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Ludmilla A'Beckett

Cross-cultural Allusions in the Russian Press: Parallels between Joan of Arc and the Former Ukrainian Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko

Ludmilla A'Beckett*

Abstract

This article deals with the correlation between the original story of Joan of Arc and the features of a new referent of this name. It focuses on the adaptation of an existing historical scenario by the Russian mass media for the representation of new events and for specific argumentative purposes. The former Ukrainian Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko has frequently been called the "Joan of Arc of Ukraine" in the Russian press. 100 texts with this allusion have been collected from the two most popular newspapers "Argumenty i Fakty" and "Komsomol'skaia pravda" between 2005 and 2013. This research design stems from the assumption that the original story provides semantic slots which are filled and then adjusted to present information about the new character (Lennon: 28-31). These repetitive segments ("slots") and their evaluative orientation have been analysed. The slots have also been compared to information about other referents who were named "Joan of Arc" in the Russian press. These reoccurring fragments include descriptions of 1) a female warrior and a propeller of historic events, 2) a betrayal by allies, 3) extrasensory and paranormal skills, 4) imprisonment and 5) an ordeal by fire. The allusion frequently becomes a rhetorical device which contrasts new facts and their evaluation against well-known properties of the original story. Therefore, this adaptation of an historic name often generates a spoof rather than a heroic saga.

Key words: Allusions, gender-identity, the Russian press, heteroglossia, evaluation, impression formation, irony

* Professor, Slavic Studies, Monash University, Australia
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1. Introduction

The task of this essay is to demonstrate how persistent use of the metaphor "Joan of Arc" influences the identity construction of a female politician in the press. The term "metaphor" is used in this essay as a broad and inclusive category implying that one conceptual domain (a source domain) is understood in terms of another conceptual domain (a target domain) (Lakoff and Johnson: 5; Cameron: 3; Kövecses: 4). To be more precise "Joan of Arc" functions as an allusive naming which links a new discourse referent to an historical character (Lennon: 128). My research assumption has been that the media creates a perception of a character which is not always determined by the true self of the public figure. The term identity is understood as an emergent phenomenon which amalgamates real aspects of the character and their media representations (Butcholtz and Hall: 586, Ponton: 25). This essay reconstructs the media coinage of the image of a former Ukrainian Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko who was frequently called "Joan of Arc of Ukraine" (Onomastic allusions in the Russian Press: 7-10).

In 2011, Tymoshenko was imprisoned for seven years for abuse of office after signing a contract between the state oil and gas company Naftogaz Ukraine and Russian energy giant Gazprom. According to Amnesty International, the charges against her were not internationally recognised offences. Despite the positively laden comparison with Joan of Arc, the survey which was conducted by the Russian Federation authorities through the website "Odnoklassniki" revealed that 1,446 respondents do not feel any sympathy for Tymoshenko, only 349 respondents sympathise Tymoshenko, 288 respondents hold a neutral opinion whereas 57 persons

do not know who she is (the statistics was taken on the 25th of March, 2013). Understanding the media impact on minds of readers required analysis of traits generally attributed to Joan of Arc by the Russian press. The analysis also included an examination of the characterization of other women identified through this label. The paper considers the discursive mechanisms selecting properties for the attributive category (Gluksberg: 47-57) of Joan of Arc. The analysis also uncovers several techniques for transforming a glorious name into a tool for vilification.

2. Data and method

100 contexts with the allusion to Joan of Arc have been collected from the most popular Russian newspapers *Argumenty i fakty* (AiF) i *Komsomol'skaia pravda* (KP). Since genres of these collected texts vary and include articles, interviews, letters to the editor, jokes, and readers' comments, they reproduce "the virtual conversation within and between communities" (Musolff: 5).

The selected newspapers have a different profile and audience. AiF is viewed as a politically neutral newspaper. The Russian organisation 'Knowledge' (Znanie) initiated its foundation in 1978. AiF states on its website that in 1990 the newspaper had a print run of 33.5 million which was then the largest circulation newspaper in the world and was thus entered into the Guinness World Records. AiF is a weekly publication. BBC monitoring (2) comments on AiF standing: "[I]ts mix of political analysis and speculation, patriotic sentiment, high-profile interviews, regional supplements and consumer advice has ensured its prominence on Russia's news-stands."

Hard copies of AiF in Russian can be purchased in many countries of the former Soviet Union as well as in Western countries. AiF is most likely a borderline case between the quality press and the tabloids (see the distinction between the two in Bednarek: 13).

KP was founded in 1925 and has always addressed youth as its main audience. According to BBC monitoring, the peak of KP popularity was in 1990, when it sold almost 22 million daily copies. Nowadays the newspaper functions as a daily tabloid.

There are special editions of the newspaper in former Soviet Republics and in the Russian regions. The newspaper owners are reported to have close links with Gazprom, the biggest owner of Russian fuel resources and the largest Russian company with strong backing from the Russian Government.

The juxtaposition of the weekly 'quality paper' AiF with the daily 'tabloid' KP suggests that the demarcation line between tabloids and broadsheets is blurred and that the traditional contrast between the two is not always sufficiently informative. However, the selection of contexts from two different sources enriches the database for analyses.

The contexts represent shared knowledge of the Russian audience about the French heroine. They form an ad hoc category of Joan of Arc. My assumption has been that the attributive category of Joan of Arc accommodates different aspects of historical events, of characterisation of the heroine and non-identical evaluative perspectives (The play of voices in metaphor discourse: 190-191). The frame of references activated in Russian can differ from the constituents of the same category in other languages. The stereotypical perceptions of Joan of Arc have been adjusted for representing circumstances of Tymoshenko's story. The construction of Tymoshenko's image involves 1) a selection of episodes from the life of Joan of Arc; 2) ensuring the compatibility/incompatibility of the story with contemporary situations. The narratives about a new Joan of Arc may not convey a positive evaluation of the character since, on the one hand, it often involves a reference to negatively-laden traits; and, on the other hand, the positively laden segments can contrast with contemporary episodes which have been critically evaluated. Hence, my task is to reproduce the discursive processes which results in the construction of the image of the new Joan of Arc. This image is a media creation which reflects the self of Tymoshenko, but does not necessarily represent objective account of Tymoshenko's deeds.

My exploration of this image has been broken into three steps. The first step involves the collection of common perceptions about Joan of Arc in the Russian press. It also includes an assessment of stances toward the situations described. The

second step is the analysis of discourse fragments in which Yulia Tymoshenko featured as Joan of Arc. The third is the assembly line--the discussion of highlighted traits and their evaluation in the story of Tymoshenko as opposed to Joan of Arc.

3. Distribution of contexts

Table 1 shows the main themes discussed through the allusion to Joan of Arc. The contexts have been sorted according to the major topics they represent. The classification reflects whether there was a reference to a particular person or a specific feature of the prototype.

Table 1. Distribution of parallels with Joan of Arc

References	Number of references
Tymoshenko	30
Other female politicians	5
Actresses and artistic personalities	9
Journalists	13
War heroes	5
References to accessories, conditions, situations linked to the story of Joan of Arc	
Costumes and hairstyle	7
Insanity/paranormal skills	8
Exposure to heat and fire	5
Aggression	6
Heroic life style	7
Anti-heroes (irony, teasing etc.)	4
Religious belief	1

Table 2 presents the names of female politicians that have been compared to Joan of Arc. It should be noted that the comparison of Clinton and Hakamada (a former right-wing Russian politician of Japanese origin) with Joan of Arc was either ironic or conditional. Irony is generally defined as a reversal or negation of an expressed proposition (Colston & Gibbs: 6; Giora: 44). Hilary Clinton was compared to Joan of Arc only when she called the opposition in Syria to the barricades. Hence,

it was a conditional comparison. Hakamada was presented as an ultimate loser in the struggle with Putin or as an inadequate public figure. The positive entailment of Joan of Arc's achievements has been suppressed in this case. On the other hand, women of French origin have always been presented positively in such a comparison.

Table 2 Comparison of politicians with Joan of Arc

Politicians	References
Irina Hakamada	3
Segolene Royal	1
Hilary Clinton	1

Actresses have been often compared with Joan of Arc since they choose to play this role in a film or theatrical production. A certain similarity between them and the French heroine was a common prerequisite for the parallel. Among the exception is Coco Chanel who was wearing a Joan of Arc haircut and was involved in an anti-British activity when she was spying for Germans. Greta Garbo was talking about a possibility to become a heroine like Joan of Arc since she was thinking about assassinating Hitler. Edith Piaf became the Joan of Arc of the 20th century since she was worshipped by the French nation. Table 3 demonstrates which actresses and artistic women either performed Joan of Arc or have been compared with her in the press.

Table 3 Comparison of artistic women with Joan of Arc

Actresses	References
Fanny Ardent	2
Sarah Bernhardt	1
Edith Piaf	1
Milla Jovovich	2
Inna Churikova	1
Coco Chanel	1
Greta Garbo	1

The next category of comparisons has been represented by woman-journalists. Representatives of this profession similarly to politicians are exposed to public scrutiny which carries a certain risk of attracting a bad reputation. All allusions in this category are ironical and evoke derision. Sobchak, Rynska and Kandelaki have been compared with Joan of Arc because of their anti- and pro-Putin activities. See Table 4.

Table 4 Comparison with female journalists

Journalists	References
Daria Aslamova (a scandalous and promiscuous Russian journalist)	1
Xenia Sobchak (a media personality, a daughter of the former Mayor of Saint Petersburg)	7
Tina Kandelaki (a TV presenter and producer who publicised the victorious outcome for Putin in the Elections of 2012)	3
Bozhena Rynska (a gossip columnist, participant in anti-Putin protests)	2

The following statement can be given as an example of ironic comparison. Similar attitudes can be found in other examples.

(1) Даша Асламова, Вы Жанна д' Арк нашего времени! Сколько Вам пришлось пережить романов и оргазмов ради читателей! [Dasha Aslamova, you are a Joan of Arc of our time! How much you had to suffer from affairs and orgasms for the sake of your reader!]

However, the clear and unequivocal comparison can be found in the category of female war-heroes. Two female war heroes were named "Russian Joan of Arc"--Zoya Kosmodemianskaia in the WW 2 and Maria Bochkaryova in the WW 1 and the Civil war. Both have been killed for their beliefs. Maria Bochkaryova organised the First Russian Women's Battalion of Death during the WW1. Later she

was killed by Bolsheviks since she tried to overthrow their regime in Siberia. Although the courage and stamina of both women were appreciated the circumstances of their lives have drawn some reservation. Before her noble involvement in WW1, Bochkaryova supported a husband who was a criminal and extortionist. Zoya Kosmodemianskaia as a member of diversionary brigade set fire to houses in Russian villages to prevent the Germans from staying there. The undertone can be inferred that such women could be easily engaged in any extremist activities. Another female Russian warrior, Alyona Arzamasskaia, was an ally of famous Russian rebel Stepan Razin. As a leader of 300 rebels, she was accused of sorcery and heresy and sentenced to be burned at the stake. The admiration of the heroine in the text is undisputable.

Table 5 Female warriors

Names	References
Alyona Arzamasskaia (17th century)	1
Maria Bochkaryova (WW1, Civil War)	2
Zoya Kosmodemianskaia (WW1)	2

Except for the last category, the negative undercurrents of comparisons are pervasive. All comparisons with Russian journalists are negative or ironic. The references to female politicians are negative except for Segolene Royale. The comparison of Clinton with Joan of Arc evokes a dubious attitude as her claim to make barricades in Syria seems to be inappropriate from the point of view presented by the journalists. The comparison of Hakamada and Tymoshenko with Joan of Arc often introduces a tragic farce. Journalists named Joans of Arc have been mocked for their pretence and ambitions. The comparison of female soldiers with Joan of Arc often produces a perception of stubbornness bordering on fanaticism. Even the positive presentation of actresses playing Joan of Arc sometimes raises the question whether views of these women are consistent with reality. Some of the positive traits presented can be easily extended to the negative counterpart. For instance, the love for freedom can be attenuated by disobedience. Moreover, extrasensory skills can be

perceived as insanity and witchcraft, while strength is bordering on aggression and masculinity. The list of transformations could be completed with the observation that devotion to ideals is at conflict with "the voice of reason".

4. Traits and situations associated with the name of Joan of Arc

The perception of the prototypical features of Joan of Arc varies among different discourse participants. The following traits of Joan of Arc have been repetitively discussed: 1) costume; 2) abnormal behaviour; 3) ordeal by fire; 4) fighting spirit; 5) epitomisation of unreserved heroism. These segments often have ambivalent contextualisations. Each slot of Joan of Arc's characterisation has been analysed in subsections below.

4.1 Joan's of Arc style of clothing

For instance, the costume of Joan of Arc is viewed differently, though metallic features and armour have been discussed frequently. Compare the following examples.

(2) И непонятно, на кого же все-таки походят манекенщицы в таком (в кожаных доспехах-L.A.)? То ли на черепашек-ниндзя, то ли на железную Жанну д' Арк. [It is not clear who the mannequins in this outfit (leather style-L.A.) are reminiscent of. Either Ninja-turtles or the iron Joan of Arc?]

(3) Стройная хрупкая фигурка будет выглядеть (в брючном костюме из белой кожи-L.A.) более женственной и трогательно-беззащитной, почти как юная Жанна Д'Арк. [A slim and fragile body (in a pants suit made from white leather for the school graduation ball-L.A.) should evoke a perception of an innocent and defenceless female almost similar to young Joan of Arc].

(4) Для съемок бала Сатаны в фильме "Мастер и Маргарита" мы остановились на металлическом бикини, как бы из средневековья, а-ля Жанна д Арк. [For filming Margarita at the devil's ball in "Master and Margarita" we choose the metal bikini á la Joan of Arc to remind ourselves of medieval time and tortures.]

As these examples demonstrate, the emotions evoked by allusion to the costume of Joan of Arc vary. In the context of the contemporary fashion industry, such an outfit looks ridiculous (2). The pants suit from a fine white leather makes a graduate look innocent and defenceless though the perception of Joan of Arc through such a lens is idiosyncratic. It is interesting because in other examples Joan of Arc is often denied any lascivious appearance. For instance, one comment implies that Joan of Arc did not need cavities for breasts in her armour. The idea of a metallic bikini for the Devil's Ball was inspired by thoughts of medieval torture to which Joan of Arc was subjected even though the bikini did not feature at that time. Recently editors of *Playboy* have been also inspired by the image and took pictures of a model in Joan of Arc's accessories.

This brief overview demonstrates that perceptions of the prototypical features vary. The range of perceptions evoked by the allusion can range from grief over a tragic experience, to a sense of inappropriateness, to farce. Moreover, a reader can see the appropriateness of the comparison differently from the writer. It should be also noted that writers quite often use this allusion to convey the idea of pretence or disapproval. Examples frequently highlight discord between reality and the maximalist views promulgated through the comparison. Contexts also contrast pretentious usurpers with the heroic prototype.

4.2 Paranormal skills and atypical behaviour

The conflicting perceptions of Joan of Arc have been discussed in the article *Виктор Ерофеев: 'Жениться на Жанне д'Арк?'* "Victor Erofeev: 'To marry Joan of Arc?'" (KP of 6.01.2012) in which a positive perspective of the female hero was challenged by an interviewer who had an opposite view. The paranormal skills of Joan of Arc have been presented as "exceptional intuition" by Erofeev but have been re-cast as "a madness" and "a perversion" by the interviewer. All references to "paranormal skills" have been summarised in the table 6.

Table 6 References to paranormal skills/ abnormal behaviour

Hallucinations	3
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Syndrome of Morris (testicular feminization syndrome)	1
Schizophrenia	1
Hysteria	1
Witchcraft	1
Epilepsy	1

The following contexts can illustrate negative undercurrents of Joan of Arc's story.

(5) Две ночи подряд... я просыпался от громкого "Эй!" Как это было, скажем, у Жанны д'Арк. Она считала, что разговаривает с архангелом Михаилом. [Two consecutive nights.. I was woken up by the loud “Hey!” The same happened to Joan of Arc. She believed to converse with Archangel Michael].

(6) Галлюцинации чаще всего преследуют одаренных людей, это обусловлено перегрузкой их мозга. В истории есть блестящий пример--голоса, которые слышала Жанна д' Арк. [Hallucinations commonly haunt talented people because their brain suffers from overwork. There is a wonderful example in history--the voices heard by Joan of Arc].

(7) Долгое время доктора считали, что болезнь (истерия) исключительно женская и свойственна дамам с неустойчивым гормональным фоном и печальной личной жизнью. Типичные представители –Жанна д' Арк...[For a long while doctors believed that (hysteria) is a disease which is common exclusively among ladies with a hormonal irregularity and among those with a miserable private life. Joan of Arc is a typical representative of this category...].

These examples show that Joan of Arc seems to epitomize the symptoms of various mental disorders.

4.3 Ordeal by fire

Another tragic episode of Joan of Arc's life, her burning at the stake, has been adapted by the Russian press for the purpose of making jokes. The following examples illuminate the mechanism of the semantic and narrative twists.

- (8) Лена в чапане (таджикская национальная одежда-L.A.) чувствовала себя как Жанна д'Арк в последние минуты своей жизни. [Lena in chapan (Tadzhik national clothes-L.A.) felt as if she had been Joan of Arc in her last minutes of life].
- (9) В тридцатиградусную жару актрисы одеты в парусиновые комбинезоны...Грим течет. Хуже всего Алексею. За ним дымится барбекю. Его подбадривает Якубович: "А Жанне д'Арк было легко?" [In the thirty-degree heat actresses are dressed in canvas overalls...Make-up flows. Alex feels worst of all. The barbecue smokes behind him. Yakubovich cheers him up: "Joan of Arc suffered even more!"].
- (10)--Официант!-- Водка есть? --Есть. "Жанна д'Арк". --Хорошая?--Паленая! [--Hey, waiter. Do you have any vodka?--Yes. The brand "Joan of Arc".--A strong one, I assume?--Scorched ('burnt' *паленый* means both 'in flame' and 'self-made', 'forged'-L.A.)]
- (11) Реклама. Фитнес-клуб "Жанна д'Арк". Сожгите Ваши калории. [An advertisement: Fitness club "Joan of Arc". Burn your fat.]

The comparison turned a tragedy into a farce. Similarly, an inspiration of *Playboy* editors by the image of Joan of Arc burnt at the stake was interpreted as "a fire of passions" (example 12). Again, the description of this inspiration invites humorous attitudes from the reader rather than compassion for the prototype of the story.

4.4 Fighting spirit

Aggression is also a trait of Joan of Arc which is frequently highlighted. Her belligerence is a common object of admiration (examples 13, 15) even though some authors express reservations on appropriateness of the display of this quality in a female character. Compare the following examples:

- (12) Зато образ революционерки и бунтарки Жанны Д'Арк пришелся по душе редакторам другого мужского издания. [The image of the female rebel and insurgent Joan of Arc has also been appreciated by editors of another glossy magazine for males...]

(13) Жемчужина коллектива --...экспрессивная солистка..., имидж которой сочетает девичью агрессию Жанны д'Арк и невинную порочность Одри Тоту. [The gem of the group is the expressive soloist...whose image combines the girlish aggression of Joan of Arc with the innocent perversity of Audry Tautou.]

(14) Останься Жанна д'Арк в живых, она бы баламутила и не давала остальным жить спокойной «обычной» жизнью. [If Joan of Arc had remained alive, she would have stirred up trouble and not let the others live their quiet and peaceful life].

(15) Какой Вам представляется женщина-герой? Это мужчина в юбке, готовый броситься на баррикады, как Жанна Д'Арк, комсомолка, спортсменка, красавица..?.. [How do you see a heroine? Is it a male in a skirt who is ready to attack barricades like Joan of Arc and who is a Comsomol member, sportswoman and beauty...?]

Although the aggressiveness of Joan of Arc has been appreciated in artistic performances, example 14 has unequivocally stated that this way of behaving was a danger to ordinary people. Example 15 contains a controversy - the allusion to the medieval heroine and a depiction of the main character from the Soviet movie "Kidnapping: Caucasian style". Such a blend can amuse the reader or invite some objections to this presentation of the ideal. Example 12 carries an appreciation of Joan of Arc's style but provokes skepticism regarding the value of the sentiments received from a magazine like *Playboy*. Hence, the positive evaluation in such contexts has been downplayed through over-emphasised mismatches between the heroic aspirations and mundane circumstances. It is possible to argue that the appreciation of Joan of Arc's aggressive and expansive behaviour has a limited functioning. The aggression is highly valued among artists as an attention-grabbing stunt and as a display of passion. It is valued in some daring circumstances. Otherwise, it is perceived as either an unnecessary affectation, a disruptive action or a sham.

4.5 Heroine and martyr

Along with her belligerence Joan of Arc epitomises heroism. This notion is frequently exploited in allusive statements such as follow.

(16) Меня похоронят с Лениным и Наполеоном. ... Буду я беднягой Жанной д'Арк. [I will be buried with Lenin and Napoleon. I will become a poor Joan of Arc].

(17) Я мечтала войти в историю, как Жанна д' Арк, или по крайней мере, как Вера Холодная. [I dreamt to enter history like Joan of Arc or at least like Vera Kholodnaia].

(18) Хочу быть Жанной д`Арк мира моды! [I would like to be Joanne of Arc of the fashion world!]

On the other hand, this glorious name has also been used to show tacit disapproval. The desirable behaviour has been shaped through the negation of the heroic stereotype.

(19) Привлекай внимание (мужчин) как можешь, но все-таки постарайся не изображать из себя Жанну д' Арк. [Try to attract (male) attention by all available means but don't play Joan of Arc.]

(20) У нас много развелось Жанн д' Арк, а вот Джозефин явно не хватает. [We have too many of Joans of Arc but are experiencing shortage of Josephines.]

Again, the traits of the heroic prototype as well as the circumstances of her story can provoke a bipolar reaction within the same community. The evaluative patterns triggered by the name diverge.

4.6 Canonisation

Finally, the religious beliefs of Joan of Arc have not featured prominently in the Russian press. A single representation of this epitomisation has been used to criticize the church tradition of condemning a prominent public figure as a heretic with the subsequent promotion of this heretic to a saint. Joan of Arc is a convenient example of this tendency. However, this topic has not been developed by

Russophone writers. The Russian public does not seem to be concerned with Joan of Arc's religious aspirations and efforts to protect the faith.

4.7 Highlights in characterisation of Joan of Arc

The linguistic patterns incorporating the allusions to Joan of Arc can be summarised in the following way:

- 1) The traits highlighted in the prototype vary. Joan of Arc can epitomise a rebel, a female warrior (an Amazon), a non-conformist, a martyr, a strong leader and a gifted person with extrasensory power. Some contexts strengthen certain perceptions and mitigate or suppress the others. The examples also reveal different perceptions of Joan of Arc's prototype comprising non-identical attributes and facets of the image.
- 2) Some public figures can be equated to Joan of Arc without reservation, however, most frequently the comparison has been limited to a single trait or episode in Joan of Arc's life.
- 3) As grounds for comparison with a new referent of the name, the following salient attributes of Joan of Arc have been used: sartorial style, paranormal skills, ordeal by the fire, aggressive behaviour and outstanding heroic deeds.
- 4) The distribution of the evaluative patterns invoked by the allusion shows that approximately 65-70 per cent of comparisons have negative undercurrents. The negative comparison has been achieved by different means. The intensification of some positively laden qualities results in patterns of abnormal and socially dangerous behaviour. Thus the prototype on its own has often been perceived as an inappropriate role model. On the other hand, new referents of the name are presented as a parody and trivialisation of the French heroine. Another technique of provoking negative reactions from the reader is authorial distancing from the attribution of positively-laden comparisons. This technique has been frequently used in discussion of Tymoshenko's identity.

5. Correlation between the story of Joan of Arc and events in Tymoshenko's life

Narratives contrasting Tymoshenko and Joan of Arc frequently appear in the

newspapers. The comparison of their characteristics will be considered in Section 6. This section focuses on parallels in the biography of the two women. The juxtaposition of life-lines is less common in the presentation of other emulators of Joan of Arc. Several articles have been framed through this contrast: *Юлия краса-длинная коса* "Yulia--a pretty lady with a long plait" (KP 26.12.2005), *Приворот леди Ю* "The spell of lady Yu" (AiF No. 22, 2008), *27 ноября экс-премьеру Украины Юлии Тимошенко исполнится 51 год* "On the 27 of November the ex-Prime Minister Tymoshenko will be 51" (KP 24.11.2011), *Когда имидж—все* "When image is everything" (AiF No. 17, 2005) and others. These narratives have exploited a number of repetitive slots which schematically represented episodes of Joan of Arc's biography. These slots include: family background, imprisonment, attitude toward the alleged enemy (France/Russia) and betrayal by allies. Many articles try to refute the biographical similarities between the two women.

5.1 Family and social background

The list of dissimilarities starts from juxtaposing of personal wealth and social status of the two women. For instance, Tymoshenko became a major socio-political player in Ukraine as a wealthy woman. Hence, she received another nickname "The Orange/ Gas Princess". Comparisons of the background can be found in examples (21- 23) even though the name "Joan of Arc" has been omitted in some of the passages due to the space limitation.

(21) Стильной «француженкой» Тимошенко пробыла до заключения под стражу при правлении Леонида Кучмы, когда ее обвинили в разворовывании более \$2 млрд. [Tymoshenko remained the stylish "Frenchwoman" up to her detention under the ruling of President Leonid Kuchma, when she was accused of stealing more than \$ 2 billion].

(22) Сам Бжезинский называл Тимошенко «леди в 11 миллиардов»! [Even Brzezinski was calling Tymoshenko "a lady worth of 11 billion"].

(23) Пастушка из Лотарингии (восточной Франции) пришла исполнить

освободительную миссию без гроша в кармане. «Ей голос был». Юля же пришла в революцию вполне состоятельной женщиной. Шутка ли - возглавлять корпорации «Украинский бензин», «Единые энергетические системы». [...The shepherdess from Lorraine came to fulfil her mission of liberation without a penny in her pocket. "She heard a voice." Yulia came to the revolution as a quite wealthy woman. To chair the corporations "Ukrainian Oil" and "Unified Energy Systems" is not a joke.]

It can be noted that discussions of embezzlement seem to be inconsistent with the real facts, since the debt of Tymoshenko's corporations incurred after filing penalties to her business, occurred under Kuchma (see Wikipedia). On the other hand, journalists rarely admit that Tymoshenko, similar to Joan of Arc, was a self-made woman (24).

(24) Жанна д'Арк, говоря современным сленгом, героиня, которая, сама себя сделала. Юля тоже сделала карьеру из низов. [Speaking the modern slang, Joan of Arc is a heroine who made herself. Yulia made her career coming from a humble background.]

Another article also mentions her fatherless childhood and desire to succeed in order to change the circumstances of her upbringing. Since such comments are extremely rare it can be considered as evidence of biased presentation by the majority of journalists.

5.2 Who are the enemies of the Joan of Arc of Ukraine?

The allusion to Joan of Arc often highlights the fact that a heroine defends her nation from an aggressor or intruder. In case of Tymoshenko, the enemies were considered to be either "villains" such as Kuchma and Yanukovich or Russia harbouring its revanchist plans. If parallels on relations between Russia and England as apposite to Ukraine and France have been drawn, then the similarity between Joan of Arc and Tymoshenko has been denied.

(25) Оранжевая принцесса скорее хитрый прагматик, а не убежденный русофоб, как Ющенко. [The Orange Princess is a cunning pragmatist rather

than a conscious hater of Russia like Yushchenko.]

(26) Жанна слишком явно ненавидела англичан. Публичных антироссийских пассажей Юлия Тимошенко не допускает (может быть, потому, что родом из почти русской Днепропетровщины). [Joan hated the English sufficiently noticeably. Yulia does not use conspicuous anti-Russian public statements (perhaps because she is from a Russophone and Russophile Dnepropetrovsk region)].

(27) Как талантливому популисту ей важно создать иллюзию добрососедских отношений с Россией, чтобы не настроить против себя полстраны. [As for a talented populist it is important for her to create the illusion of good relations with Russia so as not alienate half of the country.]

It appears that the denial of the parallel with Joan of Arc in examples 25, 27 serves the purpose of casting doubt on Tymoshenko's sincerity. She does not consider Russia to be an enemy because the anti-Russian sentiments can tarnish her populist campaign. Nevertheless, she is aware of tensions in relations between Russia and Ukraine.

5.3 Imprisonment

The theme of imprisonment features prominently in the comparison between Joan of Arc and Yulia Tymoshenko. The former Prime Minister of Ukraine was arrested twice. In mid-February 2001, Tymoshenko was detained on charges of forging customs documents and smuggling gas between 1995 and 1997 (while president of United Energy Systems of Ukraine) but was released several weeks later. On 11 October 2011, the court found Tymoshenko guilty of abuse of power over a natural gas imports contract signed with Russia in January 2009, sentenced her to seven years in jail and ordered her to pay the state \$188 million. Both cases against Tymoshenko have been frequently rated as "selective justice" and "political persecution" (The Economist: 1-2). In the Russian press, her first detention was presented in statements alluding to the fate of Joan of Arc.

(28) Из тюрьмы, как из чистилища, она вышла преображенной и внешне,

и внутренне, как бы восстала из пепла, появился образ мученицы, украинской Жанны д'Арк. [She left prison like it was her purgatory, she was transformed both externally and internally, as if she had risen from the ashes; then the image of the martyr, the Ukrainian Joan of Arc, emerged.]

(29) Ради этого феерического мгновения (митинга в Киеве на Майдане-L.A) стоило рождаться, жить, зарабатывать капиталы (не только политические), расставаться с волей..., пережить заточение в тюремные застенки мужа, гонения на близких людей и прочие напасти, которые уготовила ей судьба. Все уголовные обвинения, что вменяла ей власть, тянули на 167 лет тюремного заключения. [This fabulous moment (the demonstration in Kiev in Independence square called Maidan--L.A.) was worth being born, being alive, making capital (not only political)..., surviving her own incarceration and imprisonment of her husband, the persecution of loved ones and other misfortunes prepared by her fate. All criminal charges laid by the power group amounted to 167 years in prison.]

(30) Её арест в 2001 г. оказался роковым именно для президента. Говорят, войдя в камеру, Тимошенко положила на нары дорожную норковую шубку и, затребовав ведро и тряпку, принялась мыть тюремный пол. Тот арест окончательно подорвал репутацию Кучмы. Все телеканалы пестрели кадрами: гордая красавица, украинская Жанна д'Арк в наручниках и её невзрачный преследователь президент... [Her arrest in 2001 proved to be fatal for the president. The rumour had it that after entering the cell, Tymoshenko put on the bench her expensive mink coat, requested a bucket and a rag, and began to wash the prison floor. That arrest undermined the standing of Kuchma. The media channels were overflowing with stills: the proud beauty, Ukrainian Joan of Arc in handcuffs and her ugly persecutor--the president ...]

Examples 28, 29, 30 create a flattering portrait of Tymoshenko, but not without a mockery (28, 30). It is particularly evident in example (30) in which the alleged

possession of the mink coat in a prison can prompt readers' titillation.

Presentations of the latest arrest and imprisonment have been lacking any genuine sympathy toward the Joan of Arc of Ukraine.

(31) Именно эта подпись (под директивами главе "Нафтогаза Украины"-Л.А.) и стоила Жанне д' Арк украинской революции свободы. [This is the signature (under the directives to the Head of "Naftogas of Ukraine"-L.A.) which cost the Joan of Arc of Ukrainian revolution her freedom].

(32) Даже про воду, которой в каменном мешке потчуют ЮТ, с ее подачи, утверждают, что она, вода, очень сильно отдает водопроводной медью, а все эскулапы-коновалы и горевестники, у которых вонючие лапы. [Some claim taking (Tymoshenko's) words for granted that the water offered to Yulia Tymoshenko in her dungeon has a strong taste of pipes' brass and that all "Aesculapiuses" are quacks with stinky paws and heralds of bad news].

Example 32 combines high and low style expressions. For instance, the high style expressions *потчевать* [to treat], *эскулапы* [Aesculapiuses] have been mixed with the low style--*лапы* [paws], *коновалы* [quacks, farriers]. Such a blend is incompatible with the description of a martyr's suffering since it triggers a humorous response from a reader (see Raskin, 163 on *bona fide* serious and humorous communication). Example 31 though less frivolous than (32) is embedded into a story which presents all political agents in Ukraine as short-sighted fools. Hence, the theme of imprisonment is often developed as a comic rather than a heroic narrative.

5.4 Betrayal by allies

The topic of betrayal by allies has also been used to belittle Tymoshenko as her cause is not presented as a glorious deed but rather a narcissist venture. Doubts have been casted on the sources which compared her with Joan of Arc. In many examples they are lacking credibility. In example 33, the author dissociates himself from the positive attitude toward Tymoshenko which was expressed by Yuri Lutsenko, former

Minister of Internal Affairs. In the article, Lutsenko's view has been qualified as unreliable since words of the sacked Interior Minister cannot be taken with trust. Therefore, journalists distance themselves from the positive view on Tymoshenko's similarity with Joan of Arc. Martin and White (114) describe distancing as a subjective proposition attributed to an external source. Two verbal clues can signal the detachment in (33) -- the words *то бишь* [that is to say, aka] and *Незалежная* [the Ukrainian word meaning "independent" and standing for Ukraine in common speeches]. Example (34) can be read as an ironic claim or an overstatement indicated by the words *тряхануло* [to shake, to have a tremor], *дрогнуть* [to shudder], *вся просвещенная Европа* [all of enlightened Europe]. Since these words describe the situation in terms which are stronger than the evidence warrants (Gibbs: 291), naming Tymoshenko "Joan of Arc" can be also perceived as a hyperbole. Only example 35 admits the similarities in the life stories of the two women and reveals that injustice toward Tymoshenko occurred.

(33) ...Отправленный в отставку глава МВД Юрий Луценко подмечает, что нынешняя ситуация в Незалежной сродни кризису во Франции XV века. Но украинскую Жанну д`Арк (то бишь Тимошенко) предателям Карлам-Ющенко так просто не победить. «Фактор позитивных для Януковича предварительных результатов выборов - это политическое предательство президента Ющенко, который стопроцентно мне теперь напоминает того короля Франции (Карла VII), который послал в огонь Инквизиции Жанну д'Арк, которая сделала его королем. Единственное маленькое отличие, которое не учитывают ни Ющенко, ни Янукович, ни Литвин, ни другие предатели, состоит в том, что Юля так просто не сгорит», - убежден Луценко. [Interior Minister Yuri Lutsenko who was recently sacked, claims that the current situation in independent Ukraine is similar to the crisis in France in the 15th century. But it is not so easy to defeat Ukrainian Joan of Arc (aka Tymoshenko) for traitors like Charles-Yushchenko. "The positive preliminary results of elections for Yanukovich is a political

betrayal of President Yushchenko, who now very much reminds me of the French King (Charles VII) — the one which sent Joan of Arc who had made him king to the fire of Inquisition. The only small difference, which neither Yushchenko nor Yanukovych nor Litwin and other traitors take into account, is that Yulia will not burn easily, — Lutsenko believes].

(34) К западу от России вчера потрянуло так, что дрогнула вся просвещенная Европа. Президент Украины Виктор Ющенко отправил в отставку правительство во главе со своей Жанной д'Арк - премьером Юлией Тимошенко. [Yesterday in the west of Russia there was a big tremor, to the extent that all of enlightened Europe shuddered. Ukrainian President Viktor Yushchenko sacked the government led by its Joan of Arc - Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko].

(35) Французская знать с легкостью сдала Жанну д'Арк англичанам и в руки инквизиции уже через год после того, как спасительница нации помогла Карлу VII взойти на трон. Популярность девы в народе зашкаливала за край. Ющенко сдал Тимошенко (снял с должности премьер-министра) и того быстрее - через семь месяцев. Фактически сдал -- в угоду финансово-промышленным группировкам. [The French aristocracy easily handed Joanne of Arc over to the English and the Inquisition just a year after the nation's saviour helped Charles VII to ascend to the throne. The popularity of the virgin among the people was enormous. Yushchenko handed Tymoshenko (dismissed her in the capacity of prime minister) even faster - in seven months. He renounced her indeed for the benefit of financial-industrial groups.]

The juxtaposition of the life stories of the two women has been often used to underline dissimilarities between them and create a grotesque. On the other hand, the competence and objective judgment of those who viewed Tymoshenko as a contemporary Joan of Arc have been questioned. In cases in which the resemblance has been discussed, the mass media has used jocular additions, ironic overtones and

statements of authorial dissociation from the positive claims. It can be concluded that such a framing of the comparison aims at snubs and derision rather than veneration of Tymoshenko. The appreciation of Tymoshenko's deeds through this narrative technique has been very rare (see example 35).

6. Characterisation of Yulia Tymoshenko

The scheme of characteristics generally attributed to Joan of Arc (see section 4 of this paper) is highly relevant for language games carried out by the Russian press. Journalists often address the following features of the former Ukrainian Prime Minister: costume and accessories, paranormal skills, fighting spirit and ordeal by fire. Again, the adoption of the grid of traits commonly assigned to Joan of Arc in the description of a contemporary celebrity does not aim at the veneration of the character. The similarities in characterisation of the French heroine and her emulator have been openly dismissed and ridiculed.

6.1 Costume

Compare, for instance, the narratives on Tymoshenko's outfits which are at odds the common perceptions on Joan of Arc's dressing style (Section 4.1). Joan of Arc was a peasant girl and an ascetic soldier. However, Tymoshenko's image is inseparable from exquisite and luxurious clothing and accessories.

(36) [Тимошенко] принимала поздравления в новом наряде и с видом победительницы. [Tymoshenko] was receiving congratulations in a new frock and with a triumphant look].

(37) А между тем сама Юлия Тимошенко любит носить костюмы с прозрачными или кружевными вставками (у нее скромный 42-й размер), очень высокие каблуки, разбавлять «серый официоз» яркими брошками или поясами. И ее любимые рукава-фонарики никак не противоречат текстам докладов, а белые пальто не смотрятся вызывающе, когда она в них обнимает старушку из народа. [And yet Yulia Tymoshenko loves to wear suits with transparent or lace inserts (she has a modest 42nd size), very

high heels, she dilutes the grey official style with bright brooches or belts. And her favourite arm-lanterns are not at conflict with the texts of her presentations, and white coats do not look defiant when she hugs an old woman from the crowd.]

There are numerous examples of Tymoshenko's love for stylish clothes (The stance of Russian mass media on the Ukrainian Orange Revolution: 240-241). It is obvious that nothing about her dress can be compared with the simplistic taste of Joan of Arc and her sartorial preference for an armed rider. Thus, the comparison of outfits of the two women can lead to a conclusion on Tymoshenko's narcissist and self-indulgent habits.

6.2 Witchcraft

However, the frequently discussed paranormal skills of Tymoshenko, her intuition and ability to draw attention match the psychological profile of Joan of Arc. Compare the following examples.

(38) Многие верят, что Тимошенко обладает чуть ли не гипнотическими способностями. По украинским «диканькам» гуляют рассказы, будто она унаследовала от своей бабки-колдуньи дар приворота. Так это или нет, но в прекрасной женской интуиции ей точно не откажешь. [Many people believe that Tymoshenko has a nearly hypnotic ability. In Ukrainian settlements like Dikan'ka (an allusion to Gogol's place of folk tradition-L.A.) there are rumours that she inherited from her witch-grandmother a gift of love spell. Like it or not, one cannot deny that she is in possession of excellent female intuition].

(39) "Для неё нет ничего проще, чем охмурить любого мужика. Разве что Путин был исключением. Возможно, она просто не учла, что по своей первой профессии он и сам прекрасно справляется с ролью вербовщика", - заметил в разговоре с "АиФ" один чиновник из российского правительства. ["For her there is nothing easier than to charm a man. Only Putin was an exception. Maybe she just did not take into account the fact that

in his first profession, he was coping very well with the role of the recruiter," - one official from the Russian government mentioned in a conversation with the "AIF".]

There are insinuations about hallucinations and madness that assailed the former Ukrainian Prime Minister (e.g., example 32). The mental disorders and paranormal skills belong to productive themes in discussion of Tymoshenko's image. This correlation between Joan of Arc and Tymoshenko has been mostly used for casting doubts on policies introduced and advocated by the latter.

6.3 Belligerence

Another productive line of Tymoshenko's characterisation is represented by comparisons with the aggression and fighting spirit of Joan of Arc. Alarming conclusions can emerge after reading these descriptions: this woman is either a menacing terrorist who can intimidate opponents or a comedian who set the public laughing. Compare the following examples:

(40) Тимошенко, бунтарь по архетипу, в какой-то момент решила создать образ героя. Бунтарь разрушает систему, а герой ее защищает. [Tymoshenko, a rebel according to her archetype, at some point decided to create an image of a hero. A rebel destroys the system, but a hero defends it.]

(41) Атакующий стиль свойствен Тимошенко. Однажды, ещё в кучмовские времена, она узнала об аресте своего помощника и немедленно примчалась к Генпрокуратуре. Охранники здания, увидев «великую и ужасную» предводительницу партии «Батьківщина», едва успели забаррикадировать двери. [The attacking style is a hallmark of Tymoshenko. Once, in Kuchma's time, she learned of the arrest of her assistant, and immediately rushed to the General Prosecutor's Office. The guards of the building, seeing the "great and terrible" leader of the party "Fatherland", barely managed to barricade the door.]

(42) По отзыву одного из соратников, "для (Тимошенко-Л.А.) не существует запретов и барьеров. В бою она опасна, как ядерная

бомба"...Она торопится завоевать безраздельную власть. [According to one of her companions, "for (Tymoshenko-L.A.) restrictions and barriers do not exist. She is dangerous in any battle as a nuclear bomb" ... She hurries to gain absolute power.]

(43) Тимошенко носят на щитах спецназа. Украинская Жанна д'Арк приказывает солдатам революции встать в две колонны и взять под охрану администрацию.[Special Forces carried Tymoshenko on their shields. The Joan of Arc of Ukraine orders revolutionary soldiers to form two columns and "watch over the administration"].

It is possible to suggest that the description of Tymoshenko's fighting spirit in the examples above have been used to highlight her "narcissist ambitions" as journalists spread the belief that all she wants is to gain absolute power (example 42). She skilfully makes the impression of being the defender of underdogs and democratic values (example 40). Examples 40, 41, 42 engender the message that she embodies destructive rather than creative forces. Her military commands are a clever imitation of involvement in the revolution which serves her self-advertising (43). Even though there are narratives appreciating her stamina, endurance and decisiveness particularly in comparison with Yushchenko's retraction and vagueness, such passages tend to recast her determination as a proclivity to intimidation and pugnacity.

6.4 Burning at the stake

The ability to be burnt at the sake for the happiness of Ukrainian people is also a frequently developed topic in the discussion of Tymoshenko's life. However, ordeal by fire is often a twisted theme which reverberates in humorous overtones. In example (44), the positive view of Tymoshenko as a martyr who is ready to sacrifice herself for the sake of democratic ideals is counterbalanced by the reservations of sceptics.

(44) Одни считают именно (Тимошенко—L.A.), а не президента Виктора Ющенко, "мотором" и главным идеологом "оранжевой революции",

этакой украинской Жанной д' Арк, готовой сгореть за счастье родной страны. Другие видят ее коварной интриганкой, искусно манипулирующей людьми... [Some people regard her [Tymoshenko-L.A.] rather than the president Yushchenko to be the engine and the main ideologist of the Orange Revolution. She is a so-called Joan of Arc who is ready to burn for the happiness of her country. The others view her as a conniving schemer who manipulates people artfully...]

Examples 33, 28 also develop the topic of burning at the stake. However, example 44 illustrates that not all opinion holders share the view on Tymoshenko's martyrdom. Most often the theme of ordeal by fire was developed as a spoof.

(45) **Ю. Тимошенко:** *"(Ющенко и Янукович) думали, что они подбрасывают спички в пожар кризиса...Но они не поняли одного: что (сторонники Юлии Тимошенко)-саламандры, которые закаляются в этом очаге и пожаре."*

Комментарий: *"Речь, видимо, идет о редком виде украинских политических ящериц, которые в случае опасности отбрасывают не хвост, а косу."*

[**Yulia Tymoshenko:** "[Yushchenko and Yanukovich] thought that they threw more matches into the fire of the crises. They did not understand that the supporters of Tymoshenko were salamanders who are invigorated in this fire place."]

The comment: "Evidently what we are seeing is a rare species of Ukrainian political lizard which drops its braid instead of its tail in case of danger."]

Again, the narratives of ordeal by fire in Tymoshenko's life often dismiss the validity of comparison with Joan of Arc (45, 33). The examples create the impression that the Russian press is shrewd enough to reveal the "propagandist purposes" of the forging Joan's of Arc image. It is interesting to note that Tymoshenko herself has been reported to dismiss the comparison since she does not want to finish her life the way Joan of Arc did.

6.5 Functions of parallels and their negation

The similarities between Tymoshenko and Joan of Arc have not been denied in the instances where the traits of the French heroine have a dubious downside. For instance, journalists have enthusiastically commented on the commonalities between the two women in terms of witchcraft, extrasensory skills as well as the aggressive intimidation of opponents. On the other hand, skeptical writers have refuted Tymoshenko's willingness to sacrifice her life for the sake of her country and her sufferings through use of irony, humorous contrasts and exaggeration of Tymoshenko's narcissist habits.

The mismatch between the two women has been often highlighted by many journalists and bloggers but for different reasons. It is a common strategy of sceptics and Tymoshenko's opponents to dismiss the similarities and mock the promoters of the image "Tymoshenko is a Joan of Arc". . Compare the following example.

(46) Как можно сравнивать Тимошенко с Жанной д' Арк? Совсем обнаглели. Свое имя пусть завоевывает, а не чужим пользуется. [How can they compare Tymoshenko and Joan of Arc? What an insolence! Let her make her own name rather than exploit those of others.]

If sceptics do not believe in the noble deeds and intentions of the Joan of Arc of Ukraine, her supporters dismiss the comparison on different grounds. They argue that Joan of Arc is a myth while Tymoshenko is a real and complex person rather than an icon and a fictional character.

(47) ...Я бы предпочел сравнивать Юлию Тимошенко не с мифической пастушкой-воительницей, а с реальной исторической фигурой - например, с Маргарет Тэтчер. Железная британская леди на баррикадах не стояла, никакими пассионарными свойствами не обладала. [I would prefer to compare Tymoshenko not with the mythological shepherdess and warrior but with a real historical figure--for instance, with Margaret Thatcher. The iron lady of Britain did not stand on barricades and was not in possession of any passionate qualities.]

In example 47, the comparison with Margaret Thatcher who did not participate in any physical confrontation flatters Tymoshenko more than the comparison with mythological Joan of Arc. These examples show that the Russian press accommodates different opinions on the same subject. The uniformity of views has become a feature of the Soviet past. Nowadays ambivalent attitudes exemplify heteroglossia (aka polyphony) in discourse (Bakhtin: 281). However, despite the multiplicity of opinions in discourse, negative presentations of Tymoshenko's deeds prevail.

7. Conclusions

In this essay, the allusion to the historical name has been analysed as a tool of construction of identity of a female public figure. It has been argued that the allusion to Joan of Arc can evoke various role models such as martyr, female warrior/soldier, ascetic, strong and decisive personality, widely accepted celebrity, an example of self-denial, mental disorders and so on. It is possible to suggest that, in other cultures, the allusion can epitomise a saint or religious leader and other characteristics as well. There were repetitive themes associated with her name such as aggression, paranormal skills, heroic deeds and ordeal by fire. It is interesting that the fluidity of imaginative features and interpretative categories allows for the extending of some positive characteristics into their negative analogues. For instance, aggression can be viewed as a predisposition to violent outbreaks and display of masculinity, non-conformism as disobedience, conviction as wrong-headedness and fanaticism, intuition as witchcraft and mental illness. The Russian press exploits the both sides of the spectrum and manufactures positive and negative identities, through these allusions.

In narratives on Tymoshenko, allusions invoke a scheme of events and situations against which the identity of the former Prime Minister has been profiled. The clashes between the life styles of the two women could either flatter or denigrate Tymoshenko. The flattering motif can stem from the belief that Tymoshenko as a real and complex person exceeds the virtue of a mythological character. The

negation of their similarities presents Tymoshenko's positive involvement in political life of Ukraine as propagandist gimmicks. The accepted positive similarities between the two women are usually delivered as an opinion from which the press distances itself. The distancing technique allows the recasting of positive views into sceptical assessments or negations of flattering claims. Therefore, a positively perceived name is frequently used to construct a disparaging identity of a public figure. Hence, the counting of the positively-laden expression "Joan of Arc" in this discourse theme could lead to a misleading conclusion as the frequent use of flattering terms does not signal affection or appreciation. Mistrust has been evoked through reversal of positive associations. This qualitative study demonstrates that the identity created by the press through this allusion is far from the archetype of female heroine.

Thus, the fact that so many people harbour hostility toward the former Prime Minister of Ukraine is not surprising. The press supplies the audience with its own creation—the distorted and grotesque image of the Ukrainian Joan of Arc. The circumstances of Tymoshenko's imprisonment and the purposes of her vilification remain unattended or twisted.

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