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REVITALIZATION OF UKRAINIAN CULTURAL  
MEMORY IN WAR-TIME CONTEXT  
(BASED ON THE EXAMPLE OF UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE  
DISCURSIVE CONCEPTUALIZATION)

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## INTRODUCTION

During periods of conflict, cultural identity becomes a disputed term, susceptible to manipulation, preservation, and rejuvenation. The Ukrainian situation, characterized by longstanding historical tensions and contemporary geopolitical complexities, serves as a prime example of the intricate interplay among warfare, cultural remembrance, and language<sup>1</sup>. Amidst ongoing conflicts and efforts aimed at erasing cultural heritage, linguistic multi-disciplinary approach provides a valuable framework for comprehending the intricate processes of cultural identity formation and conservation.

This paper aims at discovering verbal revitalization of Ukrainian cultural memory amidst wartime circumstances. Language, as a fundamental aspect of cultural expression, not only facilitates communication but also acts as a reservoir for collective memories, values, and identity<sup>2</sup>. In Ukraine, where language has historically served as a marker of cultural affiliation and political allegiance, the effects of war on linguistic behaviors and discourses are profound.

Situated within the broader domain of sociolinguistics, this study draws insights from cultural and memory studies to illuminate the complex dynamics at play. Through an examination of language policies, linguistic practices, and discourses in Ukraine, the research seeks to unravel how language operates as both a tool for safeguarding cultural heritage and a site for resistance against attempts to erase cultural identity. National identity is

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<sup>1</sup> Borcău M. The language of remembrance: cultural memory as “actualised language” in the poetry of geoffrey hill and paulcelan. *University of Bucharest Review. Literary and Cultural Studies Series*. 2013. Issue 2. P. 82-90.

<sup>2</sup> Albota S. Linguistic and semantic representation of the WAR concept by phraseological units. *Proceedings of the 2nd International workshop on social communication and information activity in digital humanities (SCIA)*. 2023. Vol. 3608 P. 355–364.

a complex, multifaceted cognitive, psychological, and social phenomenon. National identity is defined as a relatively stable system of mental constructs in individual and collective consciousness formed through specific types of intersubjective interactions within a historical context. This process facilitates both rational and irrational identification with a national group, shaping collective awareness of integrative and differentiating features that distinguish one nation from another. It also embeds symbolic models of cognition and interpretation of reality in individual and collective consciousness<sup>3</sup>. Constructivist theory sees national identity as an intersubjective discourse product, shaped by macro-strategies (like unification, identification, and solidarity) and micro-strategies (manifested in various linguistic-cognitive entities), indicating a dialectical relationship between discourse and social practices<sup>4</sup>.

The purpose of the paper is to reveal the role of language in fostering resilience and collective memory among Ukrainian speakers. Confronted with disruptions caused by warfare and efforts to stifle linguistic diversity, initiatives aimed at revitalizing the Ukrainian language emerge as acts of cultural defiance, reclaiming space for Ukrainian language and identity.

As an example substantiating the role of language in identity construction, the case study of the conceptualization of the phenomenon of Ukrainian language at the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century (1920–1940) is discussed. To grasp the nature of Russian totalitarian policy of undermining the role of language in identity construction the research focuses on destructive discursive practices that embody the creation and implementation of political idilogemes, distorted images, and conceptions that had a crucial impact on collective consciousness under the conditions of soviet (Russian) totalitarizm. The research reveals the correlation between contextual conditions of the Ukrainian language functioning and discursive strategies of power realized in the media and political texts of the defined period, the emergence of lingual cognitive entities that embody the shift in concept content, its evaluative parameters. The legacy of totalitarian destructive language and discursive practices has had a lingering effect on language practices and language policies in Ukraine in post-soviet period, and the state building process in Ukraine after reestablishing its independence. This traumatic experience deeply influenced the success of language revitalization under current war conditions.

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<sup>3</sup> Romanyshyn N. National identity in the poetry of English Romanticism. Lviv Politechnics Publishing house. 2024. 536 p.

<sup>4</sup> Wodak R., de Cillia R., Reisigl M., & Liebhart K. The Discursive construction of national identity. Trans. A. Hirsch and R. Mitten. (2nd ed.). 2009. Edinburgh University Press. 260 p.

Through an interdisciplinary analysis of linguistic phenomena in the Ukrainian context, this study also aims to enhance our comprehension of how language influences cultural identity during periods of conflict. By shedding light on the revitalization of Ukrainian cultural memory through computational linguistics, the research underscores the enduring potency of language as a conduit for cultural continuity, resilience, and defiance in the midst of war.

### 1. Related Works on Ukrainian Identity Discourse

Ukrainian academic discourse on national identity has become increasingly comprehensive, integrating Western scientific models and locally adapted approaches that highlight the uniqueness of Ukraine's historical and cultural context<sup>5</sup>. Scholars 'identify a complex web of interconnected issues within the realm of Ukrainian identity, wherein each issue serves both as a consequence of preceding factors and as a catalyst for subsequent challenges, contributing to the intricate nature of conceptualizing this phenomenon. One such issue pertains to the Ukrainian language's role as a determinant of statehood and identity.

The conceptualization of the Ukrainian language as a pivotal element in nation-building constitutes a tightly woven fabric of social, historical, political, ethical, and scientific strands that have influenced its evolution over centuries. These complexities are exacerbated by various concerns and obstacles, including:

- the question of the Ukrainian language's origins and its relationship with Russian, often clouded by myths and quasi-historical narratives promoting a notion of common linguistic roots;
- the process of russification experienced by Ukrainian during the 17th to 19th centuries, as well as during periods of diminished sovereignty and statehood in the 20th century;
- the deliberate efforts to suppress the use of the Ukrainian language and manipulate pseudo-scientific theories about its origins and connections to Russian have severely degraded its status and functionality, impacting linguistic diversity and cultural identity.

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<sup>5</sup> Plokhly S. *Unmaking Imperial Russia: Mykhaylo Hrushevsky and the Writing of Ukrainian History*. Toronto; Buffalo; London: University of Toronto Press, 2005. 614 p.

Remy J. *Brothers or Enemies: The Ukrainian National Movement and Russia from the 1840s to the 1870s*. Toronto, 2016. 328 p. <https://doi.org/10.3138/9781487511067-toc>

<sup>6</sup> Plokhly S. *Unmaking Imperial Russia: Mykhaylo Hrushevsky and the Writing of Ukrainian History*. Toronto; Buffalo; London: University of Toronto Press, 2005. 614 p.

Remy J. *Brothers or Enemies: The Ukrainian National Movement and Russia from the 1840s to the 1870s*. Toronto, 2016. 328 p. <https://doi.org/10.3138/9781487511067-toc>

Renes H. *Landscape heritage and national identity in modern Europe*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2022. 256 p. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-09536-8>

In light of this, language revitalization policies in Ukraine are crucial not only for fostering new speakers and establishing new domains for language usage but also for addressing the broader socio-political dynamics and tensions. By reimagining the benefits and objectives of language revitalization, these policies can provide a more comprehensive approach that reinforces national identity and cultural resilience, ultimately contributing to the broader socio-political stability and cohesion of Ukraine.

There are numerous considerations that warrant attention when contemplating revitalization efforts, and several factors may play a crucial role in determining whether such endeavors are pursued<sup>7</sup>. Language revitalization initiatives are often presented with the overarching objective of cultivating new speakers of the target language, establishing fresh domains for language usage, and nurturing a succeeding generation of speakers<sup>8</sup>. However, this perspective oversimplifies the matter. While fostering the emergence of new speakers represents a significant aim (and potential outcome) of revitalization endeavors, the concept of a “speaker” is multifaceted, and attaining fluency in a language necessitates substantial effort. Reimagining the benefits and objectives of language revitalization to place less emphasis on the creation of new speakers and instead focus on the broader advantages that revitalization can offer can be profoundly liberating.

Various individuals hold diverse perspectives regarding their motivations for revitalization, and there isn't a singular correct rationale. Furthermore, it's crucial to recognize that motivations for revitalization can evolve over time. Revitalization represents a dynamic and adaptable process. Additionally, it's imperative to acknowledge that revitalization extends beyond language alone; it encompasses a broader social movement that yields benefits not only to individuals but also to society as a whole<sup>9</sup>.

The choice to embark on revitalization efforts is frequently a deeply personal one, demanding dedication, perseverance, and resilience. However, many individuals may opt for revitalization not only to enhance their own well-being but also to benefit their family, broader community, or network of acquaintances. A fundamental driving force behind revitalization often relates to identity – articulating and asserting identity for an individual or a collective group stands out as one of the most compelling motivations for

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<sup>7</sup> Hinton L. Language revitalization: An overview. *Biosystems*. 2001. P. 3-18.

<sup>8</sup> Peter K. Austin, Sallabank J. Endangered languages: Planning and revitalization. *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism*. 2011. P. 40–63.

Grenoble A., Lindsay J. Whaley. *Saving languages: An introduction to language revitalization*. *Linguistic Society of America*. 2008. Vol. 84. No. 4. P. 883–885.

<sup>9</sup>Tasaku Ts. Language endangerment and language revitalization. Language revitalization and language pedagogy: New teaching and learning strategies. *Language and Education*. 2011. P. 307-318. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09500782.2011.577220>

engaging in language revitalization. Moreover, for many, it entails reclaiming the rights to self-determination and autonomy over one's life.

These motivations, while collectively falling under the overarching concept of identity, merit individual consideration to gain deeper insights into them and to explore how they can be leveraged to promote revitalization efforts, as well as manipulated to serve its ultimate objectives. They can be categorized into six overarching groups encompassing various social, psychological, and physical dimensions: connecting with ancestors, the past, and cultural heritage; healing; building community; knowledge and culture; well-being; and cognitive benefits. Although these labels delineate distinct categories, there is notable overlap among them, and the resultant benefits of revitalization efforts often extend far beyond the specific area of motivation that initially spurred the endeavor<sup>10</sup>.

To make it clear, these were reasons for revitalization as distinct points. However, it's essential to recognize that the benefits they offer are interconnected, and a positive outcome in one area can have a ripple effect, extending to other aspects of life. This interconnectedness is one reason why motivations for revitalization may evolve over time, as individuals come to appreciate and seek different benefits at different stages of their revitalization journey.

General linguistic vitality is influenced by a combination of factors, encompassing social, political, demographic, and practical considerations, all of which typically interact simultaneously. Of particular significance are the social and political dimensions, which encompass the usage of the language across a wide spectrum of domains, including but not limited to the household, educational institutions, places of worship, governmental agencies, public spaces, commercial establishments, and workplaces. The accessibility of the target language within these diverse contexts is often not solely determined by individual speakers but is frequently shaped by language and educational policies. This, in turn, correlates with the social prestige accorded to a language, which influences speakers' motivations to utilize the language and is intricately linked to the language's economic viability – namely, whether proficiency in the language enhances or impedes employment prospects<sup>11</sup>.

Ultimately, practical considerations can also play a pivotal role in determining the usage of a language. These considerations encompass various factors, such as whether the language possesses a standardized written form, an orthography conducive to keyboard input (for activities like text

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<sup>10</sup> Spolsky B. Conditions for language revitalization: A comparison of the cases of Hebrew and Maori. *Current Issues in Language & Society*. 1995. 2(3). P. 177–201.

<sup>11</sup> Glass A. Return to sender: On the politics of cultural property and the proper address of art. *Journal of Material Culture*. 2004. 9(2). P. 115–139.

messaging, emailing, and social media), and a standardized variant that is incorporated into educational curricula and utilized in signage. It's important to note that none of these factors are prerequisites for a language's vitality; however, if a standardized form has already been established, it may facilitate practical implementation, such as inclusion in textbooks and public signage, compared to a language without such standardization.

As evident from this enumeration, language usage is inherently a social phenomenon, and revitalization efforts inherently entail social change. This transformation might entail something as fundamental as introducing the use of a language into domains where it was previously absent or dormant for extended periods. However, it could also involve significant societal shifts if it entails the reintroduction of language usage (and consequent language rights) in educational and administrative spheres, as well as an increased presence and voice in governance matters. Consequently, revitalization initiatives are often met with resistance by authorities – whether local or national – due to the perceived empowerment they entail, which may be viewed as threatening by existing power structures. Some governments perceive revitalization efforts, along with Indigenous language usage more broadly, as steps toward self-governance and autonomy from established powers<sup>12</sup>.

Revitalization transcends being solely a sociolinguistic endeavor; rather, it is fundamentally a sociological process, with its resultant changes potentially carrying significance not only at the local level but also regionally or nationally. While this perspective may be considered assertive, it underscores the multifaceted nature of language revitalization, which encompasses social and political dimensions and brings forth a multitude of potential benefits and challenges that may not be immediately apparent from a linguistic standpoint.

Revitalization is an active endeavor, and the outcomes it yields are contingent upon investments made at various levels – individual, community, and societal. Given its dynamic nature, the goals, motivations, and benefits of revitalization efforts can and often do evolve over time. One of the primary motivations underpinning revitalization is the assertion or reclamation of identity. This is a driving force behind many revitalization initiatives and, in a sense, serves as an overarching motivation that encompasses the individual aspects outlined previously.

The concept of healing entails transcending past traumas, and regrettably, there are numerous individuals worldwide who have endured traumatic experiences related to the use of their language.

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<sup>12</sup> Brenzinger M., Yamamoto A., Aikawa N., Koundioubia D., Minasyan A., Dwyer A., et al. *Language vitality and endangerment*. 2003. URL: <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/doc/src/00120-EN.pdf>.

Healing through revitalization extends beyond addressing language-specific traumas; it serves as a significant mechanism for fostering resilience. Embracing a language can represent a means of reclaiming agency and steering one's destiny; it can serve as an act of political defiance, resisting linguistic and cultural assimilation, and challenging the legacy of colonization.

Many individuals initially embark on revitalization journeys with the aim of reconnecting with their ancestral language, only to discover that the benefits extend far beyond mere linguistic proficiency. Often, the very process of revitalization fosters unity and strengthens community bonds, bringing people together in a shared endeavor.

Active participation in community language revitalization efforts also serves to cultivate leadership and enhance research capabilities within the community.

Language and culture share a profound connection, with various forms of knowledge encapsulated within linguistic and cultural practices. While certain types of knowledge are conveyed through the words of a language, others are embedded within broader communicative customs.

Both physical and mental well-being are positively influenced by language revitalization, with the improvement in mental well-being being particularly noticeable. Individuals who actively engage in language revitalization often report experiencing a more positive outlook and heightened self-esteem, even if they only acquire a limited grasp of the language, such as a few words or greetings. There are several reasons for this phenomenon. Many communities facing language loss have undergone or are undergoing traumatic experiences, frequently stemming from a history of colonization that has inflicted profound psychological scars and eroded self-worth. Language revitalization represents a form of empowerment – a reclaiming of what was once taken away, a restoration of what was lost. It entails investing time in oneself, one's family, one's social circle, and one's community.

Language attrition commonly occurs due to a combination of stressors affecting speaker populations, including displacement from their native lands – a consequence of colonization, cultural upheaval, and historical trauma. The cumulative impact of these stressors can feel overwhelming. However, revitalization offers numerous potential benefits, serving as a vital means to alleviate these stressors, enhance overall well-being, and assert one's rights to self-determination<sup>13</sup>.

In order to combine cultural identity, cultural memory with reference to their Ukrainian revitalization, language technology tools are of importance.

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<sup>13</sup> Peter K. Austin, Sallabank J. *Endangered languages: Planning and revitalization. Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism*. 2011. P. 40–63.

Previous research in computational linguistics has addressed a wide array of topics concerning language, identity, and conflict, showcasing the versatility of computational methods in exploring nuanced linguistic phenomena<sup>14</sup>. For instance, studies have observed sentiment analysis of social media data as a means to comprehend public attitudes and emotional responses during times of crisis<sup>15</sup>. Through the utilization of advanced natural language processing algorithms, researchers have been able to extract and analyze sentiment from vast amounts of textual data, offering valuable insights into how language reflects and influences collective emotions amidst conflict situations. This research has not only provided a deeper understanding of public sentiment but has also highlighted the potential of computational linguistics in monitoring and assessing public reactions to conflict-related events in real-time.

Furthermore, computational linguistics has been instrumental in examining discourse related to nationalism and identity<sup>16</sup>. Denny and Spirling<sup>17</sup> employed topic modeling techniques to discern thematic patterns in political discourse, thereby shedding light on the discursive strategies employed to construct and negotiate national identities. By leveraging computational methods to analyze large corpora of textual data, researchers have identified underlying themes, rhetorical devices, and discursive shifts that contribute to the (re)construction of collective identities, especially in contexts marked by social influence. This body of research underscores the significance of computational linguistics in unraveling the complex interplay between language, power, and identity formation.

Moreover, research on computational approaches to cultural heritage preservation has underscored the importance of digital archives and linguistic analysis tools in documenting and safeguarding linguistic diversity<sup>18</sup>. Through the digitization of linguistic resources and the application of computational methods for language documentation, researchers have made significant strides in preserving endangered

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<sup>14</sup> Romanyshyn N. National identity in the poetry of English Romanticism. Lviv Politechnics Publishing house. 2024. 536 p.

<sup>15</sup> Albota S. Linguistic and Psychological Features of the Reddit News Post. *Proceedings of the 15th International Scientific and Technical Conference on Computer Sciences and Information Technologies (CSIT)*. 2020. P. 295–299. <https://doi.org/10.1109/CSIT49958.2020.9321991>.

<sup>16</sup> Denny M., Spirling A. Text Processing for Unsupervised Learning: Why it Matters, When it Misleads, and What To Do About it. *Political Analysis*. 2018. 26 (2). P. 1–22. <https://doi.org/10.1017/pan.2017.44>.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Borner W., Rohland H., Kral-Borner Ch., Karner L. Artificial Intelligence: New Pathways Towards Cultural Heritage. *Proceedings of the 25th International Conference on Cultural Heritage and New Technologies*. 2020.



languages and cultural heritage. Computational linguistics offers innovative solutions for linguistic revitalization efforts, enabling researchers to analyze and revitalize linguistic resources in the face of threats posed by globalization, urbanization, and conflict<sup>19</sup>. This research not only contributes to the preservation of linguistic diversity but also fosters a deeper appreciation for the cultural richness and linguistic complexity of diverse communities.

However, despite the advancements in computational linguistics, there remains a noticeable gap in the literature concerning the application of computational linguistic analysis to the study of Ukrainian identity and cultural memory during wartime. This paper seeks to bridge this gap by integrating computational methods with sociolinguistic approaches, offering a comprehensive analysis of how language shapes cultural identity and memory in the Ukrainian context. Through computational analysis of textual data, including war discourse, social media interactions, this research endeavors to uncover patterns of linguistic representation and cultural (re)production amidst conflict. By doing so, this study aims to contribute to a deeper understanding of the complexities of cultural identity formation and preservation in war-torn societies in the context of language revitalization, while also showcasing the potential of computational linguistics as a valuable tool for studying language and conflict dynamics.

## 2. Methods and materials upon discovering national identity conceptual content

Methods for studying conceptualizations of identity and its manifestations in language have been profoundly influenced by the theoretical frameworks the researchers adopt. With a common understanding that identities are constructed discursively most scholars support a holistic approach that blends various interdisciplinary, methodological, and specific source-based methods to examine identities as unique discourse phenomena<sup>20</sup>.

In this respect the access to the digitized archival materials, including letters, diaries, and official documents, from different repositories such as Polish Automatic Web corpus of Ukrainian language (PAWUK) and academic libraries are instrumental. This linguistic corpus containing Ukrainian texts acquired from the Internet articles, opinion pieces, and

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<sup>19</sup> Borner W., Rohland H., Kral-Borner Ch., Karner L. Artificial Intelligence: New Pathways Towards Cultural Heritage. *Proceedings of the 25th International Conference on Cultural Heritage and New Technologies*. 2020.

<sup>20</sup> Fukuyama F. Identity: The Demand for Dignity and the Politics of Resentment. 2018. 240 p.

Gitlin M. National Identity. 2020. 176 p.

editorials from reputable news websites and online media outlets covering events and developments related to the Ukrainian conflict offer valuable insights into past conflicts and provide a foundation for understanding the historical continuity of Ukrainian identity and cultural memory. The analysis of media representations of Ukrainian identity and cultural narratives within broader socio-political contexts is supported by considering the data of online forums, discussion boards, and community websites frequented by individuals with interests in Ukrainian history, culture, and language. By engaging with user-generated content and discussions, it is possible to uncover broad points of view and alternative challenges that may not be captured in the mainstream of media sources.

Some other methodological practices in this paper include using of: qualitative interviews by which we mean conducting interviews with individuals from the Ukrainian community, spanning different generations, as well as activists, educators, and policymakers. These interviews aim to gather firsthand insights into their experiences, perspectives, and motivations concerning language revitalization efforts amidst periods of conflict; conducting discourse analysis through examining various linguistic materials, including public speeches and cultural texts. This analysis seeks to uncover the strategies used to shape and negotiate Ukrainian cultural identity within the context of wartime conditions; overviewing language policy analysis via investigating the language policies enforced by governmental entities and institutions at different levels. This analysis aims to evaluate how these policies influence language usage, conservation efforts, and revitalization initiatives during times of conflict; providing sociolinguistic surveys to gather quantitative data on language skills, attitudes, and usage patterns among different demographic segments within the Ukrainian populace. Special emphasis is placed on regions impacted by conflict; some references to archival research by reviewing historical records, and cultural artifacts to trace the trajectory of Ukrainian cultural memory and language revitalization efforts in past conflicts and geopolitical contexts. The necessary materials for these methods may include recording devices for interviews, access to relevant linguistic databases, survey instruments, historical documents, digital recording equipment for fieldwork, and supplies for collaborative workshops, such as presentation materials and discussion aids.

With the preprocessed textual data prepared, there are applied various computational linguistic methodologies to extract valuable insights and patterns. These techniques encompass:

Corpora analysis: utilizing topic modeling algorithms to discern prevalent themes and subjects related to the Ukrainian conflict within the text corpus. By grouping words into coherent topics, recurrent patterns and

discursive motifs that reflect significant aspects of Ukrainian identity and cultural remembrance during wartime can be unveiled.

**Linguistic semantic analysis:** Employing sentiment analysis algorithms to evaluate the emotional tone and polarity of textual segments, identifying expressions of positivity, negativity, or neutrality within the discourse. This enables a researcher to monitor fluctuations in public sentiment and emotional reactions to wartime occurrences and cultural narratives.

**Interpretative techniques:** Implementing linguistic interpretation to recognize and extract named entities, such as individual names, organizational entities, and geographical locations mentioned in the text. This facilitates the mapping of networks involving individuals engaged in writing during wartime and shaping linguistic and cultural discourse amidst conflict.

The outcomes of the computational analysis undergo qualitative and quantitative interpretation to unveil significant patterns, insights, and trends within the textual data. To scrutinize the distribution of sentiment scores over time, pinpoint dominant topics and themes within the discourse, and investigate correlations between linguistic attributes and cultural depictions the application of iterative analysis and validation processes will cultivate a nuanced comprehension of how language is utilized to formulate and negotiate Ukrainian identity and cultural memory amidst the adversities of war.

Such a multidisciplinary linguistic approach allows us to focus mainly on detecting linguistic means, such as metaphors, images, lexical and syntactic features, linguosemantic analysis of textual fragments of the linguistic data described above.

The study of the dynamics of identity conceptualization in discourse requires the involvement of large empirical data provided by already created textual corpora of national language. Although language corpora are intended to serve specific purposes of linguistic investigations, the integration of corpus tool into Humanities has become a bright sign of interdisciplinary paradigm of modernity. Corpora are relatively new trend of national identity studies within lingua-cognitive and discursive-communicative paradigm<sup>21</sup>.

Corpus linguistics, accentuating the examination of extensive text collections unveils avenues for scholarly inquiry within the humanities and identity studies, which include: exploration of linguistic patterns that allows academics to delineate cultural and societal transformations; a

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<sup>21</sup> Dayrell, C., Ram-Prasad, C. & Griffith Dickson, G. Bringing Corpus Linguistics into Religious Studies: Selfrepresentation amongst various immigrant communities with religious identity. *Journal of Corpora and Discourse Studies*. 2020. Volume 3. P. 96–121.

Bakar K. Attitude and Identity Categorizations: A Corpus-based Study of Gender Representation. *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences*. 2014. Issue 112. P. 747–756. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2014.01.1226>.

comprehensive analysis of media content that expose the linguistic framing or characterization of distinct demographics; studies of discourses extracted from different platforms to elucidate the linguistic strategies that give insights into the intricacies of individual or collective identity articulation. The integration of corpus linguistics with discursive studies facilitates a broader comprehension of societal narratives and predominant discourses. For specific investigation in Humanities special corpora are created, developing an interdisciplinary corpus analysis that meets the expectations and needs of another discipline.

This research emphasizes the necessity of merging historical, socio-political, and linguistic insights to uncover the connections between concepts of Ukrainian identity (notably, the Ukrainian language) and the institutional and social contexts that influence discourses and, thereby, affect the changes of concepts' semantics. These changes can be traced diachronically in the corpus of national language or in subcorpora crated according to specified parameters, such as historical period, affiliation of text to specific functional styles, etc. The integration of corpus linguistics tools (that allow to operate with the diversity of quantitative data), cognitive linguistics (that allow to display the formation of conceptual semantics) and discourse studies (that explores how discourse constitutes social practice and is at the same time constituted by it) enhances our understanding of societal norms and stereotypes. This comprehensive approach also illuminates the dynamics of change in how concepts are structured, the prevalent modes of conceptual metaphorization that shape both personal and collective views of reality, and offers valuable insights into shifts in the axiological systems of societal contexts.

For the purpose of this research we focused on the cluster of phrases 'Ukrainian language /literature', word combination with attributes 'national' and 'nationalistic' and opposed to them "Russian language/literature", "soviet literature". By analyzing the frequency and combinability of these lexical units within certain time frames, it is possible to identify the emergence of connotative and evaluative meanings influenced by external contexts. This approach allows for the development of the axiological dimension of the Ukrainian language during the Soviet totalitarian regime and highlights the impact of discursive practices on its conceptual content.

### 3. Results and Discussion. Discursive deconstruction of Ukrainian language identity under Russian totalitarianism: a corpus-based analysis

The initial years of Soviet occupation in Ukraine (1920–1930), often referred to as "Ukrainization" may appear promising at first glance, but the term can be misleading. In reality, it represented a Soviet strategy aimed at suppressing the national-liberation aspirations of the Ukrainian people while consolidating Bolshevik authority in the Ukrainian SSR. This strategy

involved the placement of national personnel in Soviet, party, and social institutions and organizations, along with efforts to expand the ideological influence of the Communist Party over Ukrainian society by promoting the use of the Ukrainian language and incorporating “proletarian elements” into national culture. The concept of Soviet “Ukrainization” was primarily a tactic employed by Bolshevik leaders to strengthen their control, reflecting imperialist motives. Despite being publicly promoted as the compulsory learning of Ukrainian, its underlying goal was to bridge the gap between Russified urban areas and the Ukrainian countryside, foster closer ties between the working class and peasantry, and promote social stability in Ukrainian society, all of which were deemed essential for building a “communist future”. Analyzing corpus data can provide insights into how these processes unfolded.

The discursive dynamics of the concept Ukrainization. The lexeme’s Ukrainization (lemma українізація) frequency 681, relative frequency per million – 0.38.

Combinability reflects its essence as intentional, compulsory by its character: Ukrainization of party establishment, Komsomol, public servants, terms of Ukrainization, quick / slow pace of Ukrainization, oppression/control/opposition/conditions/achievements/commission/implementation; precipitation/intensification of actions; attributes: comprehensive, complete, overwhelming, moderate/radical Ukrainization, etc.

Corpus data provide evidences of creating and establishing deceptive ideological cliché of ‘radical and decisive measures’, ‘safeguarding equity of languages’, ‘just and equitable national/ethnic policy’, intensification of metaphorical senses of war (military metaphors) to struggle for, the frontline of Ukrainization, the victories of Ukrainization, defense of U. and alike (Table 1).

Table 1

**Corpus data referring to Ukrainization process (1920–1930)**

	Cooccurrences?	Candidates?	T-score	MI	LogDice
зловмисний	4	1,409	2.00	14.82	6.37
передчувати	4	2,811	2.00	13.82	5.46
провадитися	4	8,539	2.00	12.22	3.91
переведення	8	22,889	2.83	11.80	3.51
декрет	4	14,045	2.00	11.50	3.20
опір	4	35,134	2.00	10.18	1.89
апарат	10	123,696	3.16	9.68	1.40
поширюватися	3	44,703	1.73	9.42	1.13
партійний	3	53,520	1.73	9.16	0.87

Table 1 (continuance)

установа	7	182,503	2.64	8.61	0.33
радянський	12	353,345	3.45	8.43	0.15
довести	3	126,867	1.72	7.91	-0.37
перевірка	4	189,909	1.99	7.74	-0.54
галузь	4	222,163	1.99	7.52	-0.76
спосіб	4	288,367	1.99	7.14	-1.14
справа	16	1,453,326	3.96	6.81	-1.47
черга	3	310,962	1.71	6.62	-1.66
комісія	5	520,883	2.21	6.61	-1.67
школа	5	531,818	2.21	6.58	-1.70
партія	5	794,766	2.20	6.00	-2.28
їхній	4	785,920	1.96	5.70	-2.58
захід	4	808,879	1.96	5.65	-2.63
почати	4	814,201	1.96	5.64	-2.64
процес	3	616,876	1.70	5.63	-2.65
робота робот	4	860,394	1.96	5.56	-2.71

During this period, official documents emphasized that “Ukrainization” should entail more than just language adoption; it should encompass the entire cultural sphere, ensuring that Ukrainian personnel dominate all aspects of the country’s economic and cultural life. The decade of “Ukrainization” (1923–1933) represented a significant advancement in Ukrainian literature, art, theater, and cinema, despite ideological obstacles, signaling a cultural revival. Between 1923 and 1929, 85% of the press underwent Ukrainization, and prime theater venues were allocated to Ukrainian theaters. Encouraged by optimistic prospects, a majority of the Ukrainian elite actively promoted Ukrainianization efforts. Spearheaded by Mykola Skrypnyk, initiatives to extend Ukrainianization beyond the Ukrainian SSR to ethnically Ukrainian territories within the RSFSR (such as the Kursk, Voronezh, and Saratov regions, Kuban, and Kazakhstan) involved the introduction of Ukrainian-language education, press, literature distribution, and the establishment of Ukrainian cultural institutions, clubs, and educational facilities. Additionally, there was a tolerant approach to national minorities in Ukraine, ensuring their rights in administration, education, press, and theater. Despite some academic and literary circles viewing it as only partially meeting the natural rights of the Ukrainian people and warning against the resurgence of Russian imperial tendencies and Russification, the Ukrainian intelligentsia overwhelmingly endorsed and supported “Ukrainization”.

The most significant benchmark of Ukrainization was the adoption of a new variant of the Main Rules of Ukrainian Orthography in 1928 and its implementation into publishing and education.

The discursive dynamics of the concept language and Ukrainian language: (лемма мова, лемма мовний). Frequency of lemma ‘language’ in 1920–1930 corpus – 18, 638, relative frequency per million – 12.48. Frequency of lemma ‘language/linguistic’ (as adjective) -184 (0.1 per million). This high frequency indicates the significance of the concept of language in the context of so called ‘national and language questions’ as discursive practice and instrument of soviet ideology of Ukrainization. The highest in frequency are combinations of lemma language with concepts national, nominations of national/ethnic languages; contextual clustering with concepts of learning/ studying, acquisition, mastering, comprehension and creative manifestations like poetic, literary, artistic, translation. Alongside its terminological usage as a notion of linguistics, it manifests the high metaphoric productivity (living, life, robust, creative, thriving, etc).

The discursive dynamics of the concept Ukrainian language vs. Russian language. Frequency, combinability and distribution: cql [лемма="український"][лемма="мова"], 1,814 (0.914 per million); cql [лемма="російський"][лемма="мова"] 390 (0.018 per million). ‘Ukrainian language’ combinability: conceptual profiles – linguistic term, linguistic fact with special properties, cultural fact/ cultural value; focus of attention; instrument of politics / power. Conceptual domains based on the contextual parameters – object of investigation / study; means of communication; school/educational establishment/ educational activity; local/areal distribution, popularity (Table 2).

Table 2

**Corpus data with reference to discursive dynamics of the concept language and Ukrainian language**

Lemma	Cooccurrences?	Candidates?	T-score	MI	LogDice
заведення	14	1,944	3.74	12.86	6.93
невластивий	14	2,625	3.74	12.43	6.69
інструменталь	7	631	2.65	13.49	6.55
дієприкметник	11	2,638	3.32	12.07	6.34
дієприслівник	6	715	2.45	13.08	6.28
діловодство	10	2,946	3.16	11.78	6.11
відріжнати	4	198	2.00	14.35	6.03
датов	4	288	2.00	13.81	5.96
зворот	17	7,232	4.12	11.25	5.94
дієслівний	10	3,787	3.16	11.41	5.87
милозвучність	4	457	2.00	13.14	5.85
писаний	16	7,741	4.00	11.06	5.78
акузатив	4	601	2.00	12.75	5.76
правопис	16	8,543	4.00	10.92	5.66
словянський	4	797	2.00	12.34	5.65

Table 2 (continuance)

богослужбовий	4	1,068	2.00	11.92	5.51
друкування	6	2,773	2.45	11.13	5.42
євангелія	3	487	1.73	12.64	5.42
пр.	3	560	1.73	12.44	5.37
граматик граматика	5	2,176	2.24	11.21	5.36
робітниче- селянський	3	613	1.73	12.30	5.34
звуковий	14	10,504	3.74	10.43	5.22
українізувати	3	918	1.73	11.72	5.17
орудний	3	1,162	1.73	11.38	5.05
ріжниця	4	2,267	2.00	10.83	5.01
малоруський	3	1,262	1.73	11.26	5.00
інфінітив	3	1,292	1.73	11.23	4.98
граматика граматик	7	5,449	2.64	10.38	4.98
народний	13	11,965	3.60	10.13	4.95
провадитися	9	8,122	3.00	10.16	4.89
Тимченко	6	5,114	2.45	10.24	4.83
висловлюючись	3	1,823	1.73	10.73	4.76
Муха муха	4	3,092	2.00	10.39	4.74
мішанина	3	2,045	1.73	10.57	4.67
лектор	5	4,759	2.23	10.09	4.64
Югієнко	5	4,828	2.23	10.06	4.62
перекручувати	3	2,198	1.73	10.46	4.61
переводитися	4	3,719	2.00	10.12	4.57
відмінок	6	6,522	2.45	9.89	4.56
українознавство	5	5,255	2.23	9.94	4.53
знавець	9	11,004	3.00	9.72	4.52
конспект	3	2,471	1.73	10.29	4.52
Коротка короткий	3	2,541	1.73	10.25	4.50
євангелія євангеліє	5	5,456	2.23	9.89	4.49
прислівник	4	4,062	2.00	9.99	4.48
письменство	8	10,437	2.82	9.63	4.42
письмо	18	25,827	4.24	9.49	4.42
нарис	11	15,272	3.31	9.54	4.40
згоджуватися	3	2,936	1.73	10.05	4.37
перевід	3	2,974	1.73	10.03	4.36
катедра	4	4,662	2.00	9.79	4.34
перекладати	12	17,747	3.46	9.45	4.33
євангеліє	4	5,151	2.00	9.65	4.23
прикметник	9	14,261	3.00	9.35	4.20
порадник	3	3,571	1.73	9.76	4.19
українізація	6	9,053	2.45	9.42	4.18



Table 2 (continuance)

перекладений	5	7,271	2.23	9.47	4.17
незнання	4	5,515	2.00	9.55	4.16
перекласти	15	25,769	3.87	9.23	4.16
засвоїти	5	7,467	2.23	9.44	4.14
фонетичний	4	5,854	2.00	9.46	4.10
родовий	6	9,829	2.45	9.30	4.08
реферат	3	4,411	1.73	9.46	3.98
учити	5	8,841	2.23	9.19	3.94

‘Russian language’ combinability (Table 3): less variegated combinability; dominating conceptual profile – means of communication; conceptual domains defined on the basis of contextual environment: language of writing/writers; historical references and analysis.

Table 3

### Corpus data with reference to ‘Russian language’ combinability

Lemma	Cooccurrences	Candidates	T-score	MI	LogDice
український	5	1,370	2.24	15.31	6.73
писаний	5	7,741	2.24	12.81	4.37
перекладений	3	7,271	1.73	12.16	3.72
підручник	5	39,802	2.23	10.45	2.04
повість	3	30,108	1.73	10.11	1.70
провадити	3	31,003	1.73	10.07	1.66
переклад	4	79,607	2.00	9.12	0.72
видаватися	3	61,643	1.73	9.08	0.67
українська український	8	168,916	2.82	9.04	0.63
вір	5	244,414	2.23	7.83	-0.58
газета	4	268,080	1.99	7.37	-1.03
школа	7	563,700	2.63	7.11	-1.30
зовсім	3	395,317	1.71	6.40	-2.01
праця	3	411,253	1.71	6.34	-2.07
написати	3	464,178	1.71	6.16	-2.24
майже	4	684,028	1.97	6.02	-2.38
добре добрий	3	525,420	1.70	5.99	-2.42
писати	4	733,213	1.97	5.92	-2.48
говорити	4	831,470	1.96	5.74	-2.67
мова	3	733,189	1.69	5.50	-2.90
дуже	4	1,450,780	1.93	4.94	-3.47

The analysis of corpus data on the concepts of ‘Ukrainian language’ and ‘Russian language’ reveals a significant disparity in frequency, combinability, and distribution between the two languages within the specified period (1920-1930). The data indicates a more substantial presence and usage of the Ukrainian language in the corpus.

This discursive dynamics reflects, however, a very intriguing and deceptive ideological move of seemingly active promotion and integration of Ukrainian into many facets of public life, contrasting with the Russian language’s more limited and specific usage. By officially endorsing the Ukrainian language in education, administration, and public life, the Bolsheviks aimed to gain the loyalty of the Ukrainian populace while also attempting to counteract nationalist movements that could threaten Soviet control. The corpus data from the 1920s provides empirical support for the historical accounts of the Ukrainization policy as a nuanced approach by the Bolsheviks to navigate the complexities of national identity in Ukraine.

Ukrainian literature vs. Russian literature: Frequency, combinability and distribution cql [lemma="російський"][lemma="література"], 109 cql [lemma="український"][lemma="література"], 476 (0.25 per million) frequency of lemma ‘Ukrainian literature’ – 476 (0.25 per million) frequency of lemma ‘russian literature’ – 109 (0.058 per million)

Corpus provide evidence in favour of Ukrainian literature conceptual significance and its discursive productivity. Based on corpus data observation we can define the following conceptual profiles: Ukrainian language as a societal phenomenon (as an object of attention, interest or lack of interest in certain social strata), an object of investigation/ study (predominantly from historical perspective).

Yet, this frequency is somewhat misleading, concealing various discursive strategies and manipulations. Contextual analysis shows that while profiling the concepts of Ukrainian and Russian literature (including the history of Ukrainian literature, Ukrainian writers/poets, etc.), there’s a tendency to assign implicit evaluative connotations to both concepts. Ukrainian literature is depicted as gaining genuine value and significance post-“October”, a metaphor for the October Revolution. It suggests that the true development of Ukrainian literature began only in the Soviet era, branding anything predating this period or not aligning with its style and function as bourgeois and nationalistic.

Ukrainian literature is portrayed as an instrument of ideology and educational/political activities, such as Komsomol clubs dedicated to Ukrainian literature and societies of new Ukrainian writers, enforcing the compulsory engagement of Soviet youth with Ukrainian literature. Conversely, Russian literature is esteemed as a paradigm of artistic and

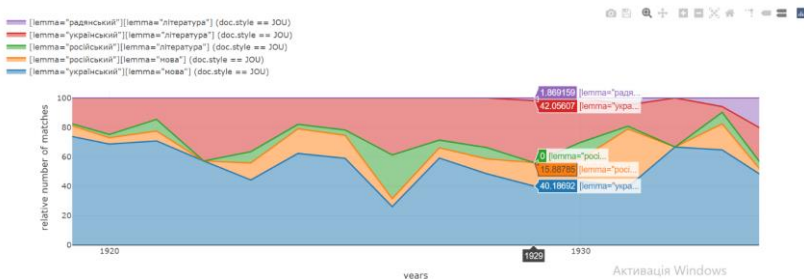
stylistic value, suggesting that the enrichment of ethnic literature could benefit from Russian artistic and stylistic examples.

The analysis also highlights a manipulative tactic of ‘appeal to authority,’ where authors unintentionally manipulate facts about the close literary interactions between representatives of Russian and Ukrainian literature. It notes how prominent Ukrainian writers and poets of the previous century lauded the achievements of Russian literature and its influence on the development of Ukrainian literature.

Interestingly, all discussions on the concepts of the Ukrainian and Russian languages and their respective literatures are detached from the context of nationhood, ethnicity, or national development. This omission may reflect a strategic de-emphasis on national identity in favor of promoting a unified Soviet cultural and ideological framework.

In this respect, the analysis was supplemented by considering the adjectives soviet and adjectival word combination soviet literature (лемма радянський), 8,999 (4.8 per million).

Frequency of the adjective ‘soviet’ – 8,999 (4.8 per million) (Fig. 1). ‘Soviet’ as an attribute is applied to nouns denoting all aspects of social life, agency, activities, social, professional, creative manifestation, communication and information distribution, thus, highlighting the creation of a new soviet reality. However, the very concept of soviet literature, according to the corpus data, emerged in 1929. The following graph visualizes this process:



**Fig. 1. Frequency of the adjective ‘soviet’ – 8,999 (4.8 per million)**

Metaphors as discursive markers of manipulation: (лемма мовний), 59; (лемма літературний), 2,777 (1.56 per million). Frequency of lemma ‘language (adj.) – 59 (0.033 per million). Frequency of lemma ‘literary’ – 2,777 (1.56 per million).

The concepts are used in their direct terminological meanings and can be profiled as attributes of creative activity; linguistic and literary phenomena in contexts are described in their historical perspective.

However, we observe the emergence of the metaphor of a "linguistic front," proletarian literature, and literature as a structure and hierarchy. In the context of Ukrainization, all this also indicates the destruction of the true essence of literature, and the substitution of ethnic and national issues with artificially created concepts. This manipulation reflects a broader strategy of the policy of Ukrainization, while ostensibly promoting the Ukrainian language and literature, it paradoxically served to undermine the genuine cultural development by prioritizing political over cultural and national values.

In the latter part of the 1920s, initiatives aimed at revitalizing Ukrainian culture were suppressed, and any movements toward independence were thwarted. The policy of Ukrainization was halted by 1933 as the focus shifted to suppressing national expressions and bringing cultural activities firmly under Communist control. By the late 1930s, the Soviet regime had completely abandoned Ukrainization in favor of Russification, viewing it as essential for the centralization and unification of the USSR. Throughout the 1930s, the Soviet authorities embarked on a campaign of extermination targeting the Ukrainian national elite, which included writers, poets, composers, actors, linguists, and philosophers who actively supported and promoted national revival efforts. This dark period, known as the "Executed Renaissance," saw the tragic loss of these individuals. The number of Ukrainians, representing the "Executed Renaissance," who were subjected to repression and ultimately killed from the 1920s to the late 1930s, amounts to 260 thousand (<https://www.ukrinform.ua/rubric-society/3027056-rozstrilane-vidrodzenna-sbu-opriludnila-dokumenti-kdb-pro-doli-represovanih.html>).

The shift in Bolshevik national policy led to an onslaught against the Ukrainian language during the period from 1930 to 1940. Unable to outright prohibit Ukrainian as the independent language of the nation, they sought to undermine its essence. The decision was made to "revise" and "reassess" the principles of Ukrainian Orthography established by the Main Rules of Ukrainian Orthography in 1928. On March 7, 1930, the Presidium of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences issued a resolution for the reform of linguistic institutions, resulting in the dissolution of the Institute of Ukrainian Scientific Language and various committees focusing on lexicography, normative grammar of the Ukrainian language, dialectology studies, and the history of the Ukrainian language. In their place, the Research Institute of Linguistics was established, led by individuals with strong pro-Russian views. Subsequently, on April 6, 1933, under the directives of the new leadership of the People's Commissariat for Education of the Ukrainian SSR, a commission was formed with the mandate to address the perceived artificial segregation of the Ukrainian language from the Russian language in lexicographical works.

This commission aimed to eliminate nationalist orthographic rules that were seen as aligning the Ukrainian language with bourgeois cultures from Poland and Czechoslovakia.

During the Central Committee meeting of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of Ukraine on April 26, 1933, concerns were raised regarding the infiltration of nationalist elements into the education sector, hindering the implementation of the Soviet national policy. Resolutions from this meeting-initiated actions aimed at "Eradicating and Destroying Nationalist Roots in the Linguistic Field." These directives included: immediately halting all publications of Ukrainian dictionaries, conducting a thorough review of existing dictionaries and terminologies, standardizing technical terminology to align with prevailing Russian standards in the scientific domain, carrying out ideological purges among linguists to remove those with bourgeois-nationalist tendencies, revising guidelines for language usage in the Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopedia, developing comprehensive directives to promote Ukrainian Soviet culture in the linguistic field using genuinely Bolshevik approaches, reforming Ukrainian orthography.

On May 3, 1933, the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Education approved a resolution titled "On Amending Certain Aspects of the Official Ukrainian Orthography." This revision of orthography was ratified without thorough public discussion and lacked scientific justification for the amendments, which affected various levels of the Ukrainian language, including its phonological, morphological structures, and syntax<sup>22</sup>.

The revision of orthography resulted in the expulsion of all works by bourgeois linguists in terminology, lexicography, and syntax. This purge was accompanied by the creation of new dictionaries covering both general and specialized terminologies. The Soviet regime, focusing on "Nationalist Deviations within the Party Organization and Strategies to Combat Them," denounced Ukrainian linguists—particularly the authors of the 1928 Orthography—for their overt promotion of "national consciousness." A decree from the Secretary of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of Ukraine's Central Committee emphasized the critical importance of the language and orthography issue in the fight against bourgeois nationalism and Ukrainian nationalist tendencies. The Central Committee deemed this matter of utmost importance, noting that bourgeois nationalists, mainly from Western Ukrainian emigrant circles, had actively sought to corrupt the Ukrainian language and terminology to distance Ukrainian culture from its Russian counterpart.

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<sup>22</sup> Dmytryshyn B. *Moscow and the Ukraine, 1918–1953: A Study of Russian Bolshevik Nationality Policy*. 1956.

Liber G. *Soviet Nationality Policy, Urban Growth, and Identity Change in the Ukrainian SSR, 1923–1934*. 1992.

In February 1934, the new "Ukrainian Orthography (1933)" was introduced. Its preamble stated that "The principal amendments aim to remove all guidelines that steered the Ukrainian language towards the bourgeois cultures of Polish and Czech, misrepresented the modern Ukrainian language, and created a divide between the Ukrainian and Russian languages." In August 1937, the continuity of Ukrainian linguistics development was completely disrupted by the physical elimination or exile of the staff of the "Institute of Linguistics," including most Ukrainian scholars and authors of the previous Orthography<sup>23</sup>.

The above described social and political processes are reflected in combinability of lemmas 'Ukrainian language, Russian language, Ukrainian, Russian, soviet literature' and other correlates 'orthography, dictionary' and processes of conceptual metaphorizations (Table 4).

Table 4

**Lemmas of Ukrainian language and Russian language frequency  
in corpus 1930–1939**

lemma	frequency
Ukrainian language	349 (0.2 per million)
Russian language	108 (0.06 per million)

Between 1930 and 1933, the conceptualization of "Ukrainian language" predominantly revolved around its role as an object of study, a means of oral and written communication, and the language of literary translations, among others. This period recognized the Ukrainian language's multifaceted roles, highlighting its significance in scholarly work, for example:

1. *Meanwhile, as English, French, and Italian languages beautifully adopt many words formed during our revolution, pests occupying even leading positions in the People's Commissariat for Education were removing from the Ukrainian language those words that enriched it during the years of revolution, pulling it backward.*

2. *This adoption of so-called "folk" words coincides with the "orientation towards the West," that is, towards Polish and Czech languages, artificially detaching the Ukrainian language from its brotherly Russian language.*

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<sup>23</sup> Васильєв В. УКРАЇНСЬКИЙ ПРАВОПИС 1928. *Енциклопедія історії України: Україна-Українці*. URL: [http://www.history.org.ua/?termin=ukrajinskyj\\_pravopys\\_1928](http://www.history.org.ua/?termin=ukrajinskyj_pravopys_1928).

Енциклопедія України. Електронне видання. URL: [http://resource.history.org.ua/cgi-bin/eiu/history.exe?Z21ID=&I21DBN=EIU&P21DBN=EIU&S21STN=1&S21REF=10&S21FMT=eiu\\_all&C21COM=S&S21CNR=20&S21P01=0&S21P02=0&S21P03=TRN=&S21COLORTERMS=0&S21STR=ukrajinskyj\\_pravopys\\_1928](http://resource.history.org.ua/cgi-bin/eiu/history.exe?Z21ID=&I21DBN=EIU&P21DBN=EIU&S21STN=1&S21REF=10&S21FMT=eiu_all&C21COM=S&S21CNR=20&S21P01=0&S21P02=0&S21P03=TRN=&S21COLORTERMS=0&S21STR=ukrajinskyj_pravopys_1928)

3. *At the same time, Ukrainian nationalists sought to detach the structure of the Ukrainian language from the living language of the Ukrainian masses.*

4. *Thus, the pests tried to contaminate the Ukrainian language, detach it from the living language of Ukrainian workers and peasants, and artificially separate it from the brotherly Russian language.*

5. *Skrypnyk could not have been unaware that he himself embarked on a path of alienating the Ukrainian language from Russian and bringing it closer to Polish.*

1. *Тим часом, як до англійської, французької, італійської мов прекрасно прищеплюється чимало слів, утворених за нашої революції, шкідники, що посіли навіть керівні посади в Наркомосі, викидали з української мови ті слова, на які вона збагатіла за роки революції, тягли її назад.*

2. *Це прищеплювання так званих «народних» слів збігається з «орієнтацією на Захід», тобто на польську й чеську мови, на штучний відрив української мови від братерської російської.*

3. *Водночас українські націоналісти добивалися відірвати будову української мови від живої мови українських мас.*

4. *Отак намагалися шкідники забруднювати українську мову, відірвати її від живої мови українських робітників і селян, відривати її штучно, від братерської російської мови.*

5. *Скрипник не міг не знати, що він сам став на шлях відчуження української мови від російської й наближення її до польської.*

However, from 1934 to 1939, a profound shift in the concept content reflects the underlying ideological processes of the time. The analysis of contextual usage during this latter period reveals a diverse combinability of terms that allows for the identification of main conceptual domains and discursive strategies of their textual representations (Table 5).

Table 5

**Identification of main conceptual domains and discursive strategies of their textual representations**

<b>Conceptual domain</b>	<b>Discursive strategies</b>
Rules/regulations, orthography, estimations/reconsiderations of Language Norms	Evaluations of existing linguistic norms, often leading to their modification or outright rejection in favor of new Soviet-aligned guidelines. Changes and adjustments in Ukrainian spelling rules to reflect ideological preferences, often aligning more closely with Russian orthography

Table 5 (continuance)

Alienation vs. attraction to russian language	Close aligning with russian as evidence of progress, the portrayal of the russian language as a 'brother language' and the encouragement of linguistic convergence as a sign of cultural and ideological advancement.
Purification/normalization from nationalistic elements. Internationalization of Ukrainian Language	Extolling the initiatives to incorporate elements from other languages, particularly Russian, under the guise of promoting unity of proletariat.
Contamination of Ukrainian language with nationalistic elements	Descriptions of the Ukrainian language being polluted by nationalist or counterrevolutionary elements.
Artificial Preservation of Old/Nationalistic Rules	Critiques of the retention of linguistic norms seen as outdated or overly nationalistic, contrary to the Soviet vision of a unified linguistic policy.
Old norms contradiction the living language/language practices	Arguments that traditional linguistic norms were out of step with the "living language" and the everyday linguistic practices of the working masses, including the proletariat.
Reestablishing of new Ukrainian orthography as struggle	Conceptual metaphorization: The consolidation of the militaristic metaphor of the "front/ language front", "language as a frontline". The use of the "front" metaphor as discursive strategy reflects the militarization of cultural and linguistic efforts, highlighting a radical approach to reshaping Ukrainian cultural expressions.
Status and relations	Substantiating the leading function and higher status of Russian, ascribing local and regional status to Ukrainian: reference to authorities of famous Ukrainians who allegedly praised the Russian language
Education	Observations on the diminishing role of the Ukrainian language in educational settings, particularly in secondary and higher education, reflecting a broader strategy to reduce its prominence and influence.



Yet, the corpus analysis indicates that the concept of literature's deconstruction occurred later, in the post-war era. This observation complements the discussion regarding the systematic dismantling of the Ukrainian language and identity through orthographic changes and the undermining of its intrinsic structure. While these aggressive policies targeted the language directly during the 1930s, literature was somewhat shielded from this direct ideological assault until the post-war period. The eventual infiltration of literature by similar forces aimed at aligning it with prevailing ideological narratives underscores a broader strategy of cultural assimilation and the redefinition of identity under Soviet control.

It is important to note that while the degradation of the language was already underway, the literary sphere remained relatively unaffected during that period. However, there was a significant conceptual shift in the representation of the Ukrainian language in the corpus. It transitioned from being a marker of national identity to being utilized as a tool for promoting a Soviet or common identity, which effectively undermined the distinct Ukrainian identity. These changes reflect a concerted effort to reshape the Ukrainian language and identity to align more closely with Soviet ideologies and practices. This era witnessed a deliberate manipulation of linguistic policies and practices aimed at ideological reform, with the goal of undermining the foundations of Ukrainian national consciousness.

The difference in frequencies between the phrases "Ukrainian language" and "Russian language" suggests an apparent increase in the conceptual significance of the former. However, this increase actually represents a form of conceptual displacement. The idea of substituting authentic principles of Ukrainian orthography with alien norms under the guise of purification or normalization reflects a destructive social policy that resulted in the formation of distorted stereotypes regarding the artificial closeness of nations.

The discourse from 1930 to 1939 reveals a concerted effort to suppress the Ukrainian language and reverse the progress of Ukrainization. Examples illustrate how the issue of orthography and its connection to identity, particularly the nullification of the 1928 orthography, played a central role. While an outright ban on the language was unfeasible, a strategy of linguistic sabotage was implemented, aimed at dismantling its structural integrity. This systematic destruction of linguistic elements equates to the dismantling of identity itself.

By altering orthographic rules and systematically eroding the language's distinct characteristics, the policy didn't just change how Ukrainian was written, but also how it was perceived and utilized, directly impacting the identity of its speakers. This was a deliberate tactic to weaken the national consciousness associated with the Ukrainian language and, consequently, undermine the process of Ukrainization that had gained momentum in the

early 20th century. The manipulation of orthography and the intentional pollution of the language can be likened to the transformation of metaphors: from a word being the heart of the language, it became a weapon aimed at the heart of the language, all amidst the backdrop of the physical extermination of Ukrainians during the Holodomor of 1932–1933.

In the subsequent decades, aggressive Russification of Ukraine continued, fueled by the discursive processes described, which laid the groundwork for the deconstruction of Ukrainian identity.

### 3. Discussions

The significant presence of the Ukrainian language in the corpus, as opposed to the Russian language, reveals an ideological strategy rather than genuine support for Ukrainian cultural autonomy. The Bolsheviks' endorsement of the Ukrainian language in various domains of public life was a calculated move to counteract nationalist tendencies and ensure loyalty to the Soviet regime. The disparity in frequency, combinability, and distribution between the concepts of the Ukrainian and Russian languages, along with the portrayal of Ukrainian literature as ideologically aligned with Soviet principles post-October Revolution, indicates a manipulation of discursive strategies. This manipulation aimed at redefining the value and significance of Ukrainian literature within the Soviet ideological framework, branding pre-Soviet literary works as bourgeois and nationalistic.

The depiction of Ukrainian literature as an instrument for ideological and educational purposes, as well as the emphasis on Russian literature as a paradigm of artistic value, underscores the Soviet regime's effort to shape literary discourse in a way that supports its political and ideological goals. This approach highlights the complex interplay between language, literature, and political power.

The strategic omission of discussions on nationhood, ethnicity, or national development in the context of the Ukrainian and Russian languages and their literatures reflects a broader Soviet strategy to suppress national identities in favor of a unified Soviet identity. This de-emphasis serves the regime's objective of centralizing control and fostering a collective Soviet consciousness.

The analysis of corpus data concerning the verbalization of the concepts of the 'Ukrainian language / literature' and 'Russian language/ literature', soviet literature and the related subconcept 'Ukrainization' during the 1920-1940 period unveils a meticulously calculated, multifaceted approach by the Soviet regime towards the destruction of the Ukrainian language and suppression of Ukrainian national sentiments. This policy, while ostensibly aiming to elevate the Ukrainian language and culture within the public

sphere, served a dual purpose: to pacify Ukrainian nationalist movements and to solidify Soviet control over Ukraine. The efforts to "renew" and "reconsider" Ukrainian orthography and the dissolution of linguistic institutions, was a part of a broader Soviet strategy to integrate Ukrainian culture into a unified Soviet identity, while simultaneously combating and suppressing national development.

The analysis of corpus data reveals a conceptual displacement in the representation of the Ukrainian language, transitioning from a marker of national identity to an instrument of Soviet ideology. This shift reflects a comprehensive effort to assimilate Ukrainian identity into the Soviet ideological framework, utilizing linguistic policies and practices as tools for ideological transformation.

The described processes of discursive deconstruction of Ukrainian language identity in the first decades of soviet occupation and totalitarian regime should be taken in consideration as one of the impediments for language identity reconstruction and revitalization efforts in contemporary Ukraine under the conditions of war.

The findings resulting from the examination of linguistic methods for revitalizing cultural identity during wartime in Ukraine are diverse and substantial. Ukrainian language functions as a fundamental anchor for preserving and revitalizing cultural heritage amidst conflict. Efforts to restore and advocate for the use of Ukrainian language play a vital role in maintaining cultural identity during times of war.

Linguistic initiatives aimed at revitalizing language empower Ukrainian communities by instilling a sense of ownership and agency over their cultural heritage. Through active participation in language preservation endeavors, individuals and communities assert their identity and combat the erosion of linguistic and cultural traditions.

Successful language revitalization strategies were community-driven, respecting the autonomy and agency of local stakeholders. Ethical considerations, such as acknowledging diverse linguistic practices and avoiding linguistic dominance, are crucial for ensuring the sustainability and inclusivity of revitalization efforts.

Addressing the complex challenges of cultural identity revitalization during wartime necessitates collaboration across disciplines like linguistics, cultural studies, conflict resolution, and community development. Integrating insights from various fields enables the development of comprehensive solutions that tackle the multifaceted aspects of linguistic and cultural revitalization.

The study highlights practical implications for policymakers, educators, and community leaders engaged in cultural preservation and revitalization endeavors. Prioritizing linguistic diversity and heritage preservation in

educational curricula, media representation, and public discourse can bolster the enduring preservation of Ukrainian cultural memory amidst conflict.

The exploration of linguistic approaches underscores the ongoing need for dialogue, engagement, and collaboration among stakeholders at local, national, and international levels. By fostering partnerships and sharing best practices, communities can harness linguistic revitalization as a means of cultural resilience and empowerment in the face of adversity.

## CONCLUSIONS

To conclude, Ukraine was linguistically represented within the English-language media discourse as a state which is struggling and does not surrender. Corpus-assisted approach to the research allowed to identify the word Ukraine and its lexical patterns (Ukrainian, Ukrainians, Ukrainian's) among the rest of the corpora keywords (in terms of target corpus English Trends as of genre of news articles and reference corpus English Web 2021) comprising keywords analysis along with allocating collocations of the word Ukraine. Statistical data representation of frequency values towards keywords and collocations as well as keywords keyness score was provided and linguistically interpreted.

In conclusion, the study emphasizes the crucial role of linguistic methods in rejuvenating Ukrainian cultural memory during wartime. By acknowledging the intrinsic connection between language and cultural identity and prioritizing community-driven, ethically sound initiatives, stakeholders can collectively safeguard and celebrate Ukraine's rich linguistic and cultural heritage amidst the trials of conflict.

The research reveals the complex interplay between identity conceptualization and language through corpus linguistics and discourse analysis tools, combining various interdisciplinary methods to examine identity as a unique discourse phenomenon. The integration of corpus linguistics into humanities, highlighted by the adoption of corpus tools for analyzing large textual corpora, marks a significant shift towards an interdisciplinary paradigm in modernity. This methodology allows for the empirical study of national language corpora to uncover patterns and changes in the conceptualization of identity within societal and cultural contexts. The focus on Ukrainian identity and language, particularly in the context of Soviet totalitarian regime, showcases the potential of corpus linguistics and discourse analysis to reveal the axiological dimensions of language and its evolution in response to external pressures.

The multidisciplinary approach applied for the analysis of Ukrainian identity discursive construction underscores the intricate relationship between language policies, literature, and political control during the Soviet era in Ukraine. It reveals how the Soviet regime used language and

literature as tools for ideological manipulation, aiming to suppress nationalist sentiments and enforce a homogeneous Soviet identity, ultimately impacting the development of Ukrainian national consciousness and cultural expression.

## SUMMARY

This paper examines the revitalization of Ukrainian cultural memory within a wartime context, focusing on the role of language as a tool for cultural preservation and identity formation. By analyzing language policies, practices, and discourses in Ukraine, the study elucidates the complex interplay between language, culture, and identity during periods of conflict. Utilizing a multidisciplinary approach that integrates corpus linguistics, sociolinguistics, and cultural studies, the research highlights the impact of historical Soviet policies on the Ukrainian language and identity. The findings demonstrate how contemporary efforts to revive the Ukrainian language serve as acts of cultural resilience and defiance against ongoing geopolitical pressures. Through computational analysis of textual data, the study uncovers patterns of linguistic representation and cultural production that contribute to a deeper understanding of the dynamics of cultural identity preservation in war-torn societies. The research underscores the importance of linguistic revitalization in fostering collective memory, resistance, and cultural continuity amidst adversity.

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