

DISCOURSE APPROACH TO NEW YEAR SPEECHES OF THE KOREAN PRESIDENTS OF SOUTH KOREA

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대한민국 대통령들의 신년사 담화 분석

본 논문은 프랑스 철학자 미셸 푸코의 이론을 기초로하여 한국정치가들의 발언 기록물을 만들어내기 위한 시도를 보여준다. 푸코에 따르면 다양한 문화적 시간들에서 동일한 형성 체계 하의 발언들의 총체인 특정 담론이 번창하고 있다. 유일한 사건과 같은 발언의 출현을 관리하는 체계는 기록물이다. 푸코의 이론은 시간과 공간의 규제를 받지 않는 한국정치인들의 발언 등장의 이유에 관한 담론을 정의할 수 있도록 해준다.

핵심어휘: 담화, 발언 기록물, 대한민국 대통령들의 신년사,

This article deals with the approach to make archives statements of Korean politicians through the theory of M. Foucault. M. Foucault said the discourse goes beyond a standard text generation, the description of discourse is opposed to the history of thought and strives to show why an apparent discourse cannot be variant, why it is incompatible with the other discourse and takes 'the place which cannot be substituted by any other discourse'. His theory gives an opportunity to show the real reasons why Korean politicians use special statements, which have an effect on the addressee without reference to the time and space.

Keywords: discourse, archives statements, greeting speech of South Korean Presidents.

Introduction

Currently diverse approaches to comprehension of discourse could be viewed and most theorists define discourse as a totality of texts or an open process of text generation.

A variety of attempts to standardize and generalize the term *discourse* are being made in modern linguistics. We might consider that the most complete analysis of modern discourse theories is presented in the work of E.A. Deyneka where two main models with discourse as the subject of study are described. One model is British-American (logocentric) or natural science model of biological evolution and another one is 'continental' (anthropocentric), 'a paradigm of science related to culture, society, and spiritual life of a man' (Deineka, 2012, p. 169).

The works of such scientists as T. Van Dyck, Y.S. Stepanov, V.Z. Demyankov (1995) refer to the first model, while M. Peshe, M. Foucault (2004), V.V. Vinogradov, T.O. Vinokurov (Deineka, 2012, p. 170) follow the second model.

If in the first model discourse is comprehended as a *'coherent speech'* (Deineka, 2012, p. 170), then discourse in the second model is regarded to be *'a space of exteriority in which a network of distinct sites is deployed'* (Foucault, 2004, p. 121). In other words, within that model discourse goes beyond a standard text generation, the description of discourse is opposed to the history of thought and strives to show why an apparent discourse cannot be variant, why it is incompatible with the other discourse and takes *'the place which cannot be substituted by any other discourse'* (Foucault, 2004, p. 74).

According to Foucault, in a particular period of culture time a certain discourse, that is a body of statements subordinated to one and the same system of formation, dominates. A statement itself has material existence and is always given through material thickness. The system that regulates the emergence of the statement as a single event is called *archives*. An archives is the rule of what can be said and exactly this *'differentiates all discourses in their diverse existence and determines them in their own activities'* (Foucault, 2004, p. 248).

From this point of view statement analysis of greeting speeches of Korean presidents is of great interest. Compilation of archives statements of this genre will allow discovering constants in a political discourse with the era of rapid changes in a political and economic life of the Republic of Korea behind.

The choice of New Year greeting speeches of Korean presidents as the object of study is due to a number of facts. Firstly, New Year greetings of presidents are a relatively new genre in a political discourse and, as a consequence, a rare object of linguistic analysis, and the speeches of Korean politicians particularly. Secondly, such greeting speeches have a considerable difference in the form and time from the traditional performances in the political arena (the media, the debate in parliament, official statements, etc.). Thirdly, the cultural component of such performances, that includes a brief report at the year-end and plans for the future presenting at special time for a single representative of the nation, has a sacred meaning.

This article offers the analysis of New Year performances of Korean presidents Roh Moo-hyun (2003-2008), Lee Myung-bak (2008-2013), and Park Geun-hye (2013- till present). The choice of the period is due to the active phase of a political line of the Republic of Korea as a highly developed country at the international scene. Along with it, this period is characterized by great inner social changes, emerging role of the rich, reduction of middle-class percentage, growth of corruption, with the country's recovery from the recession in 1998 and a recent crisis of 2008 in the background (Kim, 2013).

This vivid palette of political and economic events in Korea is undoubtedly reflected in the performance of top officials. The genre of New Year speech requires the speaker to state facts in a social culturological way taking into consideration the time and atmosphere when every citizen looks forward to a New Year celebration, a symbol of a new period of life, hopes for better things and seeks confirmation of the words of President, the person who he has voted for, delegated his authority to govern and, moreover, entrusts his entire life. A responsible speaker has to elaborate a clear text and select the statements which are able not only to encourage an addressee but configure him the desired policy.

Basic principles of archives statements compilation

The main objective of the article is to describe the settings of discourse, the points of emergence of certain statements (Foucault, 2004, p. 73); to analyze the statements not in the historical background related to other statements or speaker's intentions but to show '*in the purity of field where discursive events deploy*', i.e. to describe them in '*discontinuity*' releasing from all forms (Foucault, 2004, p. 160).

In Foucault's account, determining archives statements means:

- 1) to describe discursive formations – to review a totality of verbal performances at statement level and the form of positivity characterizing them; to define a type of positivity (Foucault, 2004, p. 241);
- 2) to set positivities – to describe a statement as a lacunar and fragmented figure; to describe a totality of statements without any reference to the interior character of intention, thought or object, but in accordance with exterior dispersion; to describe in order to specify not the moment or trace of its origin in it but specific forms of the origin (Foucault, 2004, p. 241);
- 3) to define a field of statement where a statement has its place and status which suppose possible relations with the past and open predicted future for it (Foucault, 2004, p. 194). A field of statement, due to Foucault, is not a totality of static sites announced at a favourable moment, this field is active from the beginning till end, regular and movable at the same time, and does not stop modifying (Foucault, 2004, p. 144).

Principles of selecting archives statements from New Year greeting speeches of Korean presidents are the following:

- 1) the principles of differentiation of essential from nonessential; eternal and transient signs of things in Aristotle's theory;
- 2) the principles of signs of intertextuality in statement which is neither based on cultural events nor causes any images;
- 3) the principle of homogeneity of statement;
- 4) the principle of indeterminacy in time, space and to a particular object.

While collecting archives statements the following scientific and methodological requirements were being observed:

- 1) presentation of events (has its conditions and the field of emergence) and things (possibilities and the field of usage);
- 2) identification of statement patterns; the system regulating the emergence of the statement as a single event;
- 3) determination of a statement out of time;
- 4) retention of statement event for the future;
- 5) determination of statement relevance;
- 6) designation of a special level between language and corpus;
- 7) designation of diversity of all discourses and determination of their own continuity;
- 8) determination of general system of formation and transformation of the statement;
- 9) presentation of archives as a fragmented structure.

Archives statements compilation

The principles of selecting archives statements and the scientific and methodological requirements presented above were used to analyze greeting speeches of Korean presidents, and as a result particular statements were picked: 1) overcome difficulties / experience difficulties; 2) join (together) efforts for(to) / make efforts for(to); 3) on the basis of trust / on the basis of democracy; 4) restore economic power / revitalize economy; 5) peaceful (re)unification.

To the first group of archives statements relate the following: 어려움이 크다/많다/있다 (*verbatim: great/many/have difficulties*); 어려움을 이긴다/극복한다/ 푸는다 (*verbatim: cope with/overcome/master difficulties*).

These statements can be found in every single greeting performance of Korean presidents:

어려움이 컸던 근로자와 (**Experienced difficulties workers**) (노무현 (Roh Moo-hyun), 2004); 어려움을 다 풀어드리기에는 (due to the fact that **overcome** (*verbatim:cope with*) **all the difficulties**) (노무현 (Roh Moo-hyun), 2005); 여러 가지 갈등으로 인한 혼란과 불안도 적지는 않았습니다. 그동안 우리의 발목을 잡아왔던 큰 문제들은 이제 대강 정리가 된 것 같습니다. 후유증도 거의 극복되고 있습니다 (Due to multifarious conflicts there were a lot of riots and troubles. By then, there had been many problems hindering the development which we were able to take under control, in my opinion. And now **we are overcoming** the consequences.) (노무현 (Roh Moo-hyun), 2006); 여러 차례 난관과 위기를 극복하고 (...**overcome varied difficulties and crisis**) (노무현 (Roh Moo-hyun), 2007); 어려운 일이 많았지만 우리 국민은 그때마다 하나하나 잘 극복해 왔습니다(there were many problems (*verbatim: hardships*) but every time our nation could be able to solve (*verbatim: overcome*) each of them) (노무현 (Roh Moo-hyun), 2008); 우리는 과거 어렵고 힘든 때에도 하나 되어 이겨냈고, 가장 힘들다고 하는 이 위기도 반드시 이겨낼 수 있다고 확신합니다 (Even when our past **was intricate and complicated** we always united at the moments and **won**, I am sure we **will overcome** (*verbatim: win*) this profound crisis necessarily) (이명박 (Lee Myung-bak), 2009); 작년 한해 물가, 일자리 문제로 참으로 국민 여러분의 어려움이 많았습니다. 이런 가운데에서도 함께 힘을 모아 어느 나라보다도 먼저 이 어려움을 극복해야 하겠습니다 (Last year delivered us **a lot of problems** (*verbatim: hardships*). However, we need to unite and **overcome our difficulties**) (이명박 (Lee Myung-bak), 2012); 국민의 삶과 나라 경제에 어려움이 많았습니다 (There **were many difficulties** in social life of people and economy) (이명박 (Lee Myung-bak), 2013); 지난 한 해는 많은 어려움이 있었지만, 국민 여러분께서 신뢰와 믿음을 주셔서 이겨낼 수 있었습니다 (Last year brought us **a lot of problems**, but due to the trust and faith of our nation **we could cope with them**) (박근혜 (Park Geun-hye), 2014); 모든 어려움을 풀어 나가게 되길 바랍니다 (I wish you **to overcome all difficulties**) (박근혜 (Park Geun-hye), 2015).

The collocation *overcome difficulties* is an essential element of any discourse of Korean politicians. Basically, it could be explained by the historical development of Korean society where the notions like *suffering, difficulties* are an inherent part of an individual development, the society and the country on the whole. Only going through suffering, deprivation and hardships an individual will be able to gain respect in his community, to achieve success, and his country will be powerful as well. *Patience* and *overcoming* are inextricably associated with the dogmata of Confucianism. That is why, in our opinion, presidents in their speeches either appeal or state the fact that overcoming difficulties will allow or has already allowed to obtain the desired result and advantaged to improve the situation, standards of living, etc. or, it will lead to victory and prosperity.

Along with overcoming difficulties in the same semantic field we can observe the statements 힘/노력/최선을 다할 것이다 ‘make efforts’ (*verbatim: unite forces/energy/all possible efforts*) and 힘/지혜/마음을 모으다 or 모두 함께 한다 ‘join together efforts for’ (*verbatim: unite forces/concentrate wisdom/soul or do all together*) which has the following interpretations in presidents’ speeches:

모든 정성과 노력을 다할 각오입니다 (We are willing to make all possible efforts). 올해는 수출의 활력을 내수 활성화로 이어가는 데 **주력하겠습니다** (This year we are **making all possible efforts** to increase export performance due to the pull of demand in domestic market). **정책적 노력을 기울여 나갈 것입니다** (We will **concentrate** all political forces). 한반도 평화와 번영의 새 틀을 만드는데 **최선을 다할 것입니다** (We will do **everything** to create new opportunities for peace and prosperity on the Korean Peninsula). 국민 모두가 **힘과 지혜를 모아**야겠습니다. (Citizens must use (*verbatim: concentrate*) **their wisdom and forces**) 엄격한 선거관리에 **최선을 다할 것입니다** (Let’s **join together our efforts** to supervise the conduct of fair elections). (노무현 (Roh Moo-hyun), 2004); 용기를 북돋우고 **손을 잡아 이끌어주어야** 합니다 (We **must** demonstrate courage and **unite** (*verbatim: join hands and pull*)). 저와 정부도 **최선을 다하겠습니다** (The government and I will **do all possible**) (노무현 (Roh Moo-hyun), 2005). 여러분, **힘내십시오** (My friends, let us **be courageous** (*verbatim: make efforts*)). 정부도 **최선을 다해** 도울 것입니다 (The

government will **do all possible** and provide assistance). 새해에는 서민 여러분의 형편이 한결 나아질 수 있도록 집중적인 노력을 기울여 나가겠습니다 (This new year we are going to **join our efforts** to make the lives of ordinary people better). 국민 모두가 함께 해야 합니다 (We must **do everything all together**). (노무현 (Roh Moo-hyun), 2006); 우리 모두의 마음과 힘을 모아 갑시다 (Let's **unite our souls and efforts**). 자신감을 갖고 더 큰 희망을 만들어 나갑시다 (Having faith in ourselves **let's make greater plans** (*verbatim: hopes*). 선진국을 향해 힘차게 전진합시다 (Let's move towards to successful and prosperous country confidently). 저도 함께 하겠습니다 (I will be also together with you. (노무현 (Roh Moo-hyun), 2007); 도 다음 정부가 보다 나은 여건에서 출발할 수 있도록 남은 기간 최선을 다하겠다 (In the remaining period I will **do all possible** in order to provide the best conditions for our next government activities.) (노무현 (Roh Moo-hyun), 2008); 우리 서로 베풀어서, 더 따뜻한 사회를 만들어갑시다 (Let's build more hospitable society **joining together**.) (이명박 (Lee Myung-bak), 2009); 모든 분야에서 힘차게 도약하는 한 해가 되어야 합니다 (This year must become the year of powerful breakthrough in all spheres). 번영의 장정에 **동참시키기 위해 노력해야 합니다** (We must **make our efforts** to move together along the way of prosperity). 공영의 길로 나설 수 있도록 **함께 노력해야 합니다** (We must **make our efforts** to take the path of common wealth and prosperity). (이명박 (Lee Myung-bak), 2011); 올해도 다시 한 번 힘을 모았으면 합니다 (And this year again we **must join together our efforts**). 정부는 어떠한 경우에도 나라를 굳건히 지키고, 일자리를 만들고, 물가를 잡는 데 **최선을 다하겠습니다** (The government will **make all possible efforts** to stop the rise in prices, create new workplaces and make our country strong and powerful). 국민 여러분이 생업에 종사하면서 안심하고 생활할 수 있도록 **혼신의 힘을 다하겠습니다** (We will **make all possible efforts** (*verbatim: use forces completely*) for our citizens' opportunities to live

peacefully and give all energy to jobs). (이명박 (Lee Myung-bak), 2012); 국민 한 분 한 분의 생활이 좀 더 풍족해지고, 행복한 삶이 되도록 지속적으로 모든 힘을 다하겠습니다 (We **will make our efforts** to provide wealthier and happier life for every single citizen). 새해에는 반드시 국민 여러분들의 삶에 활력과 희망이 넘칠 수 있도록 최선을 다해 나가겠습니다 (We **will make all possible efforts** to fill the lives of our citizens with energy and desires this new year). (박근혜(Park Geun-hye), 2014).

Joining efforts in order to overcome hardships is a part of Confucian tradition related to domesticity and collectivity. Only together and teamwise, relying on one another, one can gain success and cope with difficulties.

The expressions *join efforts to/for*, *make efforts*, *suffer* and *overcome difficulties* have their origin in Confucian doctrine, that is why they could be considered as non-determined to a particular object, time and space. This, in turn, allows correlating them with a broad archives statements.

We could view related to the archives statements the collocations 신뢰/민주주의를 바탕으로 ‘on the basis of trust’/’on the basis of democracy’ which are denoted in presidents’ discourses in this way:

특히 지난해 마련된 노 사정 대화의 틀을 바탕으로 국민 여러분께 신뢰 받는 정부가 되겠습니다 (Especially on the basis of the parties to the tripartite agreement between trade unions, employers and the government signed last year, **the government deserved trust** of citizens) (노무현 (Roh Moo-hyun), 2004), 우리들 사이에 믿음이 쌓일 것이고... (we will **trust** each other (*verbatim: accumulate trust*). 민주적 절차에 따라 (on the basis of democracy **system** (*verbatim: following the democracy arrangement*) (노무현 (Roh Moo-hyun), 2006); 그 신뢰의 바탕으로 희망과 변화의 싹을 틔워낼 수 있었습니다 (on the basis of trust we will be able to provide a start for changes and accomplishment of our desires) (박근혜, 2014), 튼튼한 안보를 바탕으로 (on the basis of a strong security system (*verbatim: solid system*) (박근혜 (Park Geun-hye), 2015).

The notions *trust* and *democracy* are often run in a contemporary political discourse of the Republic of Korea. Mutual trust of the nation and authority approaches one of the main Confucian principles and is the basis of prosperity of Korean community. Modern Korean society, voting for a top representative – President, trust him *a priori* as he is a representative of the will of people, and the President, in his turn, realizes the degree of responsibility he must assume. This precise system is the basis of democratic principles that the presidents of Korea constantly appeal to in their speeches. Consequently, the notions *trust* and *democracy* are often found within one discursive formation.

The collocations 경제는 활성화된다/발전된다/강하다/좋아진다, 경제활력 회복한다 ‘revitalize/improve the economy (economic course)’ and ‘restore economic power’ (*verbatim: recover/develop/enhance/improve economy*’ or ‘*restore economic power*’) belong to archives statements as well:

우리 경제가 새롭게 도약하는 해로 만들어 나갑시다 (We are ready for a new **economic breakthrough** (*verbatim: jump/leap*). (노무현 (Roh Moo-hyun), 2005). 국민 여러분, 새해에도 역시 경제 걱정이 많으시지요? (Citizens, do you have a lot of concerns about economy in the coming year?) ; 너무 걱정하지 마십시오 (Don’t worry too much). **많이 좋아지고 있습니다** (Now the situation (*author’s note: economic situation*) is **improving**) (노무현 (Roh Moo-hyun), 2006); **경제주체는 서로 양보하고 협력해야 합니다** (We **have to compromise and cooperate in the way of economic policy**) (이명박 (Lee Myung-bak), 2009), **경제성장을 달성했습니다** (We **have achieved economic growth**)....우리는 국제사회와 함께 경제 협력을 획기적으로 발전시켜나갈 의지와 계획을 갖고 있습니다 (We are planning to **develop extremely important economic cooperation** with the international community)....**경제는 올해도 계속 활성화되어야 합니다** (And this year **the economy must continue to intensify**). 이를 통해 우리 경제의 잠재성장률을 높이고미래 경쟁력도 확보해 나갈 것입니다 (Due to such steps the GDP will increase and competitiveness will hold strong positions) (이명박 (Lee Myung-bak), 2011). 이제 대한민국은 **경제만 강한 나라가 아니라...**

(Now the Republic of Korea is **not only economically powerful country**) (이명박 (Lee Myung-bak), 2013); **경제를 활성화하고** 민생을 안정시키는데... (**Economics development** and nation safety) (박근혜, 2014), 이를 위해서는 우선 **경제의 활력을 회복하는 일**...(To do this, first of all, it is necessary to **recover economic viability**) (박근혜 (Park Geun-hye), 2015).

The prosperity of the country depends on its economic stability, all countries realize and accept this fact, and nevertheless, not every country is able to find the foundation and suppliers for that. Even in the middle of the 20th century when the country was in shambles after World War II and the Korean War, the government of the Republic of Korea recognized the significant moment and targeted to economy recovering. Tough policies of Korean governments to extricate the country from the economic disaster resulted in the change of politicians, very often forcible, although the changes did not permit to destroy consistency and prevent to lead the country to the desired economic course. It allowed the Republic of Korea to become a highly developed country and enter the top twenty the most powerful countries. For this reason, such expressions as *economy restoration* and *economy revitalization*, often used in Korean political discourse, turned to be intertextual and went beyond the culture time.

One of the key components of the policy of any Korean presidents is the issue of peaceful reunification with North Korea. For this reason every New Year speech of the head of state has a special part. There could be determined the following collocations related to peaceful reunification:

평화를 향하다/지키다 (towards peace / maintain (keep) peace), 평화를 노력한다 (make efforts / work for peace), 평화체제를 공고히 한다 (enhance peace), 평화통일 (peaceful reunification): 안보를 튼튼히 하고 남북 화해협력을 지속적으로 추진해 나감으로써, **평화체제를 더욱 공고히 하고** 남북관계를 착실히 진전시켜 나가겠습니다 (Through the development of cooperation with North Korea and strengthening safety system I will develop relations with North Korea and **enhance peace**). 그러한 가운데 북핵 문제를 **평화적으로 해결하여** 한반도 평화와 번영의 새 틀을 만드는데 최선을 다할 것입니다 (I will do my best for the prosperity and peace on the Korean Peninsula, I will solve the problem of North Korean nuclear programme **in a peaceful way**) (노무현 (Roh Moo-hyun), 2004); **한은 평화와 번영을**

향한 민족의 염원과 국제사회의 요구를 받아들여야 합니다 (We need to accept the demands of the international community and inviolable laws of democracy **aimed at the prosperity and peaceful development of Korea**). 핵과 군사적 모험주의를 포기해야 합니다 (We should abandon nuclear programme and military adventurism). 북한은 말뿐 아니라 행동으로 **평화와 협력을 위해 노력해야 합니다** (We need to **work for peace and cooperation** with North Korea through actions, not in words only). **평화의 길은 아직 막히지 않았습니**다 (A **peaceful road** is still not blocked). 대화의 문도 아직 닫히지 않았습니

다 (The doors of the dialogue are still kept open) (이명박 (Lee Myung-bak), 2011), 튼튼한 안보로 **한반도 평화를 지키고**, 북한 주민의 마음과 삶 속에 시작된 조용한 변화의 움직임이 통일의 큰 물결로 넘쳐흐르길 소망합니다 (I wish **the peace on the Korean Peninsula** was maintained by reliable security system, and the movement towards changes, which has already started in the lives and hearts of North Korean citizens, would transform into a great movement for reunification) (이명박 (Lee Myung-bak), 2013); 한의 도발 가능성에 대비하여 빈틈없는 안보태세와 위기관리체제를 확고히 하고, 한반도의 평화를 보다 적극적으로 만들어가면서 **평화통일**을 위한 기반을 구축해 나갈 것입니다 (In the event of possible provocations on the Korean Peninsula it is necessary to adhere to anti-crisis measures and maintain a reliable security system, as well as build up the foundation for **peaceful reunification**, keeping peace on the Peninsula) (박근혜 (Park Geun-hye), 2014). 튼튼한 안보를 바탕으로 단절과 갈등의 분단 70년을 마감하고 **신뢰와 평화로 북한을 이끌어내**서 실질적이고 구체적인 통일 기반을 구축하고 통일의 길을 열어가는 것입니다 (On the basis of strong security system it is necessary to put an end to the 70-year-old division and cooperate with North Korea **in the peace and trust**, creating the foundation for reunification and entering the path of reunion) (박근혜 (Park Geun-hye), 2015).

The issue of reunification of North and South Korea in a peaceful way is strategic as well as the objective of building up economic strengths of the Republic of Korea. That is why the statements related to reunification with North Korea could be found in any discourses of Korean politicians. This situation helps us regard the collocations *peaceful reunification* and

enter the path of peaceful reunification beyond the particular field of culture, the category of specified context, and this, in turns, affords ground to correlate them with archives statements.

However, if the first types of statements seen above *overcome difficulties, make efforts for/to, join together efforts* can be attributed to a broad archives statements with the main characteristic of indeterminacy in space and time above all, the rest of them belong to a narrow archives statements. This happens due to the temporal field in which given statements once emerged. The statements *on the basis of trust/democracy, revitalize/improve economy, peaceful reunification* appeared in the era of economic recovery and growth of the country (the latter part of the 20th century), and therefore, the time period of these expressions becomes narrow in contrast to the first type, so they cannot be reviewed in a broad archives statements.

Conclusion

The selected genre of New Year greeting speeches of top officials of South Korea is multinational and it is acceptable in many countries. The formal part of the performances is generally similar but the meaningful part, in its turn, includes two components, practical and cultural. If the political component is largely homogeneous, the cultural one, which is contemplated, has its own idiomaticity obviously seen during comparative analysis with other political traditions.

In particular, the statements performed in the Korean political discourse are mostly based on Confucian principles (mutual trust and confidence of the nation and the government, domesticity and collectivism, success through hardships, deprivations and even sufferings) and have direct parallel with the Orthodox values traditional for Russian culture. References to these values were reflected even in the Soviet political tradition, specifically in addresses of the Soviet leaders to the nation.

In contemporary Korean political discourse the statements relating to the subject of this research are widely used and considered to be effective. Reappearance of such cultural markers into the political discourse of Russian officials might be the key to renaissance of the national identity of the people.

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