The "Brotherly People" Metaphor and the Russian-Ukrainian Irredentist War: A Corpus-Based Study

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ABSTRACT

The article examines the "brotherly people" metaphor in the context of the Russian-Ukrainian war and the concept of irredentism. Such kinship/family metaphors are closely associated with colonialism and expansionism. Using a corpus analysis of Russian sources on and Anglophone studies of irredentism published in the period of 1923–2022, this article reveals that these metaphors are an important aspect not only of the scientific conceptualization of irredentism but also of the ideological justification of irredentist wars in both Russian and world history. The comparative analysis of the usage of the "brotherly people" metaphor in the political, academic and non-academic corpora in the Russian language allowed us to capture its ideological content, which justifies the aggression of Russia against Ukraine. The study showed the full semantic range of the "brotherly people" metaphor in the large Russian corpora while connecting it to Russian irredentism: from assertions of cultural, historical and ethnic unity with, support for and assistance for the "brotherly people" to the delegitimization of Ukrainian statehood and the separate ethnic identity of the "brotherly people", and the desire to "protect" them through annexations.

INTRODUCTION

In international relations, kinship/family metaphors are often used to establish and designate mutual obligations, historical ties, and ethnic and cultural affinities, and/or to articulate hierarchical, colonizing, expansionist policies. As Morten Andersen and Benjamin de Carvalho argue, *"kinship metaphors with paternalistic undertones have been used historically to legitimize colonial endeavours and racist international politics"* (ANDERSEN – DE CARVALHO 2018: 21). For example, in the 19th century the metaphor of the "family of nations" was popular among advanced Western countries: the "countries-fathers," the civilized countries, were presented as guarantors of paternal care, an instrument for re-educating the "countries-children", the undeveloped, "barbaric" colonized countries. In this discourse the "countries-fathers" are supposed to civilize the "countries-children", and the "countries-children" are obliged to obey, renouncing their right to sovereignty (IBID.: 34–38). Also, since the 17th century British and Americans saw themselves as representatives of the "countries-fathers" in relation to the "countries-children", e.g., the Native American tribes of North America. The Indians accepted the language of the family metaphor but understood family relationships differently compared to the British and Americans. The latter treated the family as a hierarchical, patriarchal unit with clear roles and obligations: to obey one and dominate another; the Creek Indian tribes viewed the family as an equal relationship between its members, who support and protect each other (HOUGH 1999: 65–66, 74). Ultimately, the different understandings of the family became one of the sources of the conflict between these nations.

Here is another connotation of this metaphor. After World War II, the relationship between Indonesia and Malaysia was imagined through the "brotherly people" metaphor. However, while Indonesia considered itself the latter's older brother, Malaysia tried its best to avoid playing the role of a younger brother. Indonesia dominated Malaysia's cultural and linguistic space, and wanted to influence its foreign policy, while Malaysia nurtured its nationalism. The relationship did not, however, follow a strictly antagonistic logic, since amid the danger of a Chinese invasion in the 1960s, the Malaysians promoted stronger ties with Indonesia (LIOW 2003: 26–30, 61, 260–275). The "brotherly people" metaphor was also employed in a positive way during the Civil War in Russia by Soviet authorities, while constructing

a sense of unity between different nations. As Joshua Sanborn argue, *"[f]raternity was a wonderfully useful concept, incorporating all the aspects of nation that state officials desired and reinforcing the popular slogan of equality without significantly lessening maneuvers of power and domination"* (SANBORN 2001: 105). However, despite this positive context, fraternity soon showed its hierarchical connotations: *"as Ukrainian nationalists (and Russian peasants) would soon grow tired of hearing, within any fraternal system there is room for older brothers and younger brothers, leaders and followers"* (SANBORN 2001: 105).

In some cases, kinship and family metaphors served as a rationale for a mobilization of nationalistic feelings and ideas, as well as for an aggressive country's annexation of the territory of a neighboring country inhabited by people who had some kind of affinity with it (LIOW 2003: 58). The practice of such a mobilization is signified by the notion of irredentism, which is defined as an annexation of territory based on the idea of ethnic and cultural affinity. Here are a few examples of this phenomenon: pan-Turkism, pan-Slavism and pan-Greek movements in the late 19th and early 20th century, the annexation of Czechoslovakia by Germany under the guise of protecting the Sudeten Germans in the late 1930s, the pan-Serbian policy of Slobodan Milošević in the 1990s, etc. In all of these cases, the goal was to reunite in one state the presumably unfairly severed parts of a large ethnos, and the corresponding family-kin metaphors were used.

Metaphors help one to imagine something unknown, some kind of practice or idea, through sensory, palpable, and more understandable images, practices and ideas. Metaphors also shape attitudes toward certain practices (KÖVECSES 2015: 2, 5, 20, 51–52). The family/kinship metaphor is the clearest and most palpable sensual image that helps one to conceive the relationships between countries through the relationships between family members. In today's world, Russia makes use of expansionist rhetoric and practices. In Russia, the ideas of the expansionist "Russian World" are represented through the use of the "brotherly people" metaphor and the imperative to "protect" the Russian-speaking population (KHALDAROVA 2021; A'BECKETT 2012).

This study aims to determine that the "brotherly people" metaphor is an ideological tool that can be used by the ruling elite to justify war, and also provides an opportunity to encourage the given country's population to participate in a war of aggression, considering that the Russian

aggression against Ukraine from 2014 on is studied as an example of irredentism (DIRIBA 2021; AMBROSIO 2016). Therefore, it is important to examine the meaning of the "brotherly people" metaphor and the practices of its use in Russian texts. In addition, we should inquire into the extent to which this metaphor is widespread in other irredentist conflicts. This paper is organized as follows. We proceed by first highlighting the relevance of the topic vis-a-vis the existing literature, and then describing the methodology of the corpus approach, data collection and operationalization. In the next section we present the results, and then we discuss them in the context of the existing literature.

LITERATURE REVIEW

From the metaphorical kinship of the Russian and Ukrainian nations to the Russian expansionism

Several studies have examined the "brotherly people" metaphor used in Russia in relation to Ukrainians. Irina Khaldarova reviewed Channel One's (a major state media outlet in the Russian Federation) coverage from 2012–2014 to show the evolution of the image of Ukrainians: from a "little brother" to the "Ukrainian-fascist-nationalist-enemy" nexus. Interestingly, initially the Euromaidan participants in 2014 were equated with fascist right-wing radicals, and then the pro-Ukrainian position was largely equated with the fascist position in general. At the same time, pro-Russian Ukrainians, namely, those in the Donbass, were regarded as oppressed Russian-speaking Ukrainians, and victims of genocide at the hands of the neofascist Kyiv government (KHALDAROVA 2021: 13–16). Summarizing her research, Khaldarova notes the following: *"prior to Euromaidan, Ukrainians were portrayed as a 'little brother', dependent on Russia's guidance and support, but with shared origins and values. This narrative, emphasizing Ukraine as a fraternal but subordinate partner, was part of Russia's response to the identity crisis that was caused by the fall of the Soviet Union and aimed at reinforcing Russia's position among neighbouring and post-Soviet countries. The transformation of this image began with the narrative of betrayal, wherein any political choice that did not favour Russia was interpreted as irrational or misguided"* (IBID.: 16).

Ludmilla A'Beckett conducted research of the use of "brotherly" metaphors in two of Russia's most popular newspapers – *Argumenty i Fakty* (Arguments and Facts [AiF]), and *Komsomol'skaia Pravda* (Comsomol Truth),

as well as the independent media channel *Echo of Moscow* during 2004–2010. A'Beckett notes that the "brotherly nations" metaphor *"often becomes a carrier of Russian expansionist efforts exemplified by trade wars, separatist activities, military operations and various forms of political pressure"* (A'BECKETT 2012: 172). The independent policy of the sovereign post-Soviet countries is considered a betrayal and a sign of ingratitude, but interference in their affairs by the Russians is called "brotherly care" (IBID.: 173, 181). Hence, brotherhood always implies a hierarchy – an older and a younger brother (IBID.: 178) – in which *"Russia plays a leading role while Ukraine, Belorussia, Bulgaria, and Georgia are immature 'little brothers'"* (IBID.: 190).

Briefly summarizing the works of these scholars, it can be noted that the "brotherly people" metaphor in Russia has the following meanings in relation to Ukraine: 1) the shared ethnic origins and values of Ukrainians and Russians, with an emphasis on the idea that the Ukrainian population cannot exist without the support of Russia; 2) delegitimizing the independent policies of sovereign post-Soviet countries; 3) Russia meddling with Ukraine's domestic politics, because in this case, brotherhood, for Russians, always implies a hierarchy and Ukraine's dependence on Russia; 4) representing pro-Russian Ukrainians as victims of the Kyiv regime who must be protected and thus implementing the practice of Russian expansionism against Ukraine as a whole.

It is worth pointing out that these authors, on the one hand, used limited samples of Russian sources, e.g., sources of the same type, and perhaps the scholars have not taken into account the additional meanings and connotations of the "brotherly people" metaphor. On the other hand, they did not consider the spread of the "brotherly people" metaphor on a global scale, and made no connection between it and the practice of irredentism.

Toward the Concept of Irredentism

David Siroky and Christopher Hale define this concept as follows: *"irredentism is a governmental decision that subtracts from one state and adds to another on the basis of shared ethnicity"* (SIROKY – HALE 2017: 117). In 2013 John Nagle could still argue that irredentism is a thing of the past, as few countries pursue a policy of national unification, but if they do, it is through peaceful means such as cross-border institutions. It is important to emphasize that Nagle defined irredentism as *"a sense of loss arising from the belief that*

territory has been wrongfully taken away from a nation in the past. The task of irredentist movements is to take action to expedite [the] rightful restoration of the lost land and people" (NAGLE 2013: 295). Furthermore, Nagle believed that the relationship between an ethnically similar population of a kin state and the so-called "mother country" (where the ethnos in question is the one which constitutes the state) is not devoid of ambivalence and asymmetry, and these features prevent the exercise of irredentism (IBID.: 219).

An aggressor country's annexation of another country's territory based on an ethnic affinity with it is not the norm in modern history, however, see (NAGLE 2013: 295). However, the situation has changed since 2014 (HENSEL – MACAULAY 2015). The Russian annexation of Crimea and parts of the Luhansk and Donetsk regions of Ukraine in 2014 was the first instance of its kind in Europe since the beginning of the twenty-first century. This event represents a renewal of the practice of irredentism (DIRIBA 2021; AMBROSIO 2016; KÖSE 2016). Russia threatens to set a precedent that would destabilize *"long-established norms against conquest which have been predominant in the international system in the 70 years since World War II"* (HENSEL ET AL. 2022); i.e., Russia could become an example for other potentially irredentist countries. Similar irredentist conflicts can arise between India and Pakistan, China and Taiwan, Israel and its Arab neighbors, Central Asian post-Soviet countries, and North and South Korea (WOODWELL 2005: 347).

Let's define the causes of irredentism, which could help us to identify the ideological meanings of irredentist metaphors:

1)   irredentist policies are pursued by dictatorships and military juntas (NAGLE 2013: 296; WOODWELL 2005: 79); authoritarian countries initiate irredentist policies for purely internal reasons – e.g. to win the support of the people, or to compensate for the lack of economic privilege of the dominant ethnic majority through the idea of ethnic reunification (SIROKY – HALE 2017: 122–123, 125); this is precisely the state of affairs in Russia (IBID.: 124), and it also involves the threat of separatism within Russia, as the population of Central Asia and the Caucasus could secede (IBID.);

2)   the ruling elite is seeking to gain the support of the majority by mobilizing nationalist sentiments and conducting an

annexation (NAGLE 2013: 293; SIROKY – HALE 2017: 120); a nationalist mobilization of the population and a desire to protect their co-ethnics (WOODWELL 2005: 79, 81); the ruling elite seeks to retain power through a war of aggression, especially if a kin state has an opposing political system (IBID.: 333; SIROKY – HALE 2017: 120); the ruling elite have fears about internal and external security (GANGULY 1996: 8, 9);

3) newly emerged states arising from a collapse of a multinational state, face the risk of an intervention from a strong mother country (NAGLE 2013: 293); irredentist states try to do so before the postcolonial ethnically kindred population in the kin state develops an identity of its own (HENSEL – MACAULAY 2015);

4) the ethnic minority in the kin state is represented as a victim (WOODWELL 2005: 79; HENSEL – MACAULAY 2015; GANGULY 1996: 8, 9);

5) the deterioration of international norms that support sovereignty and territorial integrity (WOODWELL 2005: 333);

6) the military readiness and the influence of the military on the internal politics of the mother country, while the kin state is in poor economic and political shape (WOODWELL 2005: 334, 337).

The irredentist ideology is already embedded in the first four causes of irredentism. If we consider that kinship and familial metaphors are used in justifications of irredentism, then the following reasons could provide a basis for identifying the meanings of these metaphors:

1) the idea of ethnic unity and reunification;

2) the desire to protect members of an ethnically kindred populace of a kindred country who are presented as victims of the current political regime there;

3) delegitimization of a kin state with a different political system;

4) a critique of the national identity and ideology of an ethnically kindred population in a kin state.

Based on the fact that the Russian-Ukrainian war is referred to as irredentist (DIRIBA 2021; AMBROSIO 2016), we compared the ideological meanings extracted from the causes of irredentism with the meanings of the "brotherly people" metaphor in Khaldarova (2021) and A'Beckett (2012) (SEE TABLE 1).

TABLE 1: COMPARING THE IDEOLOGICAL MEANINGS OF IRREDENTISM
AND THE "BROTHERLY PEOPLE" METAPHOR

Ideological meanings of the "brotherly people" metaphor in Khaldarova and A'Beckett	Ideological meanings extracted from the causes of irredentism
the shared ethnic origins and values of Ukrainians and Russians, emphasizing that the Ukrainian population cannot exist without the support of Russia	the idea of ethnic unity and reunification
meddling with Ukraine's domestic politics, because brotherhood, for Russians, always implies a hierarchy and Ukraine's dependence on Russia	a critique of the national identity and ideology of an ethnically kindred population in a kin state
delegitimization of the independent policies of sovereign post-Soviet countries	delegitimization of a kin state with a different political system
representing pro-Russian Ukrainians as victims of the Kyiv regime who must be protected and thus implementing the practice of Russian expansionism against Ukraine as a whole	the desire to protect members of an ethnically kindred populace of a kindred country who are presented as victims of the current political regime there

According to Table 1, the comparison of the meanings of the "brotherly people" metaphor with the ideological meanings extracted from the causes of irredentism indicates that the meanings are semantically similar. Based on the semantic similarity of the meanings of the "brotherly people" metaphor and the ideological meanings of the causes of irredentism, as well as the understanding of Russia's war with Ukraine as irredentist in the scientific literature, we can assume that the "brotherly people" metaphor, as explored by Khaldarova (2021) and A'Beckett (2012), served as an ideological justification for the Russian irredentism in Ukraine. Contemporary science allows us to test this hypothesis with the help of corpus linguistics by examining a large number of texts.

Corpus Linguistics and Conceptual Analysis

Corpus linguistics is the linguistic discipline that allows for *"the complete and systematic investigation of linguistic phenomena on the basis of linguistic corpora using concordances, collocations, and frequency lists"* (STEFANOWITSCH 2020: 54). It is important to understand the terms used in this definition. The corpus is a collection of texts chosen for studying the state and diversity of a language; a corpus study reveals regularities and patterns, persistent word usages, and new semantic relationships. A concordance is a collection

of all the uses of a word form, each in its context; concordance helps one to quickly form an understanding of the contexts of a particular word, and to highlight its stable connections with other words. Collocation is the stable coexistence of two or more words at a short distance from each other in the text; collocations allow one to identify semantic relationships between words (idioms). A frequency list is a list of the most frequent words in the text (it is also possible to observe the distribution of words in the corpus to understand the representativeness of their frequency); the frequency list provides an opportunity to assess the main topics of the corpus (SINCLAIR 1991: 9, 32, 170, 30; BAKER 2006: 48–49). Clusters are also used in the context of corpus linguistics. They point out frequent word combinations (starting from 2 words). In addition, it is possible to use part-of-speech tagging for the corpus study, as well as lemmatization, which converts all words to their dictionary form – nominative case and singular.

Corpus linguistics is not only a quantitative discipline, since any results yielded by it need to be interpreted. Corpus linguistics helps one to test or refute hypotheses and intuitions, or to create other hypotheses to re-check them. Paul Baker has shown how corpus linguistics can be used to study discourses, i.e., the statements which produce their subject, practices, and structures that shape people's lives in society (hence there are political discourses, tourist discourses, advertising discourses, medical discourses, etc.). Thus, corpus linguistics can show how discourses are constructed in a language: what words, metaphors, etc. are used, what meanings they carry, what consequences they lead to, what kind of social subject they create, etc. (BAKER 2006: 3–4).

To understand this or that discourse, one should create a corpus or use an already created corpus, and then certain words and word combinations could be searched for using the specified tools. Corpus linguistics offers a way to limit empirically unverifiable intuitions and unwarranted superimpositions of interpretations by revealing objective characteristics of texts (BAKER 2006: 92). Corpus linguistics is also used for descriptive studies of concepts, their history, connotations of their meaning, their construction, etc. (ALFANO 2018; BETTI ET AL. 2019; BELLER – BENDER 2017: 13–15; WILLIAMS 2021).

The purpose of the study: to expand the meaning of the "brotherly people" metaphor through an analysis of Russian corpora and demonstrate that this metaphor, as used in Russia in relation to Ukraine, has irredentist meanings and was used to justify the Russian-Ukrainian war.

Objectives:

1.   To determine the meanings of the "brotherly people" metaphor in relation to Ukraine in Russian society based on several corpora of Russian texts.

2.   To identify to what extent this "brotherly people" metaphor is widespread in other cases of irredentism through a corpus analysis of irredentism studies.

METHODS

The meaning of the "brotherly people" metaphor in the Russian corpora

The first objective of the study was accomplished in two stages:

1.   the creation of corpora of information about Ukraine and the Ukrainian people from texts published by Russians in Russia.

2.   the analysis of the use of the "brotherly people" metaphor in these corpora.

These stages are described in the following.

The creation of the Russian corpora

During the course of the study, four corpora were created. These four corpora were named Corpus A, Corpus B, Corpus C, and Corpus D, respectively. Figure 1 provides information about the data sources used to create the corpora for the study.

FIGURE 1: DESCRIPTION OF THE DATA SOURCES WHICH WERE USED TO CREATE THE CORPORA

Corpus A	Corpus B	Corpus C	Corpus D
source: academic and popular science texts in Russian from Google Academy	source: a representative web-corpus of the Russian language at "Sketch Engine" – "Russian Web 2011 (ruTenTen11)"	source: a representative web-corpus of the Russian language on the Leeds University website	source: texts on the website of the President of the Russian Federation
the search period: 1991–2022	time frame – 2011	time frame – 1999–2014	time frame – 2000–2022 (till August)
size: 2.8 million words in total	size: 14.5 billion words in total	size: about 400 million words in total	size: 660,000 words in total

Corpus A was created manually from Russian academic texts (3.2 million words). These materials were downloaded via Google Academy website links on March 23, 2022. The search was made using the keywords "independent Ukraine people post-Soviet" ("nezavisimaya Ukraina narod postsovetskaya") to get sources related to independent Ukraine. The search period is "1991–2022". A total of 223 sources were used to create Corpus A (for a complete list of the sources, see Appendix 1). All the PDF and DJVU original files were converted to txt to create Corpus A, and were then merged into a single file. Reference lists have been removed in their entirety. Concordances with the word combination "Ukrainian people" were lemmatized (without additional cleaning).

Corpus B was created using the existing, representative corpus of the Russian language located on the website "Sketch Engine" – "Russian Web 2011 (ruTenTen11)" (Sketch Engine n.d.). The total number of words in this corpus is 14.5 billion. Corpus B was generated from the representative corpus with the word combination "Ukrainian people". The result was that the number of concordances was more than 11,000, but only 10,000 could be downloaded in the limited access mode (with a pre-established context size). The concordances were lemmatized (without additional cleaning).

Corpus C was created by using the existing, representative Russian language corpora located on the Leeds University website (Leeds University n.d.): these were the "Russian National Corpus" (50 million words, 2010), "Russian Newspapers" (70 million words, 2001–2004), the "Russian Internet Corpus" (sites, blogs) (160 million words), "Russian Livejournal" (blogs), and the "Russian Business Corpus" (Business Literature Corpus). The overall time range of the texts in these corpora is 1999–2014. Corpus

C was generated from the representative corpus of the modern Russian language with the word combination "Ukrainian people" (with the context of 25 words on the right and left). Concordances were lemmatized (without additional cleaning).

Corpus D was created manually by searching for the texts in Russian on the website of the President of the Russian Federation (Kremlin n.d.) which contained the word "bratskiy" (brotherly) and then examining them to identify its meaning and to which countries the word is applied most often. The fragments with the word "brotherly" being used in reference to countries and in relation to Putin's statements were then manually extracted from the whole corpus (660,000 words) by generating concordances. The corpus was lemmatized. The word "brotherly" was used for the search in Corpus D due to the specific research purposes and the impossibility of an effective word search based on the standard search technologies of Google and the website of the President of the Russian Federation.

All text files within the corpora were lemmatized by TagAnt (ANTHONY 2022B) and uploaded to AntConc software (ANTHONY 2022A).

The operationalization of Corpora A, B, C, and D

The second stage of the study was aimed at exploring the meaning of the "brotherly people" metaphor in the context of discussions of the Ukrainian people. For this purpose, two-word clusters (bigrams) were generated for corpora A, B, and C: any adjective on the left + the noun "narod" (people) on the right. For corpora B and C, additional two-word clusters were generated: any adjective on the left + "ukrainsk*" (Ukrainian) (repetitions or irrelevant statements were not taken into account). Part-of-speech tagging was applied to the corpora.

In Corpus D, clusters with the word "bratskiy" (brotherly) were generated to search for the word on the right (to identify what other countries the corresponding metaphor was applied to), and similarly, clusters with any adjective on the left + "narod" (people) on the right were also generated and used to perform searches. The clusters were generated in this corpus to identify which nations were considered as "brotherly", so that we could understand how frequently this word was used in relation

to Ukraine. This operation was performed only for Corpus D, since it contains the texts of the Russian president, who sets the foreign policy of his country in relation to the post-Soviet countries.

By generating clusters and reading concordances with the word "bratskiy" (brotherly) in all the corpora it was possible to learn more about the context of the use of this word, and to identify how the Ukrainian people are characterized from the point of view of the Russians in the context of the "brotherly people" metaphor. To structure this information, we created topics that reflect the meanings of the Ukrainian people from the point of view of the Russian population and Putin in the context of the "brotherly people" metaphor. Examples of concordances for the topics were added after our summary of them (with the number of concordances in brackets).

The study compared all four corpora against each other based on the percentage of concordances for each topic. The semantic focus in each corpus was identified based on the prevalence of two particular topics in the corpus, which corresponds to more than 50% of the concordances.

Identifying the prevalence of the "brotherly people" metaphor in other cases of irredentism

The second task of the study was addressed in two stages:

1.   The creation of a corpus of academic works with the word form "irredent*" in the title.

2.   Studying the use of the "brotherly people" metaphor in the corpus.

Below is a description of these steps.

The creation of Corpus E

We performed a search using Google Scholar, JStor, ProQuest Theses and Dissertations and archive.org for English-language texts with "irredent*" in their titles (this operation was carried out in the period of June 16–19, 2022). Searching for the word "irredent*" in the titles of the texts, on the

one hand, limited the number of downloaded works, but, on the other hand, provided more accurate and meaningful information about the concept we are interested in.

Thus, Corpus E was formed, consisting of 156 sources: 125 articles, 27 dissertations, and 4 books published between 1923 and 2022 (for a complete list of the sources, see Appendix 2). The size of the corpus was 3.8 million words. The corpus was then manually cleaned of reference lists, notes, tables of contents, acknowledgements, and abstracts. Then the final size of the corpus was 2.8 million words.

The operationalization of Corpus E

We posed questions to the corpus and used certain operations of corpus analysis to answer them. Our main question was this: "How frequently is the kinship-family 'brotherly people' metaphor used by irredentist states/ organizations?" To answer this question, we searched for the word forms of "brother" and used the "collocation" tool for identifying words related to the word "brother", which refers to the ethnic dimension of relations between peoples.

Results

The "brotherly people" metaphor in Corpus A (the academic corpus)

In Corpus A, the adjective "bratskiy" (brotherly) occurs a total of 178 times. The adjective "bratskiy" (brotherly) in connection with the noun "narod" (people) occurs 65 times. The adjective "bratskiy" (brotherly) together with the adjective "ukrainskiy" (Ukrainian) occurs only 4 times. 52 relevant concordances were identified and sorted into 7 topics, which reflect the meanings of "brotherly" from the perspective of Russian researchers in the context of their understanding of the relations between Russia and Ukraine. The topics are ranked according to their frequency below (SEE TABLE 2).

**TABLE 2: TOPICS WITH MEANINGS OF "BROTHERLY PEOPLE"
IN RELATION TO UKRAINIANS IN CORPUS A**

No	Topic	Number of concordances	% of the total number
1	Unbrotherly behavior of the brotherly people	16	30,77
2	Brotherly people – integration and unification with the Russian people	16	30,77
3	Support and assistance	7	13,46
4	The Soviet myth of the three brotherly peoples	4	7,69
5	Dimensions of unity among brotherly peoples	4	7,69
6	One People	3	5,77
7	Protection of the Russian-speaking population	2	3,85
Total		52	100

Let us summarize the concordances with the word "brotherly". Topic 1 focused upon several connotations. The ideal state of brotherhood can be imagined by thinking of the example of the union of Russia and Belarus. Ukraine must support its comprehensive integration and cooperation with the brotherly Russia. Furthermore, it is emphasized that the "brotherly" Ukraine has no reason not to maintain a close relationship with Russia because it is historically proven that Ukraine has achieved outstanding success in many sectors only in an alliance with Russia, and the reunification of the countries will contribute to the cultural communication between the brotherly peoples. Ukraine has great importance for Russia in the economic, political, cultural, military, and human dimensions. The latter has sought to restore the union of brotherly peoples, and to reintegrate the former "brotherly peoples" through the creation of the CIS, the CSTO, the Union State with Belarus, and the Eurasian Union. Russia, in fact, sees its historical role in accomplishing this, as it did something similar in 1654. Stepan Bandera's (the leader of the Ukrainian nationalists in the mid-20th century) apologists do not understand that without a brotherly union of the eastern Slavic peoples, the Ukrainian nation cannot exist.

"The prospect of Russian-Ukrainian integration will be of particular relevance, as it is a complex and ambiguous process, but its nature will largely determine the fate of the two brotherly peoples. In addition, the question of choosing the direction and form of the integration interaction between Russia and Ukraine will be of crucial importance for the entire post-Soviet space" (22).

"The USSR did not follow the path of building a nation-state. Instead of that during the last 23 years, Russian authorities have been making new attempts

to reintegrate the former 'brotherly people'. This goal led them to create the CIS, the union state of Russia and Belarus and, finally, the Eurasian Union" (51).

Topic 2 centered on the meaning of the non-brotherly behavior of Ukraine from the point of view of Russian scientists. In the context of the "brotherly people" metaphor, the existence of distinct, separate peoples and their respective states is not encouraged. Russians and Ukrainians are considered members of one "brotherly family," which the Ukrainian authorities are trying to destroy. Presumably, Ukrainian propaganda constructs a distinct identity for Ukraine, its own history that is separate from that of Russia, and also a unique nationality: Ukrainian. Ukrainian authorities sought to distance Ukraine from Russia, and as a result, the image of the latter turned from that of a "brotherly people" into that of an "aggressor state" and an "enemy." Nationalism is flourishing in Ukraine, which is the antithesis of the "brotherly people" idea. Scholars argue that the real reason for this state of affairs is European integration, which has divided the Ukrainian and Russian people. At the same time, Ukraine insidiously uses the metaphor of "brotherly people" so that Russia can pay for its European integration with cheap gas. Ukraine and Russia are two Russian states formed after 1991, but the obtaining of separate statehoods by the peoples of the former "brotherly family," will lead, in the best case, to economic ruin and, in the worst case, to war.

"The aim of the state and the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine is to defend the interests of the respective political elites, but they completely ignore the shared historical and cultural roots of the two brotherly peoples in favor of pseudo-liberal and nationalist aspirations" (6).

"The threat of almost total physical annihilation of Russian Ukraine and the creation of an enemy state in place of the former 'brotherly republic'".

"At the end of the 19th century, the Western Ukrainians were bombarded with powerful propaganda, which gave them the idea that the Ukrainians are a distinct nation, different from the brotherly Russian people, that the Russian Tsar, with cunning and deception, sought to colonize Ukraine, that the existence of an 'independent' Ukrainian state is possible only under the patronage of the Germans" (79).

Russian scholars use the "brotherly people" metaphor to indicate that Ukraine's shared history with and territorial proximity to Russia imply that Russia always supported and assisted and will continue to support Ukraine (Topic 3).

"Putin's annual press conference, referring to the signing of the agreement with Ukraine, stated: 'And if we really say that this is a brotherly people and a brotherly country, then we must act as a close relative and support the Ukrainian people in this difficult situation'" (49).

Curiously, the Soviet idea of "brotherly peoples" is considered ambiguous: on the one hand, it implies separate brotherly peoples (hence, "separatism"), and on the other, it entails their unity (integration, unification, unity) (Topic 4).

"The thesis of a brotherly Eastern Slavic nation of Ukrainians and Russians has been hammered into our minds, and already for most of our fellow citizens, the existence of two brotherly but different peoples has become an axiom" (100).

There is a firm understanding of the unity of the brotherly peoples in terms of their shared civilizational identity: they both share the Orthodox faith, a common history, and certain traditions (Topic 5).

"In the public opinion the two countries [Russia and Ukraine] are evolving in a process of centuries of shared history. They are greatly influenced by the historical and cultural traditions of the two brotherly peoples" (26).

Russian scholars also use the "brotherly people" metaphor to indicate the need to (re)integrate two territorially neighboring, ethnically and culturally related peoples into a union state, since they are essentially the same people (Topic 6).

"It is time to understand this: we are not just 'brotherly Slavic peoples'; we are one great Russian people. And our 'mova' ['language' in Ukrainian] is just a dialect of one Russian language" (90).

There are calls to defend the oppressed Russian-speaking population in Ukraine as a brotherly people (Topic 7).

"Unanimously vote to grant the President of the Russian Federation the right to use armed force to prevent rampant banditry and protect the Russian-speaking population in a brotherly country" (108).

Thus, this metaphor has concrete political implications, as it rules out the extra-Russian existence of the "brotherly people" and constitutes Russia's dominant role in maintaining the brotherly relations.

The "brotherly people" metaphor in Corpus B

In Corpus B, the adjective "bratskiy" (brotherly) in connection with the noun "narod" (people) occurs 32 times. The adjective "bratskiy" (brotherly) occurs very often in combination with the adjective "ukrainskiy" (Ukrainian), forming a stable and frequent collocation (110 concordances). In total, the adjective "brotherly" occurs 245 times. There are only 66 relevant concordances. All the occurrences are grouped into 4 topics in the context of understanding the relationship between Russia and Ukraine (SEE TABLE 3).

TABLE 3: TOPICS WITH MEANINGS OF "BROTHERLY PEOPLE"
IN RELATION TO UKRAINIANS IN CORPUS B

No	Topic	Number of concordances	% of the total number
1	Dimensions of unity among brotherly peoples	27	40,9
2	Unbrotherly behavior of the brotherly people	25	37,8
3	Support and assistance	12	18,1
4	Acceptance of the Ukrainians' independent way of life	2	3
Total		52	66

Let us summarize the concordances with the word "brotherly". Topic 1 focused upon several connotations. Ukraine and Russia are regarded as "brotherly peoples" in terms of their shared history: they jointly fought in battles and underwent a reunification in the 17th century, which sealed forever the destinies of the two peoples. There are even occasional statements that Ukrainians and Russians are essentially one people. In this regard, Ukrainians have a spontaneous desire for unification with the brotherly Russian people and also resist NATO, though the political elite of Ukraine wants to align the country with it to profit from it, even at the expense of the values that unite Russians and Ukrainians. Russia is always ready to

extend a helping hand to Ukraine, develop good-neighborly relations with it, and fight against fascism on Ukrainian soil.

"The reunification of Ukraine and Russia marks a turning point in the life of the Ukrainian people; it determines their further historical development and forever joins together the fates of the brotherly Ukrainians and Russians" (50).

"[I] share with the governor the joy of a positive attitude towards the fraternal Ukrainian people, who are essentially one people with us. There remains, of course, a slightly negative connotation of that unpleasant moment" (35).

According to Topic 2, the nationalists are the main project of the Ukrainian ruling elite against Russia. They separate the destinies of the two brotherly peoples. The United States is an ally of the Ukrainian authorities, who have appointed their leaders (e.g., Viktor Yushchenko, Yulia Tymoshenko) to pursue anti-Russian policies that sow discord between Ukrainians and Russians. Thus, in Ukraine the Nazi is recognized as a hero (a reference to Bandera), and the Holodomor in 1932–1933 is considered a genocide. A different interpretation of World War II is being imposed, a persecution of Russian-language speakers is taking place, and an apartheid regime has arisen. At the same time, the cheapness of energy has allowed the Russophobic elite in Ukraine to remain in power and has given Ukrainian capitalists a fortune.

"Russia was outraged, but its outrage was very well concealed. When in front of the eyes of the brotherly Ukrainian people a Nazi is recognized as a hero, when the persecution of the language begins, and in essence an apartheid regime arises" (15).

"It is not Yushchenko's will that should be reflected, but the will of the Ukrainian people. Then we can congratulate Bush and his Condoleezza [Rice] – their plan to split the brotherly people has completely succeeded" (112).

"The problem lies not in the attitude towards the Russian language and the Russian nationality on the part of the brotherly Ukrainian people, but in the attitude of the Ukrainian government toward our country and the Russian people" (168).

According to Topic 3, Russia is always ready to lend a helping hand to Ukraine, develop good-neighborly relations with it, and fight fascism on Ukrainian soil.

"The Ukrainian people are mighty and invincible, for they have fought the enemy and will continue to do so in close friendship with the great brotherly Russian people, together with all the great Russian people. For a century, they have been providing brotherly assistance to their sister country, Ukraine" (155).

"In the 90's and early 2000's Russia provided the brotherly Ukrainian people with low gas prices, on which they earned a fortune" (22).

It is noteworthy that Russians, when discussing the Russian authorities, sometimes consider the declaration of brotherly relations with the Ukrainian people as a lie designed to cover up the imperialistic policy of the Russian state.

"So that the brotherhood – the allegedly friendly to policy toward Ukraine, the strategic partnership and the 'brotherly' relationships with the Ukrainian people – should be perceived as a false declaration, serving only as a cover for his imperial policy" (162).

At the same time, some Russians express sympathy and support for the Maidan, that is, for the Ukrainian people who decided to take their destiny into their own hands, as well as for the uprisings against the corrupt Kuchma regime and the massive election fraud in 2004.

"On the occasion of the Orange Revolution, I was really on the Maidan; I am proud that our brotherly Ukrainian people rebelled against the corrupt Kuchma regime and the mass falsification in the elections of 2004" (49).

Therefore, the "brotherly people" metaphor is used in the "Sketch Engine" corpus to denote shared historical roots, joint military actions, and mutual assistance, as well as to indicate the unbrotherly behavior of the Ukrainian authorities – namely an independent foreign policy, a non-Russian reading of history, and an anti-Russian ideology. On the other hand, in particular, there are several positive comments in this corpus about

the desire of the Ukrainian people to fight corruption. These statements recognize the autonomy and national dignity of Ukrainians.

The "brotherly people" metaphor in Corpus C

In Corpus C, the adjective "bratskiy" (brotherly) occurs infrequently in connection with the noun "narod" (people). Sixteen concordances of this sort were generated. However, the adjective "bratskiy" (brotherly) is often found in combination with the adjective "ukrainskiy" ("Ukrainian"), and thus this combination forms a stable and frequent collocation (20 concordances). In total, the adjective "brotherly" occurs 70 times. There are only 23 relevant concordances. All the occurrences are grouped into 5 topics in the context of understanding the relationship between Russia and Ukraine (SEE TABLE 4).

TABLE 4: TOPICS WITH MEANINGS OF "BROTHERLY PEOPLE"
IN RELATION TO UKRAINIANS IN CORPUS C

No	Topic	Number of concordances	% of the total number
1	Dimensions of unity among brotherly peoples	7	30,4
2	Unbrotherly behavior of the brotherly people	6	26,09
3	Acceptance of the Ukrainians' independent way of life	5	21,7
4	Support and assistance	3	13,04
5	Brotherly people – integration, unification	2	8,7
Total		52	23

Let us summarize the concordances with the word "brotherly". According to Topic 1, Ukrainians and Russians are united by a shared history and spiritual heritage. There is no history of Ukraine that would be separate from that of the brotherly Russian people, but all three brotherly peoples (with Belarusians being the third) came from the same root, which is why most Ukrainians are in favor of restoring close brotherly relations with Russia.

"350 years [after the Pereiaslav Agreement between the Ukrainian Cossacks and the Russian Tzar] is a very important milestone in the interaction of the two brotherly peoples. 'We have created a lot together; we have lived through a lot,' he noted" (21).

"Friendship with Ukraine, which is close to us historically, culturally and spiritually, the preservation of a special relationship between the brotherly Russian and Ukrainian people, is strategically much more important for our country than the establishment of a fair gas price from January 1" (52).

Topic 2 is focused on the nationalistic anti-Russian policies of Yushchenko and Tymoshenko, which lead to the degradation of the brotherly Ukrainian people. Ukraine's flirting with the West is painfully perceived in Russia, and Russians are ready to support the protests against the nationalist government of Ukraine.

"It is very difficult to restore law and order in the country after such crooks as Timoshenko and Yushchenko, provocateurs who conducted a nationalist anti-Russian policy and lead to the degradation of the brotherly Ukrainian people" (13).

"The special attitude of Russian people regarding Ukraine, the perception of the Ukrainian people and their culture as brotherly, inevitably causes a particularly painful reaction, a specific kind of jealousy, in relation to Ukraine 'flirting' with the West" (65).

At the same time, in Topic 3 there are words of support for Euromaidan as a symbol of civil resistance and the desire of Ukrainians to realize their long-held dream – to live by the Ukrainian law and not by shadow rules. Russia's inconsistent policy is criticized, namely the high price of gas for the Ukrainians as a brotherly nation. It is pointed out that Moscow must learn to forgive Ukraine for its otherness by allowing its brotherly people to think, act, and live differently. In one instance, we read about the fact of the inconsistency with the official doctrine about the brotherly Ukrainian people dreaming of a reunification with Russia.

"Moscow must learn to forgive Ukraine for its dissimilarity, as well as other countries. The same goes for Georgia. Accept the idea that a brotherly nation can think, act and live differently" (27).

"On March 12, activists from the Kirov cell of the 'Essence of the Time' held a series of solitary pickets in support of the brotherly people of Ukraine. They

talked about the utmost lawlessness that the current illegal Ukrainian authorities are responsible for" (35).

Topic 4 expresses the need for the two countries' closer economic integration. The texts illustrate their current cooperation, which included a discount on gas prices and Russia's willingness to provide a loan to Ukraine.

"It is important to maintain and enhance the good tradition of our good neighborliness and cooperation, to strengthen the mutually beneficial equal partnership between the two states. We heartily wish our compatriots, the entire brotherly Ukrainian people, success and prosperity" (1).

"The majority of Ukrainian people are categorically in favor of restoring close brotherly relations with Russia. The misfortune of Ukraine is that the 15 percent 'minority' suffer from Russophobia and impose their will on the 80 percent" (50).

Topic 5 articulates a desire for the revival of a union state with the Belarusian and Ukrainian peoples. It is emphasized that the majority of the Ukrainian people support the restoration of close brotherly relations with Russia.

"I am sure that with this great victory, and faith in the ideal of truth, goodness and justice, we will revive the union state. Brotherly Belarus is with us, the hardworking Ukrainian people are with us, and the whole great Soviet country is with us. The bright idea of socialism is with us" (58).

Thus, the "brotherly people" metaphor in Corpus C is represented by the ideas of unity and the impossibility of a separation of the Ukrainian people from the triune Russian people; it also implies economic assistance to the Ukrainian people, as well as, what is remarkable, sympathies for the democratic transformation in Ukraine, and, what is non-remarkable, dissatisfaction with the non-brotherly policies of the Ukrainian authorities. Less frequent are ideas about the reunification of the brotherly peoples.

The "brotherly people" metaphor in Corpus D

This corpus was used to check in relation to which countries and peoples the word "brotherly" was used most frequently. It was done to see whether the application of this word to Ukraine has any particular significance. There are 21 words that are frequently used in relation to the adjective "bratskiy" (brotherly).

The words that are frequently combined in clusters with the word "bratskiy" are "Ukraina" (Ukraine) ("ukrainskiy" [Ukrainian] [9 times], "Ukraina" [Ukraine] [5 times]), "Belorusiya" (Belarus) ("belorusskiy" [Belarusian] [8 times], "Belorussiya" [Belarus] [1 time]), "Azerbaydzhan" (Azerbaijan) ("azerbaydzhanskiy" [Azerbaijani] [4 times]), and "Kazakhstan" (Kazakhstan) ("kazakhstanskiy" [Kazakhstani] [2 times], "Kazakhstan" [Kazakhstan] [1 time]). The word "bratskiy" (brotherly) is also associated with Serbia (2 times), and Armenia and Yugoslavia – once time each.

There are 146 uses of the adjective "bratskiy" (brotherly) in total in Corpus D. The most frequently mentioned countries in connection with this word are the following (listed in order from the most to the least often mentioned): Ukraine – 41 mentions, Belarus – 27, Kazakhstan – 19, Armenia – 6, Azerbaijan – 5, Serbia – 4, Bulgaria – 3. As for the annexed territories, the corresponding figures for them are as follows: South Ossetia – 1, Abkhazia – 2, Crimea – 3, L/DPR – 3. Thus, Ukraine is the country or territory mentioned most frequently in connection with the adjective "bratskiy" (brotherly) in this corpus. All occurrences of the word "bratskiy" (brotherly) are grouped into 5 topics in the context of understanding the relationship between Russia and Ukraine (SEE TABLE 5).

TABLE 5: TOPICS WITH MEANINGS OF "BROTHERLY PEOPLE"
IN RELATION TO UKRAINIANS IN CORPUS D

No	Topic	Number of concordances	% of the total number
1	Dimensions of unity with the brotherly Ukrainian people	30	61.2
2	Unbrotherly behavior of the brotherly Ukrainian people	9	18.3
3	One people	5	10.2
4	Annexation of Ukrainian territories	3	6.1
5	Support and assistance	2	4
Total		52	100

Let us summarize the concordances with the word "brotherly". Topic 1 focuses on describing the commonalities between the brotherly peoples of Russia and Ukraine in terms of their shared historical roots, joint battles, traditions, and values. Ukraine is understood through the unity of the two brotherly peoples because it is the closest country to Russia and its language is very similar to Russian. According to the Russian leader, the brotherly peoples have good-neighborly relations and actively cooperate and ensure each other's stability and security.

"I am confident that our common course to deepen [the] bilateral strategic partnership will receive further constructive development and allow us to bring the brotherly people of our country even closer [to us]. The people of Russia and Ukraine are firmly linked by shared spiritual and cultural roots" (23).

"Shared historical roots and centuries-old brotherly relations have always been a solid foundation for [the] close economic and cultural cooperation between our people. It is important that today the Russian-Ukrainian partnership has received…" (93).

"I have said many times that Ukrainian[s] and Russian[s] are brotherly people. [A]nd even more: I even believe that they are one people in fact, with its own peculiarity…" (84).

Topic 2 centered around Ukraine's unbrotherly attitude. Putin points to the deviation from the pro-Russian course of the Ukrainian authorities, the pursuit of irresponsible policies by the "comprador" Ukrainian political regime that has caused misfortune for Ukrainians, the unwillingness of Ukraine to integrate into the Eurasian Economic Community, and the presence of nationalist sentiments that betray the brotherhood between the Russian and Ukrainian peoples.

"What is happening in Ukraine – and [to] Ukrainians[;] even in today's tragic conditions, I want to say that this is a brotherly people. First, it emerged in the 19th century, Ukrainian nationalism…" (82).

"Speaking of which, the example of our neighbor, the brotherly country of Ukraine, clearly shows that irresponsible politicians cause a lot of trouble and losses" (91).

In connection with Topic 3, the Russian leader criticizes Ukrainian nationalists because Ukrainians and Russians are one nation.

> *"And we consider Ukraine, and the Ukrainian people really brotherly, if […] not part of the one Russian people. There though Russian nationalists don't like it, and Ukrainian nationalists don't like it"* (133).

In relation to Topic 4, Putin supports pro-Russian separatist movements, protecting Russian-speaking Ukrainians from the nationalist, irresponsible policies of the Ukrainian authorities. The Crimea peninsula, which was occupied by Russia in 2014, is also mentioned in connection with this. "Returning Crimea" to Russia is considered as a "restoring of historical justice" and "returning to one's native home." Putin asserts the need to support the LPR and the DPR, which resist the anti-Russian policies in Ukraine.

> *"Despite all the tragedy that we are witnessing now, especially in the southeast, the Ukrainian people will always be and remain the closest brotherly people to us. We are connected by ethnic, spiritual, religious, historical affinities"* (133).

> *"Love for one's homeland is one of the most powerful [and] sublime feelings. It [was] fully manifested in the fraternal support of the residents of Crimea and Sevastopol when they firmly decided to return to their ancestral home"* (140).

However, on the other hand, Putin claims that Russia supports Ukraine and its sovereignty (Topic 5).

> *"It is well known that Russia not only supported Ukraine and other brotherly republics of the former Soviet Union in their quest for sovereignty, but also contributed significantly to this process at the turn of the 1990s"* (97).

Thus, the "brotherly people" metaphor is used in Putin's corpus mainly to denote shared historical roots, traditions, and values and the current cooperation between the countries, but also annexations of territories in case of resistance to the Russian idea of the unity of brotherly peoples and a lack of commitment to the pro-Russian policies in Ukraine.

SUMMARY OF CORPORA A–D

We created Table 6 for all the corpora to show the frequency of the topics in each corpus and to highlight the semantic focuses in them.

TABLE 6: THE FREQUENCY OF TOPICS IN CORPORA A–D

No	Topics	Concordances per topic (in %)			
		Corpus A	Corpus B	Corpus C	Corpus D
1	Dimensions of unity with the brotherly Ukrainian people	7.69	40.9	30.4	61.2
2	Unbrotherly behavior of the brotherly Ukrainian people	30.77	37.8	26.09	18.3
3	Support and assistance	13.46	18.1	13.04	4.0
4	Brotherly people – integration, unification	30.77	-	8.7	-
5	One people	5.77	-	-	10.2
6	Acceptance of the Ukrainians' independent way of life	-	3.0	21.7	-
7	The Soviet myth of the three brotherly peoples	7.69	-	-	-
8	Protection of the Russian-speaking population	3.85	-	-	-
9	Annexation of Ukrainian territories	-	-	-	6.1

According to Table 6, all 4 corpora contain mentions of topics 1, 2, and 3. Along with the positive semantics of the metaphor, there is a cluster of topics that delegitimize the statehood of Ukraine. It is important to pay attention to this combination, which indicates, as we assume, irredentist sentiments about Ukraine in Russia.

The "brotherly people" metaphor refers to the two countries' shared ethnic roots, history and traditions, as well as Russia's support for Ukraine and vice versa, but there is also a delegitimization of the Ukrainian authorities and the national and cultural identity of Ukrainians. Russians criticize the Ukrainian people for their non-brotherly behavior, their right to self-determination and independence, and their distinct history, language, culture, and foreign and domestic policies.

The semantic focus of Corpus A lies in the unbrotherly behavior of Ukrainians (30.77%), along with statements about the need for their integration and unification with the Russian people (30.77%). The semantic focus of Corpora B, C and D is the same and consists of emphasizing the unity of the brotherly peoples (B – 40.9%, C – 30.4%, D – 61.2%) and the non-brotherly behavior of the Ukrainian people (B – 37.8%, C – 26.9%, D – 18.3%). On this basis, we can conclude that the semantic focuses of

all the corpora are similar, which implies that the Ukrainian people, who are perceived as brotherly, pursue through their nationalist authorities a non-brotherly, anti-Russian policy, contradicting the historical, cultural, and ethnic ties and affinities between the two peoples.

An important feature of Corpora B and C is a new topic – the recognition of the right to independence of Ukrainians. This topic is most frequent in Corpus C (21.7%) and least common in Corpus B (3%). This can be explained by the fact that in Corpus C the time range of the texts is larger (1999–2014) than in Corpus B (only 2011). These results can also be considered as quite expected, given the partly non-state origins of the sources in the web corpora; i.e., they are free from state propaganda. According to Table 6, only Corpus A and D contain the topic "One People" (A – 5.77%, D – 10.2%) along with "expansionist" topics: Corpus A underlines the need to protect the Russian-speaking population in Ukraine (3.85%), and Corpus D directly justifies the annexation of territories with a Russian-speaking population (6.1%).

Operationalizing Corpus E

We pose the following question in regard to Corpus E: how often is the "brotherly people" metaphor used by irredentist states/organizations? Let us start by searching for the word "brother" and its forms. Here are the results: "brother" (277), "brotherhood" (37), "brotherly" (16), "brothers" (8), "brotherhoods" (1). The most frequent collocation for the word form "brother" is the word "ethnic" (45), which corresponds to the "brotherly people" metaphor.

A total of 301 concordances were generated for the words "brothers," "brother," and "brotherly", which were considered as relevant word forms. From our reading of the concordances, we can say that the word forms "brotherly," "brother," and "brothers" were used as metaphors that served as a common motif and justification for irredentist politics and ideology from the first half of the nineteenth century. A total of 35 cases of irredentist claims using the "brotherly people" metaphor (made by non-state entities and also with no political consequences) were found in the history of irredentism from 1860 to 2010 (for the table with all the cases, see Appendix 3). According to Markus Kornprobst, there were 108

irredentas in the period of 1848–2000 $\overline{\text{(2008)}}$, Appendix II. If we take only the cases mentioned by Kornprobst, then the "brotherly people" metaphor was used in 10 irredentas out of 108 in total. However, if one adds to this list the irredentas Georgia and Ukraine, then one comes up with 12 irredentas with the "brotherly people" metaphor out of 110 irredentas in total. However, it should be taken into account that there are no studies in Corpus E focused specifically on the analysis of irredentist metaphors. This is one of the limitations of the current study.

In some cases, this metaphor appears to refer to an ethnically oppressed nation wishing to create its own single nation state by seceding from an empire (e.g., Italy seceding from the Austrian Empire):

"Primarily, it [irredentism] *was used to describe independence political movements functioning in the 19th and 20th centuries in Italy. Their participants, Irredentists[,] demanded Trieste, Trident, Dalmatia, and Istria to be incorporated to Italy. In reality, the territories inhabited by Italian language people, called unredeemed brothers, were expected by them to be seceded from Switzerland and Austria-Hungary. In other words, Irredentists aimed at the integration of all the territories inhabited by Italian language ethnic groups in the one state, Italy,"* concordance 106; $\overline{\text{(NEDASHKOVSKAYA 2016)}}$.

There are also cases where the metaphor refers to the given empire's policy toward neighboring, ethnically close countries and territories (e.g., the Ottoman Empire and Greece):

"A characteristic expression of these sentiments was voiced by Halil Bey, <...> on assuming the presidency of the newly-elected Ottoman Chamber on 19 May 1914, he delivered an eloquently irredentist speech: 'I address myself, from this high pulpit, to my nation. <...> I ask our teachers, journalists, poets and all our intellectuals to remind continuously our present generation and the future ones, via their lessons, writings and moral influence, that beyond the frontiers there are brethren to be liberated and bits of the Fatherland to be redeemed'," concordance 146 $\overline{\text{(LANDAU 1995)}}$.

There are examples of new countries that emerged after the end of colonial rule and made territorial claims based on a single ethnicity being

divided into several newly formed countries (e.g., Somalia in relation to Ethiopia):

"The situation appears to have been exacerbated by leaders who built upon pan-Somali hypernationalism in order to achieve certain domestic goals such as uniting the clans. Such leaders were also convinced that the existence of their Somali brethren in the Ogaden was at stake. Thus the perceived security issue of the Ogadenis became a symbol for creating a Somali ethnic identity, which Somali leaders were skillful at manipulating," 216 (CARMENT 1993).

Interestingly, the "brotherly people" metaphor is used as one of the grounds for the conceptualization of irredentism, partially losing its metaphoricity, but denoting ethnically close groups:

"In limiting oneself to irredentism that focuses on peoples and particularly the notion of ethnic brethren (defined as ethnic irredentism), three problems result. At the most basic level, an exclusive focus on ethnic brethren inherently assumes and suggests that nations are given entities and are constituted by people who necessarily share a common lineage," 4 (MCMAHON 1998).

"Indeed, even before the emergence of nationalist ideologies, many states, or groups of states, attempted to justify expansionist policies by employing the argument of redeeming territory or liberating their brethren," 61 (YAGCIOGLU 1996).

The theoretical use of the "brotherly people" metaphor in the conceptualization of irredentism could be interpreted as indirect evidence of the prevalence of this metaphor as an ideological means of justifying irredentism. Thus, the "brotherly people" metaphor gave justification for the need for a violent territorial change, increasing the territory of one country at the expense of another by pointing to a similar ethnic composition.

CONCLUSION

The corpus approach in this study refined the analyses of the "brotherly people" metaphor by Khaldarova (2021) and A'Beckett (2012) and supplemented it with additional meanings based on a large number of texts from various Russian sources (web corpora of non-academic Russian texts, an academic corpus and a corpus of texts by Putin). In all 4 of the Russian

corpora, namely Corpora A, B, C and D, the "brotherly people" metaphor indicates a hierarchical, abusive, patriarchal relationship in which, despite the declared unity, the superiority of the Russian people/state is assumed, and it is thus assumed to have the supreme "familial" right to interfere in the domestic and foreign policy of a neighboring kin state, and use violence if the latter refuses to follow Russian-centric policies. We specified the meanings of the "brotherly people" metaphor in the academic corpus, the two web corpora, and the corpus with the texts of the Russian leader.

The two web corpora of non-academic Russian texts (Corpus B and Corpus C) mostly have statements echoing the language of the Russian authorities and scholars (Corpus A and Corpus D) by employing such topics as "dimensions of unity with the brotherly Ukrainian people", "unbrotherly behavior of the brotherly Ukrainian people", and "support and assistance". At the same time, ordinary Russians express support for the independent identity of Ukrainians in several fragments. This fact has not been revealed in the aforementioned studies of this metaphor. However, such support is insignificant due to the low number of such statements.

The Russian leader (Corpus D) overemphasizes brotherly ties, ethnic unity, and cultural affinities, paying attention to the spiritual factor in relations between peoples. At the same time, he speaks out about protecting the alleged victims of ethnically kindred populations and pursues the annexation of Ukrainian territories. It turns out that Putin uses the "brotherly people" metaphor to express the ethnonational idea and reinforces it with expansionist and irredentist policies.

Russian scholars (Corpus A) rather approach Ukraine in an economic context and believe that Ukraine cannot exist without Russia, but must integrate with it and that Ukraine's domestic and foreign policies must change for it to do so. That is, the subtext of the use of this metaphor in this corpus also has an irredentist, expansionist character, but with a predominance of economic and political measures, while this character is also to a lesser extent expressed in direct territorial claims and the desire to protect the "brotherly people".

The study of the "brotherly people" metaphor was placed in the context of foreign policy and international relations, namely the context

of irredentism. This allowed us to combine the two subjects of study: metaphors as a means of political communication, and irredentism as a socio-political phenomenon.

The use of kinship-family metaphors has been a fairly common ideological tool to justify irredentism over the last 150 years. A "brotherly people" metaphor helps to demonstrate the contingent nature of countries' borders and the possibility of changing borders between countries due to the ethnic affinity of peoples living in different countries. This metaphor is used as one of the foundations for the conceptualization of irredentism, partly losing its metaphoricity, but denoting ethnically close groups. The use of the "brotherly people" metaphor in the conceptualization of irredentism could be interpreted as indirect evidence of the prevalence of this metaphor as an ideological means of justifying irredentist policy.

The corpus approach allowed us to capture the full semantic range of the "brotherly people" metaphor in the large Russian corpora while connecting it to irredentism: from assertions of cultural, historical and ethnic unity, and support and assistance for the "brotherly people" to the delegitimization of the kin nation's statehood and the separate ethnic identity of the "brotherly people", and the desire to "protect" it through territorial expansion.

Consequently, the "brotherly people" metaphor in Russia's case serves as an ideological manifestation, a sensuous and concrete illustration of relations between peoples, embodies the particular political demands of one state towards another, and also suggests an expansionist practice based on ethnonationalism. From the point of view of the irredentist Russian state, the "brotherly people" metaphor forms a perfectly logical whole: an acknowledgment of the unity, kinship and affinity between peoples implies their unification and integration, but if the "brotherly people" do not recognize their fraternal responsibilities, then this metaphor leads to the delegitimization of an independent kin nation's statehood, an undermining of its sovereignty, and further to the stronger nation's desire to "protect" the allegedly oppressed population in the kin state through expansionism. This particular understanding of brotherhood does not imply equality, mutual obligations, or independence of the brotherly peoples. It is a framework of co-dependent, abusive relations, in which the

Russian people are considered the supreme steward and the ruler, and the Ukrainian people only have to meet the requirements of brotherhood imposed upon them.

The spread of the "brotherly people" metaphor in Russian society led to the politicization of the ethnic issue, as well as the affective mobilization of the Russian population around the idea of the reunification of the Russian people. The majority of the Russian population positively perceives the irredentism towards the Ukrainian people, as they view it through the prism of the idea of saving a brotherly people. The "brotherly people" metaphor and the waging of a hybrid, "cold" and then "hot", full-scale war of aggression are two elements on the surface of the same whole.

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NOTE

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