



University of Kentucky
UKnowledge

Theses and Dissertations--Linguistics

Linguistics

2016

The Agent Across the Border: "Russia" and "Ukraine" as Actors in the News, 2013-2015

Abbey L. Thomas

University of Kentucky, thomasabbey8@gmail.com

Digital Object Identifier: <http://dx.doi.org/10.13023/ETD.2016.355>

[Right click to open a feedback form in a new tab to let us know how this document benefits you.](#)

Recommended Citation

Thomas, Abbey L., "The Agent Across the Border: "Russia" and "Ukraine" as Actors in the News, 2013-2015" (2016). *Theses and Dissertations--Linguistics*. 15.

https://uknowledge.uky.edu/lts_etds/15

This Master's Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Linguistics at UKnowledge. It has been accepted for inclusion in Theses and Dissertations--Linguistics by an authorized administrator of UKnowledge. For more information, please contact UKnowledge@lsv.uky.edu.

STUDENT AGREEMENT:

I represent that my thesis or dissertation and abstract are my original work. Proper attribution has been given to all outside sources. I understand that I am solely responsible for obtaining any needed copyright permissions. I have obtained needed written permission statement(s) from the owner(s) of each third-party copyrighted matter to be included in my work, allowing electronic distribution (if such use is not permitted by the fair use doctrine) which will be submitted to UKnowledge as Additional File.

I hereby grant to The University of Kentucky and its agents the irrevocable, non-exclusive, and royalty-free license to archive and make accessible my work in whole or in part in all forms of media, now or hereafter known. I agree that the document mentioned above may be made available immediately for worldwide access unless an embargo applies.

I retain all other ownership rights to the copyright of my work. I also retain the right to use in future works (such as articles or books) all or part of my work. I understand that I am free to register the copyright to my work.

REVIEW, APPROVAL AND ACCEPTANCE

The document mentioned above has been reviewed and accepted by the student's advisor, on behalf of the advisory committee, and by the Director of Graduate Studies (DGS), on behalf of the program; we verify that this is the final, approved version of the student's thesis including all changes required by the advisory committee. The undersigned agree to abide by the statements above.

Abbey L. Thomas, Student

Dr. Edward R. Barrett, Major Professor

Dr. Edward R. Barrett, Director of Graduate Studies

THE AGENT ACROSS THE BORDER:
"RUSSIA" AND "UKRAINE" AS ACTORS IN THE NEWS,
2013-2015

THESIS

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Linguistic
Theory and Typology in the
College of Arts and Sciences at
the University of Kentucky.

By
Abbey L. Thomas
Lexington, Kentucky

Director: Dr. Edward R. Barrett, Professor of Linguistics
Lexington, Kentucky

2016

Copyright © Abbey L. Thomas 2016

ABSTRACT OF THESIS

THE AGENT ACROSS THE BORDER: "RUSSIA" AND "UKRAINE" AS ACTORS IN RUSSIAN AND UKRAINIAN NEWS, 2013-2015

This study examines how two media sources—one Russian and one Ukrainian—portray Russia and Ukraine before, during, and after the EuroMaidan crisis in Ukraine. Russian-language texts posted between January 2013 and December 2015 on the sites Ukrane.com (a Ukrainian news outlet) and TASS.ru (Russian) were organized in a corpus of over 20,000,000 words. This study analyzes the nouns "Россия" ("Russia") and "Украина" ("Ukraine") according to the verbal predicates that attach to either noun. The results demonstrate predictable variation in the agency of the two entities in response to cultural events and contexts.

The analysis of the corpus data operationalizes a combined model of agency using Halliday and Matheissen's (2004) classification of processes, shaped by the animacy of the actor, and Dik's (1989) States of Affairs Matrix, which prioritizes the actor's physical effect in space and time. In this study, predicates of "Russia" and "Ukraine" are given numeric scores based on the models. Then, a new method of checking the validity of these models is tested by examining other entities that take the same predicates as Russia and Ukraine. Measurements from discrete time periods reveal how the agency of both entities changed before, during, and after EuroMaidan.

KEYWORDS: Discourse, Metaphor, Euromaidan, Corpus Linguistics, Ukraine

Abbey L. Thomas

8/2/2016

THE AGENT ACROSS THE BORDER:
"RUSSIA" AND "UKRAINE" AS ACTORS IN RUSSIAN AND UKRAINIAN
NEWS, 2013-2015

By
Abbey L. Thomas

Edward R. Barrett

Director of Thesis

Edward R. Barrett

Director of Graduate Studies

8/2/2016

Date

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

There is a Russian saying that translates to something like, “Carry it together and it won’t be heavy.” While this thesis has required more hours and more work than I ever expected, I have not carried it alone.

I would like to extend special thanks to a few of the many who have carried it with me. Firstly, I could not have asked for a more knowledgeable director—thank you, Rusty, for introducing me to discourse studies and the breadth of the literature on metaphor and agency. I would also like to express my gratitude to the other members of my committee: Thank you, Mark, for teaching me to be a researcher and making me think deeply about every step of the process. Jennifer, thank you for your encouragement on this project and keeping me organized and for being so attentive to answer last-minute formatting questions. Thank you, Kevin, for teaching me to use a computer and for your consistent willingness to help with this research. You have all made this process quite the enjoyable adventure.

Beyond my committee, the work I have done here has been impacted by several others who deserve a mention as well. My fellow MALTTERS: Thank you for being first-rate friends, colleagues, and taxi service. Graduate school would not have been half as fun without you all. A hearty thank you also goes to my family and my BFG at Ashland for your care and service and prayers. I cherish you all and the memories we’ve shared over the past few years.

Each of you, and many more, have shaped me, and in turn, you have shaped my research and this thesis. You have carried it with me, and it is better—I am better—because of each of you.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES.....	v
LIST OF FIGURES.....	vi
1 INTRODUCTION.....	1
2 LITERATURE REVIEW.....	2
3 METHODS.....	9
3.1 DATA SOURCES.....	9
3.2 DATA COLLECTION.....	10
3.3 ANALYSIS.....	15
3.3.1 THE NOMINATIVE RATIO.....	15
3.3.2 THE DYNAMIC AGENCY SCALE.....	15
3.3.3 PREDICATE COMPARISONS.....	19
4 RESULTS.....	20
4.1 <i>The NOMINATIVE RATIO</i>	20
4.2 <i>DYNAMIC AGENCY SCALE</i>	23
4.2.1 THE MODEL.....	23
4.2.2 APPLICATION TO THE DATA.....	26
4.3 <i>CHECKING COLLOCATES</i>	30
5 DISCUSSION.....	34
5.1 <i>THE MODEL</i>	34
5.2 <i>THE OUTCOMES</i>	36
6 CONCLUSION.....	36
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	38
VITA.....	42

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Process types, based on Halliday and Matheissen (2004)	6
Table 2: Word count for the TASS.ru corpus by month and year.....	12
Table 3: Word count for the Ukranews.com corpus by month and year	12
Table 4: Nominative tokens by Quarter and Agent in TASS	14
Table 5: Nominative tokens by Quarter and Agent in Ukranews	14
Table 6: English translations of exemplars in Figure 4	19
Table 8: Results of Chi-square tests for Distribution of DAS scores by source and quarter.....	26
Table 9: Top collocates of top predicates in TASS by year and agent.....	30
Table 10: Top collocates of top predicates in Ukranews by year and agent ...	33

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: The first three levels of Dik's (1989) State of Affairs Matrix.....	7
Figure 2: Decision tree for assigning consciousness values.....	16
Figure 3: Decision tree for assigning dynamicity values.....	17
Figure 4: Common exemplars for each category of the combined model.....	18
Figure 5: The Nominative Ratio for both agents in TASS	21
Figure 6: The Nominative Ratio for both agents in Ukraneews.....	21
Figure 7: Relationship between Halliday and Matheissen's (2004) model and Dik's (1989) States of Affairs matrix according to type count in both subcorpora.....	24
Figure 8: Distribution of types in both subcorpora.....	25
Figure 9: Distribution of tokens in both subcorpora.....	25
Figure 10: Distribution of Russia's DAS scores in TASS	27
Figure 11: Distribution of Ukraine's DAS scores in TASS.....	27
Figure 12: Distribution of Russia's DAS scores in Ukraneews	29
Figure 13: Distribution of Ukraine's DAS scores in Ukraneews.....	29

1 INTRODUCTION

On November 21, 2013, Ukraine, under the leadership of President Viktor Yanukovich, decided not sign an agreement that would allow closer trade relations with the European Union. Instead, they elected to pursue a discussion with Russia, Belarus, and Kazakhstan about strengthening economic ties with those nations. This decision caused incredible, and by some views unpredicted, repercussions in the form of riots, coups, fires, and annexation of Crimea by Russia. Ukrainians raged against their government for its perceived support of Russian interests, and eventually overthrew it.

On the very day of Yanukovich's decision not to sign the treaty with the EU, Ukrainian nationalists who wanted to see their nation grow less dependent on Russia began protesting this decision in Kiev's Maidan Nezalezhnosti ("Independence Square"). Also on the same day, a Twitter hashtag began circulating on the internet: #EuroMaidan. The word became the title and rallying cry of the movement—social media was the needle that pulled the nationalist thread through the fabric of the nation. By early December, the number of Ukrainian nationalists protesting this decision rose to around 800,000 (BBC 2013). Yanukovich continued to cooperate with Putin, and the latter offered a \$15 billion debt buy out to Ukraine in early 2014. The protests continued, with growing violence between police and protestors. Over 50 of the nationalist protestors and a few police were killed, and around 234 protestors were imprisoned (although they were soon released) (BBC 2014). The protests began to spread across Western Ukraine.

Amid the growing discontent of his nation, and fearing for his life, President Yanukovich fled Ukraine to an unknown location on the night of February 22, 2014. By May 25th of the same year, a new president, Petro Poroshenko, with nationalist leanings and the support of the US, was elected by a narrow margin, in an election that was not held in a large portion of Eastern Ukraine.

In Eastern Ukraine, an opposite sentiment contributed to the crisis. For many in this region, Russia was a neighbor and a friend. They had friends and family on both sides of the border. In February and March of 2014, Putin gave his troops permission to use force in Eastern Ukraine to protect the native Russians from the Ukrainian forces (or at least that was the reason he gave). Putin pushed for the annexation of Crimea by Russia, arguing that it was of religious and cultural significance to Russia, and that many in the state were pro-Russian, and therefore required his protection. This decision was supposedly (according to Russia) backed by 97% of voters in the region, and so by the end of March, Crimea was Russian territory (BBC 2014). Unidentified soldiers, carrying weapons, began to roam the streets and guard

the airports of Crimea. These gunmen, who earned the nickname “little green men” because of their uniforms, became somewhat iconic: many Crimean citizens snapped tourist-like photos with the little green men (Yurchak 2014).

Throughout the rest of 2014, despite peace talks in Geneva and Minsk, unrest in Eastern Ukraine continued—and spread as far as Odessa, west of Crimea. Fires, snipers, and the attack and resulting crash of two airplanes resulted in hundreds of casualties and destruction of numerous structures. The Russians and Pro-Russian separatists against the Ukrainian soldiers, fought tirelessly, and many Ukrainians, caught in the crossfire, remained confused about who was responsible for each skirmish. Meanwhile in Kiev, the president had ordered the beginning of an anti-terrorist operation against pro-Russian fighters in Donbass, an eastern region containing the cities of Donetsk and Luhansk. The operation was largely unsuccessful, and the two cities declared their independence from Ukraine on May 11, 2014. Thus, the Donetsk People’s Republic (DPR) became, at least in its own eyes, an independent state.

If major cultural or political change is indeed reflected in language, the present study necessitates a thorough understanding of the cultural context described above. Articles from Russian and Ukrainian online news sources heralded the upheaval in dramatically different ways. These Russian and Ukrainian articles (specifically, from TASS.ru and Ukranews.com, respectively) collected as a corpus of over 20 million words provide the data for the present study. The focus of this investigation is narrowed to a single aspect of these texts to test for reflection of sociocultural change: that is, how portrayals of Ukraine and Russia as agents (entities that do some action) by TASS.ru and Ukranews.com change leading up to, during, and after the Euromaidan crisis, and how the changes in these portrayals vary across sources. This characterization is assessed through the verbs for which “Ukraine” and “Russia” serve as nominative agents. Based on observations of increasing disagreements between the two nations, I predict that Ukranews will portray “Ukraine” as increasing in its humanness and dynamicity during and after Maidan, and at the same time “Russia” as decreasing in both. Conversely, I predict that TASS will offer portrayals of “Russia” and “Ukraine” opposite to those given by Ukranews.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

This study pulls together a somewhat diverse array of linguistic theories and methods. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) frequently serves as the framework for analyzing agency (as it is defined in the present study). Relatedly, Critical Metaphor Theory (CMT) lends itself well to examining journalistic prose as a tool for discovering how one group conceptualizes

another. Other frameworks employed in this analysis are those of Functional and Systemic Functional Grammar. Methodologically, this study is shaped by quantitative corpus data. In what follows, I discuss how these types of linguistic study complement and check each other, providing useful building blocks for a thorough linguistic analysis.

Since the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, public discourse (i.e. signage, newspapers, radio broadcasts, etc.) in former Soviet Republics and other Eastern Europeans has become an increasingly common data source for discourse analysis (see Pavlenko 2009; Zabrodskaia 2014; Pikulicka-Wilczewska and Sakwa 2015). As these nations negotiate their changed relationship with each other, language becomes an important tool for establishing and asserting their new identities. Cisel (2004) explains how three Moldovan newspapers advocate different political positions—Pro-Romanian, Pro-Russian, or Pro-Moldovan—through their orthographic choices and the topics of their articles. Cisel finds that the newspapers attempt to define which national group Moldova, which has Romanian as its national language but was once a member of the Soviet Union, is a part of. Cisel writes, “Social identities and group memberships, whether at the familial, ethnic or national level are negotiated through discourse of inclusion and exclusion” (p. 23).

Sowinska and Dubrovskaya (2012) elaborate on these discourses of inclusion and exclusion in national identity construction by examining a corpus of Russian and Polish newspapers between 2008-2009. Like Cisel’s (2004) work, their article contrasts group identities established by each of the two national entities. Sowinska and Dubrovskaya use Referential and Predicational strategies (see Reisigl and Wodak 2001) to show how the social actors (Russia, Poland, and the US) are constructed (via referential strategies) and evaluated positively or negatively (via predicational strategies). Referential strategies allow construction of identities through deixis, metaphors, metonymy, etc., while predicational strategies evaluate these actors through various predicate phrase types. Furthermore, Sowinska and Dubrovskaya’s study, importantly, finds these group identities are dynamic, changing with political events.

Looking specifically towards the media’s portrayal of the relationship between Russia and Ukraine, Kulyk (2010) discusses what he terms identity construction through what he calls “Ukrainophone” and “Russophone” language ideologies. Kulyk explains that for a nation to be an entity among other nations it must have “its own” language. This meta-linguistic ideological demand is satisfied or repressed covertly through choices in the media. Kulyk (2010) writes, “An important aspect of a thus reproduced order is the ‘nationness’ of societies and the national organization of the world, that is, the existence of a community as a ‘nation among nations’” (p. 84). This

idea of “nationness” and “nation among nations” (Billig 1995) is important to the question at hand: For Russia and Ukraine to portray themselves and each other as dynamic entities requires both to exist as social actors in a community of nations. Just as Kulyk writes that these nation identities are constructed through media discourse, I will argue that Russia and Ukraine each implicitly portray themselves more dynamic social actors in relation to the other.

Furthermore, some authors have noted that nations commonly use metaphors in public discourse to display and create their relationships to another. Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), developed in Lakoff and Johnson (1980), explores metaphors that recur in everyday language and thought—that is, language that explains one abstract concept in terms of a more concrete one. In the realm of post-Soviet public discourse, A’Beckett (2012) has examined the metaphorical theme NATIONS ARE BROTHERS in Russian newspapers. A’Beckett adds to the dialogue on metaphor in discourse by asserting that the “family” or “brother” metaphor does not assume all are content or convinced of the relationship (cf. Lakoff 1996).

In line with Musolf (2004), A’Beckett argues that this metaphor of brotherhood can be “accepted, rejected, or twisted within the same discourse community” (p. 174). These metaphors may veer from the exemplar interpretation that the brothers (nations) are equals who share a common heritage. Others implications these metaphors might carry are a relationship of elder (Russia)/younger (other former USSR nations) brothers, big brother/little (immature) brother, brothers in arms, and lastly, brothers in intelligence (A’Beckett 2012). This last extension of the metaphor construes Ukraine and nations other than Russia as less than human, as this metaphor primarily refers to aliens (of the extraterrestrial sort) and other non-human creatures. Thus, personification does not construe all entities as equal in their “humanness.”

The portrayal of Russia and Ukraine as unequal brothers in the media has continued since Maidan. In October 2014, the journal *Cultural Anthropology* published a series of articles titled *Russia and Ukraine: The Agency of War*. Dickinson (2014) wrote an article for this series titled “Brother Nations or Brothers No More? Seeing asymmetry in post-Maidan Ukraine.” In this article, Dickinson describes Russia’s and Ukraine’s portrayal of each other. He writes,

“Russian images that instead emphasize Ukraine’s rejection of [the brothers] relationship often portrays Ukrainians as irresponsible youngsters or pigs who eventually realize the West will not pay their bills... When presented as humans, they may be aggressive men dressed in Ukrainian garb and assaulting Russian speakers or, less frequently, a promiscuous woman abandoning a stable heterosexual partnership with Russia” (Dickinson 2014, n.p.).

But since Maidan, Ukraine has begun to fight back in its portrayals of Russia: "In contrast, Ukrainian graphics about Russia... have tended to reference the metaphor of brotherhood as a failed or rejected family relationship" (Dickinson 2014, n.p.). Yurchak (2014) notes that the "brothers in intelligence" metaphor has been re-appropriated by the Ukrainians to describe the presumably pro-Russian but not officially identified uniformed forces in Crimea as "little green men" (i.e. extraterrestrial beings) who, though armed with machine guns, get their pictures taken with smiling tourists (see also Galeotti 2015).

The changes in the social positions of both nations is described in the same series of articles by Ries (2014), who discusses "the significance of this war for social relationships and social contracts, political self-images and constructions of country, sovereignty, and the sacred" (n.p.). Dickinson (2014) also argues that the deliberate differentiation between the positions of either nation has served to "limit the interchangeability of the terms 'Russian' and 'Ukrainian'" (n.p.). Adding to this statement, I hypothesize that the terms "Ukraine" and "Russia" in media discourse have become less interchangeable since the Euromaidan revolution.

Furthermore, the portrayal of nations as human actors does not only occur through attributive statements or overt metaphorical language. I propose instead that in every instance in which "Russia" and "Ukraine" appear in the nominative case as the agents or experiencers of some predicate their identities are being shaped and displayed. This follows from the work of Yamamoto (1999), who gives several examples from various news corpora of instances where geographical locations or institutions are given humanlike abilities in their verbal complements. Furthermore, Yamamoto places "local communities" quite near to the core "individual human beings" in a radial model he termed "The General Animacy Gradience Scale" (Yamamoto 1999).

The actor/agent role that I have begun to describe above is based on Halliday's (1985) Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG), revised by Halliday and Matheissen (2004, 2013). Halliday and Matheissen (2004) posit, "a clause has meaning as a representation of some process in ongoing human experience" (p. 59). And further, "The clause is also a mode of reflection, of imposing order on the endless variation and flow of events" (p. 170). Because of this focus on "the clause as representation," SFG lends itself well to analysis of reported information—i.e. a genre of varied representations of ongoing realities on a global scale.

Another key aspect of SFG particularly germane to this study is the intertwined nature of semantic roles within clauses. When nations are actors in the text, they can only be construed as such by the actions they perform. According to Halliday and Matheissen (2004), "The significance of any

functional label lies in its relationship to other functions with which it is structurally associated” (p. 60). Thus, entities are given identities by their predicates. In this framework, personification occurs when verbs (or processes, in Halliday’s terms) typically reserved for human actors are performed by non-human entities.

Halliday and Matheissen (2004) have classified processes according to their semantic values into six basic categories. In SFG, verbs are classified into verbal, mental, behavioral, material, existential, and relational processes. Verbal and mental processes require conscious agents and include verbs of speaking, thinking, and feeling. Behavioral processes require an animate actor, but not necessarily a human one. Entities that perform behavioral, mental, and verbal processes, purposefully effect change in their environment, and therefore, they are deemed agents (see Davidson 1971).

Looking towards the remainder of Halliday’s verbal processes, material processes are, like behavioral processes, verbs of “doing,” but can be accomplished by inanimate objects as well as animate beings. Existential and relational processes do not describe dynamic processes but simply how things are. These processes are described in the table below.

Table 1: Process types, based on Halliday and Matheissen (2004)

Process Type	Examples	Type of Agent
Verbal	Speaking, asserting, claiming	Sensing, conscious (human)
Mental	Thinking, understanding	Sensing, conscious (human)
Behavioral	Laughing, crying, working, acting	Behaving (human or animal)
Material	Making, doing to, taking, opening, closing	Affecting physical world (human, animal, and some inanimate objects)
Relational	to be like	Having an attribute or identity (human, animal, or inanimate object)
Existential	“there is...”, “there exists”	Simply existing (human, animal, concept, or inanimate object)

Importantly, Halliday and Matheissen note that the boundaries between the categories are not always clear. Thus, Halliday and Matheissen model them in a circular visualization and liken their model to the spectrum of visible light. They argue that “this is not an artifact of the way we describe the system; it is a fundamental principle on which the system is built” (Halliday and Matheissen 2004, p. 173). Thus the table above is better represented (as Halliday does) in a circle with overlapping categories. As an

example of this ambiguity, “data” can “indicate,” although data are not animate. I propose that this use of “data” is a type of metaphor and more specifically personification, since the verb “indicate” typically requires some sort of motion or language. Just as “data” is made human-like by its predicate, I predict that Russia and Ukraine will be assigned human-like qualities through the actions they are able to perform: Actors capable of verbal and mental processes are being personified by exhibiting qualities normally reserved for human actors. Yamamoto (1999) writes, “agency presupposes animacy” (p. 149). This, then, is how inanimate entities (like geographical areas) may be displayed in language as human: For, if agency assumes animacy, animacy may then be inferred through the intentionality of an agent’s act.

In a more detailed fashion, agents have been further classified by their “dynamicity” (see Dik 1989) or “dynamism” (see Hasan 1985) based on the actions they perform. I follow Ingold (2014) in combining themes of animacy and dynamicity. Designed to delineate “States of Affairs” (SoAs), Dik’s (1989) matrix model classifies processes based on a hierarchy of three characteristics: First, dynamicity (active vs. existential) splits states into situations and events. Control (of an agent) then splits situations into positions and states, and events into actions and processes. Finally, telicity further splits the categories of actions and processes (see Figure 1 below). Dik’s dynamicity and control are the two key concepts I use in this study to describe agents: If entities perform dynamic actions and participate in events, they are at least animate, and if an entity can control at least one of the actions it performs then it seems to possess a higher degree of agency.

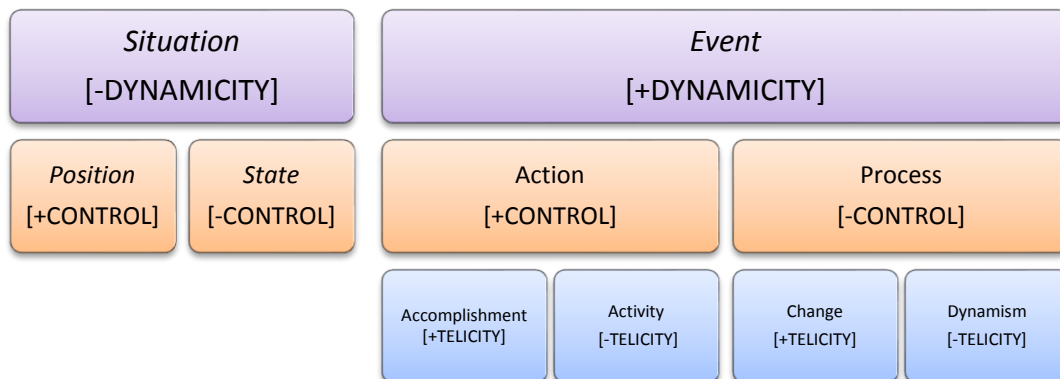


Figure 1: The first three levels of Dik's (1989) State of Affairs Matrix

Lastly, a few comments should be made on analyses of the 2013-2014 Maidan, or Euromaidan, from various disciplines beyond linguistics (e.g. political science, anthropology, and other social sciences). Because this event occurred so recently, it has become a popular topic in many articles in web-

based publications (see Kulyk 2014a, 2014b; Wanner 2014; Yurchak 2014; Lyubashenko 2014; Pikulicka-Wilczewska and Sakwa 2015). Much of this research comes from an ethnographic viewpoint or focuses on language policy.

Volodymyr Kulyk, a critical discourse analyst who has written extensively on language policy in Ukraine, has published two articles about language and Maidan. In the first article, Kulyk (2014b) discusses post-Maidan language policy in Ukraine. Kulyk notes that the EuroMaidan revolution did not (at first) attempt to raise the status of the Ukrainian language, since there were both Russian and Ukrainian speaking nationalists. "Better diverse than divided," wrote one Maidan supporter in Donetsk on the issue of granting Russian and Ukrainian equal status as state languages (Leonid Tsodikov, Facebook, March 3, 2014).

Even so, the revolution was not without effect on language planning and policy, and consequently, the language itself. After former President Yanukovich fled in early 2014, the Ukrainian parliament voted to overturn the 2012 policy, which had given Russian status as a regional language in the South and East of Ukraine, fearing a threat to the Ukrainian language. In June, the new nation's new president, Poroshenko, declared: "The only state language of Ukraine was, is, and will be Ukrainian" (June 25, 2014). However, to many native Russian speakers living in the southern and eastern regions of Ukraine—even those who were EuroMaidan supporters—speaking Ukrainian seemed unnecessary (Kulyk 2014b). Thus, due to the linguistic diversity of the EuroMaidan supporters, the war over language soon subsided, making way for territorial disputes and other conflicts seen as more relevant to the situation at hand.

While this is by no means a work on language policy, I have chosen to discuss it here because this debate over language law might indeed have perhaps subtle, but lasting changes on the structure and use of language (whether Russian or Ukrainian) in Ukraine and how it allows nations to be personified (or not), how this feature compares to the non-human agents described in Russia's Russian language, and how it changes over the course of the crisis. Additionally, the question of language policy is directly tied to a nation's portrayal of itself as a living organism—specifically, a human one. In a 2010 article, Kulyk writes:

"[Identification with a nation] stresses the role/value of language as an important marker of group identity, first and foremost a national one, and presupposes/prescribes a one-to-one relationship between nations and "their" (eponymous) language" (2010, p. 83).

Just as individual human beings have their own unique linguistic repertoires and voices, if nations are to be made fully animate, they too must each have their own voice.

3 METHODS

This study uses quantitative corpus analysis to look at discursive strategies (i.e. agency, conceptual metaphors) typically explored through qualitative methods in relatively small samples of text (cf. Fairclough 2003, A'Beckett 2012, Santa Ana 1999). On the other hand quantitative, corpus linguistic analyses using various paradigms of Functional Grammar have been done with increasing frequency over the last few decades (see Butler (2004) for review).

3.1 DATA SOURCES

As mentioned above the data for this corpus comes from TASS.ru and Ukranews.com. These two sources were selected primarily because they were easily accessible for data collection and because they were similar enough in the style and length of their articles. Both sources come from decidedly nationalistic viewpoints. TASS, now ITAR-TASS, is the largest news agency in Russia and one of the four largest news agencies in the world (Krasnoboka n.d.). Although it is published in six languages, only Russian texts from the site are part of the data for the present study. On the Ukrainian side, Ukranews.com, the web version of Ukrainski Novyny (Ukrainian News), is not explicitly tied to the Ukrainian government, but is owned by a former member of parliament, Valeriy Khoroshkovsky, who was also a head of the Security Service of Ukraine and the minister of finance (Rozvadovskyy n.d.). Its authorship features a wide array of voices, and it primarily serves as a collection hub for various news items. Although the title is printed exclusively in Ukrainian in the logo, Ukrainski Novyny is published mostly in Russian, with a small portion of its articles translated into Ukrainian. At first glance, this may appear anti-Ukrainian, but it may instead simply reflect a desire to reach a more global audience. This is another characteristic my two data sources share: both are trying to be the voice of their nation to the world. Conveniently for my analysis, they share a common language, and this places them in dialogue with one another.

The fact that the two sources seem to occupy a similar niche in their respective nations' media is important to the theoretical framework I have made use of in my analysis. Functional grammar, specifically Halliday and Matheissen's Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG), is built on how language functions in social context. Butler (2004) writes, "SFG is also very much concerned with the relationships between texts and the contexts in which they are produced and understood, and is the only functional theory to have built in a specific model of social context" (p. 164). Therefore, that the two data sources have a similar purpose in their community of origin is integral to their comparison in this framework.

Furthermore, this idea of similarity in function is also attended to in general methods of corpus construction. For, as Sinclair (2004) asserts, "The contents of a corpus should be selected without regard for the language they contain, but according to their communicative function in the community in which they arise" (n.p.). These two datasets fit Sinclair's criteria.

I should note that a counterargument to my choice of the national news sources comes from Kulyk (2014a), who is both a linguist and a Ukrainian participant in the Maidan protests. Kulyk explains, "the main medium I and many other Ukrainians relied on was not any newspaper, television channel or even website but Facebook... which was a distinctive feature of Euromaidan" (2014, p. 181). Another study on discourse surrounding Maidan was conducted by Lyubashenko (2014), who wrote:

"The first calls to conduct a demonstration appeared in social media, particularly on Facebook. The specificity of the Ukrainian segment of this social networking site is that it is used by a number of popular opinion-makers as a sort of blogging and community-building platform. The message spread quickly and the reaction was immediate" (2014, p. 3).

I have chosen, however, to ignore these social media sources for a few reasons: For one, the style of social media writing varies wildly from user to user and post to post. Furthermore, a vast majority of the posts are quotes from articles, and therefore the language overlaps inconsistently with that found in TASS and Ukrainsky Novyny. Secondly, because most of these social media pages did not come into existence until after Maidan, diachronic comparisons involving months before Maidan are not possible. Finally, I am attempting to discover how each national government personifies the other nation and itself. Therefore, national newspapers, written or sanctioned by the government of either nation, function as ideal primary sources. Social media puts no limits on who can post on a given page, and the author of a particular post could therefore be culturally and geographically far removed from the Maidan crisis.

3.2 DATA COLLECTION

The first part of the statement by Sinclair (2004), that the "contents of a corpus should be selected without regard for the language they contain," also came into consideration with the construction of the two subcorpora. Rather than select texts from either source about Russia or about Ukraine, I used a script based on the open source web-scraping program Wget (Scrivano 2016) for scraping entire websites. Thus, all of the measurements below are taken from samples of all text from a given source, to the extent that the automated program was able to collect the pages accurately. Whether or not the script actually completed the collection of all texts in each

source is not so important as long as a significant amount of text was successfully collected. Rather, the point is that researcher bias was not a variable in the selection of the samples.

I saved the news articles included in this analysis, once retrieved, as HTML files. Then, I ran a script making use of Ack (Lester 2014), an open source wrapper for Perl, with a regular expression to keep only the lines in each file that contained the title of the main article, the date the article was posted, the subtitle, or the main text of the article by searching for relevant HTML tags. Once the relevant text had been extracted from the article, I removed the remaining HTML tags.

The HTML search placed all files in each directory into a single plain text file, with a blank line between the text from each of the original files. Using a grep find and replace search with the text editor Text Wrangler (Barebones Software 2016), I removed all line breaks within each article with by searching for (?<!\n)\n and replacing with nothing. The negative look-behind in this search, (?<!\n), allowed a line break to remain only between articles, where there had been two adjacent line breaks.

I then used another Ack process to find all the articles from a given month from each source. With each article on its own line, I searched for lines that contained the pattern for each month of 2013-2015. All articles from each month were placed in a single file. Sorting the data by month was integral as it allowed me to track changes in the portrayals of Ukraine and Russia over the course of the Maidan crisis. The monthly word counts for each subcorpus are reported in the tables below.

Table 2: Word count for the TASS.ru corpus by month and year. Total words = 15,567,305.

Month	2013	2014	2015
Jan	14,165	303,464	350,459
Feb	26,697	475,108	480,610
Mar	56,374	442,303	562,878
Apr	13,156	258,679	621,705
May	34,349	403,005	577,237
Jun	38,853	404,018	852,464
Jul	86,981	419,328	722,191
Aug	80,036	476,319	670,553
Sep	130,151	537,277	950,425
Oct	226,393	478,063	987,876
Nov	250,274	434,625	1,062,810
Dec	366,776	561,965	1,209,738
Total	1,324,205	5,194,154	9,048,946

Table 3: Word count for the Ukraneews.com corpus by month and year. Total words = 4,437,137.

Month	2013	2014	2015
Jan	143,262	141,010	36,052
Feb	146,768	188,637	43,231
Mar	145,533	170,053	47,550
Apr	170,660	185,574	41,053
May	167,811	203,219	38,141
Jun	144,702	236,897	39,182
Jul	196,333	297,462	47,724
Aug	145,943	246,536	36,578
Sep	158,444	220,107	48,440
Oct	178,642	52,835	52,114
Nov	122,329	41,909	55,384
Dec	140,176	46,798	60,048
Total	1,860,603	2,031,037	545,497

The word count for the Ukraneews corpus is a little less than one-third that of the TASS.ru corpus. This is expected due to the much larger population of Russia—that is, more regions and ethnic groups will require more reporters, who will write more articles and so on. However, the unequal

sizes of the two subcorpora is not a problem in my analysis, since data from the two sources are never directly compared numerically, but instead, I examine the differences between the two agents within a given time period and source. Furthermore, the overarching patterns shown by each agent and each source are discussed qualitatively, not in terms of comparison of raw numbers. Finally, the word counts of each corpus change in opposite patterns over the course of the three years: TASS's monthly word counts increase while Ukraneews's word counts decrease. After searching for a common word (a 3rd person singular pronoun) on each website, I found this not to be an error with the scraping method, but reflective of the total information available on either site.

The per-month files were tagged with the part-of-speech (POS) tagger, TreeTagger, developed by Schmit (1995) using the Russian parameter file and tagset for the program developed by Sharoff (2012). This program lemmatizes the text and places each word token, its POS tag, and lemma on a separate line. For the purpose of finding predicates of Russia and Ukraine, I placed each clause on a separate line, maintaining a separation between each "token, tag, lemma" string, by using Text Wrangler to replace line breaks (\n) with pipe (|) which occurred nowhere else in the files. I then replaced punctuation marks (period, question mark, exclamation mark, comma, semicolon, colon, and quotation marks) with a new line break. This set was hand-checked on a small sample (one of the month files) to ensure that it was breaking the text mostly by clause. With the exception of comma (,) (in the case of lists of nation names) this list was accurate. The inclusion of quotation marks in the list of punctuation line breaks automatically eliminates any instances of nominative "Россия" ("Russia") or "Украина" ("Ukraine") that are part of political party names (e.g. "Единая Россия"- *United Russia*), television channels, other news platforms, or the location stamp for each article from my set for analysis. These terms are usually placed in quotation marks, while any predicate they may take will appear outside of the quotation marks, and therefore, not on the same line as the nominative token. This ensures that I am not merely counting instances of the character string Россия or Украина, which could be part of a noun-noun compound indicating some other entity. This is important as I am searching not simply for two words, but for Россия and Украина as symbols representing entities defined by their predicates.

Once each line contained a separate clause, I extracted all lines that contained the nominative "Russia" or "Ukraine" and any verb. Since verbs were tagged, wildcards could be used in a regular expression (specifically, "V.*?", encompassing tags for infinitives, third person singular past and present, etc.) to find all verbs.

Finally, after completing the searches, I discovered that since some months (e.g. January of each year) have significantly fewer articles published relative to other months. Grouping by quarter made the sample sizes large enough for statistical analysis, and generally more even for each temporal unit of the dataset. The first two quarters of the TASS corpus, however, were excluded from analysis since their sample sizes for Украина were still extremely small (0 and 2, respectively).

Table 4: Nominative tokens by Quarter and Agent in TASS

Quarter	Украина	Россия
1 (Jan – Mar 2013)	0	38
2 (Apr – Jun 2013)	2	48
3 (Jul – Sep 2013)	58	108
4 (Oct – Dec 2013)	213	461
5 (Jan – Mar 2014)	216	760
6 (Apr – Jun 2014)	207	478
7 (Jul – Sep 2014)	341	880
8 (Oct – Dec 2014)	205	834
9 (Jan – Mar 2015)	208	749
10 (Apr – Jun 2015)	314	1397
11 (Jul – Sep 2015)	451	1309
12 (Oct – Dec 2015)	535	2028
Total	2215	9090

Table 5: Nominative tokens by Quarter and Agent in Ukraneews

Quarter	Украина	Россия
1 (Jan – Mar 2013)	170	51
2 (Apr – Jun 2013)	213	49
3 (Jul – Sep 2013)	240	100
4 (Oct – Dec 2013)	228	83
5 (Jan – Mar 2014)	214	174
6 (Apr – Jun 2014)	308	325
7 (Jul – Sep 2014)	382	457
8 (Oct – Dec 2014)	114	92
9 (Jan – Mar 2015)	94	76
10 (Apr – Jun 2015)	91	74
11 (Jul – Sep 2015)	125	110
12 (Oct – Dec 2015)	189	133
Total	2368	1724

I analyzed the nominative noun/verb pairs with the concordancing software AntConc (Anthony 2014) by using each relevant verbal tag (i.e. those to denote infinitives, third person singular, and third person feminine past) as a search term. The target collocate then became the word one place to the right of the verb tag (that is, the verb's lemma). These lemmas were placed into spreadsheets by quarter, agent, and source and analyzed according to the procedures described below.

3.3 ANALYSIS

3.3.1 THE NOMINATIVE RATIO

The number of nominative tokens of "Russia" and "Ukraine" varies drastically by source and quarter, and this is due in part to the overall contents of the websites. But to better understand this variation and whether or not it was pertinent to Russia and Ukraine's agency, I examined these nominative frequencies relative to all instances of "Russia" or "Ukraine" (regardless of case) for each time period and source. That is, the number of nominatives in the tables below could be a function of the way sources represent the two different entities or simply of the total number of times each entity is mentioned in the corpus. To determine which of these analyses was correct, I used a ratio of nominative forms of each noun to all of its forms during each time period for each source:

$$\text{Nominative Ratio} = \frac{\text{Total nominative tokens}}{\text{Total tokens (all cases)}}$$

Importantly, as mentioned above, these nominative tokens did not include those that were part of the names of other entities (i.e. political parties) or copyright information for the news source.

3.3.2 THE DYNAMIC AGENCY SCALE

After calculating the nominative ratios for each quarter, I quantified portions of the theories put forth by Halliday and Matheissen (2004) and Dik (1989) to compare the agency of "Russia" and "Ukraine". I assigned predicates of "Russia" and "Ukraine" one of nine values in a model I have termed the "Dynamic Agency Scale" (hereafter, DAS). This term is designed to reflect the two parts of this measurement, which is calculated as described below.

The first part of the DAS employs Halliday's (2004) categories of processes, explained in the literature review above. This "Consciousness

Value,” as I have termed it, measures the humanness of a given entity in terms of intent behind an action or the mental capabilities that it requires. The higher the consciousness value, the more human-like or intelligent an entity is. Each predicate receives one of four values:

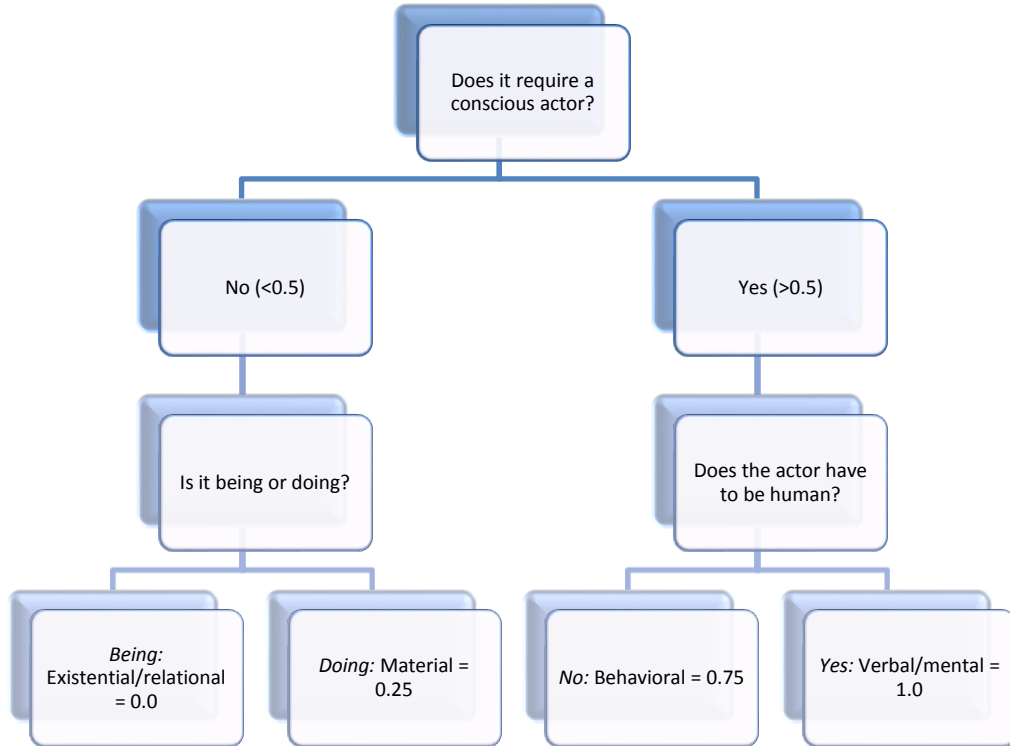


Figure 2: Decision tree for assigning consciousness values

Note that 0.5 is “skipped” in this model. This is intentional: this scale is designed to show the difference between conscious actors and subjects of a clause that could be inanimate. Therefore, this dividing line is reinforced with the numerical values, and the scale is built somewhat like a decision tree, rather than a simple line. The first level division is an answer to the question, “Does the actor have to be animate?” If the answer is “yes,” then the value must be greater than 0.5; if the answer is “no,” then the value must be less than 0.5. The next level for the predicates with inanimate subjects answers the question, “Does the predicate involve doing something in space and time, or is it merely describing a static attribute of the subject?” If the predicate does involve *doing* something, then it receives the score 0.25; if not, then it receives the score 0. For the predicates that require animate subjects, the second question is “Does the actor have to be human?” If yes, then the predicate receives the highest value on the scale (1). If no, then the predicate receives a 0.75. In this manner, there are equal divisions at both levels of the decision tree.

The second part of the DAS, which I will term the "Dynamicity Value" is based on Dik's (1989) State of Affairs matrix, described in the literature review above. This model focuses on the "power" a given agent possesses as demonstrated by the predicates it is capable of performing. The humanness or consciousness of an actor is backgrounded, while its ability to effect change in the physical world, to do something to another entity, is the guiding organizational principle of Dik's matrix. So in this case, the question that splits the scale in half is, "Does the action have some effect in the physical or social world in space or time?" The second level question, splitting both halves into quarters, is, "Is the subject of this predicate controlling this predicate?" As with the Consciousness Value described above, each predicate receives one of the following Dynamicity Values:

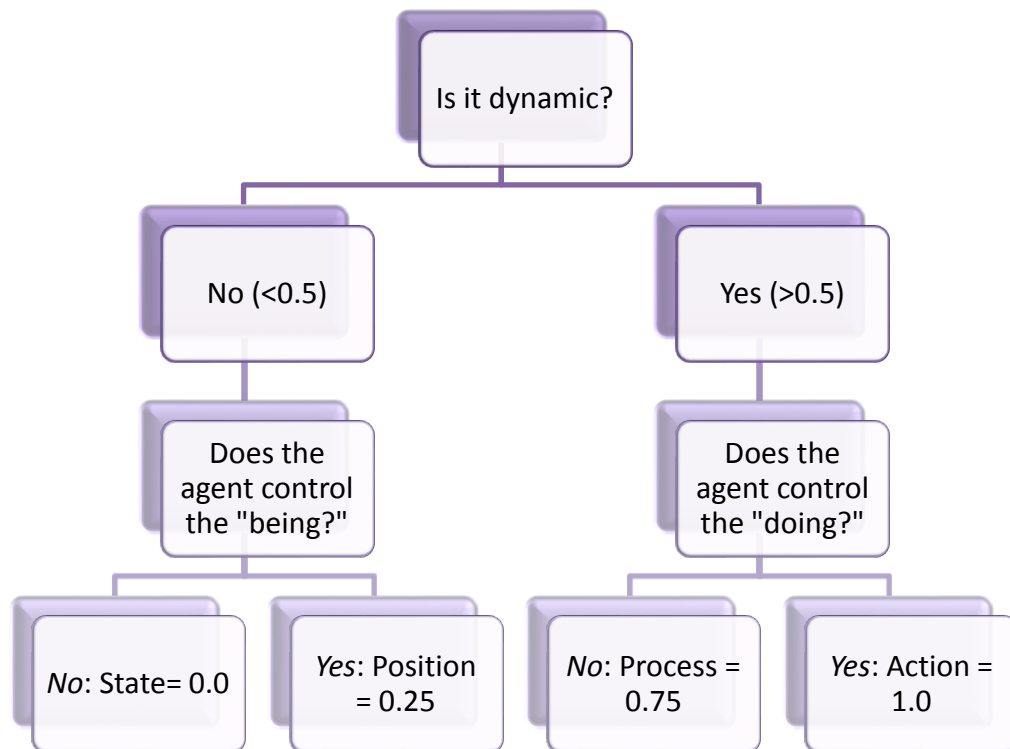


Figure 3: Decision tree for assigning dynamicity values

Next, the consciousness and dynamicity values were summed together to determine how dynamicity and consciousness function together to predict the degree to which a non-human entity (in this case, "Russia" or "Ukraine") is given agency in the text. The value for each predicate is then weighted according to its token frequency within the distribution of predicates of "Russia" or "Ukraine" for a given quarter.

This model complements Halliday and Matheissen's. For example, words like "to buy" classified as "material" in Halliday and Matheissen's model seem like they should receive a higher agency score overall, since

they are accomplished only in human society. These scores are balanced by Dik's model: in which they receive a high score for being both under the control of the agent, and having an observable effect in society. On the other hand, a static predicate which the agent does not control, "to know" for example, is in the lowest position on Dik's scale. This score, however, is balanced by Halliday and Matheissen's model, which would give the predicate a high value (in my quantitative scale) as a "mental" process. This is not to say that the scales "cancel out" one another. Indeed, as will be made clear in the results section, the two scales do show a measure of correlation with each other. Even so, having the two measures that prioritize two different aspects of agency better represents the diversity and nuance expressed in a language's predicates.

A depiction of how the scales work together, along with a common Russian exemplar for each category, is shown in the plot below. English translations of the verbs are given in the table that follows. Both the plot and the table include imperfective and perfective forms of each verb, respectively. These inflected forms (and all other imperfective/perfective pairs) were treated as single types in the data, since tense and aspect typically do not affect the scores or core semantic content at this level of analysis.

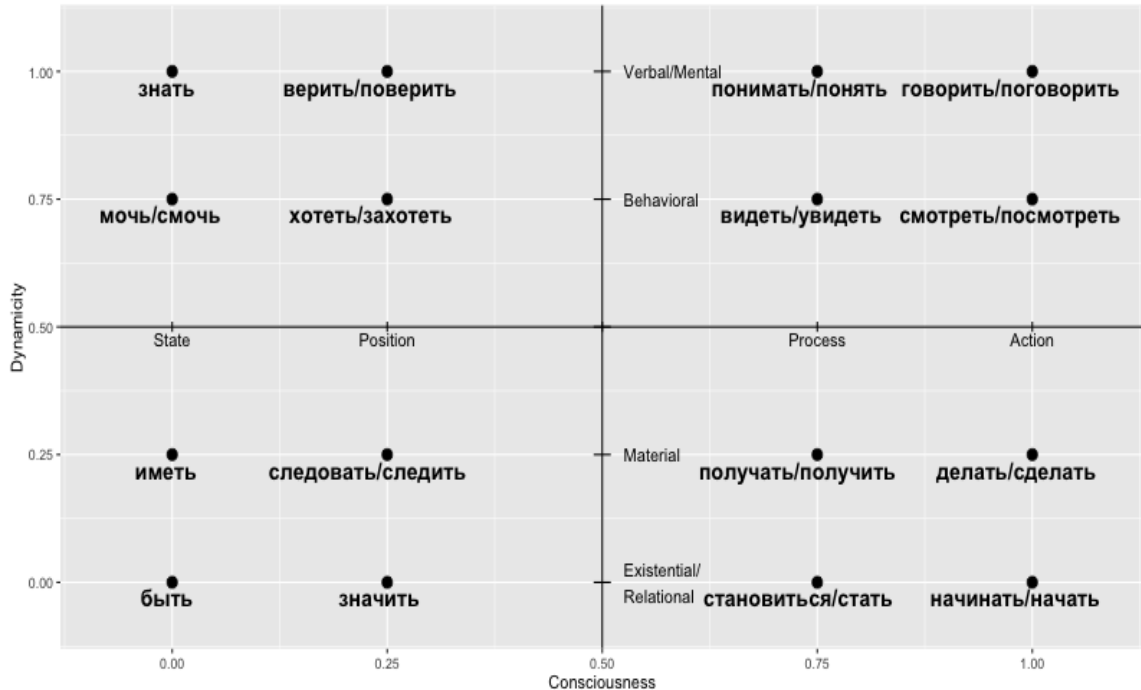


Figure 4: Common exemplars for each category of the combined model

Table 6: English translations of exemplars in Figure 4

Score (x, y)	Russian word	English translation
0,1	знать	know
0.25, 1	верить/поверить	Believe
0.75, 1	понимать/понять	Understand
1,1	говорить/поговорить	Speak
0, 0.75	мочь, смочь	Be able to
0.25, 0.75	хотеть/захотеть	Want
0.75, 0.75	видеть/увидеть	See
1, 0.75	смотреть/посмотреть	Watch
0, 0.25	иметь	Have
0.25, 0.25	следовать/следить	Follow
0.75, 0.25	получать/получить	Get, find
1, 0.25	делать/сделать	Do
0, 0	быть	Be
0.25, 0	значить	Mean
0.75, 0	становиться/стать	Become
1, 0	начинать/начать	begin

Importantly, once a score is given to a lexical item, that same score is applied to all other instances of the item retrieved from the corpus. This was accomplished on the list of all predicates through a Microsoft Excel function that matched the value in the list to a sheet containing all previously coded verbs. The list was constructed as I moved through the files sorted by month, agent, and source, so the process became more automated as more files were coded.

3.3.3 PREDICATE COMPARISONS

A problem with my methodology thus far, which it shares with several other critical metaphor studies, is that it relies heavily on the researcher's own judgments. In answer to this dilemma, I have added a new layer to my study that allows testing of my own judgments against the rest of the corpus. The analysis I report below is only a small test of this new method on a very small subset of my data. The hope is that this methodology will prove useful for future studies after being demonstrated on a small scale here.

This test of my coding required comparison of the DAS scores to nouns that showed distributions of predicates similar to those of "Russia" and "Ukraine." The top five predicates per agent per year were selected using the `dplyr` (Wickham and Francois 2015) and `tidyr` (Wickham 2016) packages in R (R Core Team 2015). Using regular expression, I found the nominative

subjects of each of these verbs. Then, I selected the 25 most common collocates for each verb in each year and source combination. These collocates were evaluated qualitatively for their relationship to the predicate to determine, by comparison, how Russia and Ukraine were functioning in the lexicon.

This, then, minimizes the need for the researcher to make subjective judgments on the metaphors being used. If I hypothesize, for example, that Russia will be portrayed as increasingly human during and after Maidan, then I either need to base my judgments of humanness on my own understanding of how humans are portrayed (in Russian, of which I am not a native speaker), or I should find what other entities in the text show similar distributions of abilities. If Russia and a given human being have similar distributions of verbal predicates, then I may posit that Russia is being personified in the same way as that human being. Furthermore, this step functions as a check for the accuracy and validity of Dik's and Halliday's models and the quantification methods I have applied to them. This allows for not merely a corpus-based study, but a corpus-driven one, in the sense that I can use the data to question the theories of SFG, FG, and Critical Discourse Analysis, rather than merely allowing those theories to be the lens through which I analyze the data. As Tognini-Bonelli (2001) writes, "The corpus...is seen as more than a repository of examples to back pre-existing theories or a probabilistic extension to an already well defined system." This sort of analysis is, admittedly, rare and somewhat outside of the scope of Critical Discourse Analysis and Critical Metaphor theories, both of which recognize and accept subjectivity of any analysis, but my goal is to create a reusable quantitative tool for discourse analysis, built on the analytical categories of those theories but that can be feasibly applied to the large datasets available today.

4 RESULTS

Within each source, "Ukraine" and "Russia" behaved differently at key time points, this variation following the pattern of the crises the two nations experienced. During the quarters of major conflict between the two nations, they showed significant differences in both the nominative ratios and their dynamic agency scores.

4.1 The NOMINATIVE RATIO

The distribution of grammatical cases for the words "Russia" and "Ukraine" differed significantly within each source, particularly during the months of the crisis. The results of the search in both subcorpora are shown in the plots below, along with the significance results from the Pearson's chi-

square tests performed with R (R Core Team 2016) on each two-by-two grid of "Russia" and "Ukraine" and their case categories (nominative, all cases). The values in the plot are ratios of nominative to all inflectional forms of the noun.

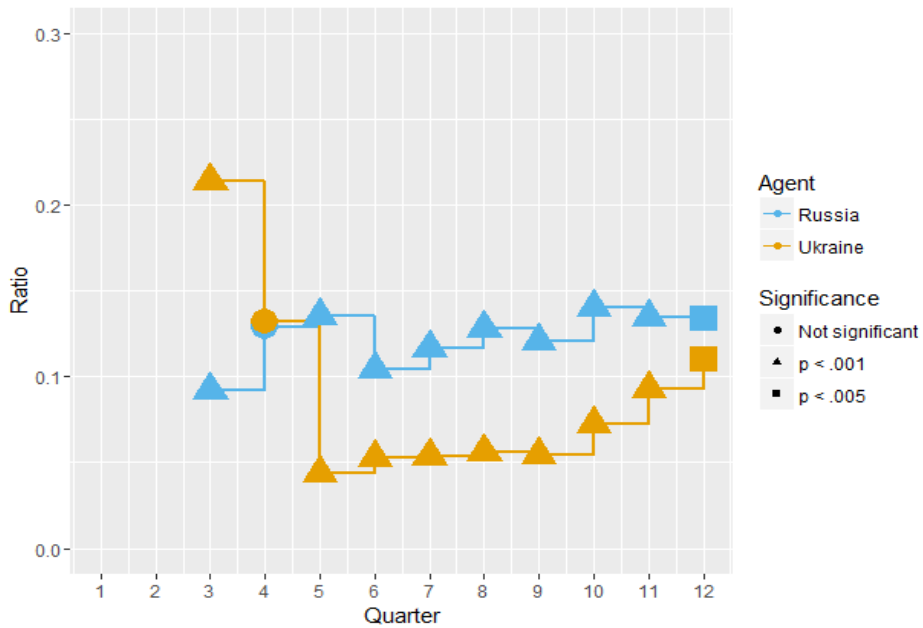


Figure 5: The Nominative Ratio for both agents in TASS

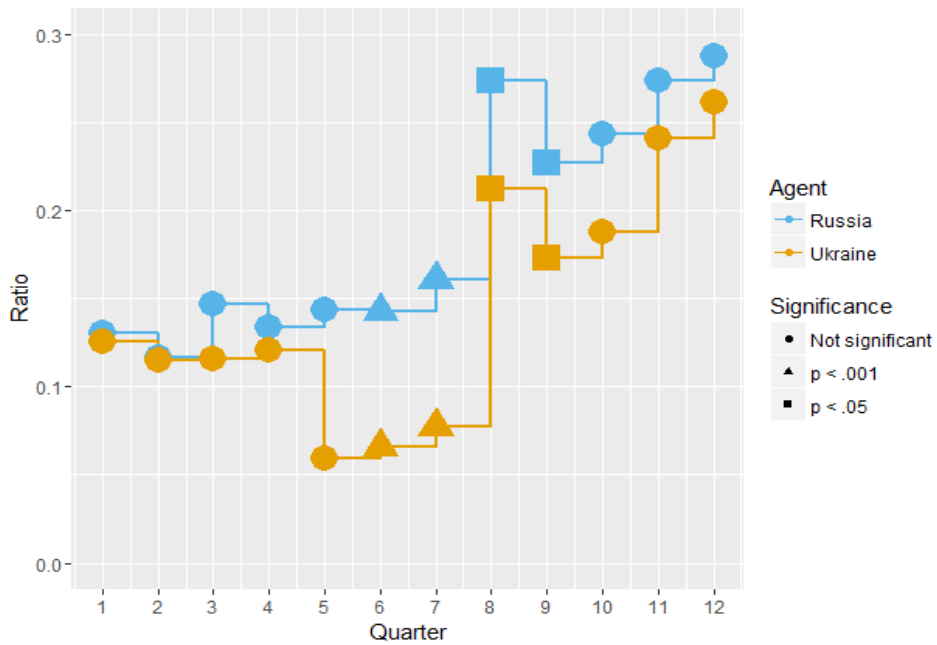


Figure 6: The Nominative Ratio for both agents in UkraneWS

For the Ukranews corpus, the observation should be made that Russia appears as a subject more often than Ukraine does in every quarter (although some of these differences were not statistically significant). Except in the fourth and fifth quarters, those that spanned the months of the protests in Kiev, Ukraine and Russia's nominative ratio pattern in much the same way. One explanation of this pattern is that Ukranews is speaking of Russia as the more powerful "elder brother" and sees itself as being the patient, beneficiary, or experiencer of the actions of other agents.

Another, perhaps less politically influenced explanation of this can be found in the ideas of familiarity and generalization. As we move further away from the familiar in physical space or other dimensions, our language embodies fewer distinctions. For example, to many Americans, Africa is simply "Africa," rather than a large continent made up of many diverse nations (for example and explanation see Killworth and Bernard, 1982). Ukranews might be speaking of the familiar with finer distinctions: Rather than using "Ukraine" as the doer of some action, Ukranews may speak of "Kiev" or "the Poltava region" doing something, while Russia is identified with less specificity. Yet this hypothesis does not seem to reflect the collocates of the most common predicates to test the models, which only show two regions of Ukraine (Kiev and Crimea, as it was part of Ukraine at the time) using the predicates common to Russia and Ukraine. No region of Russia ever occurs among these collocates, but I should note that in the TASS corpus, as in the Ukranews corpus, Russia consistently shows a higher nominative ratio. To assume, therefore, that Russia is always treated as more powerful or human-like than Ukraine may indeed prove reasonable, based on the current data and the trends shown by both sources.

Returning to the deviations from the general pattern, in the fifth quarter, a drastic drop in Ukraine's nominative ratio occurs—hinting that it may be portrayed more often as an object rather than the performer of some action. The strongest divergence of the two ratios occurs in the sixth and seventh quarters, during Russia's occupation of Crimea.

A final observation should be made about the use of the nominative in the Ukranews subcorpus: in general, the nominative ratios consistently rise over the 12 quarters. The reason for this pattern is unclear without more qualitative analysis, except that the TASS subcorpus shows no such pattern, and this drift of treating nations as the active subjects of verbs may be a sign that Ukraine is increasingly involved in international, rather than local or regional, politics as it became increasingly visible beyond its own borders during the crisis and begins to use national names more often. On the other hand, the nominative ratio in Ukranews grows higher than it ever does in TASS: this could be a sign of increased regional variation in language—that is, further distinction between how Ukrainians use Russian and how Russians

use Russian. Perhaps it is true that through a combination of identity construction and language contact phenomena, Ukrainian Russian is charting its own course for how it treats nations as “doers”.

The TASS corpus shows a different pattern. In general, much wider gaps exist between the two ratios in the TASS subcorpus relative to the Ukranews one: Ukraine usually has a much lower nominative ratio than Russia in the TASS subcorpus, except for during the months leading up to the protests. In the fifth quarter, during the protests, Ukraine's nominative ratio drops significantly, but in the following quarter, the roles reverse, and Russia drops while Ukraine rises. This is the common pattern between the two sources: after each wave of crisis, the “other” in each source exhibits a higher nominative ratio. One explanation may be that the two nations are playing a sort of “blame game” each casting the responsibility of the violent, destructive crises on the other nation. This interpretation of large amounts of quantitative data would, of course, require validation from a qualitative examination of the texts, which would again be a topic for further study.

4.2 *DYNAMIC AGENCY SCALE*

4.2.1 THE MODEL

As mentioned above, the two models, when put together, give a balanced measure of humanness. Being a human agent does not only entail have the mental capabilities found in Halliday and Matheissen's model, but also being able to affect the physical world and “make a mark” in time and space. The two sets of scores are, in general, directly proportional to each other. On the dynamicity scale, “actions”—which are both dynamic and controlled by the agent—receive the highest score. This score very seldom aligns with the lowest score on the consciousness scale modeled after Halliday. Similarly, verbal/mental processes are rarely given the lowest score on the dynamicity scale, which would denote a “state,” neither dynamic nor controlled by the agent. Thus, to receive a score of 2 is much more common than to receive a score of 1 (comprised of 1 and 0). This relationship is portrayed in the plot below.

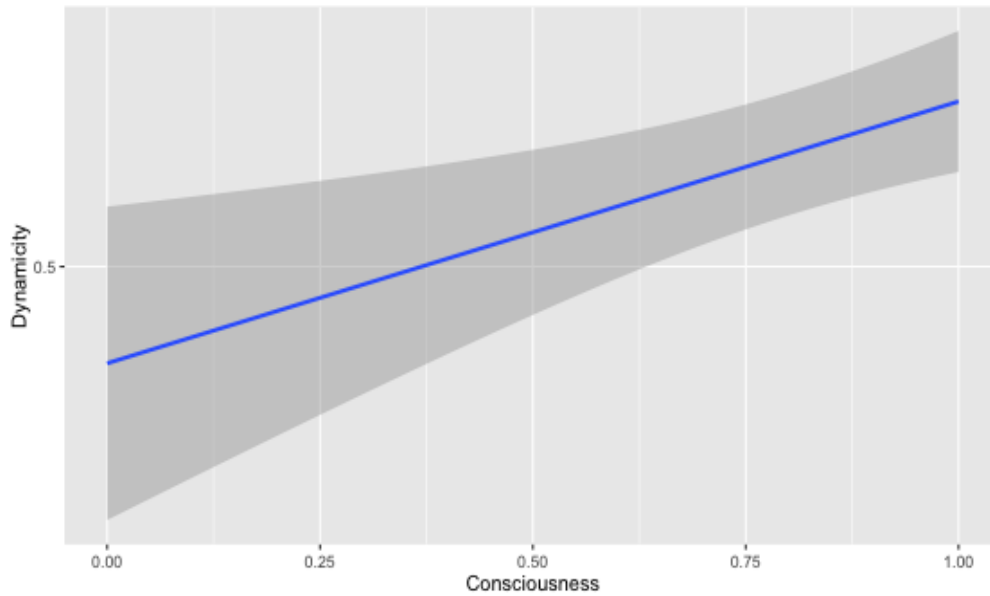


Figure 7: Relationship between Halliday and Matheissen's (2004) model and Dik's (1989) States of Affairs matrix according to type count in both subcorpora

However, even while this correlation exists, a more detailed look at the distribution shows a more nuanced relationship between the two scales. This variation is explored in the dot plots below, where size represents the frequency of a given combination of values. At the higher end of the y-axis, control seems to be the most important feature on the dynamicity scale: that is, verbal/mental processes are most often both controlled and dynamic, but are more often controlled and not dynamic than dynamic and not controlled. At the lower end of the consciousness scale (y-axis), the opposite is true: Existential/relational processes prefer to be neither controlled nor dynamic, but are more often not controlled and dynamic than controlled and not dynamic. In contrast, both material and behavioral processes show a preference for being both controlled and dynamic, yet the latter seems to be more important, given that most of the material and behavioral verbs fall to the right of the y-axis (and therefore are dynamic).

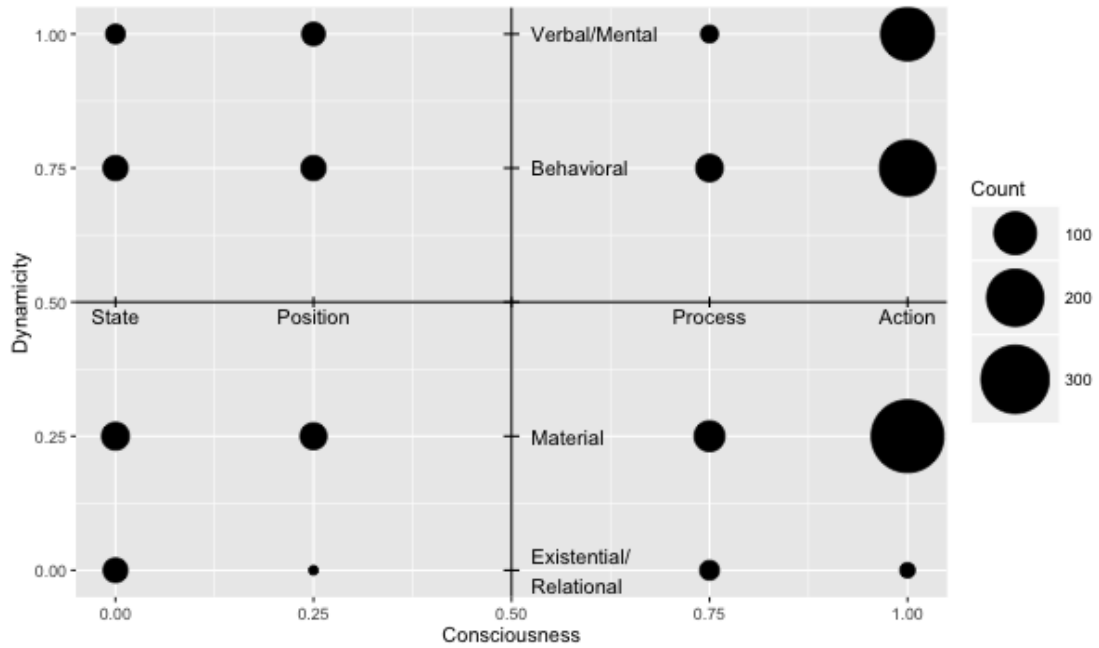


Figure 8: Distribution of types in both subcorpora

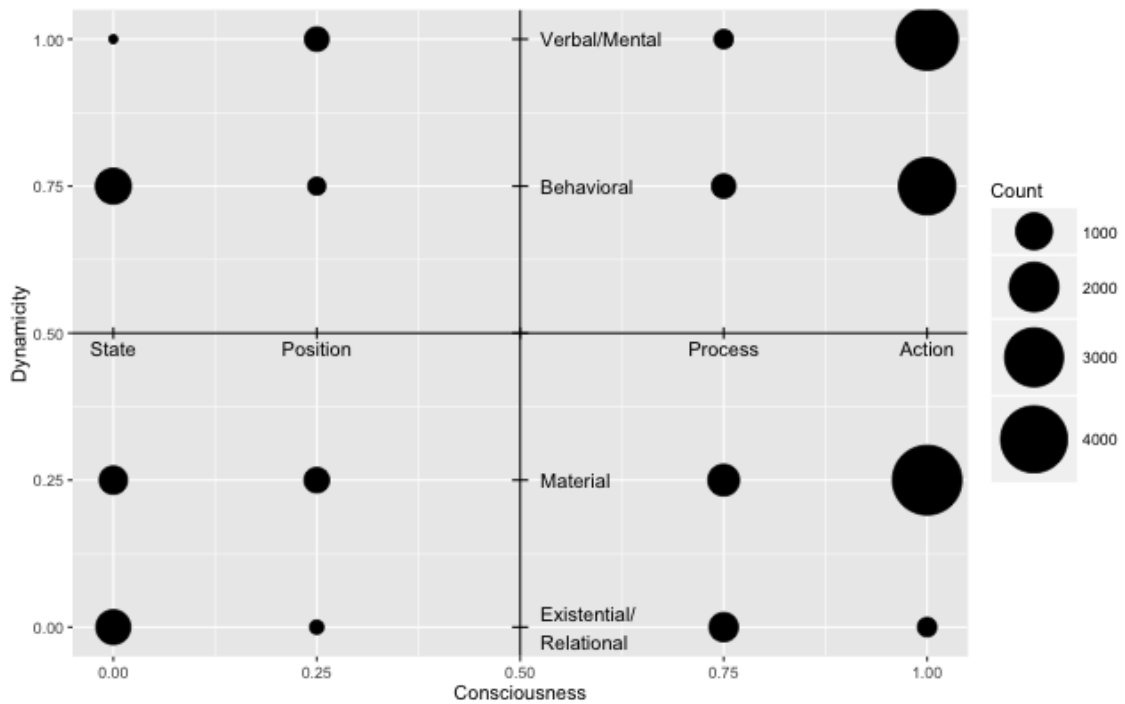


Figure 9: Distribution of tokens in both subcorpora

The general patterns described above are true of both types and tokens, but a few differences between the two sets do exist. Verbs assigned

at least one “0” (that is, states, or existential/relational verbs) have a very low type to token ratio. This is unsurprising, for once verbs become more nuanced, they tend to move towards one of the more active categories for the appropriate type of agent. On the other hand, verbs assigned to the “action” group on the dynamicity scale have a very high type to token ratio.

In this model, the consciousness scale seems to override the dynamicity scale: The low type to token ratio is not true of the category in the upper left of the graph above (verbs classified as verbal/mental; state). Thus, there is a greater diversity of types in this category, as there are with other verbal/mental categories. Similarly, the high type to token ratio is not true of action verbs classified existential/relational. Existential/relational verbs show preference for low type-token ratio, and that holds true even when the predicate in question is both controlled by the agent and dynamic. When the dynamicity and consciousness patterns conflict, the consciousness pattern overrides any pattern on the dynamicity scale.

4.2.2 APPLICATION TO THE DATA

Significance levels that will be referenced throughout this section and presented in the table below are determined through Pearson’s chi-square tests computed in R (R Core Team 2016), as above.

Table 7: Results of Chi-square tests for Distribution of DAS scores by source and quarter (*) indicates $p < .0001$, ** indicates $p < .005$, * indicates $p < .05$)**

<i>Quarter</i>	TASS		Ukraneews	
	<i>X-square</i>	<i>p-value</i>	<i>X-square</i>	<i>p-value</i>
1	NA	NA	7.2883	0.3995
2	NA	NA	9.685	0.2878
3	13.64	0.03393*	42.189	1.248e-06***
4	22.574	0.003957**	9.8307	0.2771
5	12.58	0.1271	15.799	0.04534*
6	25.316	0.001374**	17.166	0.02842*
7	32.956	6.272e-05***	31.791	0.0001015***
8	127.46	2.2e-16***	6.7891	0.3408
9	17.612	0.02433*	6.4077	0.493
10	55.222	3.997e-09***	8.039	0.3292
11	41.302	1.831e-06***	14.398	0.04454*
12	31.545	0.0001123***	12.633	0.1251

The tile plots below give an overall picture of the changes that occurred over categories and over time in the TASS subcorpus. Although significance levels were computed on raw numbers, each tile in the plot

below represents the percentage of tokens in that DAS category per quarter for more readily interpretable visualizations.

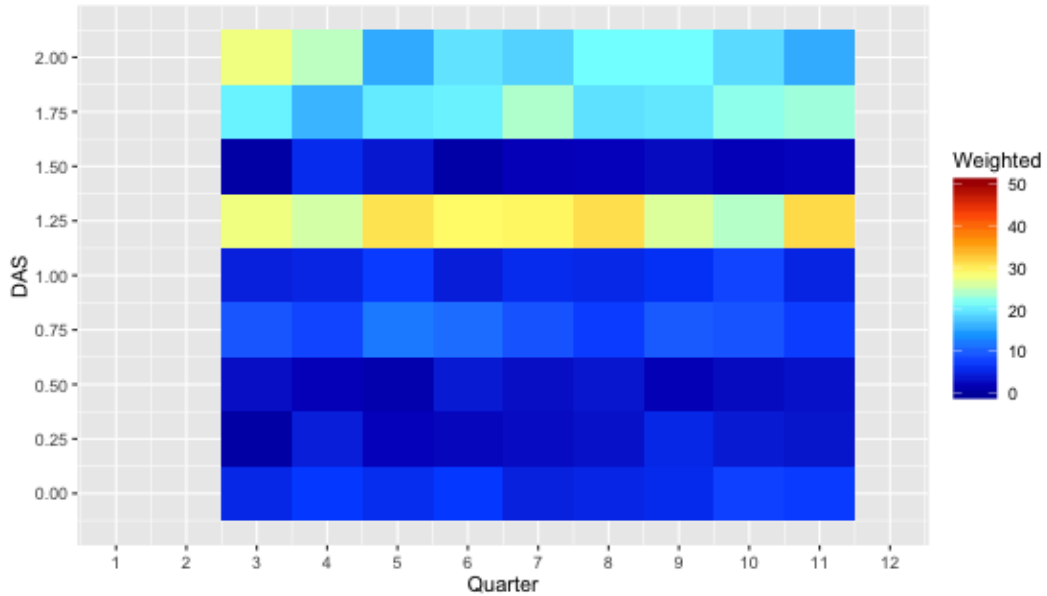


Figure 10: Distribution of Russia's DAS scores in TASS

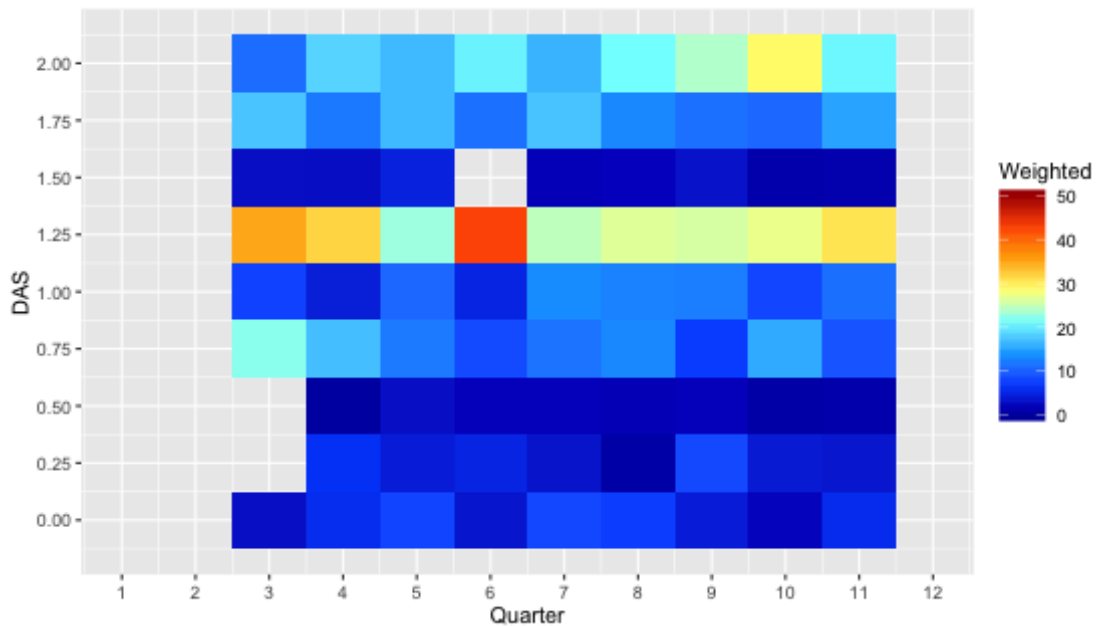


Figure 11: Distribution of Ukraine's DAS scores in TASS

In the TASS subcorpus, the distribution of the scores for the two agents differed significantly directly before and in all quarters after the quarter of the protests in Kiev. In the third quarter of the TASS data, the significant difference is most likely due to the difference of proportions

landing in the highest DAS value category (verbal/mental; action): roughly 27% of Russia's predicates fall into this category, while only 11% of Ukraine's predicates receive this score. Another difference in the predicate distributions is that only 9% of Russia's predicates fall into the 0.75 rating (which requires one 0 on one of the scales), while this category takes up 22% of Ukraine's predicates. Although Ukraine is most often simply "being able to" do something—rather than actually doing it. Russia on the other hand, portrays itself with words like "announcing" or "forbidding." The fourth quarter, at the beginning of the crisis, a similar pattern emerges, but in the fifth quarter, when the crisis is shifting towards Eastern Ukraine and Crimea, Ukraine and Russia's DAS scores do not differ significantly. Ukraine's mental/verbal predicates do indeed rise during this time, as the noun takes on predicates like "acknowledge," "agree," "resolve," or "refuse." Interestingly, however, even Ukraine's mental/verbal predicates in the TASS corpus seem to be tokens of "response" to something and not initiation of a verbal or mental act, which may be an important factor to consider in refining the current model. Russia also displays numerous verbal or mental predicates during this time, but adds to the list verbs like "suggest," "inspect," or "consider," which denote active initiative in the social, intelligent world, as opposed to a participant who "only speaks when spoken to." Following the crisis, the distributions of two agents' scores continue in their divergence in the TASS subcorpus.

In the Ukraneews subcorpus, the two agents display significant differences in score distributions in quarter 3 before the crisis begins, and in the seventh quarter as the crisis began to diminish. These distributions are displayed in the plots below (again, each tile representing the percentage each DAS score occupies out of the total for that quarter).

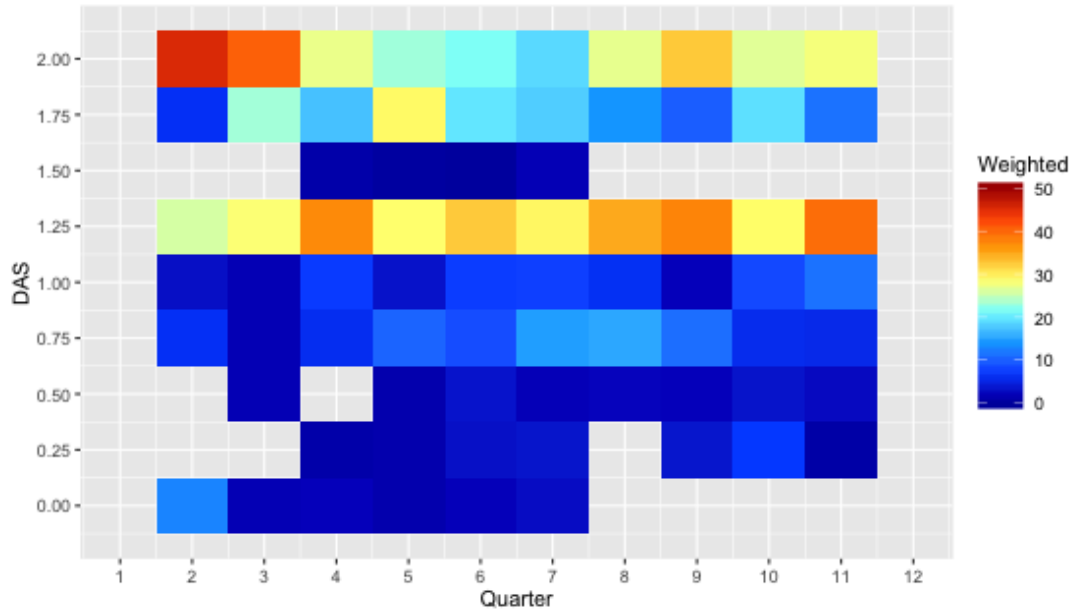


Figure 12: Distribution of Russia's DAS scores in Ukrane news

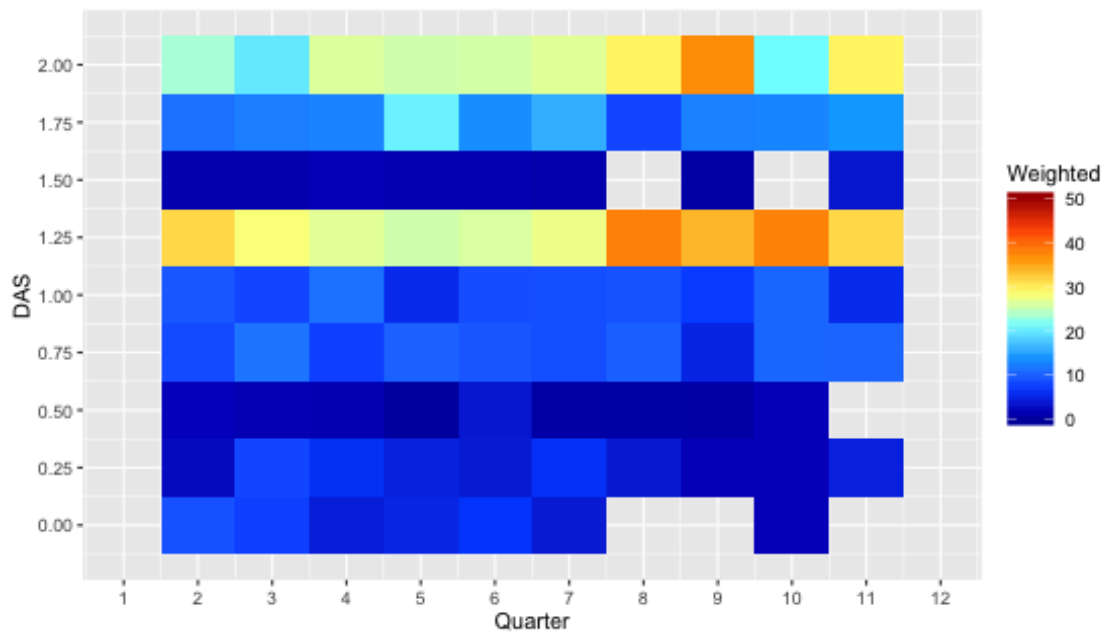


Figure 13: Distribution of Ukraine's DAS scores in Ukrane news

The third quarter of the Ukrane news subcorpus portrays Ukraine as taking proactive and dramatic verbal/mental actions: “prohibiting,” “declaring.” In the seventh quarter, however, as Crimea is becoming a part of Russia, Ukraine’s humanness seems to diminish, even in its own media. Its actions are primarily “paying,” “reducing,” and “increasing.” Finally, as

the conflict between the two nations became less violent and visible, the entities are portrayed at relatively equal levels of dynamic agency.

4.3 CHECKING COLLOCATES

As mentioned in the analysis section, the final part of this study is merely a brief test of a methodology that may prove useful in future studies. These pilot results cannot be used to form definite conclusions via direct comparison to the nominative ratios and DAS scores of this specific study, but the collocate check did yield intriguing results. The table below shows a report of top collocates in TASS.

Table 8: Top collocates of top predicates in TASS by year and agent

Year	Russia		Ukraine	
	Collocate	Gloss	Collocate	Gloss
2013	евросоюз место руководство досааф москва компания группа фонд ученый vladimir инженер штаб россия асв проблема суд республика специалист президиум власть сша закон партия	European Union place leadership DOSAAF Moscow company Group fund scientist Vladimir engineer headquarters Russia DIA problem court republic specialist presidium power USA law Political party	президент работа обыск правительство переговоры связь соглашение сша инвестиция расследование россия vladimir путин объем медведев известие страна ряд закон документ план ес украина	president job search government conversation communication agreement USA investment investigation Russia Vladimir Putin volume medvedev news country row law document plan EU Ukraine
2014	москва сша место ес совет правительство vladimir решение суд путин	Moscow USA place EU council government Vladimir decision court Putin	компания москва россия президент глава председатель лидер путин украина александр	company Moscow Russia president chapter chairman leader Putin Ukraine Alexander

Table 8 (continued)

<i>Year</i>	Russia		Ukraine	
	<i>Collocate</i>	<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Collocate</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
	президент россия закон глава санкция власть банк мера запрет связь режим парламент иванов госдума	president Russia law chapter sanction power bank measure ban communication regime parliament Ivanov Duma	владимир порошенко заместитель тасс сергей дмитрий медведев соглашение лавров министр инвестиция объем известие представитель	Vladimir Poroshenko deputy TASS Sergei Dmitriy Medvedev agreement Lavrov minister investment volume news representative
2015	документ президент владимир путин соглашение россия контракт порошенко указ представитель закон связь решение правительство договор медведев дмитрий москва совет власть глава мера суд госдума	document president Vladimir Putin agreement Russia contract Poroshenko decree representative law communication decision government agreement Medvedev Dmitriy Moscow council power chapter measure court Duma	участник порошенко президент россия сторона владимир путин украина москва компания соглашение иран дмитрий медведев название травма данные документ закон статус договор въезд вид указ	participant Poroshenko the president Russia side Vladimir Putin Ukraine Moscow company agreement Iran Dmitriy Medvedev name injury data document law status agreement entry view decree

Note that several of these cells are missing one or, at most, 2 collocates. This is because the word for “news agency” appeared at least once in each search. The word was merely a part of the copyright information and therefore was discarded. In the TASS corpus, the top collocates of Ukraine's top verbs are more often individual human beings than are the collocates of Russia's, except in 2015. In 2014, the main year of the crisis, the 25 collocates of Ukraine's top verbs were mostly human individuals.

Russia, on the other hand, seems to share collocates mostly with other nations or governments during this time. TASS seems treat Ukraine differently than other nations. Rather than sharing collocates with other nations, "Ukraine" shared collocates with government officials and offices—like "Putin," for example, or "Medvedev." This search may suggest that Ukraine is being personified to a greater degree than Russia in 2014, but only personified with respect to a particular kind of individual: that is, the politician.

As mentioned above in the section on the nominative ratio, the closer two entities are to each other, the more specificity they will be able to describe each other with. "Ukraine," then, may be serving as a stand in for portions of the government that would be mentioned by name were they internal to the nation. This portrayal of distance between the two nations, if it were to be explored further in another study, may reflect the rejection of the NATIONS ARE BROTHERS metaphor by at least one partner in the relationship as observed in post-Soviet media (A'Beckett 2012; Dickinson 2014). Russia, the "elder brother," distances itself from the younger, unruly brother (Ukraine), by refusing to acknowledge the details of its political system.

On the Ukranews side of the story (reported in the table following this paragraph), both agents pattern together most of the time. However, in 2014, Ukraine is again matched frequently with human agents. This contradicts the distance hypothesis in the preceding paragraph, since this would be Ukrainians speaking about Ukraine. However, a closer look at the subjects similar to Ukraine in 2014 reveals that the human actors are clearly different from the human actors in TASS. In Ukranews, these are common nouns like "participant," "activist," "deputy," or "terrorist," while in TASS the majority of the nouns referring to individuals are proper nouns (although both common and proper animate nouns did increase in 2014 for the agent Ukraine). Side by side with the common nouns in Ukranews, Ukraine acts as not many individuals but a single human individual, a citizen patriot for its people.

Table 9: Top collocates of top predicates in Ukranews by year and agent

Year	Russia		Ukraine	
	Collocate	Gloss	Collocate	Gloss
2013	сторона украина власть кабинет путин компания президент сша россия киев средство правительство министерство деньги милиция предупреждение мвд режим связь суд карантин запрет	side Ukraine power cabinet Putin company president USA Russia Kiev means government Ministry money militia warning MIA regime communication court quarantine ban	сторона украина власть компания год сша россия янукович милиция место прокуратура работа производство пожар суд акция расследование сотрудник полиция сезон строительство вид	side Ukraine power company year USA Russia Yanukovych militia place prosecutor's office job production fire court stock investigation employee police season building view
2014	расследование работа следствие режим власть россия сша украина крым действие военный канада боевик ес связь обстрел террорист порошенко суд санкция въезд деятельность	investigation job result regime power Russia USA Ukraine Crimea act military Canada thriller EU communication fire terrorist Poroshenko court sanction entry activity	украина россия оппозиция сторона власть депутат участник активист президент порошенко путин сотрудник прокуратура чиновник милиция человек сепаратист крым суд генпрокуратура производство акция расследование	Ukraine Russia opposition side power deputy participant activist president Poroshenko Putin employee prosecutor's office official militia human separatist Crimea court Prosecutor's Office production stock investigation
2015	сша активист украина	USA activist Ukraine	украина польша грузия	Ukraine Poland Georgia

Table 9 (continued)

	Russia		Ukraine	
	<i>Collocate</i>	<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Collocate</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
2015	крым	Crimea	боевик	action
	меркель	Merkel	киев	Kiev
	оппозиция	opposition	порошенко	Poroshenko
	боевик	action	группа	group
	москаль	Muscovite	оаэ	UAE
	сбу	Security Service	бюро	Bureau
	блок	block	румыния	Romania
	россия	Russia	китай	China
	облсовет	Regional Council	куба	Cuba
	порошенко	Poroshenko	россия	Russia
	прокуратура	prosecutor's ofc.	аравия	Arabia
	суд	court	коря	Korea
	террорист	terrorist	минздрав	Ministry of Health
	луценко	Lutsenko	литва	Lithuania
	молдова	Moldova	количество	quantity
	гпу	St. polit. admin.	число	number
	лавров	Lavrov	словакия	Slovakia
	власть	power	уф	UV
	путин	Putin	резерв	reserve
	саакашвили	Saakashvili	счастье	happiness

In both sources, many of the comparable collocates tend to be other nations or institutions. This suggests that “personification” is no longer a fitting title for how the nations are being portrayed, but instead, there is a group of lexical items—nations—that take a certain set of predicates and are treated in a certain way in Russian. This is an interesting consideration to be investigated with further study.

5 DISCUSSION

5.1 THE MODEL

Dickinson (2014), quoted in the literature above, argued that “Russian” and “Ukrainian” could no longer represent the same identity after the crisis. Nowhere is this more visible than in the large gap between the two agents' dynamic agency scores in the time of the EuroMaidan crisis. Yet interestingly, nowhere was the gap between the two agents' scores smaller than in the quarter immediately preceding the crisis. The trouble may indeed have erupted when it did because the two nations were negotiating identities—they began to occupy the same space in the language of the press. This could be indicative of the occupation of the same political space only large enough for one nation. If this is the case, then perhaps the crisis is a renegotiation of these identities encroaching on each other's space. An

interesting way to test this idea would be to apply this model to similar historical conflicts. Does the language of the press follow a certain pattern as a nation moves through a time of crisis? The model I have constructed may prove useful in answering this question.

Additionally, the two different axes of this combined model highlight different aspects of a powerful agent, particularly in the context of political powers seeking to participate in the discussions and dealings of progressive, flourishing powers. To compete among global powers, a nation or political entity must be intelligent (i.e. capable of verbal and mental processes), and strong enough to have effects on other entities. A nation characterized merely by actions of brute force will be seen as "primitive", whereas a nation characterized merely by thinking and speaking may be thought of as weak or passive. The two-fold scale for measuring agency mirrors this two-fold concept of a human-like power on the global stage, and allows linguists to explore the courses of fluid national identities in times of crisis.

The methods I have used in this study are a hybrid of several diverse theories. In forcing these methods together for a single analysis, I hope to have gained a more balanced, and nuanced view of the discourse surrounding the EuroMaidan crisis in Ukraine, accurately portraying the nature of this discourse. I have applied a critical discourse theoretical framework to corpus methods. Critical Discourse Analysis has been noticeably and many times purposefully lacking in quantitative application, its proponents asserting that even the most quantitative of analyses is in essence subjective (e.g. Van Dijk 1995). Despite my multi-million word corpus quantitative methods, this subjectivity has still proven true for study: I have simplified and selected ideas from both models according to what I think might be relevant to my data. Furthermore, the decisions I have made on the classification of each verb are based on my own interpretation of the lexical item in question (as a non-native speaker) and the category from each model. For example, is "to need" a material process or a behavioral one? That is, can an inanimate object require something? At some point a decision has to be made and supported throughout the analysis.

Secondly, the subjective judgments are only a subsection of the quantitative model of dynamic agency. Another researcher should be able to use the numeric scales to make their own judgments on the same or similar data. As any good scientific task, my model can be retested, reused, refined with other data.

The primary drawback of this study is the extensive amount of time coding all the predicates takes. A coding system such as this will only be a practical tool for analysis when the database of coded verbs is large and diverse enough to accommodate corpus studies. However, although the large

dataset makes the analysis time-consuming, it is worthwhile for all the reasons given in the preceding paragraphs of this section.

5.2 *THE OUTCOMES*

The preliminary results from the final portion of this study, where predicates were searched for their other nominative collocates, revealed that any results from these models requiring subjective judgments of the semantic content of single lexical items in isolation should be checked against its other uses in the corpus under analysis. In this manner, perceived metaphors can be verified. The brief pass I made in this study at checking my model showed that some verbs, which I expected to have only individual humans as their agents, in fact had other institutions or abstract concepts as their most common subjects. These tests were only performed on a subset of my data, and cannot be taken as conclusive results, but nevertheless, revealed the need and value of looking at how language is actually used in the body of data that is being examined, rather than using outsider judgment to determine when a phrase crosses the line from perceptible metaphor (e.g. in the form of personification) to a "literal" description.

That caveat made clear, the data I collected seems to support a part of my hypothesis. "Russia" is in fact portrayed as more intelligent and powerful during and after the EuroMaidan crisis in the TASS subcorpus. The Russian media understands itself as calculating and calling, while portraying Ukraine as a merely existing or passively getting during this time. The surprising part of my results comes from the Ukrainian side: In the Ukranews subcorpus, Ukraine is always viewed as less human and less powerful than Russia according to the models I have used. This fits with the NATIONS ARE BROTHERS metaphor and the concept of RUSSIA AS ELDER BROTHER, who is more powerful and responsible for the events that have occurred.

However, I should also note that the Ukranews portrayal comes from a Russian language Ukrainian news source. This could affect the "More human/powerful Russia" results in a few ways: Firstly, these particular Ukrainians may have a more positive view of Russia (since they openly use the Russian language for public information). Secondly, if they are using Russian, they are no doubt interacting with the Russian media, and therefore their patterns of describing the two nations may be influenced by patterns in the Russian media.

6 CONCLUSION

At the onset of this study, I sought to answer the question "Who is Russia?" or "Who is Ukraine?", and to do so from two different perspectives: one from Russia (TASS) and the other from Ukraine (Ukranews). I do not

assume that I have analyzed a complete picture of each nation's identity, but only what portions of it are embodied in their names (“Россия” and “Украина”). I hypothesized that each nation would portray the other as less human and powerful than itself, and that this difference would increase during the time of the crisis. I tested this hypothesis on a corpus of about 20,000,000 words using functional grammar paradigms, ideas from CDA and Conceptual Metaphor Theory, and methods from corpus linguistics. These methods resulted in a count of all inflected forms of each noun to discover how often Ukraine and Russia appeared as “doers” in each subcorpus. The next step in my analysis required the collection and coding of roughly 9000 verb types. This further probed the information brought out with the nominative ratio by asking not just *how often* each nation is a “doer,” but also *what* each nation is doing. Thus, each entity is defined its agency—that is, by the actions it is capable of. As one final illustration, in the 2014 portion of the TASS subcorpus, Ukraine is often “getting” or “finding” while Russia is “taking.” The latter verb represents more control by the doer than the former, and may therefore indicate a picture in which Russia controls its actions in a way that Ukraine is not capable of. One token, of course, is not enough to make this assumption, but if the agents behave this way through hundreds of tokens, then an assertion about how each one is represented is justified.

Both subcorpora portrayed Russia as the more powerful and human entity according to the nominative ratios and verbal collocates. These results reflected the changing politics and social upheaval during the EuroMaidan revolution. Before the revolution, Ukraine and Russia were competing in their power and intelligence and as nominative subjects. During the revolution, Ukraine is portrayed as less human and powerful. After the revolution, according to the nominative ratio, each nation seemed to blame the other for the events that had occurred. So the revolution not only affected the very visible city center of Kiev, or what it means to be a citizen of Crimea, or politics in Eastern Ukraine, but also how each nation’s name is used and essentially “who” or “what” Russia and Ukraine are. Yet the purpose of this study is not merely to show how one event can affect the linguistic portrayals of two sociopolitical entities. But instead, I have sought to formulate a quantitative model that researchers can improve and apply to other media discourse to interpret the sociopolitical events that affect the lives and languages of the people involved.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- A'Beckett, L. (2013). Strategies to Discredit Opponents: Russian Presentations of Events in Countries of the Former Soviet Union. *Psychology of Language and Communication* 17(2): 133-156.
- Anthony, L. (2014). AntConc (Version 3.4.3m) [Computer Software]. Tokyo, Japan: Waseda University.
- Baker, P., Gabrielatos, C., Khosravinik, M., Krzyżanowski, M., McEnery, T., & Wodak, R. (2008). A useful methodological synergy? Combining critical discourse analysis and corpus linguistics to examine discourses of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK press. *Discourse & Society*, 19(3), 273-306.
- Bare Bones Software, Inc. TextWrangler (Version 5.5) [Computer Software]. North Chesfield, MA, USA.
- Billig, M. (1995). *Banal nationalism*. Sage.
- Butler, C. S. (2002). Catching a glimpse of linguistic reality: Modeling the complexity of CATCH in the functional lexemic model. In R. M. Usón & M. J. P. Quintero (Eds.). *New perspectives on argument structure in Functional Grammar*, Vol. 25 (247-278). Walter de Gruyter.
- Butler, C. S. (2004). Corpus studies and functional linguistic theories. *Functions of language*, 11(2), 147-186.
- Ciscel, M. H. (2004). Language and Ideology in the Print Media of Post-Soviet Moldova. *Balkanistica* 17: 23-42.
- Clashes amid huge Ukraine protest against u-turn on EU. (2013, December 1). *BBC*. Retrieved from <http://www.BBC.com/news>.
- Cruse, D. A. (1973). Some thoughts on agency. *Journal of linguistics*, 9(01), 11-23.
- Davidson, D. (1971). Agency. *Essays on actions and events*, 43-61.
- Dickinson, J. A. (2004). Brother Nation or Brothers No More? Seeing Asymmetry in Post-Maidan Ukraine. *Hot Spots series, Cultural Anthropology website*.
- Dik, S.C. (1989). *The theory of functional grammar, Part 1: The structure of the clause*. Foris.
- Duskaeva, L. R. (2011). Media Stylistics: The New Concept or New Phenomenon? *Russian Journal of Communication*, 4(3-4), 229-250.
- Fairclough, N. (2003). *Analysing discourse: Textual analysis for social research*. Routledge.
- Galeotti, M. (2015). 'Hybrid War' and 'Little Green Men': How It Works, and How It Doesn't. *Ukraine and Russia: People, Politics, Propaganda and Perspectives*, 156.
- Gronskaya, N., & Makarychev, A. (2014). The 2014 Sochi Olympics and "Sovereign Power" A Political Linguistic Perspective. *Problems of Post-Communism*, 61(1), 41-51.

- Halliday, M. A. K., & Matthiessen, C. M. (1999). *Construing experience through meaning: A language-based approach to cognition*. Cassell.
- Hasan, R. (1985). *Linguistics, language and verbal art*. Deakin University Press.
- Ingold, R. (2014). God, the Devil and You: A Systemic Functional Linguistic Analysis of the Language of Hillsong. *Literature & Aesthetics*, 24(1).
- Keijsper, C. E. (2004). Typically Russian. *Russian Linguistics* 28(2): 189-226.
- Killworth, P. D., & Bernard, H. R. (1982). A technique for comparing mental maps. *Social Networks*, 3(4), 307-312.
- Kozhina, M.N. & Duskaeva, L. P. (1993). Linguostylistic Changes in Russian Newspapers in the Last Decade. *Stylistyka* 2: 111-132.
- Krasnoboka, N. (n.d.). Russia. *Media Landscapes*. European Journalism Centre. Retrieved from <http://www.ejc.net>.
- Kulyk, V. (2010). Ideologies of language use in post-Soviet Ukrainian media. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 201: 79-104.
- Kulyk, V. (2014b). The media at the time of unrest: A report of a Maidan participant. *Russian Journal of Communication* 6(2): 64(5-6).
- Kulyk, V. (2014b). Unity and Identity: Language Policy after the Maidan. *Osteuropa* 64(5-6).
- Lakoff, G. (1996). Sorry, I'm not myself today: The metaphor system for conceptualizing the self. *Spaces, worlds, and grammar*, 91-123.
- Lakoff, G., & Johnson, M. (2008). *Metaphors we live by*. University of Chicago press.
- Lester, A. (2014). Ack-grep-like text finder (Version 2.14) [Computer Software]. beyondgrep.com.
- Lyubashenko, I. (2014). Euromaidan: Chronicles of a networked revolt. *New Eastern Europe*, 1/2014.
- Musolf, A. (2008). What can Critical Metaphor Analysis add to the understanding of racist ideology? Recent studies of Hitler's anti-Semitic metaphors. *Critical Approaches to Discourse Analysis across Disciplines* 2(2), 1-10.
- Olshanskaya, N. (2006). Translating Political Discourse: Between Victory and Pobeda. *Ohio Slavic Papers* 8: 23-35.
- Pavlenko, A. (2009). Language conflict in post-Soviet linguistic landscapes. *Journal of Slavic Linguistics*, 17(1-2), 247-274.
- Rozvadovskyy, O. (n.d.). Ukraine. *Media Landscapes*. European Journalism Centre. Retrieved from <http://www.ejc.net>.
- R Core Team. (2016). R: A language and environment for statistical computing. R Foundation for Statistical Computing. Retrieved from <https://www.R-project.org/>.

- Ries, N. (2014). Ukraine and Russia: The Agency of War. *Hot Spots series, Cultural Anthropology website*.
- Pikulicka-Wilczewska, A., & Sakwa, R. (2015). *Ukraine and Russia: People, Politics, Propaganda and Perspectives*. E-International Relations.
- Santa Ana, O. (1999). 'Like an animal I was treated': Anti-immigrant metaphor in US public discourse. *Discourse & society, 10(2)*, 191-224.
- Schmid, H. (1994). Probabilistic part-of-speech tagging using decision trees. In *Proceedings of the international conference on new methods in language processing*. (Vol. 12, pp. 44-49).
- Scrivano, G. (2015). Wget (Version 1.17) [Computer Software]. Free Software Foundation.
- Sharoff, S., Kopotev, M., Erjavec, T., Feldman, A., & Divjak, D. (2008, May). Designing and Evaluating a Russian Tagset. In *LREC*.
- Sinclair, J. (2005). Corpus and Text - Basic Principles. *Developing Linguistic Corpora: a Guide to Good Practice*, ed. M. Wynne. Oxford: Oxbow Books. 1-16.
- Sowiska, A. & Dubrovskaya, T. (2012). Discursive construction and transformation of 'us' and 'them' categories in the newspaper coverage on the US anti-ballistic missile system: Polish versus Russian view. *Discourse & Communication 6(4)*: 449-468.
- Trost, K. (1992). The categories of individual agency as well as emotional and precision agency in the Czech nominal system. *Rada Jazykovedna 40*: 9-21.
- Trost, K. (1994). Agency and processuality as subsystems of the verbal pragmatic structure [The case of Czech]. *Rada Jazykovedna 43(A42)*: 15-28.
- Ukraine crisis: Timeline. (2014, November 13). BBC. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.com/news>.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (1995). Aims of critical discourse analysis. *Japanese discourse, 1(1)*, 17-28.
- Von Seth, R. (2012). The language of the press in Soviet and post-Soviet Russia: Creation of the citizen role through newspaper discourse. *Journalism 13(1)*: 53-70.
- Goddard, C., & Wierzbicka, A. (Eds.). (2002). *Meaning and universal grammar: Theory and empirical findings* (Vol. 1). John Benjamins Publishing.
- Wierzbicka, A. (1997). *Understanding cultures through their key words*. Oxford University Press.
- H. Wickham. (2009). *ggplot2: Elegant Graphics for Data Analysis*. Springer-Verlag New York.

- Wickham, H. & Francois, R. (2015). dplyr: A grammar of data manipulation [Computer software]. R package version 0.4.3.
- Wickham, H. (2016). tidyr: Easily tidy data with 'spread()' and 'gather()' functions [Computer software]. R package version 0.4.1.
- Wodak, R., & Reisigl, M. (2001). Discourse and racism. *The handbook of discourse analysis*, 372-397.
- Yamamoto, M. (1999). *Animacy and reference: A cognitive approach to corpus linguistics* (Vol. 46). John Benjamins Publishing.
- Yurchak, A. (2014). Little green men: Russia, Ukraine and post-Soviet sovereignty. *What's going on in Ukraine? A forum discussion on Ukraine 2014*. Retrieved from www.anthropoliteia.net.
- Zabrodskaia, A. (2014). Tallinn: monolingual from above and multilingual from below. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 2014(228), 105-130.

VITA

Abbey L. Thomas

Education

MA in Linguistic Theory and Typology
University of Kentucky, 2016 (expected)

BA in Anthropology, Minors in Linguistics and TESOL
summa cum laude
Lee University, 2012

Certificate in Russian
Minsk State Linguistic University, 2010

Professional Positions

Graduate Teaching Assistant in Linguistics
University of Kentucky, August 2014-May 2016

Undergraduate Teaching Assistant in Anthropology
Lee University, 2011

Awards

Lee University Behavioral and Social Sciences department award, 2012
Lee University Centennial Gold Scholarship, 2009-2012
Lee University Anthropology discipline award, 2011
Lee University Academic Showcase: 2nd place, creative writing, 2010
Lettie Pate Whitehead Academic Scholarship, 2009-2010