Soviet Conceptualization of NASYLSTVO (VIOLENCE): Based on the Texts of the Ukrainian SSR Newspaper the *Molod Ukraïny* of 1960[*]

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The present study offers a diachronic approach to violence concept modeling. Articles from the *Molod Ukraïny* of 1960 dealing with or mentioning the issue of violence were analysed from a linguoconceptual perspective. Four thematically linked categories of articles present violence in slightly different ways. While the foreign news and reports on daily manifestations of violence actualize a socially significant concept of violence, in the articles on heroism during the Great Patriotic War and other significant events, the concept appears as ethical. Mental representation of violence is connected with the concepts of winner, martyr, hero, evil, and enemy.

Key words: concept, violence, aggression, frame-modeling, diachrony

1. Introduction

Violence appears to have permeated most spheres of our life as it seems to burst from every existing media in the form of news reports, video games, films and what not. With the rise of media violence, the awareness of connection between the former and crime rates has also increased (see Bushman & Anderson 2001, Huesmann & Taylor 2006, Bayraktar 2013). This has resulted in a swelling of academic interest in the problem of violence from the philosophical (Žižek 2008, Eckstrand & Yates 2011), artistic (Smith & Boyson 2002, Moroz 2013), cultural (Eller 2006), psychological (Berishaj 2001, Dutton 2007) and other perspectives, to name but a few. The topic of violence has also been quite popular in literary (see Pavlychko 2002, Eagleton 2003, Bachner 2011) and linguistic (see Klein 2013, Smith 2013) research papers. Cognitive linguistics, a branch of descriptive linguistic studies, focusing on the relationship between language and mind, which employs methods from a variety of more or less related disciplines such as neuroscience, statistics, mathematics, information technology and others, has also contributed to the investigation of violence (see Sánchez-García & Blanco-Carrión 2007, Hart 2013); yet this contribution is not as extensive as it could have been.

This article is written in the framework of conceptology, a cognitive linguistic school popular among post-Soviet scholars. Vorobjova (2013:11) wrote:

There exist … two possible, yet opposing, scenarios of further development of conceptology as a branch of cognitive studies: extensive (i.e., further extension by way of accumulating more data about concepts and describing them in a conventional way) and intensive, which is aimed at finding the new tangency points, new perspectives of how to look into concepts and their systems on the basis of heuristically important conclusions about their structure, content, inter-connection and other constitutive and combinatory features.[1]

At present, the field seems to be developing in the extensive way, within which VIOLENCE is described as a socially-significant, ethnic and didactic concept (Gazizulina 2013:4, 9). Yet, what has not been in sight regarding the concept is the diachronic approach accepted here which makes the paper quite topical. The aim is to look at the conceptualization of violence in the Soviet newspaper discourse of 1960. The object of the present study is to look at the linguistic means of conveying the idea of violence in the *Molod Ukraïny* newspaper of 1960. The subject matter of the research is the mechanisms of concept modeling. This research will be of value to both journalists and linguists as it offers a look at how propaganda helps to instill a certain image by manipulating the verbal medium. It may be of interest to the general public as well as it might help them to become more critical of the information coming from mass media.

2. Material and methods

During the Soviet era, the media was controlled with regard to its content and style of writing, including that of reporting violence. The term "brutality" (Rus. *zhestokost*, Ukr. *zhorstokist*), associated with violence in society, was used in jurisprudence as an essential element of an offence, and in 1960s was extended in its meaning to include not only intended bodily harm having an element of torture but also psychiatric experience.[2] Yet, the violence (Rus. *nasiliie*, Ukr. *nasylstvo*), which was extensively practiced in the Soviet states and even encouraged (Prokopenko 2016:9), was not something openly mentioned. The choice of 1960 is also justified by

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[1] The translations offered in the text are made by the author of the article, and may be a subject of debate due to semantic or structural differences of the languages.
[2] Please see Lektsii.com for *Istoriia zakonodatelnogo zakrepleniia zhestokosti i osoboj zhestokosti v ugolovnom prave Rossii* [*History of Legislative Consolidation of Brutality and Extreme Brutality in the Criminal Law of Russia*] at http://lektsii.com/5-51056.html for more information.

the fact that the year fell within the period during the Khrushchev era when liberalization was observed in most spheres of life in the USSR (Bolshakova 2010), including the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. To see how violence was conceptualized, we chose the daily all-Ukrainian SSR newspaper the *Molod Ukraïny,* which reached the peak of its popularity among the readers around that time.[3] The newspaper was among the few allowed to be published in the Ukrainian language.

The corpus of the texts analyzed in the current study covered 341 articles and briefs from the *Molod Ukraïny* daily newspapers of 1960. The number of words could not be determined since the articles were not digitalized in a format friendly for word-counting. The articles were selected as a continuous sampling based on the themes and issues of violence raised in them. The working definition of violence that became the grounds for selection will be discussed in Sections 3 and 4.

Cognitive linguistics (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, Lakoff 1990, Kövesces 2002) and its elaboration as concept study in the Ukrainian and Russian linguistic schools (see Bieliekhova 2002, Vorkachev 2004) was applied to the analysis of the articles. Sánchez-García & Blanco-Carrión (2007) applied frame and critical discourse analysis to study the "emotions in connection with violence" (Sánchez-García & Blanco-Carrión 2007:240); yet, a somewhat different approach is suggested. The article focuses on the verbal strategies used in ideologically charged reporting in the era of the Cold War, and the way violence was presented to the general public both verbally and conceptually. Mainly, Zhabotynska's (2010) frame-modeling technique is applied to fragments of text. Zhabotynska (2010) claims that "our information system is structured by several highly abstract **basic frames**[4]", which include the Thing Frame, the Action Frame, the Possession Frame, the Identification Frame, and the Comparison Frame. Each frame arranges information as a set of propositional schemas as, for example, "SOMEBODY/SOMETHING is SUCH-quality" is a quantitative schema of the Thing Frame. The basic frames interact and are integrated in the mind to allow access to complex notions, such as VIOLENCE. Gazizulina (2013) has already described the way the concepts *nasiliie/violence* are represented in Russian and American cultures. Using her findings, an attempt to draw parallels with the Ukrainian cultural representation of the *nasylstvo* concept is made.

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[3] Please see the following website for more information about "Molod Ukraïny": https://uk.wikipedia.org/wiki/Молодь_України_(газета).
[4] Bold font was used by Svitlana Zhabotynska (2010).

3. Defining aggression and violence

Before embarking on the conceptual analysis, there is a need to clarify any confusion between two notions of aggression and violence. 1960 was a year when Soviet media paid a lot of attention to events such as African colonies fighting for their independence, protests in the USA against segregation, and Khrushchov's initiative for demilitarization. It was also a year used to commemorate the tragedy of World War II. The West, often reported as being in opposition to Soviet initiatives, was often portrayed as an oppressor or agressor. Here is one example from the *Molod Ukraïny* article of January 1ˢᵗ, 1961, where the the events of 1960 were briefly described:

(1) *Dvobij pryntsypiv, iakyj vidbuvsia na ostannij sesiï Heneralnoï Asambleï OON, pokazav, shcho imperialism, iak buv hnobytelem zalezhnykh narodiv, tak i lyshyvsia nym. Kryvavi podiï v Alzhiri, Kongo, Laosi, pidstupni diï proty nezalezhnoï Kuby – tse konvulsiï vmyraiuchoho kolonializmu.*
'The battle of two principles, which took place during the last session of the United Nations General Assembly, bore witness to the fact that imperialism was and still is the oppressor of dependent nations. The bloody events in Algeria, Congo, Laos, the underhanded schemes against the independence of Cuba, are all the convulsions of the dying colonialism.'

This passage from a quite emotionally charged text celebrating the peaceful initiatives of the USSR and the countries of the socialist camp in 1960 with the help of strong vocabulary (*dvobij pryntsypiv* 'the battle of two principles', *hnobytelem zalezhnykh narodiv* 'opressor of dependent nations', *kryvavi podiï* 'bloody events', *pidstupni diï* 'underhanded schemes', *konvulsiï vmyraiuchoho kolonializmu* 'convulsions of the dying colonialism') creates an image of a violent and aggressive West. Agression and violence often appear as near synonyms in media; and thus, there is a need to draw, if possible, a line between the two.

Fromm (1973:xv) indicates that the word "aggression" is commonly misused to refer in one instance to a person who protects himself, but in another, to a murderer or sadist, or even to a "peasant ploughing the earth". Fromm (1973:4-5) uses the term to refer to two types of aggression, which he calls "benign", or biologically innate, and "malignant", or unreasonable aggression manifested as destructiveness and cruelty. Huesmann & Taylor (2006:395) define aggression as an intention to harm a person's body or soul by way of insults, or the spreading of rumours, for instance. Zakharov (2008) specifies that, in the definition of aggression, a second party towards whom the

aggression is directed but who does not wish for it should be included. He argues that aggression is a model of behaviour, not an emotion or motive. In law and politics, however, the notion does not necessarily involve a human being. The United Nations extend the meaning further: "Aggression is the use of armed force by a State against the sovereignty, territorial integrity or political independence of another State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Charter of the United Nations".[5] Thus, for the purpose of this paper, it will be assumed that aggression is a model of behaviour aimed at harming an unwilling opposing side, be it a human being, a group of people or a country, spiritually or physically.

Violence is very closely linked to aggression. Ricoeur (1998:32) metaphorically compares violence to the most dangerous natural disasters:

> [Human] violence has aspects of the hurricane and of the murder: on the side of the hurricane, it is the violence of desire, of fear, and of hate; on the side of murder, it is the will to dominate the other man, the attempt to deprive him of freedom or of expression, it is racism and imperialism.

At the same time, Ferguson, Miguel & Hartley (2009) indicate in their report that "violence encompasses a myriad of behaviours" and point specifically to homicide, bullying, aggravated assault, harassment, intimidation, sexual assault, stalking, burglary, theft and robbery (Ferguson, Miguel & Hartley 2009:1). However, this definition presents violence as no different from aggression.

It should be noted that in many scientific papers violence is described as a reason or stimulus for aggression (see, for example, Bushman & Anderson 2001:479-483, Huesmann & Taylor 2006:396, Bayraktar 2013:4). Violence seems to be treated as a narrower term than aggression. Yet, both violence and aggression are aimed at harming another living being. What makes the former different from the latter is its connection to the moral, ethical and legal norms accepted at a given time. Violence presupposes power and control over the victim's body, behaviour, feelings and thoughts (Gulina 2010:43). This very link to moral, philosophical and other norms puts it into the category of abstractions, which may be justified by years of speculation and attention to the notion (Dutton 2007:1-13). Let us consider, for example, the death penalty and prisoners of war. Imagine, if the capital punishment is a legal norm in a certain country, then the execution of POWs would not be regarded as an act of violence, but as an act of justice. Still, for the prisoner's country origin,

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[5] See Resolution adopted by the General Assembly 3314 (XXIX), 1974, for definition of aggression at http://www.un-documents.net/a29r3314.htm#fn3.

such a measure will be viewed as violent and aggressive. If, with the passage of time, the first country reviews its policy and comes to see the execution of POWs as wrong, it will also accept that the death penalty is an act of violence. In this light, we agree with Dutton (2007) that genocides, the holocaust, massacres, lynchings and prison riots are outright acts of violence. Generally, violence falls into the categories of physical, sexual, emotional, economic and domestic violence (Malkina-Pyh 2015:42-43). From the legal perspective, the following elements constitute violence: 1) *modus operandi* (physical, informational or psychological influence, forcing someone against his or her will); 2) volitive attitude of the performer to the action and victim; 3) criminal liability; and 4) social danger (Kushpit 2014:139).

Holding in mind the characteristics of violence described above, I will try to look at the conceptual representation of violence in the 1960 newspaper texts.

4. VIOLENCE concept representation in the *Molod Ukraïny* as of 1960

Concept is a popular term among contemporary Ukrainian linguistic schools. It usually refers to the unit of perception, cognition and memory that reflects and shapes our experience and knowledge about the world in the form of verbal signs and mental construals (Vorobjova 2013:16). In this view, the western terms "mental representations" or "idealized cognitive models" (Lakoff 1990:70-76, Simpson 2004:40) seem to be the closest equivalents. Simpson (2004:40) summarizes as follows:

An idealised cognitive model (ICM) contains information about what is typical (for us) and it is a domain of knowledge that is brought into play for the processing and understanding of textual representations.

For the purpose of the article, the concept of VIOLENCE is viewed as a changeable and individualized mental model (see Simpson 2004:40), which is composed of prototypical culture-bound elements (Vorobjova 2013:16).

As mentioned earlier, VIOLENCE is also viewed as a socially significant, ethnical, and didactic concept (Gazizulina 2013:9). While the latter is disputable, the statement that any concept within a given culture has ethnically-bound elements, even if it shares some characteristics with the same concept in other cultures, does not require further proof. Yet, the question of whether a mental representation of VIOLENCE should be referred to as a socially significant class or ethical one needs explanation. Due to understanding violence as a philosophical, moral and ethical category, Apresian (2010) treats it as an ethical concept. Ethical concepts are defined

by Mokaieva (2004) as "units of individual or social consciousness, that are ethnically, culturally and mentally motivated, formatted in the linguistic picture of the world as signs, and involving cognition, knowledge and volitional impulse" (Mokaieva 2004:4). Violence reflects the ethical evaluation of a given situation and finds its place in the system of values belonging to the field of EVIL (Dmitriieva 2013:47). Nevertheless, Gazizulina's definition of the class as the one touching upon "interpersonal and international relations [overlapping] with the concepts of countries, social status, power and ruling" (Gazizulina 2013:9), is quite justified. I hope that the analysis offered below will help to shed light onto this ambiguity.

To describe a concept involves describing linguistic and extra-linguistic units which shape its domain through paradigmatic relationships, derivational patterns, connotations, metaphoric and metonymic projections, combinability of linguistic units, and cultural representations (Shakhmanova 2008:9). As a complex mental construct, a concept is represented in text as nomination, or attribution of a linguistic sign to a fragment of reality, and expression, both linguistic and non-linguistic, directly or indirectly connected to the model (Karasik 2002:15). Syntactic or lexical markers in a text trigger the activation of a concept during the process of reading and interpreting texts (Simpson 2004:40), including newspaper articles.

However, before proceeding to the articles, the first step is to take a look at how the lexico-semantic field of NASYLSTVO is represented in the Ukrainian language. We predominantly use the dictionaries of the Soviet time to see the definitions common for that era. In the most comprehensive, and now digitalized, the *Academic Ukrainian Language Dictionary*, the lexeme *nasylstvo* is defined: 1) use of physical force towards somebody; 2) use of force for achieving something and coercive influence over somebody or something.[6] Comparing the definitions of the Russian, English (see Gazizulina 2012:24) and Ukrainian lexemes *nasiliie, violence* and *nasylstvo*, the following common meanings are noted: the use of physical force and coercion, which forms the core of the concept. Synonyms include the lexemes: *nasylstvo, nasyllia, gvalt* (Derkach 1960:109), *syla*[7], referring to the use of physical force; *prymus, nasylstvo, prynuka, palytsia, palka, mus*, making a reference to using force for submission and achieving one's aims. The linguistic units *beshket, bezchynstvo, rozbij* are explained as breaking the moral rules through the projection of violence. The word *nasylstvo* is not presented as a synonymic dominant (Borisov 2013:190). The seme "force" points to the denotative reference in categorization. The

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[6] Please see *Slovnyk ukraïnskoï movy: Akademichnyj tlumachnyj slovnyk (1970-1980)* [*Academic Ukrainian Language Dictionary (1970-1980)*] at http://sum.in.ua/s/nasyljstvo.
[7] Please see *Slovnyky Ukraïny On-line* [*Dictionaries of Ukraine On-line*] at http://lcorp.ulif.org.ua/dictua/.

word *nasylstvo* is manifested as a surface language form, and the conceptualization, as with most abstractions, is wider than the surface form (Nikulshyna 2013:222).

The next step in the analysis should be that of modeling the association field (see Gazizulina 2012 for more detail). However, it is impossible to conduct one due to the time distance and changes in the social order. Therefore, instead of it, a frame-modeling technique was chosen, using a political dictionary published years later than the analyzed article. The *Political Dictionary* of 1976 that reflects well and summarizes the rhetoric of the Soviet era in general was selected for this purpose. The term *nasylstvo* in the dictionary is defined as "the use by any class (social group) of coercive means directed towards other classes (or social groups) to keep or win political or economic dominance, rights or privileges" (Vrublevskyj, Mazur & Mialovytskyj 1976:346). The dictionary employs Soviet rhetoric quite widely through the use of the word combinations such as *ekspluatatorski suspilstva* 'exploiting societies', *epokha imperializma* 'imperialism époque', *panuiuchi ekspluatatorski klasy* 'the ruling exploiting classes', *nasylnytski, voienno-fashystski dyktatury* 'violent, military and fascist dictatorships', and *vyshidni, prohresyvni klasy* 'emerging, progressive classes' (Vrublevskyj, Mazur & Mialovytskyj 1976:346). Within the dominant political approach, violence is viewed as evil when it occurs in dictatorships and imperialistic countries, and as positive in socialist republics. The dictionary also states that during the success of a socialist approach, violence dies out, and persuasion, education, and organization are used instead (Vrublevskyj, Mazur & Mialovytskyj 1976:346). The entry also accepts the use of violence towards anti-social "elements" such as criminals, "freeloaders", hooligans and others (Vrublevskyj, Mazur & Mialovytskyj 1976:346). Interestingly, only two decades later an early independence edition of the *Dictionary of Sociological and Political Terms* defines violence in a somewhat different way: "a practice by any social group of different actions, including armed, forms of coercion directed towards other groups of people with the aim of acquiring or keeping economic and political dominance, taking away the rights and privileges of others" (Astakhova, Danylenko & Panov 1993:79). The entry uses neutralized vocabulary, and the class rhetoric is substituted with accepted terminology.

Applying frame-modeling (Zhabotynska 2008, 2010) to the first entry (Vrublevskyj, Mazur & Mialovytskyj 1976:346), we get the slot SOMEBODY/ SOMETHING$_{agent}$ (hereinafter SB/STH) filled with the lexical units which name those who commit violence: *ekspluatatorski suspilstva* 'exploiting societies', (*panuiuchyj*) (*ekspluatatorskyj*) *klas* '(ruling) (exploiting) class', *vyshidni, progresyvni klasy* 'emerging progressive classes', *inozemnyj imperialism* 'foreign imperialism', *sotsialistychni kraïny* 'socialist countries', *sotsialism* 'socialism', and

burzhuazna demokratiia 'bourgeois democracy'. We will not attempt to reconstruct the integrated network (Zhabotynska 2010) of the basic frames as this is not the aim of this analysis, but will rather look at how the slots, or vertices, are filled within the frame schemas.

There is also a distinct reference to qualities [SUCH$_{quality}$] and thus a qualitative schema of the Thing Frame is activated "SB/STH is SUCH-quality": *ekspluatatorski* 'exploiting', *panuiuchyj* 'ruling', *vyshidni* 'ascending', *progresyvni* 'progressive', *sotsialistychni* 'socialistic', *burzhuazna* 'bourgeois'.

The Action Frame is realized through the link ACTS UPON. The actions to which the verbs refer to are short-term and oriented towards the results: *zastosuvannia zasobiv prymusu* 'use of coercive means', *zberehty abo zavoiuvaty* 'keep or win', *vstanovlennia dyktatur* 'establishing of dictatorships', *rozviazuiut vijny* 'start wars', *pograbuvannia* 'robbery', *zakabalennia* 'enslavement', *zlam systemy* 'breaking the system', *povalennia vlady* 'bringing down the power', *prydushenyj* 'suppressed', *zahystyty sebe* 'protect onceself', *podolannia oporu* 'overcoming resitance', and *zastosovuietsia* 'used'.

A patient who undergoes changes is presented as SB/STH$_{affected}$. The contact schema at play there is "SB/STH-agent/instrument acts upon SB/STH-affected": *inshi klasy* 'other classes', *ekspluatovani masy* 'exploited masses', *inshi narody* 'other nations', *vidzhyli suspilni vidnosyny* 'dying social relations', *vlada ekspluatatorskykh klasiv* 'power of exploiting classes', *revoliutsiia v Chili* 'revolution in Chile', *povaleni expluatatorski klasy* 'exploiting classes brought down', and *antyhromadski elementy* 'anti-social elements'.

The lexeme *nasylstvo* is used in the text as an instrument [STH$_{instrument}$], being a part of the Action Frame.

In fact, analysis of 341 articles and briefs (hereinafter articles) mentioning acts of violence in the *Molod Ukraïny* daily newspaper of 1960 showed that the frames are preserved quite consistently.

The articles alluding to some sort of violence fall thematically into several groups: 1) ones exposing acts of violence among "anti-social elements", such as drunkards, freeloaders, and socialist criminals, on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR; 2) ones dealing with atrocities and heroism during the Great Patriotic War and other important events; 3) ones bringing news from abroad; and 4) other stories of common people.

The distribution of the articles is rather surprising for a modern reader, as an astonishing 77% of them depict acts of violence and aggression abroad, such as forced mass migrations within the Union of South Africa, the disarmament debate, and protests in Japan. Despite this high percentage, the place of these articles in the newspaper space is quite insignificant. For instance, most international news comes as

briefs whereas the newspaper format predominantly deals with violence against oppressed classes, such as Afro-Americans in the USA, movements for liberation, such as Algerian struggle for independence from France, and activities of socialist parties in other countries, such as Germany and Britain. Even though the briefs and articles are different from how they present an event, the Soviet rhetoric is observed consistently. For instance, when the agent in an article is a nation or a group of people fighting for their rights, the vocabulary used becomes elevated and positively coloured. The violence is presented as a righteous and inevitable act on the way to a better future. For example, in the article under the title "Shtorm nad Afrykoiu [A storm over Africa]" as of February 3rd, 1960, two paragraphs which cover the Algerian conflict are opposing in their style. *Natsionalno-vyzvolnyj rukh* 'the national liberation movement' is presented as heroic:

(2) *Bahatorazovi sproby prydushyty tut natsionalno-vyzvolnyj rukh vijskovoiu syloiu uspihu ne maly. Alzhyrska Natsionalno-vyzvolna armiia vidbyvala odnu za odnoiu ataky frantsuzkykh vijsk.*
'Multiple attempts to suppress the national liberation movement with the help of military force have failed. The Algerian National Liberation Army has repeatedly defeated every French Army attack.'

An implicit hyperbole is used by the author of the article by means of placing additional emphasis on the repeated nature of victories: *bahatorazovi* (multiple)*, odnu za odnoiu* (one after another = repeatedly). The act of violence here is presented in a positive form, and the concept of WINNER instills the effect.

The next paragraph portrays the actions of the party opposing the liberation movement and named in the article as *ultrakolonialisty* 'radical colonialists', *kolonizatory i fashystski elementy* 'colonists and fascist elements', and *zakolotnyky* 'insurgents'. We see that these linguistic units are of the same register as the ones mentioned in the *Dictionary* (Vrublevskyj, Mazur & Mialovytskyj 1976:346). All these words possess a negative connotation. In contrast with the former paragraph in which acts of violence are not mentioned, the second paragraph refers to the killing of dozens and the wounding of hundreds of people. The language of this part becomes emotionally charged, and metaphoric vocabulary is traced, e.g., *prydushennia zakolotu* 'suppression of insurgency'—in the Ukrainian language, the word *prudushyty* 'suppress' is a derivative of the verb *dushyty* 'strangle, smother'.

This technique of presenting violence from opposing perspectives is used rather frequently by reporters. In such a way, the Soviet ideology was imposed, and the West, as well as groups and forces that in any way did not fit this ideology, were

presented as ENEMIES. There is a clear reference to the gestalt ethical concept (Vorobjova 2013:22) GOOD/EVIL, which is activated through the use of highly emotive vocabulary with positive connotations, such as *myroliubni narody* 'peace-loving naitons' and *najhumannishyj i najshchyrishyj dusheiu narod* 'the most humane nation with the sincerest soul', referring to the nations of the socialist camp, on the one hand, and negatively-charged vocabulary painting the violence of capitalist societies, such as *na shliahu nosiïv tmy i rabstva* 'in the way of those who bear gloom and slavery', *hanebni diï agresora* 'shameful acts of the agresor', on the other. In this respect, metonymic projection becomes a favoured tool for reporting, as whole nations or layers of society are basically labeled according to the principles of ideology as exploiters, colonialists, the Soviet nation, and the oppressed.

The next two most numerous groups (19%) of material are long articles, sometimes occupying half a page and written in the narrative manner. Their aim is to keep the memory of the Great Patriotic War and other events that Soviet propaganda considered worthy of mentioning, as well as everyday heroism, alive. The acts of violence here are mentioned without being regarded as such from a position of a person whose heroic deed is to set an example for the general public: as a rule, this is a narrative of a young person giving his or her life for the Motherland or overcoming some hurdles in life. Most stories of men present them as strong-willed comrades who did not surrender while women are portrayed as tender girls saving the lives of the soldiers or participating in the guerrilla and war activities. The people in such articles are presented as MARTYRS or HEROES. For example, in the article "Nashe zhyttia dlia vitchyzny [Our life for the Motherland]" of February 7th, 1960, a heroic deed of Lialia Ubyjvovk, tortured and executed near Poltava, Ukraine, is described. The style of narration changes in comparison to the first group of articles, and common everyday vocabulary is more widely used, as exemplified in (3).

(3) *Lialia rosla i vchylas. Vse skladnishi zadachi rozviazuvala na urokakh.*
    'Lialia was growing up and was studying. She was solving more and more difficult tasks in her lessons.'

This serves as background for a description of the violent event, as exemplified in (4).

(4) *Dvadtsiat shist raziv katuvaly ïï. Dvadtsiat shist…*
    'She was tortured twenty-six times. Twenty-six …'

Sometimes in these articles, poetic texts are used to increase the dramatism of narration. Aggressors are described in a stereotypical way: they are mostly unnamed collective images of fascists, enemies, occupants, and colonialists. Extreme violence is usually ascribed to them: they torture, shoot, attack.

And finally, the articles exposing acts of violence among anti-social elements are the least numerous (4%). These articles come in the form of editorial investigations, letters to the editor or briefs. In these articles, the agents are those Soviet people whom society frowns upon. Interestingly, mostly domestic violence or robberies are described. At the same time, the word *nasylstvo* never appears in these articles. The style ranges from almost literary to dry and informative. People who perform violent acts are described as alcoholics, sly, lazy, secretive and/or arrogant, as shown in the article "Ne budmo bajduzhymy [Let us not be indifferent]" of March 12th, 1960:

(5) *Druhyj pjanytsia z synim, nemov buriak, nosom rozder na hloptsevi sorochku.*
    'Another drunkard with a blue, beetroot-like nose tore the boy's shirt.'

These people are portrayed in the articles in such a way as to serve as a counter-example and are often described through the use of figurative vocabulary.

5. Concluding remarks

To sum up, the analysis of the articles from the *Molod Ukraïny* of 1960 showed that clichéd vocabulary was used to describe acts of violence resulting in a stereotypical presentation of violence. In the Ukrainian SSR newspaper the frame structure of the concept was left mostly unchanged: when the agent within the VIOLENCE frame was on the side of the ruling ideology, the concepts WINNER, MARTYR or HERO were activated; but when the agent was on the other side, the concepts of EVIL, or more specifically, ENEMY, were triggered. The core of the concept FORCE was the element left unchanged.

Returning to the question of the VIOLENCE concept typology mentioned earlier in the text, it should be said that it appears as both, ethical and socially significant. In the articles on heroism it appears as ethical in the sense that a clear distinction between good and evil is made by the authors, especially when filling the slots SB/STH$_{agent}$ and SB/STH$_{affected}$. However, in articles on daily manifestations of violence and events from abroad the concept is realized as a socially-significant one, helping to shape social attitudes and opinions. Further research should be focused specifically on the issue of intentionality of the newspaper articles of the Soviet era.

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蘇聯的暴力思維：依據烏克蘭蘇維埃社會主義共和國 1960 年的 Molod Ukraïny 報紙文獻

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　　本研究以歷史演變來探究暴力思維的模型。從 1960 年的 Molod Ukraïny 報紙裡，有關於處理或是提及暴力的文章，都針對其語言思維進行分析。主題內容可分為四類，而這四類相關聯的文章呈現的暴力思維，有著些微的不同。外國新聞和報導如果有日常暴力的內容，便會以一個對全社會來說是重要的意涵來呈現，而在表達德蘇戰爭和其他重大事件裡的英雄主義時，暴力就變成是有道德倫理的。暴力的心理表徵是與勝利者、烈士、英雄、邪惡和敵人的概念緊緊相連。

關鍵詞：概念、暴力、侵略、框架模擬、歷時分析

蘇聯的暴力思維：依據烏克蘭蘇維埃社會主義共和國 1960 年的 Molod Ukraïny 報紙文獻