 10%

Iesniegto atbilžu summa

20

Citas atbildes:

Katrs Latvijas iedzīvotājs var rīkoties, lai valsti celtu un attīstītu, tādējādi radot labvēlīgu vidi ne tikai sev, bet arī pēctečiem. Brīvība rīkoties ir tas, kas ir svarīgs un, ko ir jānovērtē. Lielāks patriotisms un vienotība.

3. Kurš/i no prezidentu runu citātiem par valsts valodu Jūs uzrunā visvairāk? (vairākas atbildes iespējamas)

Mēs varam patiesi būt lepni ar saviem cilvēkiem un saviem sasniegumiem. Mēs varam lepoties ar visiem tiem latviešiem, kas ir sasnieguši izcilību tik daudzos un dažādos laukos. Nav svarīgi, kādas izcelsmes tautībai tie pieder, vai kāda būtu viņu dzimtā valoda: latviešu, krievu, vai kāda cita. Visi vienādi tie ir Latvijas dēli un meitas, kas godam nes mūsu valsts vārdu kā pašu mājās, tā pasaulē. Latvijai ir vajadzīgs katrs, kas spēj to mīlēt un cienīt, katrs kas ir gatavs būt tai lojāls un uzticīgs

10 55.6%

Esmu jau kritizējis tiekšanos sabiedrību dalīt pēc etniskās piederības - labajos un sliktajos, pareizajos un nepareizajos. Latvijas pilsoņi un tie, kas vēlas

par tādiem kļūt, neatkarīgi no viņu dzimtās valodas, viņi ir daļa no Latvijas valsts. Visi ir un būs mūsējie! Viņi ir un būs piederīgi Latvijas valstij! Tās ir Latvijas nacionālās intereses! Latviešu valoda ir tā, kas vieno visus Latvijā dzīvojošos cilvēkus. Ar valsts valodas palīdzību mēs īstenojam valsts varu un valsts sabiedrisko dzīvi.

0 0%

Divdesmit neatkarības gadi ir apliecinājuši, ka Latvija var kļūt par valsti ar vienotu nāciju, taču integrācijai un vienotas nācijas tapšanai ar valodas zināšanu vien nepietiek. Kopīgas vērtības, savstarpēja cieņa, cilvēciska sapratne, tolerance ir tie pamati, uz kuriem mums jāceļ Latvijas nākotne. Ja mēs nespēsim vienoties, mūsu vietā nāks citi.

3 16.7%

Mūsu Dziesmusvētku vēsture skaidri rāda, kā dzimst un aug nacionālā apziņa - vajadzība dzīvot savā un brīvā valstī, kur skaļi skan latviešu valoda un kur mūs vieno tēvzemes mīlestība.

3 16.7%

Kāpēc?




2 11.1%


Iesniegto atbilžu summa 18

Citas atbildes:

Katram valsts iedzīvotājam ir jāapzinās, kur viņš dzīvo un kādu valsti viņš pārstāv pasaulē. Ir jānovērtē sniegtās priekšrocības un iespējas. Gadījumā, kad persona ir lepna par valsti, kurā tā dzīvo un neiezogas doma par došanās prom, kā arī sniedz labumu sabiedrībai gan tieši, gan netieši, tad nav svarīga šīs personas tautība, bet gan tās piederības sajūta šai valstī. Stereotipi par noteiktu tautību vai valstspiederību jau sen būtu jāatstāj aiz muguras, jo mūsdienu multinacionālajās valstīs par cilvēkiem ir jāspriež, nevis pēc to tautības, bet gan uzvedības gan ar saviem tuvākajiem, gan svešiem. Nav kritikas un pārāk kategoriskas nostājas.

4. Kurš/i no zemāk uzskaitītajiem prezidentu runu citātiem Jūs uzrunā visvairāk? (vairākas atbildes iespējamas)






Mūsu pienākums ir strādāt visiem kopā. Mēs esam līdz šim Latvijas valsts pamatus likuši kopējiem spēkiem. Es nešaubos par to, ka mēs arī izbūvē strādāsim kopīgi.	3		13%
Mēs esam bagāta tauta, jo daudz esam saņēmuši mantojumā. Mēs esam skaista tauta, jo mantojums ir ticis gadu simtos un tūkstošos sijāts un vētīts. Ir tikai tas, kas par labu ticis atzīts.	4		17.4%
Ir cilvēki, kas šodien saka, ka mīl Latviju, bet nemīl savu valsti. Valsts jēdziens un tā saturs ir pārāk nopietns, lai ar to koķetētu un jokotu. Tā var runāt tikai cilvēki, kas neizprot, kas ir valsts. Valsts ir mūsu brīvība, kas izcīnīta. Tā ir tauta un zeme, kurai mēs esam piederīgi; zeme, kurā runājam latviešu valodā.	1		4.3%
Mēs neesam normale, mēs esam centrs. Tā ir realitāte, un, šādi domājot, mums jāveido savas			



valsts nākotne, turklāt tāda nākotne, kas nebalstās uz parādu nastu nākamajām paaudzēm.	4		17.4%
Mēs visi esam saistīti. Cilvēks pie cilvēka, paaudze pie paaudzes, bet visi kopā - vienā Latvijā.	6		26.1%
Mēs turpināties. Latvija turpinās. Iestādīsim domās katrs atkal vienu jaunu sapni un drošiem soļiem iedzīvināsim to mūsu demokrātiskas valsts ikdienā. Mēs esam mēs paši, ar saviem sapņiem, savu gribu un savu varēšanu!	3		13%
Mūsu tautas izvēle vienmēr ir bijusi skaidra - mēs esam rietumu civilizācijas un tās demokrātiskās kultūras sastāvdaļa. Tikai sveša spēka tiesības, kurām diemžēl bija izdevies gūt virsroku pār mūsu tiesību spēku, bija liegušas mums šo brīvo izvēli realizēt. Nu mēs esam atgriezušies pie savas brīvās izvēles un cenšamies to īstenot	0		0%
Kāpēc?	2		8.7%
iesniegto atbilžu summa	23		

Citas atbildes:

Katrs iedzīvotājs ir valsts nākotnes pamatu liočjs.
Šie citāti liekas iedvesmojošāki

5. Kurš/i no zemāk norādītajiem prezidentu vēlējumiem tautai Jūs uzrunā visvairāk? (vairākas atbildes iespējamas)

Novēlu jums vislabākās sekmes jūsu priekšā stāvošā darbā.	0		0%
Apsveicot visus jaunajā gadā no sirds novēlu, lai tas visiem būtu laimīgs un nestu ikkatram viņa centienu papildījumu.	0		0%
Es novēlu visiem, kas šeit pulcējušies kopā savās lūgšanās, lai katram vienam no jums dievs piepilda jūsu lūgšanas, lai dod jums spēku turpināt savas dzīves darbos un pienākumos lai dod jums mierinājumu jums bēdās un veselību ar stiprumu.	4		21.1%
Jaunajā gadā novēlu jums visiem sasniegt visus savus mērķus! Novēlu daudz mīlestības katrā ģimenē. Katrā sirdī!	3		15.8%
Nebūsim pieticīgi, bet būsim pacietīgi. Ar šādu domu novēlu dzīvot vienmēr un atcerēties, ka nākotni var veidot tikai pozitīvas idejas un labas apņemšanās, jo, meklējot un apkarojot ienaidniekus, mēs iznīcinām savu labo gribu, devalvējam savus cēlākos mērķus un galarezultātā vērsāties paši pret sevi.	5		26.3%


Kopā ar dzīvesbiedri mēs jums novēlam lielu mīlestību, izturību, daudz enerģijas un spēka, un skaistus gandarījuma mirkļus!	4		21.1%
Kāpēc?	3		15.8%
Iesniegto atbilžu summa	19		

Citas atbildes:

Ikdienā ir jāvirzās tikai savu mērķu vadītiem, bez skatīšanās uz oītu oīlvēku sasniegumiem. Novēlējumi ir ar dziļāku domu, nav tikai pieklājības frāze, bet pasaka ko vairāk. Ļoti un izteiksmīgi

6. Kurš/i no zemāk uzskaitītajiem aicinājumiem Jūs uzrunā visvairāk? (vairākas atbildes iespējamas)

Dārgie Latvijas iedzīvotāji tuvos un tālos novados , pilsētās un laukos ! Tautieši ārzemēs ! Es aicinu nevienu nepalikāt malā . Es aicinu katru izmantot savas iespējas . Kādas vien varat ieraudzīt : palīdzēt savai ģimenei un līdzcilvēkiem , novērst kādu netaisnību vai ieviest kārtību , kur tās nav bijis . Kopt un sargāt savu zemi . Ikvienam iesaistoties , mēs varam paveikt lielas lietas . Un - darot to kopā - vēl vairāk . Tāpēc iesaistīsimies , darīsim un arī piedalīsimies lēmumu pieņemšanā

7  36.8%

Mums visiem daudz darāmā stāv vēl priekšā , lai turpinātu veidot valsti , uz kuru visi vienādi mēs varētu būt lepni . Iesim un darīsim , jo mēs to varam un spējam . Es ticu Latvijas nākotnei , tāpēc ka es ticu Jūsu un mūsu spējām . Mēs esam tikpat labi kā citi , mēs esam tikpat gudri , tikpat izveicīgi , tikpat atjautīgi un radoši , pie tam daudz strādīgāki par dažu labu citu . Kas šodien vēl nav izdarīts , to rīt mēs izdarīsim ! Kas šodien vēl nav sakārtots , to mēs rīt sakārtosim . Iesim un da


4  21.1%

Mēs esam stipra tauta ! Sakiet , lūdzu , visi kopā - mēs esam stipri ! Mēs esam diženi ! Mēs esam raženi ! Mēs esam skaisti ! Mēs zinām , ko mēs gribam ! Un ko mēs gribam , to mēs varam ! Ko mēs varam , to mēs darām ! Mēs iesim un darīsim visi , lai Latvija būtu skaista , lai Latvija būtu dižena , lai Latvija būtu varena , un ne tikai tauta , bet arī valsts ! Un ne tikai hokeja spēlēs , bet varbūt arī Dziesmu svētkos mēs varētu teikt : Latvija , Latvija , Latvija !

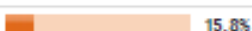
5  26.3%

Es, protams, zinu, ka latvieši ir drīzāk introverti nekā komunikabli, un tādēļ arī man šķiet, ka jaunā literārā figūra - introvertais latviešu rakstnieks -

ir trāpījusi desmitniekā, tomēr nedaudz vairāk atvērtības un komunikācijas mums nenāktu par ļaunu, un tādēļ aicinu visus izmantot šo iespēju satikt šeit interesantus un aktīvus cilvēkus, ar kuriem pirms tam mēs vēl nebijām runājuši.


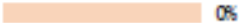


0  0%

Kāpēc?

3  15.8%

Iesniegto atbilžu summa 19

7. Kurš/i no zemāk uzskaitītajiem prezidenta runu nobeigumiem Jūs uzrunā visvairāk? (iespējamās vairākas atbildes) (vairākas atbildes iespējamas)

Ticībā uz mūsu valstu jauno spēku un radošo garu un uz lielo vecās civilizācijas valstu labvēlīgiem nolūkiem mēs iesāksim darbu, lai panāktu, ceru, laimīgus rezultātus. Vēlreiz- esiet sveicināti!	0		0%
Bet visi kopīgi novēlēsim mūsu dārgajai Latvijai droši un sekmīgi turpināt atjaunotās dzīves ceļu. Dievs svētī Latviju!	4		8%
Novēlēsim mūsu mīļajai Latvijai patriotiskus pilsoņus, gudrus un atbildīgus tautas priekštāvjus un stabilu vietu Baltijas un Eiropas nākotnē! Dievs, svētī Latviju!	0		0%
Gaisma var uzvarēt tumsu, ja mēs to vēlamies un tam ticam. Es ticu Latvijas tautai, es ticu Latvijas valstij, es ticu Latvijas nākotnei. Dievs, svētī Latviju.	6		12%
Es ticu nākotnes Latvijai. Es ticu Latvijas tautai. Es ticu tieši Tev, kas tieši šo brīdi klausies un saklausī manu balsi. Tieši Tu esi vajadzīgs Latvijai. Tieši uz Tevi Latvija gaida.	4		8%
Lai dievs jūs visus svētī, lai svētī Latvijas zemi un valsti.	3		6%
Es uzaicināju pāvestu Francisku jau nākošgad apmeklēt Māras zemi, dot savu svētību Latvijai un iedrošināt mūsu tautu. Lai mūs visus šodien apvieno kopīga lūgšana par mūsu zemi, valsti un tautu - Dīvs, svietaj Latgōlu! Dievs, svētī Latviju!	0		0%
Svinēsim šo simtgadi! Un dzīvosim katru dienu tā, lai nākamajā 18. novembrī ikviens no mums ar vēl lielāku lepnumu un pārliecību varētu teikt: "Es esmu Latvija." Dievs, svētī Latviju!	3		6%

Nebaidieties! Nebaidieties no sevis, nebaidieties no saviem līdzcilvēkiem, nebaidieties no pasaules! Esiet droši, esiet lepnī, esiet latvieši, mīliet savu tautu un savu zemi! Mums viņa ir viena vienīgā, mums viņa ir jāglabā, jākopj, mums viņa jāmīl. Mīlēsim savu Latviju!	4		8%
Ja mēs visi būsim spējīgi atdot savus darbus, savas pūles Latvijas labā, tad tā mūžam zels un plauks. Lai Dievs mums uz to palīdz! Dievs, svētī Latviju!	1		2%
Mūsu visu Latvija ir par mazu, lai to palaistu vienu pasaules plašajos ceļos. Mēs esam tai vajadzīgi, mēs visi kopā, ar gatavību par viņu gādāt, viņu mīlēt un cienīt. Par Latvijas spožumu mēs varam lepoties; par viņas trūkumiem mēs tai nepārmētam, bet gādājam, kā tos novērst. Mēs, Latvijas dēli un meitas, mēs esam likteņa līdzgaitnieki un kopēja ceļa gājēji. Mums ir kopējas sāpes un cerības, mums ir kopēji prieki. Viena mēle, viena dvēsele, viena nākotne mūsu. Dievs, svētī Latviju!	3		6%
Mēs izcīnījām savu neatkarību, tāpēc sargāsim to! Lai dzīvo Latvija! Lai dzīvo Lietuva! Uz priekšu, brālīši!	0		0%
Pateicos jums! Paldies par uzmanību!	0		0%
Pārfrāzējot Raini, teikšu: Mēs būsim tik stipri, cik mūsu griba palikt, pastāvēt un neizplēnēt pasaules vējos un pārmaiņās. Viss ir mūsu pašu rokās, mūsu domās un pārtiecībā. Dievs svētī Latviju!	6		12%
Lai mūs visus šodien apvieno kopīga lūgšana par mūsu zemi, valsti un tautu: Dievs, svētī Latviju!	1		2%
Es ticu Latvijai, kurā mēs ikkatrs - tik atšķirīgais un neatkārtojama, mēs gan latvieši, gan mazākumtautību pārstāvji, mēs - Latvijas tauta, stipri savā valstsgribā, spējām veidot savu valsti kā mājas katram no mums. Dievs, svētī Latviju!	4		8%
Mēs esam aicināti nest labo mūsu tautā, lai katrs Latvijas iedzīvotājs būtu drošs savās ikdienas gaitās, laimīgs un garīgi bagāts. Dievs, svētī Latviju!	1		2%
Mēs turpināties. Latvija turpinās. Iestādīsim domās katrs			

atkal vienu jaunu sapni un drošiem soļiem iedzīvināsim to mūsu demokrātiskas valsts ikdienā. Mēs esam mēs paši, ar saviem sapņiem, savu gribu un savu varēšanu! Dievs, svētī Latviju!	1		2%
Svarīgākā mācība, ko esam guvuši aizvadītajos simt gados, - Latviju var izcīnīt un nosargāt tikai visa tauta kopā. Tikai tad, kad mēs visi stāvam kā viens par Latviju, mēs esam neuzvarami. Būsim stipri un vienoti par Latviju! Dievs, svētī Latviju!	4		8%
Dārgie tautieši! Vienvērtīgs ir katrs cilvēks. Vienvērtīga ir katra vieta Latvijā. Būsim kopā! Katrs kā personība un visi kopā kā nācija. Sveicu jūs Latvijas valsts 101. dzimšanas dienā! Saules mūžu Latvijai!	3		6%
Kāpēc?	2		4%
Iesniegto atbilžu summa	50		

Citas atbildes:

Patrotiski un motivējoši izteikumi

Tiek pausta ticība tautai un tās nākotnei

Questionnaires are available at <https://www.visidati.lv/aptauja/1484981614/> and <https://www.visidati.lv/aptauja/1591643555/>.

The results show that the majority of the respondents are female with average age of 32,9 years. Majority of the respondents (19,2%) consider that the main functions of the President of Latvia are to address of the population of Latvia, to construct national spirit (patriotism) and international representation. 19,3 percent of respondents consider that the Presidents are required to have such skills as public speaking, communication, and diplomatic skills as well as foreign language skills (17,4%). 44,2 percent point to Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga as the best President of Latvia, Kārlis Ulmanis (23,3%) and Jānis Čakste (14%) are named as the second most liked Presidents of Latvia. Communication skills, language skills, international representation skills and diplomatic skills in establishing good reputation are mentioned among the characteristics of these presidents.

When asked if President is able to influence the opinion of the listeners about the country and the nation, 91,7 percent of the respondents answer in the affirmative, while 4,2 percent answer 'only partially' and another 4 percent answer (only the deceivable pensioners).

When inquired about which particular types of presidential speeches may have the most powerful effect on the listeners, 23,5 percent of the respondents name the Independence Day speeches,

20,6 percent name international speeches, 14,7 percent name New Year speeches and 11,8 percent name speeches at the song and dance festivals.

When asked if the presidential speeches may influence (construct, increase) national spirit, feeling of patriotism, 70,8 percent of respondents answer in the affirmative, while 20,8 percent choose the answer 'partially' and 8,3 percent choose the negative answer. Majority of the respondents note that the words expressed in the speeches need to be in synergy with the deeds and the President needs to inspire the nation.

When asked if any of the Presidents of Latvia have been able to change the opinion or influence the emotions of the respondents, various answers have been provided. Approximately half of the respondents answered 'no', while the other half point to Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga as the only President who has been able to influence the national spirit of the population. Valdis Zatlers is mentioned in two responses and Egils Levits in one response.

The second questionnaire deals with the opinions on particular samples from the presidential speeches with respect to their likeability and potential influence on the emotions of the target audience. In order for the choices to be objective in terms of the potential effect of the linguistic means rather than the reputation of the president, the names of the Presidents are not listed together with the extracts from their speeches. Thirteen respondents have participated in the questionnaire with the average age of 29 years. Eleven respondents are female and two are male respondents.

When asked to choose a paragraph of with the address form that seems to be the most effective, majority of the respondents have selected the address form that include 'my people, the people of Latvia, dear people of Latvia,' noting that more personal types of address (address forms) seem to be more effective.

When asked to choose an extract from the speech that seems to be most effective in addressing the national spirit of the people, majority (35%) have selected an extract from the Independence Day speech by E. Levits that introduces the president's analysis of the quotation inscribed on the Freedom Monument of Latvia 'Fatherland and Freedom', where national values are emphasised and defined via the topos of definition and via parallel sentence constructions that address the short term memory and attention. Fifteen percent of the respondents have selected two extracts from the speeches by K. Ulmanis and V. Zatlers where rhetorical questions, metaphorical expressions and the topos of history are applied to construct common national values, common past, present, and future.

Furthermore, in a question asking about the favourable quotation that address integration of minorities in the society of Latvia, 55,6 percent have chosen extract from V. Vīķe-Freiberga's speech where the President introduces an integration argument, noting via mother metaphor that all sons and daughters of Latvia no matter the language are equal if they work for Latvia and take Latvia's word to the world. The argument also uses inclusive pronominal references and praising the audience. Additionally, it is notable that all the three questions are from V. Vīķe-Freiberga's speeches.

When asked to choose quotation that presents the *Homo Latviensis* (national spirit) via the topos of definition and the inclusive pronoun we (we are), 26,1 percent have chosen an extract that defines the unity of all people of Latvia into one country, while 17,4 percent have selected extract that defines Latvians as a rich and beautiful nation due to its historical legacy, as well as an extract that defines Latvia and Latvians not as a periphery, but as a centre, inviting to work for the future. The topos of definition in the examples may be seen as a compliment to the audience, which then invites for particular action (see detailed analysis in the chapters above).

Moreover, the use of the semantic (binary) opposites in a sentence seems to be effective as when asked to choose a quotation with a wish, compliment to the target audience, 26,3 percent have selected a quotation inviting people not to be modest, but to be patient inviting the listeners to have positive thoughts and aspiration and not to look for enemies around. Further 21,1 percent have selected two quotations one of which displays a wish that God helps everyone in their suffering, everyday work and fulfils their prayers, while the other extract displays the common wish of the President (R. Vējonis) and his wife to the listeners to have love, endurance, energy, and strength as well as beautiful moments of atonement.

When asked to choose an extract displaying an invitation for action 36,8 percent have selected an extract addressing different Latvian communities (directly naming the specific groups) in different cities and abroad to use the opportunities they are given to help others, take care of the country and work together to achieve goals. This indicates that a more individualised approach to address forms seems to be more effective. 26,3 percent have selected a quotation that uses repetition and direct address to the audience inviting them to repeat aloud the words expressed by the President (V. Vīķe-Freiberga) – ‘*we are strong, we are great, we are productive, we are a strong nation, and we know what we want! And what we want we can get, and that we do.*’ The quotation then invites the people to go and work for Latvia to be able to call ‘*Latvia, Latvia, Latvia*’ not only in hockey games, but also in song festivals. The quotation seems to be a deviation from the typical types of addresses by the Presidents and an attempt to directly address the audience by constructing unity and confidence as well as arise strong emotions of patriotism. The linguistic means applied in the given context thus point to the linguistic manipulation. Further 21,1 percent of the respondents have selected an extract that display use of the topos of definition that displays the Latvian nation as equal to everyone else in terms of creativeness, strength, mind, and speed, yet much more hard-working (a compliment to the audience). The extract thus displays the use of argumentation strategies within the construction of national spirit by referencing such elements of Latvian national identity as work and unity.

Finally, when asked to choose a conclusion (ending) from extracts of presidential speeches, 12 percent of the respondents have selected a quotation integrating binary opposites (antitheses) and metaphorical expression ‘*light can defeat the darkness*’ that can be seen as antithesis combined with the strategy of perspectivisation expressing the belief of the President into the strength of the Latvia nation (a compliment to the audience). The quotation ends with an extract from Latvian national anthem ‘*God, bless Latvia,*’ that is frequently used in the endings of presidential speeches. Another extract selected by

12 percent of respondents displays the use of intertextuality and the topos of authority, where Latvian poet and writer Rainis has been quoted in order to encourage the listeners to work for themselves and their country, ending the extract with 'God, bless Latvia'. Three quotations selected by 8 percent of the respondents each display the use personification metaphor, portraying Latvia as a person and inviting the people to love the country, to take care of it and to work together no matter the ethnicity. Thus, it seems that the quotations aimed at the unification and integration explicitly and via various linguistic techniques seem to be most effective.

In conclusion, it seems that the use of various argumentation strategies and linguistic means of persuasion and manipulation are an effective tool in presidential rhetoric as the respondents have selected extracts that display the use of rhetorical questions, metaphorical expressions, examples of intertextuality, inclusive pronominal references and explicit arguments constructing national spirit and values of national identity. Moreover, considering that Latvian national identity is a hybrid type of collective identity consisting of elements of ethnic and civic forms of nationalism, the results of the survey indicate that more complex forms of address (addressing different ethnic and cultural communities and groups of the population of Latvia) as well as integrating more rhetorical techniques in the speeches seems to be more effective tools when addressing the nation. Nevertheless, the results should be considered in wider context because the potential influence of the president depends on multiple factors apart from the speech itself, the profile of the president and the type of audience. Social, historical and political context must also be taken into account as well as the medium through which the speeches are transmitted and perhaps even interpreted, because media discourse may have a significant influence on how the speech and the president itself is perceived by the society.

10. Deictic Maps and Pronominal Indexing

ESTONIA

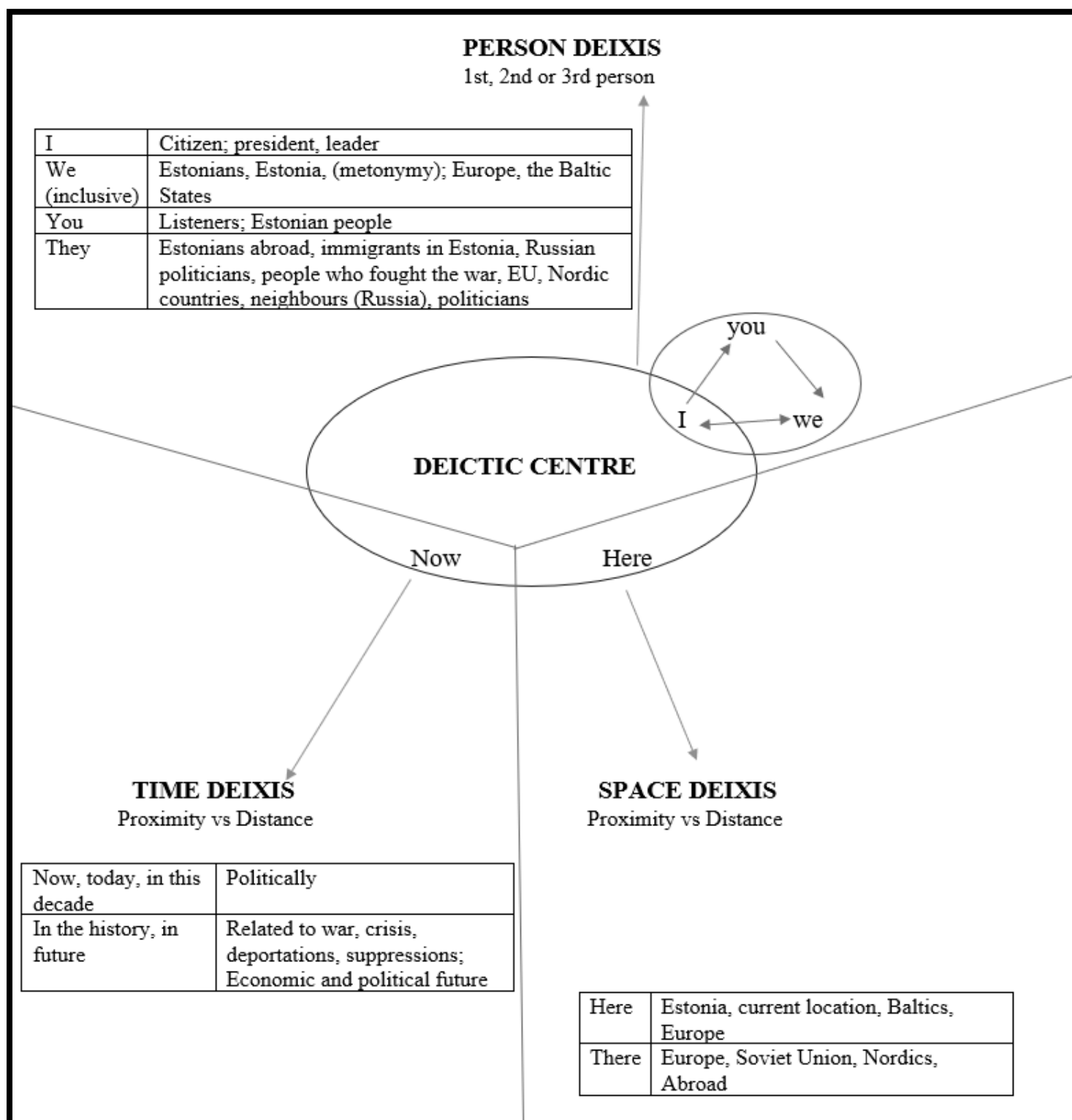


Figure 14. Deictic map in the speeches of the Presidents of Estonia

LATVIA

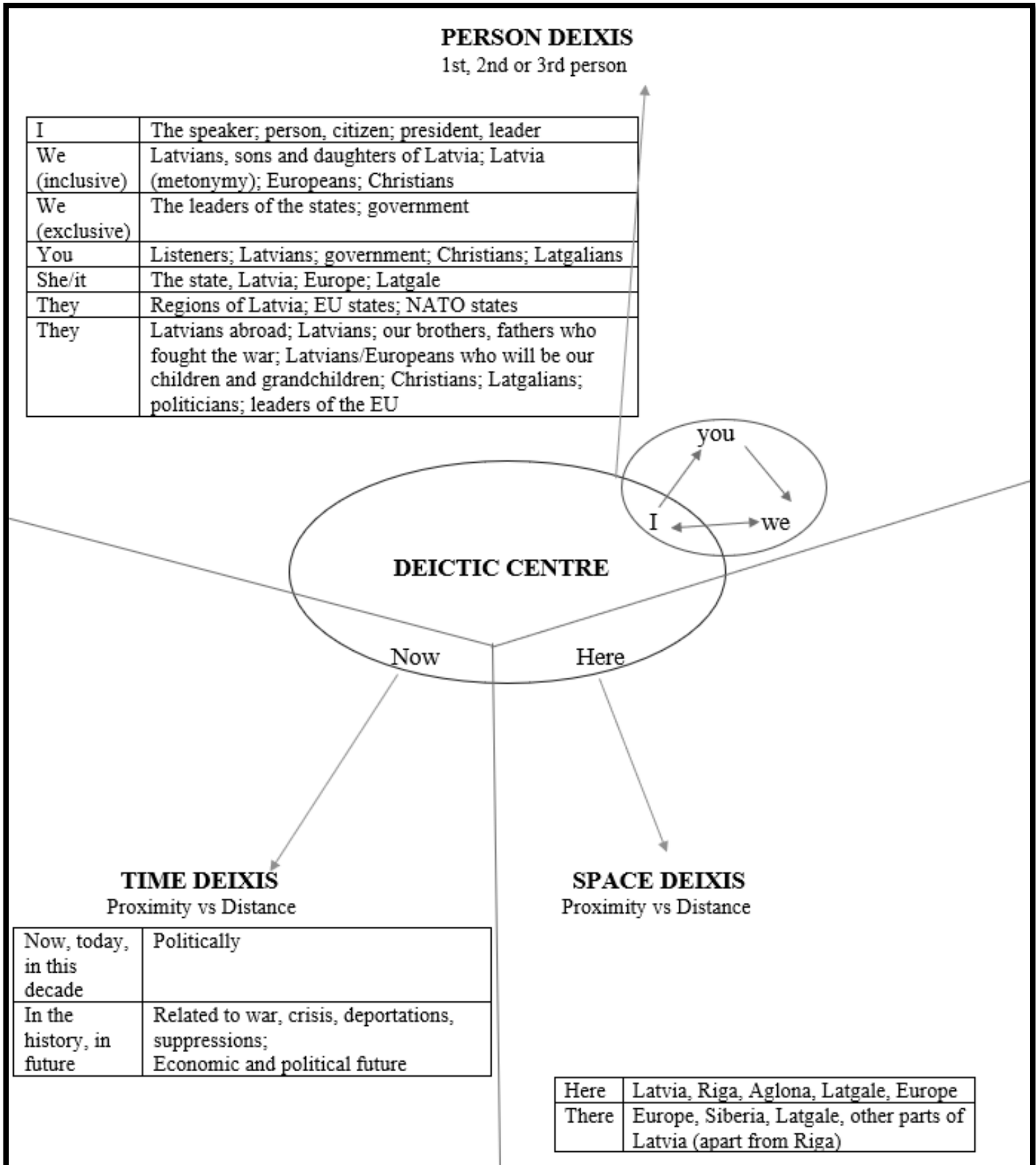


Figure 15. Deictic map in the speeches of the Presidents of Latvia

LITHUANIA

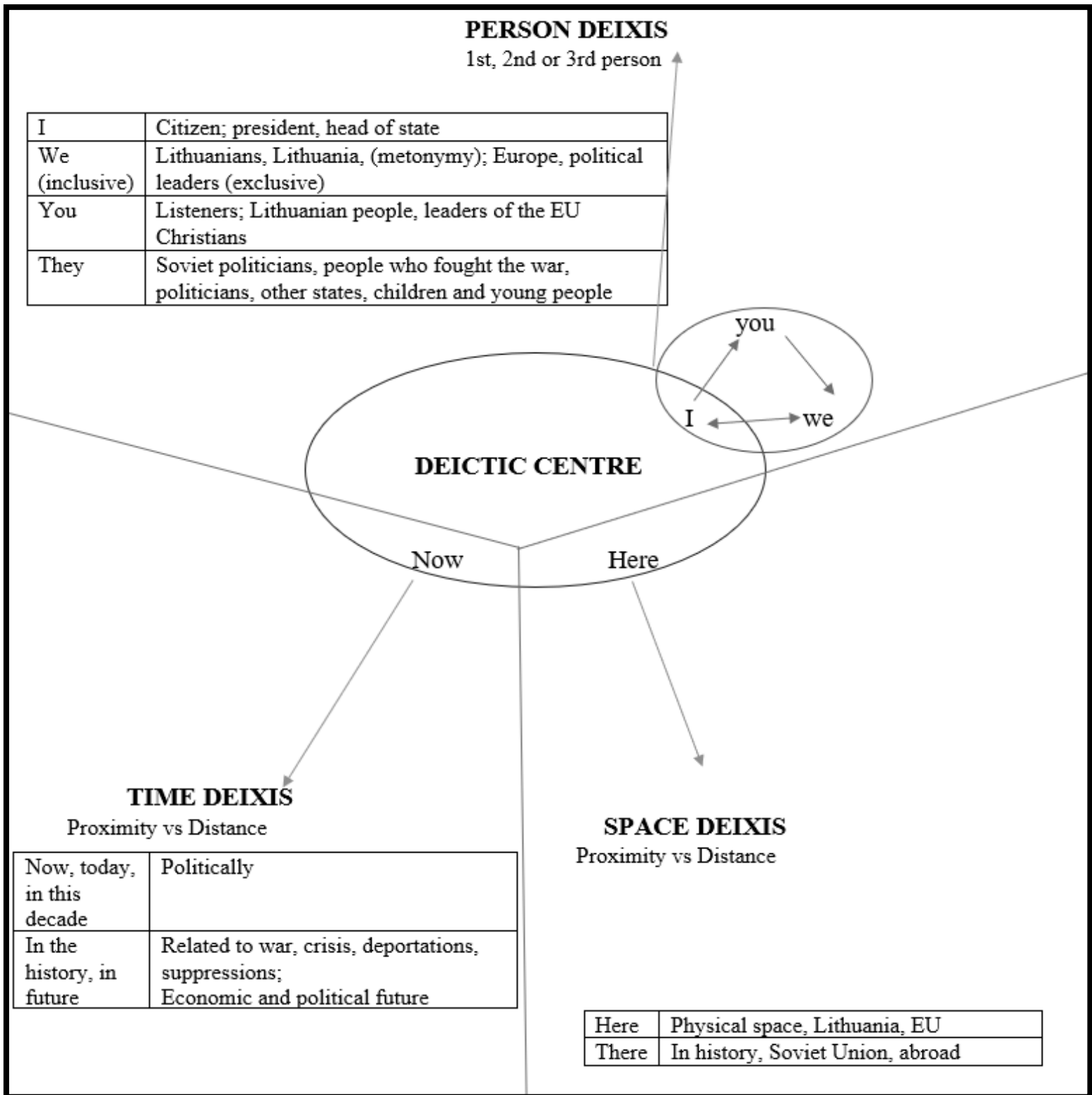


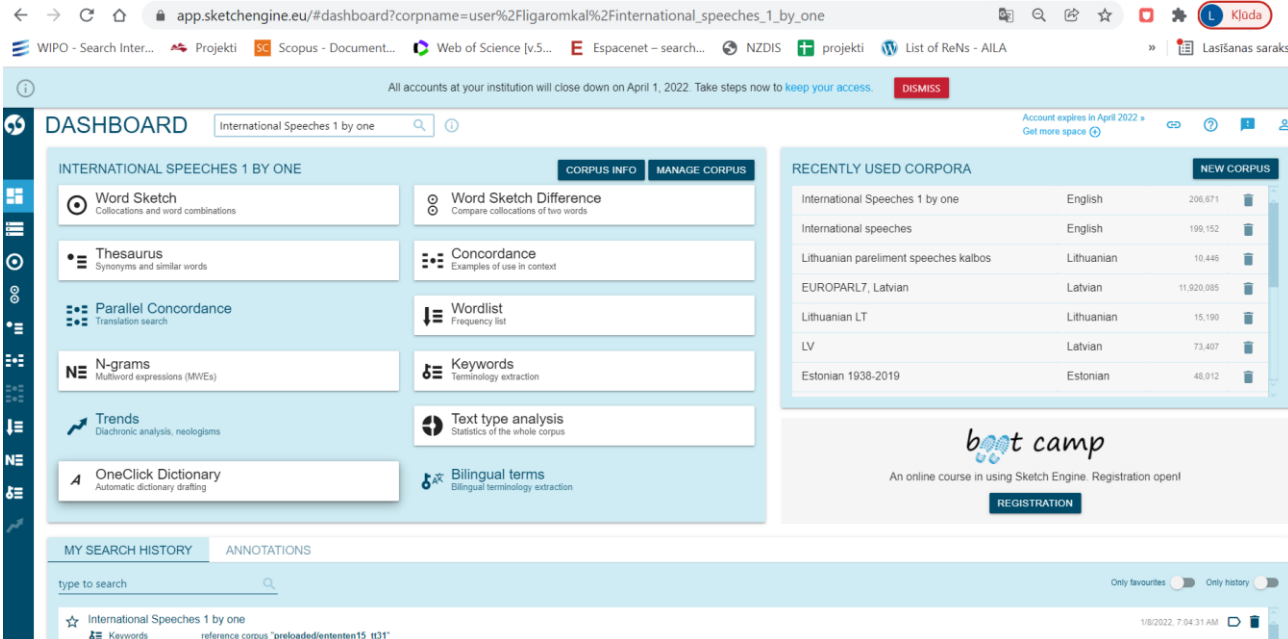
Figure 16. Deictic map in the speeches of the Presidents of Lithuania

11. Corpus Programmes and Tools in the Research Procedure: an Illustration

1. The Sketch Engine Online corpus analysis software

The software provides corpus data storing, marking, analysis and possibility to make corpus-comparisons in user-specialised corpora and sub-corpora and shared common corpora. The tools available are **word-sketch** (the linguistic environment of particular word or phrase alone or in comparison with another words or phrase, for example, Estonia and Latvia), **N-grams** (occurrence of multiword expressions), text-type analysis (occurrence of type of texts in the corpora in comparison to other types of texts), **keywords** (words with highest keyness in the focus corpus when compared to the use of the words in a general corpus), **wordlist** (list of most frequently used words in the corpus) and **concordance and KWIC analysis** – the place of the word within larger textual environment (co-text), collocations and words occurring in a range from 1 to 5 words before or after the enquired word or lemma.

The tool allows creating and analysing multiple corpora in different languages. It recognises several types of files, including Microsoft Word, PDF and one text documents as well as software data.



The screenshot shows the Sketch Engine dashboard interface. At the top, there is a navigation bar with the title 'DASHBOARD' and a search bar containing 'International Speeches 1 by one'. Below this, the dashboard is divided into several sections:

- INTERNATIONAL SPEECHES 1 BY ONE**: This section contains a grid of tool cards for analysis, including Word Sketch, Word Sketch Difference, Thesaurus, Concordance, Parallel Concordance, Wordlist, N-grams, Keywords, Trends, Text type analysis, and OneClick Dictionary.
- RECENTLY USED CORPORA**: A table listing corpora with their names, languages, and word counts. The table data is as follows:

Corpus Name	Language	Word Count
International Speeches 1 by one	English	206,671
International speeches	English	199,152
Lithuanian pareilment speeches kalbos	Lithuanian	10,446
EUROPARL7, Latvian	Latvian	11,920,085
Lithuanian LT	Lithuanian	15,190
LV	Latvian	73,407
Estonian 1938-2019	Estonian	48,012
- boot camp**: A promotional banner for an online course in using Sketch Engine, with a 'REGISTRATION' button.
- MY SEARCH HISTORY**: A section at the bottom showing a search for 'International Speeches 1 by one' with a 'Keywords' filter and a reference corpus 'preloaded/ententent15_t131'.

Figure 17. Sketch Engine dashboard

Displays corpus data such as raw and relative frequency (per million words), keywords occurrence scores in the focus corpus and in a reference corpus of the user choice. The tool allows for simple and advanced search opportunities in the focus corpus and sub-corpora that have been created by the user, selecting the type of words (parts of speech), word combinations (2-, 3-, 4-, or 5-word phrases – n-grams), attributes (lemmas, tags or words), range (minimum to maximum frequency):

Figure 18. Sketch Engine corpus configuration

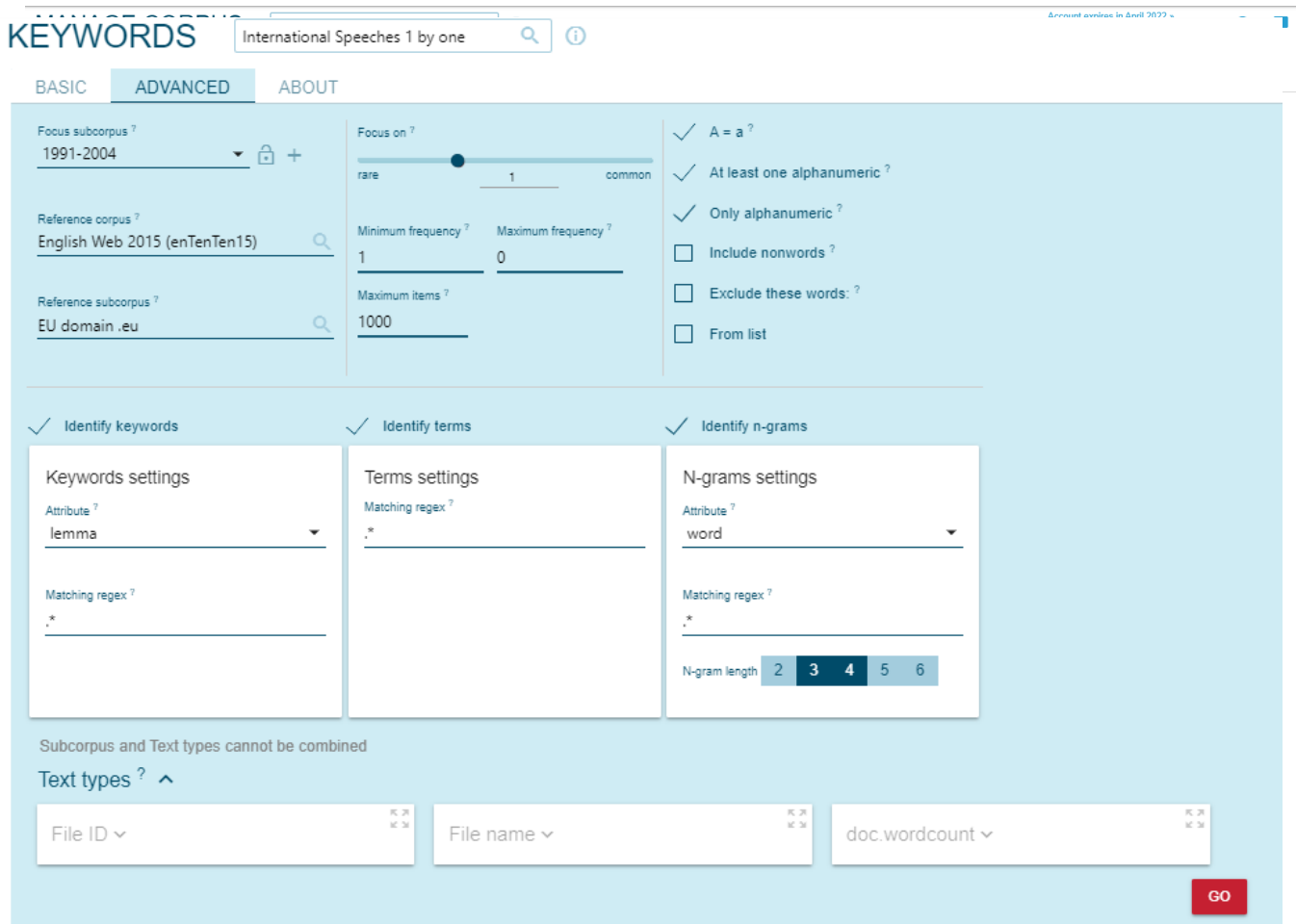


Figure 19. Sketch Engine keyword tool

2. The Voyant Tools online corpus tool

The tool allows to make not only **corpus comparison** in terms of **word frequencies**, **text-type analysis**, and **word correlation analysis**, but also provides the possibility to create and download **representative visualisations** of the results of data analysis, including **diagrams**, **graphs**, and **word clusters**.

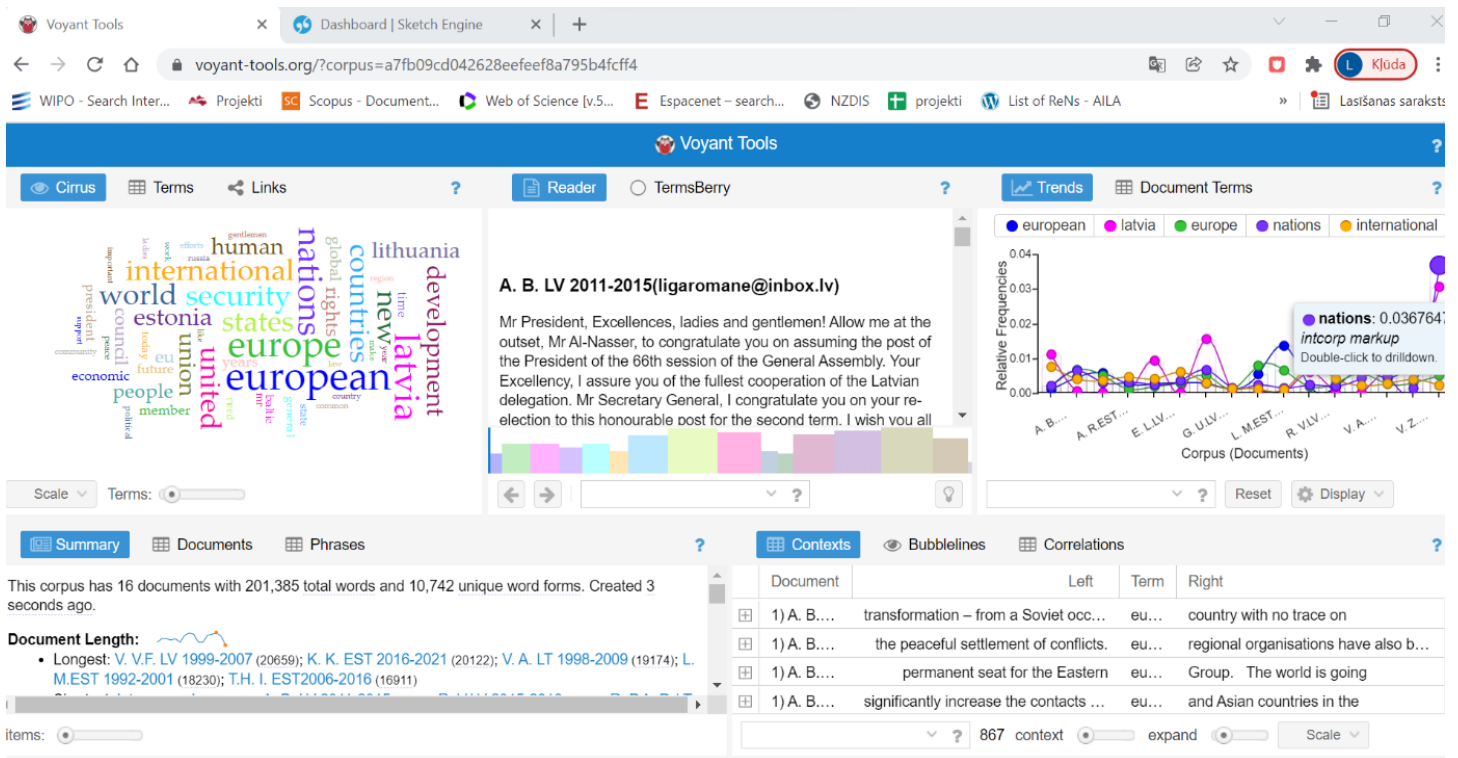


Figure 20. Voyant Tools dashboard

3. AntConc corpus programmes

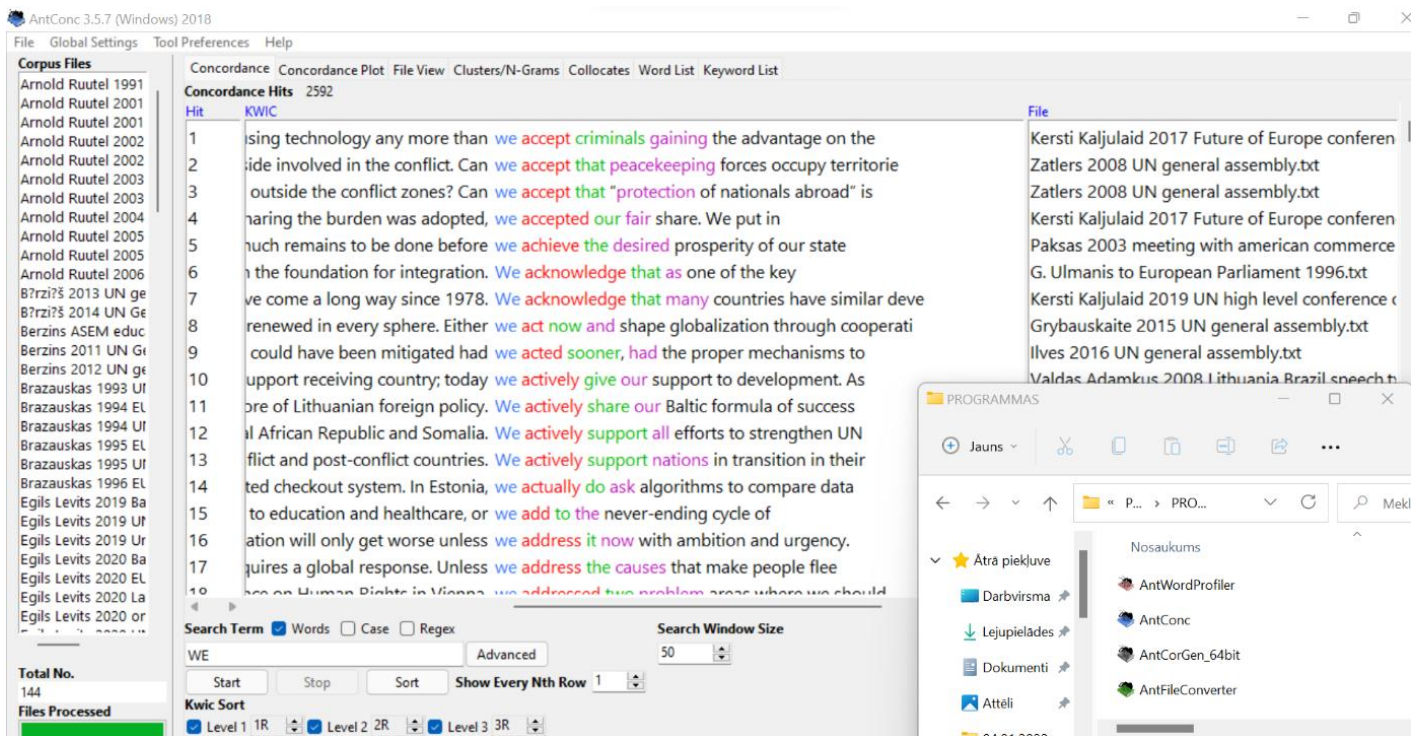


Figure 21. AntConc programmes

The Laurence Anthony (Waseda University) created corpus analysis programmes provide an opportunity to download several programmes for corpus linguistic, including AntFileConverter (converts MSWord and PDF files into analysable and markable plain text documents), AntConc (a freeware corpus analysis toolkit for detailed concordance and co-text analysis of marked and unmarked texts), AntCorGen (a discipline-specific, for example political discourse, corpus creation tool) and AntWordProfiler (a corpus tool used for vocabulary profiling and profiling the complexity of texts).

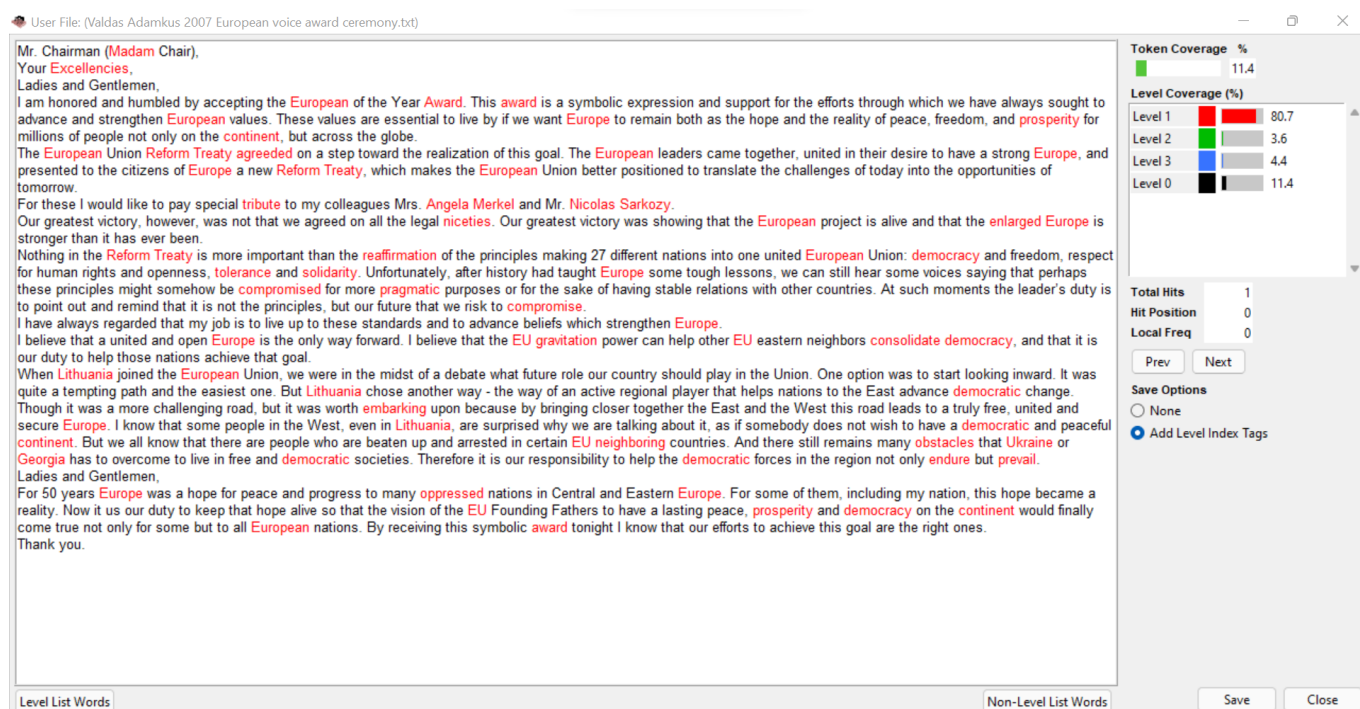


Figure 21. AntWordProfiler dashboard

Sources:

1. Anthony, L. (2019). AntCorGen (Version 1.1.2) [Computer Software]. Tokyo, Japan: Waseda University. Available from <https://www.laurenceanthony.net/software>
2. Anthony, L. (2021). AntConc (Version 4.0.2) [Computer Software]. Tokyo, Japan: Waseda University. Available from <https://www.laurenceanthony.net/software>
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5. Optical Character Recognition Software. Available from <https://www.onlineocr.net/> [Accessed on 28 January 2019]
6. Sketch Engine Online Corpus Tools. Available from <https://app.sketchengine.eu/#dashboard>
7. Voyant Text Analysis Tools. Available from <https://voyant-tools.org/>

12. List of Publication and Conferences

Publications on the research topic:

1. Romāne-Kalniņa, L. (2019) The Use of Metaphors to Represent National Identity in the Speeches of the Presidents of the Baltic States. *Language 2019 – Language in Various Cultural Contexts. Proceedings of Scientific Readings XXIX*: 175-185.
2. Romāne-Kalniņa, L. (2020) We Are Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians: Pronouns as Indices of (Supra)National and Individual Identities in Presidential Rhetoric in The Baltic States. *Linguistica Lettica*, (28): 11-34.
3. Romāne-Kalniņa, L. (2020) We are the Sons and Daughters of Our Mother, the State: Family Metaphors in Presidential Speeches in the Baltics: A Comparative Analysis. *Language 2020 – Language in Various Cultural Contexts. Proceedings of Scientific Readings XXIX*: 206-218.
4. Romāne-Kalniņa, L. (2020) Keyword Analysis in Presidential Rhetoric Throughout Hundred Years of Independence of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania: Corpus Linguistic Tools in Critical Discourse Analysis. *Language for International Communication: Linking Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, (3): 95-109.
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1. Romāne-Kalniņa, Līga (2019). 24.01.2019.-25.01.2019. Daugavpils, Latvia: The annual international conference "Scientific Readings XXIX " Paper: 'The Use of Metaphors to Represent National Identity in the Speeches of the Presidents of the Baltic States'.
2. Romāne-Kalniņa, Līga (2019). 11.04.2019.-12.04.2019. Riga, Latvia. International Symposium on Language for International Communication 2019 (LINCS). Paper: 'Keyword Analysis in Presidential Rhetoric Throughout Hundred Years of Independence of Estonia, Latvia and Estonia: Corpus Linguistic Tools in Critical Discourse Analysis'.
3. Romāne-Kalniņa, Līga (2019). 25.04.2019.-27.04.2019. Prague, Czech Republic. Annual International conference "Linguistics Prague 2019". Paper: 'Use of Rhetorical Questions in Constructing National Identities in Presidential Speeches of the Baltic States over a Century'.
4. Romāne-Kalniņa, Līga (2019). 11.10.2019.-12.10.2019. Riga, Latvia. Annual International conference "Bridges in the Baltics". Paper: 'Motherland and Mother Tongue in the Baltic States: Positioning of State and Language in Presidential Speeches'.
5. Romāne-Kalniņa, Līga (2019). 29.11.2019.-30.11.2019. Liepāja, Latvia. Annual International conference "The Word: Aspects of Research". Paper: 'Questions as Rhetorical Moves for Addressing the National Spirit of Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians in Presidential Speeches'.
6. Romāne-Kalniņa, Līga (2020). 27.01.2020.-28.01.2020. Daugavpils, Latvia: The annual international conference "Scientific Readings XXX". Paper: 'We are the Sons and Daughters of Our Mother, the State', Family Metaphors in Presidential Speeches in the Baltics – A Comparative Analysis'.
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 12. Romāne-Kalniņa, Līga (2021). 17.05.2021.-18.05.2021. (Online) Prague, Czech Republic: Annual International conference “Mezinárodní setkání mladých lingvistů 22”. Paper: ‘Common Political History as an Important Aspect in Constructing the National Identity in the Presidential Rhetoric of The Baltic States’.
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 17. Romāne-Kalniņa, Līga (2022). 01.02.2022.-02.02.2022. (Online) London, United Kingdom: Journal of Baltic Studies Special Issue Authors’ Workshop “(Beyond) National Identity in the Baltic Countries: Varieties, Correlates, and Takeaways”. Paper: “Multiple Identities in the Presidential Speeches of the Baltic States: Construction of Self, Us and Others”.