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President under the Eyes of the Russian Media:
The Stylometry of Russian Presidential Addresses and Their Media Coverage

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Chapter 1

Introduction

The relationship between politics and the media is key to the formation of public opinion. In our life there are various media outlets: television, radio, newspapers, and the Internet. Takeshita (2010) points out that the following three mutual relationships make public opinion:

- i) the political elites or profit-earning groups
- ii) the news media, which provide information and interpretation
- iii) the public, which takes interest in public debate, and these elements shape public opinion

Takeshita (2010) named this process the forming of public opinion or the process of public opinion. Price and Roberts (1987) expressed the two following roles of mass media in the process of public opinion, a) a reporting function and b) a poll-taking function, which they defined thus: a) the reporting function describes important events or political activities by news or comments, in other words, this is an activity to report the contents of current argument to the audience, and b) the poll-taking function reports how the public reacts to the current argument; in other words, it is an activity indicating the movement of public opinions, the climate of opinion. Takeshita (2010) states that as the media play a role in defining our reality in modern society, they are thus involved in formation of our perception of reality. Also, the media provide the foundation for smooth interactive communication in society through a common awareness of reality in modern large-scale society.

The relationship between “the authorities and the media” or “politics and journalists” is a question of concern to people in Russia because the media have an influence on forming public opinion. Johno (1996) pointed out that the media were dominated in the period of perestroika, during the Gorbachev administration, but changes in the media began with glasnost. Glasnost was positioned as a superordinate concept of “freedom of speech”, and its concepts included “freedom of speech”, such as free expressions of opinions and debates in public places on political and social issues. Johno also mentioned the importance of the role of the print media. The “public sphere” mediated by the media as a type of print had the character of “logical” and “contemplated”, allowing access

to information through “personal” contact, not a “collective” contact through video media such as television. Moreover, the print media are not constrained by time, whereas video media disappear at the moment of broadcast; therefore, the print media afford recipients the chance for extra thought or contemplation. The history of Russia is long, but the history of “freedom of speech” in Russia only began at the end of the Soviet Union with the collapse of communism in the country.

The long history of the czars, who wielded absolute power, and the secular secretary of the Soviet era with autocratic power was brought to a close, and the country of Russia began to form a democratic state as a new country. The Russian state had just begun to recognize democratic freedom. The sense of distance between the national leader and the public can serve as one indicator of power relations. As Okuda (2011) says, in the context of politics and the media, the media may label a regime. Gustave (1895, 1993: translated) points out that dignity always disappears with failure. The hero the people cheered yesterday, if hit by fate, will be spurned by the people tomorrow. In addition, if the former dignity is great, the reaction will be devastating. At such a time, the people consider the failed hero their peer, and they will be angry that he succumbed to the superiors who are no longer accepted today. Due to negative impressions of the media, the administration may lose the trust and support of the people. In such cases in Russia, powerful persons tend to exercise state power and regulate the media. In the new Russia the leader of the country led the way to “freedom of speech”, but the leader defines “freedom” by the times or by his own circumstances and restricts “freedom of press” in the mass media. The mass media observe the restrictions set for continuing management and avoid negative coverage. Under such circumstances, in Russia it is said that few negative remarks will be heard against the national leaders. With the promise of “freedom of speech”, the citizens had the right to know the events in government. In this way, the positions of the powerful are exposed to a certain degree of threat, but at the same time can gain support by effectively using the media.

By looking at the relationship between the media and politics in Russia, we can gain insight into the relationship between national leaders and the people. Also, it gives us the opportunity to consider how the new Russia, which started as a democratic country, has been changing and developing. What and how did the Russian Presidents, Boris Yeltsin, Vladimir Putin, and Dmitry Medvedev, say in their own speeches and how did journalists interpret their words? The usage of words reflects the thinking of the speakers or writers.

Chapter 2

Background

Russia is regarded as originating in the Grand Duchy of Kiev, which the Normans founded at the end of the 9th century, and which then later fell under the control of the Mongol army, the “Tatar Yoke”. Later, Russian history continued through the Grand Duchy of Moscow, the Romanov dynasty, and the Soviet Union, and at the end of this history is the Russian Federation, which began in 1991. As of the present day, 2018, three people have served as Russian President: Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin from 1991 to 1999, Vladimir Vladimirovich Putin from 2000 to 2008 and from 2012 to 2017, and Dmitry Anatolyevich Medvedev from 2008 to 2012. A presidential election was held in 2018, marking the start of the 4th Putin administration, which will last until 2024.

Yeltsin became the first president of Russian Federation after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Yeltsin had earlier been elected president of the Russian Republic, and this was the first time a leader of the entire country had been elected. After the death of Joseph Stalin, who was General Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, Georgy Malenkov, Nikita Khrushchev, Leonid Brezhnev, Yuri Andropov, Konstantin Chernenko, and Mikhail Gorbachev followed consecutively as leaders of the Soviet Union. In 1990, Gorbachev assumed the first and last Soviet presidency, but it was not through an election in a referendum. When a coup sought to remove Gorbachev from power on August 19, 1991, conservatives within the Soviet Communist Party placed Gorbachev under house arrest. Yeltsin led an uprising against the coup, which was defeated in three days. The failure of the coup caused the fall of not only Soviet president Gorbachev but also the authority of the Soviet Communist Party. Yeltsin, who was the president of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic, acceded to becoming the president of the Russian Federation after the collapse of the Soviet Union on December 25, 1991. As president, he tried to transform Russia from socialism to capitalism and to lead it toward democratization. To advance these goals, Yeltsin needed to deliver the idea of a structure for a new country to the citizens.

The Yeltsin administration adopted a liberal model for the transition away from socialism, and as

a result of “shock therapy”, or price liberalization, since 1992, inflation has increased, putting pressure on people’s lives. In the Chechnya conflict, armed oppression was carried out to international criticism. In the first voting of the presidential election in 1996, while Yeltsin’s share of the votes were less than a majority against Russian Federation Communist Party chairman Gennadii Andreevich Zyuganov, the decision vote returned Yeltsin to office. However, during this time support for Yeltsin was low due to his deteriorating health, the Chechen conflict, and economic downturn. In December 1999, he announced his sudden resignation in his “New Year’s greetings” to the people held at the end of every year.

Putin appeared as Yeltsin’s successor. In 1999, Putin took control of the Chechen conflict as prime minister and gave the people the impression of a “strong leader”. In the 2000 presidential election, he officially took office as President. Putin received high public support from the people due to his fight against terrorism, the recovery of the Russian economy and improvement in living standards, and so on. Putin advanced Medvedev as his successor in the 2008 presidential election. In the same year, Medvedev revised the constitution and extended the president’s term from 4 to 6 years. Medvedev was president and Putin took office as prime minister in a tandem (two-headed) system, but as Kimura (2009) points out, Putin was considered in “a tie” until the next presidential election.

2.1 The aim of this study

The aim of this study is based on two research questions. The first question is to investigate the points of view of the three Russian presidents, Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin (Борис Николаевич Ельцин), Vladimir Vladimirovich Putin (Владимир Владимирович Путин), and Dmitry Anatolyevich Medvedev (Дмитрий Анатольевич Медведев) in their Presidential Addresses to the Federal Assembly from 1994 to 2016, and the second question is to investigate how journalists evaluated and interpreted the Presidential Addresses to the Federal Assembly in the Russian Press, the broadsheet “*Nezavisimaya gazeta*” (Независимая газета) and the tabloid “*Komsomolskaya Pravda*” (Комсомольская Превда), and to research the differences in the points of view between newspapers and the differences in the usage of words in the press.

The results of comparing the points of view among presidents allow us to understand their speech styles as leaders of the country. How did Russian presidents appeal to national policy effectively in their own addresses? When they wanted the audience to pay attention to their policies, what did presidents say to the nation? When the leaders appealed to listeners regarding their own ability to

carry out their duties, what did presidents say as the leader of the country? The consideration of the usage of words by journalists in the broadsheet and tabloid lead us to understand the role of the press in Russia. The Russian president states policies in his own presidential address, not only the one point of the plans, but also the current situation in a variety of different spheres such as the level of life, education, economy, welfare, and military affairs. The space given to the articles in newspapers are of course limited. In that space journalists have to convey the important points and deliver the respective information to the readers. What kind of points do journalists tend to choose, and how do they convey the statements of the president? The usage of words shows the attitudes of the writers toward the presidents; in other words, the words they choose indicate the media's evaluation of the Russian president. These results on the style of presidential addresses and the media reportage of them give us a perspective on the relationship between speakers and reporters, and in this study that connection could be considered the relationship between politics and the media in Russia.

The Russian Presidential Address to the Federal Assembly has been the focus of not only researchers, but also media in other countries, because the president introduces the policy for the next few years and discusses the situation of Russia, such as the economic situation, educational situation, and system of social welfare in the address. The reports or articles about Presidential Addresses pay attention to their contents. It is important to reflect on what Russian president said to understand the situation of Russia, and from these expositions of the views of the Russian president, the Russian nation and other countries who do not speak Russian can understand where Russia is headed. This study focuses on not only what the Russian President mentions, but also how the policies and situation of Russia are reported to the listeners. Word usage allows the speaker to convey images and influence society ideologically, and this is especially true of the words of the leader of the country. The Russian nation gets information not only from the words of the Russian president, but also the articles in the press. In other words, the media also have an ideological influence that makes up one of the elements of public opinion. Therefore, this study pays attention to the usage of words of Russian president in the Russian Presidential Address to the Federal Assembly, as well as how they are reported in the Russian Press.

Comparing the speech style and usage of words of the Russian president and the Russian press reveals both the perceptions of and similarities between speakers and reporters. Also, this study might make it possible for non-Russian speakers to better understand the Russian mentality.

2.2 Previous studies

In this section, 2.2, we introduce some previous studies on the speech styles of Russian presidents: Boris Yeltsin, Vladimir Putin, and Dmitrii Medvedev in 2.2.1. 2.2.2 looks at the situation of Russian press at the beginning of the 20th century and media control under the Putin administration.

2.2.1 The speech style of Russian presidents

The leader of the country has to deliver addresses to various audiences in a wide range of situations. Various texts have undertaken research on the speech styles of the presidents of Russia, as well as the annual Russian teacher and inaugural speeches, pre-election speeches, and interviews, among others that could be mentioned (e.g., Филинский Filinskii 2002, Саунина Saunina 2010, Котыня Kotynya 2011, Гаврилова GavriloVA 2012). Let us introduce the speech style of Yeltsin, the first president in Russia, with the study of Гаврилова (GavriloVA 2012).

With Yeltsin as president, the Russian Federation started as a new democratic state, changing from a socialistic one. In such circumstances, Yeltsin needed to establish an image of the Russian President to lead and reconstruct Russia after the chaos. Гаврилова (GavriloVA 2012) investigated certain features of the rhetorical portrait of Yeltsin as the first president. According to GavriloVA, a study of presidential rhetoric sets one's expectations of the positive and negative consequences of specific statements and defines the individual speech style of the person striving to become president. Гаврилова (GavriloVA) observed how the understanding of the word "president" changed in Russia and noted its appearance since the period of Peter the Great. In the Soviet Union, from the 1960s to the 1980s, a "president" was regarded as a chairperson elected to lead a society or a scientific institution. From the 1990s, a "president" was considered an elected head of state (as is the case of most countries with a republican form of government). At the beginning of the 21st century, a "president" was regarded as a chairperson elected to manage a society, an association, or a scientific institution. Чудинов (Chudinov 2003) pointed out that in the presidential election in 2000, the metaphorical expression "president" occupied an important role as czar. Гаврилова (GavriloVA) argued that Yeltsin tried to understand the meaning of "president" in his own addresses by defining its scope. In her study, Гаврилова (GavriloVA) noted Yeltsin's comparison of a president to a vehicle: "Я – машина для принятия решений. (...) Но эта машина должна думать и чувствовать, должна воспринимать мир во всех его взаимосвязях. Это должна быть живая машина. Иначе – грош ей цена. " (I am a vehicle for making decisions. But this vehicle must think and feel, must perceive the world in all its interrelations. It must be a live vehicle. Otherwise —

this vehicle is worth just a penny.) (Ельцин, Yeltsin 2008) Гаврилова (Gavrilova) contended that Yeltsin provided the Russian nation with a new political concept to enable the people to perceive the idea of the president of the Russian Federation, especially as he was the head of state elected as a result of a democratic election.

At the inauguration of Yeltsin in 1991, he addressed the nation as the first president of the Russian Federation: “Президент не Бог, не новой монарх, не всемогущий чудотворец. Он – гражданин. Облеченный огромной ответственностью за судьбу России и своих сограждан, он прежде всего человек, которому оказано высшее народное доверие.” (The president is not God, not a new monarch, not an almighty miracle worker. He is a citizen. Vested with a huge responsibility for the fate of Russia and its fellow citizens, he is above all a person who has been accorded the highest national confidence.) (Ельцин, Yeltsin 1991). According to Yeltsin, a president is not God, but a fellow Russian citizen; being elected to his position by the citizens, the Russian nation believes in him as the president. As Гаврилова (Gavrilova 2012) noted, Yeltsin considered himself a vehicle that would lead the nation but highlighted the fact that his leadership was due to his election. In addition, Yeltsin stressed that as a vehicle, he must also think and feel; otherwise, he renders himself unfit to lead the country. In summary, Yeltsin’s definition of a president, using “vehicle” as a metaphorical language for the position, implied that the Russian president was created by democratic elections, and that the Russian nation requires its existence in the Russian Federation.

Now let us introduce the styles of three Russian presidents, Yeltsin, Putin and Medvedev, in their Russian Presidential Address to the Federal Assembly with the study of Яшин (Yashin 2010). He focused on the annual addresses of Yeltsin (1996), Putin (2000), and Medvedev (2008) and considered the use of vocabulary in contemporary Russian political discourse. Яшин (Yashin) compared the use of the political vocabulary of the Russian annual tutorial using the characteristic words defined by Шмелева (Shumeleva 1993) and Романенко (Romanenko 2003).

Шмелева(Shumeleva) describes the frequency of occurrence in the Soviet era of “Current keywords” (Ключевые слова текущего момента, Keywords of the current time) through the following factors:

- i) Frequency
- ii) Usage area in texts
- iii) Connectivity vocabulary
- iv) Syntactic laws
- v) Vocabulary in line relationships
- vi) Use in names (such as the name of a street attached from a celebrity, such as “Lenin Street” or “Gagarin Street”, or from an event, e.g., “the Chebale meteorite”)

- vii) Definitions of vocabulary in the document (for example, “X is Y”)
- viii) Unconscious linguistic reflections (for example, using expressions popular at that time)
- ix) Definitions of nouns, namely, expressions such as “currently being said to be”

The study of Романенко (Romanenko) is based on Шмелева (Shumeleva). Романенко proposed “typical keywords” in the Soviet era (Архетипические ключевые слова, Archetypal key words, AKW), such as товарищ (comrade), работа (work), вопрос (question), борьба (struggle), условие (condition), задача (task), масса (mass), победа (victory), успех (success), враг (enemy), линия (line), основа (foundation), элемент (element), правильный (right), руководство (direction), обстановка (environment), достижение (achievement), опасность (danger), ошибка (error), вред (harm), and трудность (difficulty). The “typical keywords” posited by Романенко (Romanenko) are often used in political documents and have a semantic structure within the text as keywords, but if they are directly correlated with conceptual information, they are not regarded as important elements in the meaning interpretation of colloquial elements for interpreters. However, in reality they are regarded as important for the composition of an invisible text that reflects a clear perspective on things. Such vocabularies are difficult to discern; it is said that there is no consciousness that the speaker is using such terms as a symbolic vocabulary, but it is said that it is the foundation of ideology.

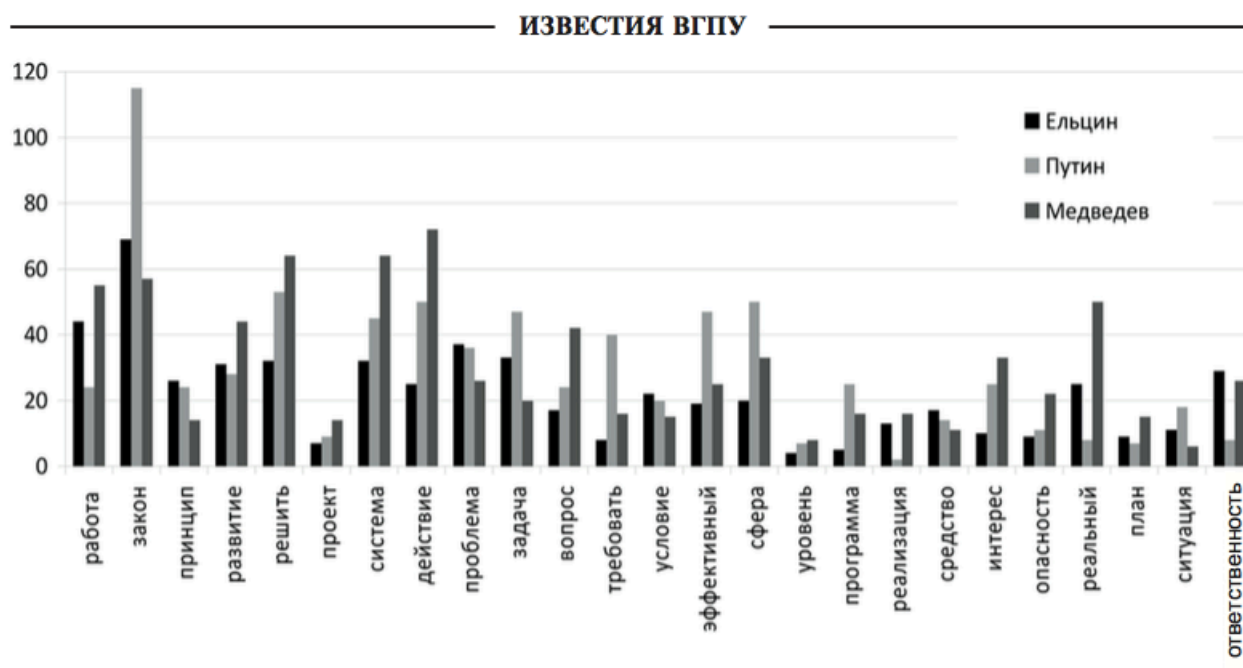


Figure 2.1: The usage of AKW (Яшин (Yashin) 2010, p. 122)

Figure 2.1 shows the results of a study of the usage of Archetype key words (AKW) by Яшин (Yashin). He indicates the tendencies of the usage AKW as common points: 1. presidents used similar words throughout AKW, 2. the words работа (job), закон (law), основа (foundation), and решить (solve) have high frequencies in Figure 2.1 and these words play a role in showing the power of the president, active political activities, and the effectiveness of the law in the Presidential Addresses. As differences, Яшин (Yashin) points out that AKW are used more in Putin and Medvedev's texts than Yeltsin's, presenting facts and standardizing the style with which the president is seen. The usage of the AKWs развитие (development), действие (action), система (system), вопрос (question), решить (solve), реальный (real), интерес (benefit), план (plan), and проект (project) increased in the texts from Yeltsin to Medvedev. Therefore, Яшин (Yashin) drew the conclusion that compared to the political situation in the 1990s, the economic and socio-political situation had stabilized, and thus vocabulary for long-term plans with the words развитие (development), проект (project), and план (plan) were more used, and at the same time the wide use of words indicating direction or leading, such as действие (action), решить (solve), вопрос (question), and интерес (benefit), were characteristic features. In addition, Яшин (Yashin) points out that the use of AKW in contemporary Russian politics has spread within texts, and he shows the respective co-occurrence relationships with 2-grams, 3-grams, and 4-grams. Based on the results in Table 2.1, it is assumed that AKWs are used in sentences with each other and are in co-occurrence relationships. Яшин (Yashin) also states that AKW plays a role as a meta language. In other words, as a means of interpretation, we point out that there is a function for summarizing vocabulary in terms like *задача – развитие* (issue – development) or *развитие – направление* (development – direction). Яшин (Yashin) indicated that some words of AKW such as вопрос (question), проблема (problem) and задача (issue), are used to define concepts in the Presidential Addresses through the use of a hyphen (дефис, defis). See examples (1), (2) and (3), which are drawn from Яшин (Yashin)'s study.

- (1) Именно поэтому развитие права – актуальное направление политики по укреплению Российского государства.

(That is why the development of law is an actual policy direction to strengthen the Russian state.)

(Yeltsin 1996)

- (2) Следующая важная задача – это развитие отечественного образования.

(The next important task is the development of domestic education.)

(Putin 2000)

2-gram	3-gram	4-gram
эффективно работать (work effectively)	реализация основных направлений (realization of the fundamental direction)	проблемы решались на основе (problems were solved on a foundation)
решить проблему/ задачу/ вопрос (solve a problem/ issue/ question)	основных направлений развития (fundamental direction of development)	взаимодействие по решению проблем (mutual relationship of a solution of a problem)
уровень развития (development of a level)	эффективная система управления (command of an effective system)	добиться решения основных проблем (achieve a solution of a fundamental problem)
содействовать развитию (cooperate on development)	решить в условиях (solve in a condition)	содействовать нашей эффективной работе (cooperate on our effective work)
направление развития (direction of development)	условий развития (condition for development)	реальное начало реализации проектов (real beginning of the realization of a project)

Table 2.1: Political key words in Russian Presidential Addresses (Made by the author in reference to Яшин (2010).)

(3) Недоверие к власти – проблема системная.

(Distrust of government is a systemic problem.)

(Medvedev 2008)

Яшин (Yashin) argued that an important feature of the vocabulary in modern Russian political speeches is the appearance in AKW in terms of frequency, definition, and so on. This study attracted interest in the tendency of words in political speeches and provided knowledge of the specific political key words in modern Russia. However, Яшин (Yashin) reported the specific use of AKWs by the presidents by raw frequency comparing three texts, the Presidential Addresses in 1996, 2000, and 2008. It is difficult to draw conclusions on tendencies in the use of words in political speeches from three limited texts. To analyze the use of the words of Russian presidents in reflecting changes in ideology, we need to use diachronic data from a statistical point of view and take qualitative considerations into account.

2.2.2 Presidents' control of the Russian media

The first Russian press was published in 1703 during the reign of Peter the Great. Until the 18th century, printing technology had been completely undeveloped and the literacy rate of the

Russian nation was low. After the last half of the 19th century, industrial development and the Narodnik movement propelled the press system to be more active. In the Soviet era, the newspaper of the Communist Party “Правда” (Pravda) and the government-controlled newspaper “Известия” (Izvestia) were the main media (Iijima 2009). “Правда” (Pravda) means *truth* in English and “Известия” (Izvestia), *news*. However, at that time, the press could not criticize the authorities or incidents in detail that the following anecdote became popular: in “Правда” (Pravda), there is no truth; in “Известия” (Izvestia), there is no news.

When Gorbachev became the General Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party in 1985, he adopted the policies of perestroika¹ and glasnost, to rebuild a rigid political structure. These policies gave the nation the “right to know” about the news, including national intelligence and military activities. Through these policies, the news could now be reported based on the perspectives of not only the Communist Party but also journalists. Specifically, when the Chernobyl accident occurred, the importance of the disclosure of information was emphasized. Gorbachev failed to act because the information on the Chernobyl meltdown did not reach him or the nation, which led to increases in damages and the number of victims.

When Yeltsin came to power as the first president of the Russian Federation, he transitioned Russia to a democratic political system and the economic system to capitalism. Yeltsin also brought change to Russia’s media when the media law came into effect on December 27, 1991. This law consisted of seven chapters, namely, general rules, the organization of mass media activities, the dissemination of mass information, the relation of the mass media with citizens and organizations, the rights and obligations of the journalist, interstate cooperation in the field of mass information, and liability for the infringement of legislation on mass media. The first chapter described the basic concepts of the media and prohibited censorship and the misuse of mass information. As Iijima (2009) pointed out, the media changed from an organ of the party to an independent media, which also entailed that the media could no longer take governmental financial support. However, this transition occurred as the Yeltsin administration accelerated the turn toward a market economy, causing inflationary problems. Because a number of newspaper companies could not keep up with economic circumstances, they were unable to afford paper, printing, and labor and thus were forced to raise the price of newspapers and found refuge under oligarchs or government-run companies. Because these sponsors limited media freedom and editorial rights, these newspaper companies turned back to their old ways, that is, reporting what their sponsors wanted. Nevertheless, between the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s, the period of a sharp reform in the Russian press continued, as pointed out by Смирнова (Smirnova 2017). The print media began to form an

¹“Perestroika” means “rebuilding”. *Pere* is a prefix meaning “again”; *stroika*, “construction”

important factor in the burgeoning democracy for the public due to the horizontal system (Смирнова Smirnova 2017). This situation enabled the Russian press to develop rapidly and increase circulation. From 1991 to 2001, the number of newspapers and journals rose, including the “Коммерсантъ” (Kommersant), “Совершенно секретно” (Absolutely secret), Независимая газета (*Nezavisimaya gazeta*), and “Российская газета” (Rossiyskaya Gazeta).

Iijima (2009) explains that the Yeltsin regime showed an understanding of “freedom of speech” and the relationship between power and mass media was evaluated as being good, but the way of grasping “freedom of speech” differs between the power side and the message side. Ultimately, “freedom of press” is said to have changed little from the Communist era in terms of consciousness. When Putin regime came to power, compulsive exclusion by the two major media chaebols took place, aiming to dominate the media, especially television. This was said to be because the policy was to aim for the revival of the “great country Russia” and of restoring order to regain the stability of society lost in the Yeltsin era, promoting centralization with an emphasis on the national interest. In addition, as a result of the occupation of the Moscow Theater in 2002, reporting on terrorism was regulated and Putin indicated that freedom of speech would be accepted according to president’s discretion, and thus self-censorship of the press strengthened and the media were concerned that regulation would continue going forward. Putin submitted a bill to revise the mass media law, but when the House of Commons passed the revised bill with a majority of votes, the president had since been replaced by Medvedev. Medvedev said that there was no need to amend the law, exercising the presidential right to veto the bill, seeking to waive the amendment. Therefore, it is said that the media were in a situation where activities could be reported without restrictions. In fact, however, during Putin’s administration, not only some journalists but also politicians who criticized the policies of Putin’s administration were assassinated. Iijima (2009) says that there were 49 journalist victims from 1992 to 2008. Focusing on the period of Putin’s administration of only eight years, the number of journalist victims amounted to 17. The authority dealt with almost all these tragedies by classifying them as cold cases or as due to terrorists. Iijima reports the results of the “press freedom” ranking, which was surveyed by “Reporters Without Borders” in 2008. Russia was placed 141st among 173 countries; on a side note, Japan was ranked 29th at that time. The results of the “press freedom” ranking in 2018 shows that Russia ranked 148th among 180 countries and Japan was 67th². From these results, it appears that the level of “press freedom” in Russia had not changed, while on the other hand the level in Japan was evaluated worse after 10 years. In either case, the level of “press freedom” in Russia is ranked low in the world, and that situation did not change for 10 years.

²URL: <https://rsf.org/en/ranking>, Accessed October 14, 2018

To explore the tendency of writers, this study mainly uses the Russian press: the broadsheet Независимая газета (*Nezavisimaya gazeta*) and the tabloid “Комсомольская правда” (*Komsomolskaya pravda*). Независимая газета (*Nezavisimaya gazeta*) has been published since 21 December 1990 as a broadsheet. In 1999, Независимая газета (*Nezavisimaya gazeta*) opened free access to its materials on the Internet as the first high-quality Russian newspaper, and their homepage³ currently states that Независимая газета (*Nezavisimaya gazeta*) is one of the largest periodicals in modern Russia, devoted to the topical problems of social, political, and cultural life in Russia and beyond. “Комсомольская правда” (*Komsomolskaya pravda*) was founded on 24 May 1925, and from 1991 has been published as an independent news source. On their website can be found its history from the first publication to 2016.⁴

2.3 Structure of this thesis

In this study we will focus on the stylometry of Russian presidents and Russian newspapers. We will quantitatively and qualitatively examine the reports of the Russian Presidential Addresses to the Federal Assembly and the Russian media (newspapers: the broadsheet and the tabloid) statements about them to clarify the differences in viewpoints between Russian Presidential Addresses and the Russian media. By advancing this research, we will examine how the president’s speech is reflected in the media, how the media cuts and pastes the presidential words and draws the Russian presidential statue through the President’s words, and we will also examine how the writers (Russian people) perceived Russia at that time and clarify the relationship between the president and the media. We will apply text mining approaches to examine quantitatively the political speech of Russian Presidential Addresses and the relation between the texts and their vocabularies, as well as that between Russian Presidential Addresses and vocabulary usage in Russian media. Text mining is the process of extracting linguistic patterns using various analysis techniques from large scale data to yield useful information. The structure of this study is as follows.

Chapter 3 concerns the methodology and data. We will introduce the framework and methods of this study in Section 3.1, then introduce the corpus data of this study in 3.2. After the introduction of the methodology and data, we will discuss the speech styles of the Russian presidents, Boris Yeltsin, Vladimir Putin, and Dmitry Medvedev, using the Russian Presidential Addresses to the Federal Assembly from 1994 to 2016 in Chapter 4. As the first step we will analyze each president’s text to determine their individual characteristics in political speeches. After this analysis we will compare the three presidents’ addresses at the same time to investigate their individual aspects

³URL: <http://www.ng.ru/about/>, Accessed June 21, 2018

⁴URL: <https://www.msk.kp.ru/daily/24007/83729/>, Accessed June 21, 2018

in comparison with each other. In this chapter we will also argue for their capacities as leader of the country. While the president's policy greatly affects public opinion, the leader's speech is also closely related to his impression. People think that not only the president's policy actions but also information that they hear will serve as materials for unconscious judgment, and in Section 4.2 we will consider collocations on the theme of ability as a national leader. Russian presidents mention policy, problems of the country, or their aims in their addresses, but which theme the leader of the country attaches importance to depends on the president. Chapter 5 is about the Russian media coverage of Presidential Addresses. In Sections 5.1 we will introduce the structure of newspapers in Russia. After the introduction, in Section 5.2 we will discuss the role of headlines and the linguistic strategies of journalists. After the discussion of the role of the headlines, we will investigate the evaluation of president in Section 5.3. In this section we will investigate how journalists interpreted the words of the presidents. Also, we will focus on differences in the understanding of democracy between Russian presidents and the Russian media in the new Russia. Finally, we will conclude this study in Chapter 6. We will summarize the style of Russian political speeches and evaluate image of the Russian presidents in the Russian media and the relationship and distance between presidents and the media in Russia. At the end we will discuss future tasks and the perspectives of this study.

Chapter 3

Methodology and Data

3.1 Research Methodology

In this chapter we will introduce the methods and data utilized in this study in order to explore the tendencies of the various speech styles of the Russian presidents both in themselves and as interpreted and published by the Russian press. This study incorporates a wide variety of corpora and texts and uses two text mining approaches discussed in the following subsections: 3.1 an introduction to corpus analysis, and 3.2 an introduction to the available corpus information of the Russian Presidential Addresses to the Federal Assembly and the Russian press.

3.1.1 Corpus analysis

Ishikawa (2012) explains that the term “corpus” (plural “corpora”) is generally defined as the complete works of novelists but can also be applied to the data of linguistic studies used in language databases. Ishikawa emphasizes that there are essentially five important things to keep in mind when analyzing corpora:

- i) Everyday language commonly used in conversation and writing
- ii) Large data bases e.g., BNC (British National Corpus), COCA (The Corpus of Contemporary American English), COHA (The Corpus of Historical American English), and GloWbE (The Corpus of Global Web-Based English)
- iii) The availability of accurate, typical, or cyclopedic collections
- iv) The use of computer software processing
- v) Their use for researching linguistic theory

Therefore, we need to consider the type of languages in a corpus, the size of the corpus, the methods used to collect data, and the translatability of the texts on a computer when we collate

and use a corpus in research. Ishikawa also defines written and spoken language as follows: written language is in general texts collected from printed publications such as books and newspapers, as well as unpublished papers considered as written language, for instance, private letters and essays from high school or university. On the other hand, Ishikawa believes that language used in movies or TV shows and other forms of scripted language can also be used in linguistic research studies when evaluating gender, class, the relationships between the speakers, and conversations under ordinary circumstances. The contexts of movies or TV shows are already in a scripted form ready for research. Interviews and private conversations need to be written out before they can be studied because many of them are only archived in a recorded format with voice data, such as on video tapes or cassette tapes.

In this study we will be using texts of Russian Presidential Addresses and articles as published in the Russian Press before and after the speeches, with both considered written language. To prepare the speeches and newspaper and journal articles for research, some of the paper files, such as those for articles in the Russian Press, had to be digitized before they could be used in this study. In the process of digitizing the articles in the Russian press, we did not use OCR (Optical Character Recognition/Reader) because the structure of the publications made it difficult to accurately read and digitize articles. Thus, we digitized the articles in the Russian Press by hand. Texts of the Russian Presidential Addresses from Yeltsin to Putin were found on the “Президент России¹” (President of Russia) website. Note that as only the Russian Presidential Address to the Federal Assembly given by Yeltsin in 1994 does not exist on that web site, we accessed his 1994 text from the web site “ИНТЕЛРОС²” (Интеллектуальная Россия) (INTELROS: Intellectual Russia). By making digitized texts, we were able to search for target words or phrases quickly and accurately. Corpus linguistics requires making observations, investigations, descriptions, and analyses from various demonstrative points of view based on a corpus consisting of collected and computerized linguistic texts. By using computer techniques to process linguistic data, tendencies and patterns in the usage of words in certain texts could be encyclopedically extracted from the data in a database. The corpora are the collected texts, but Evison (2010) states that they reveal very little by themselves before being studied because they are basically collections of electronic texts, which are conveniently suitable for use in computer analysis. Corpus analysis can give us the opportunity to explore the meaning and/or tendencies of the usage of words in the texts of a corpus, and Ishikawa (2014) points out that we have to pay attention to five important points: whether the texts are spoken or written, the size of the data, the type of collected texts, their machine readability, and their suitability for

¹URL: <http://www.kremlin.ru/acts/bank7521>, Accessed June 21, 2018

²URL: http://www.intelros.ru/20070204poslanija_prezidenta_rossii_borisa_elcina_federalnomu_sobraniju_rf_1994_god.html, Accessed June 21, 2018

use in linguistic research projects.

Evison also explains that frequency analysis is one of the most important and basic computer techniques required when beginning to research corpus collections. When a word count list is made using software to examine frequency in texts, then the list shows us the results as raw frequency and relative frequency. Moreover, the software counts tokens and types to determine how many different types appear in the target corpus. To observe what kinds of word forms appear in the texts, then non-lemmatized texts show all the word forms in texts, for example *I'll*, *I'd*, *it'll*, and so on. In lemmatized texts, the word lists are adjusted to only show citation forms of words. For example, all word forms are shown in non-lemmatized texts, such as *says* and *said*, but these words are listed in lemmatized texts as *say*. The software also has a function to specify stop words. This is the collection of words that can be excluded or included in the word count. For example, to consider only by the content words, then the stop words need to be set as function words: articles, numbers, and so on. As Evison (2010) points out, frequency lists can be useful for comparing the rank order of items in two or more corpora side by side. For instance, this study uses the texts in Russian and made a corpus of “Russian Presidential Addresses to the Federal Assembly”. We can observe the tendencies of Yeltsin’s and Putin’s texts from the word frequency when we compare the frequencies of their words. Table 3.1 shows the word frequencies without a stop word list and Table 3.2 with stop words.

As Table 3.1 and 3.2 show the comparison of word frequency in Yeltsin’s and Putin’s Presidential Addresses to the Federal Assembly, different results between their word frequencies without and with a stop words list are apparent. Function words rank at the top in Table 3.1, whereas Table 3.2 shows only content words in texts, allowing the key words to be compared with a target corpus. The function and content words as in Table 3.1 show important aspects of the structure of a text. Yeltsin and Putin use the conjunction *and* and the prepositions *in*, *at*. As the high frequency of use of the pronoun *this* in Putin’s texts shows, he tends to describe the situation or problem at first, then explain or summarize the important points. Also, Putin tends to use the pronoun *we* in his texts, but Yeltsin tended to use the adjective *state* or the noun *authority*. To make a proper determination we need to observe the usage of words in the texts, but from word frequency it is possible to make the hypothesis that Yeltsin mentions governmental authority or power in the country, while on the other hand Putin delivers his statements using the word *we* to the audience, and this attitude gives listeners the impression that Putin considers the nation as a partner of his administration. As Table 3.2 shows the most frequently used content words in the target corpus, this result leads us to make the further hypothesis that Yeltsin tended to mention the system of Russian government and economic situation, whereas Putin tends to mention goals or issues such as jobs or the economy

Rank	Yeltsin	Putin
1	и (and)	и (and)
2	в (in)	в (in)
3	на (at)	это (this)
4	не (no)	на (at)
5	с (with)	мы (we)
6	быть (be)	не (no)
7	год (year)	с (with)
8	это (this)	быть (be)
9	государственный (state)	что (what)
10	власть (authority)	для (for)

Table 3.1: Comparison of word frequencies

Rank	Yeltsin	Putin
1	государственный (state)	россия (Russia)
2	власть (authority)	страна (country)
3	россия (Russia)	развитие (development)
4	российский (Russian)	государство (government)
5	государство (government)	российский (russian)
6	федеральный (federal)	гражданин (citezen)
7	орган (organization)	работа (job)
8	система (system)	система (system)
9	экономический (economic)	экономический (economic)
10	федерация (federation)	задача (issue)

Table 3.2: Comparison of word frequencies with a stop word list

and development of Russia. However, raw word frequency does not tell us the differences among the target corpora because of the differences in the sizes of texts. Therefore, we cannot discuss the differences or make a comparison between them from the raw frequencies of words in texts alone.

Winnie (2011) introduces two approaches: “corpus-based” and “corpus-driven” approaches. Corpus-based is a deductive approach with the following process: first, begin the research with a theory;; second, make a hypothesis; third, observe the data; and finally, bring the hypothesis and theory into conformity with the phenomenon under consideration. The corpus-driven approach begins by observing the data first, finding patterns of the usage of words or phrases in the text, and then forming a hypothesis and discussing it to formulate a theory. Our study adopts a corpus-driven standpoint. This approach aims to describe the empirical research from the target corpus or texts themselves, not to adopt a ready-made model, theory, or hypothesis, as Winnie (2011) indicates; therefore, this study is based on exploratory data analysis. To make hypotheses or set up research questions, we need to follow the appropriate process to analyze the texts in a corpus. We need to consider whether to use lemmatized or non-lemmatized texts, to observe tendencies in the usage

of words with or without stop words, to compare the corpus using the raw frequency or relative frequency of words, and so on, which all depend on the purpose of the research.

3.1.2 Text mining approaches

Text mining is known collectively as a technique to mine data from texts through the application of computer programs. To extract information or gain knowledge effectively from big data, the technique of data mining has recently begun to attract attention. Kobayashi (2017) says that terms such as “big data” and “data science” are often used not only in specialized books or research papers, but also in general books and business magazines. Data mining is a method of data analysis, and researchers mine effective information from big data, for example sales data or questionnaire surveys for marketing. Ishida (2017) introduced the example of “babies’ nappy” as a result of data mining in his book. One major American supermarket chain researched an enormous quantity of data recorded in the checkout system. This data led to the discovery of a tendency for babies’ nappies and canned beer to be purchased together. Ishida says that it may or may not be true that the company then placed them on the same shelf, but big data gives us unexpected results that humans cannot obtain unaided from the data. The methods of text mining have also received considerable publicity in analyses of linguistic data. Text mining is a generic term for the techniques and theory of data mining applied to the data of language, which is called texts. Also, Sebastiani (2002) says that text mining involves analyzing large quantities of text to detect usage patterns and explore useful information. For example, text mining approaches give us findings and new explications hidden in texts through keyword extraction, collocations, correlations between target words, and so on. Topic modeling is also one text mining approach to estimate specific topics such as genre, theme, and writer in texts using word frequency by showing visualized graphics such as word clouds, network graphs, cluster analysis, the results of correspondence analysis, PCA (Principal Component Analysis), and so on to determine relationships between the target corpora. This study will apply the methods of text mining to explore the usage of words in Russian Presidential Addresses to the Federal Assembly and in the Russian press. We will utilize the software CasualConc³ for analysis. In this study we will use text mining approaches: concordance lines, word clouds, correspondence analysis, random forests, and collocations. It is important to note that in order to investigate the tendencies in the usage of words, we need to observe these behaviors in texts.

Scott (2012) says that to search behaviors of the key words, the technique of “key word in context” (KWIC) or concordance lines is often used. Concordance lines show the behavior of the key words in context, and researchers observe the behaviors of words vertically to find these patterns. By

³Professor Y. Imao developed this free software for text analysis. I would like to express appreciation for its development.

observing the behavior of key words, concordance lines allow us to notice the patterns in their use; for example, collocations tell us the idiosyncratic features of the speakers or writers. The word cloud is a visualized graphic relying on sources of information on word frequency. Words displayed in large font in the results of the word cloud are the high frequency words in the texts. As Kobayashi (2017) points out, the most frequent words are often function words such as particles, auxiliary verb, and conjunctions that are frequently used in any text, and content words such as nouns and verbs related to the contents of the texts. Therefore, researchers need to configure the settings for the analysis with a stop word list and word count limits. The correspondence analysis is often used in questionnaire analyses such as marketing, social surveys, and consciousness surveys; in addition, correspondence analysis indicates the relationships between texts and words in research on stylistics. Asahara, Kato et al. (2014) explain that correspondence analysis performs processing to maximize the correlations between row items and column items by rearranging the rows and columns of the cross-tabulation table. The first principal component and the second principal component are sequentially called from axes corresponding to eigenvalues with large values, and the respective axes are orthogonal. The sum of all the eigenvalues divided by the eigenvalues corresponding to a given principal component is called the contribution ratio and is a measure of how much explanation is made by each principal component. The random forest method is a group learning method using a large number of decision trees extended and developed by Breiman (2001). The result of the random forest is an OOB error rate in the classification of the target corpus; therefore, when the error rate is 0 %, then the classification of the target corpus is distinguished correctly 100 %. Tabata (2012) indicates the utility of the collocation in stylistic studies. Tabata explains that indicators for the measurement of the strength of collocation ties include raw frequencies, *t*-scores, log-likelihood ratios, and MI-scores. Collocations based on raw frequency are the most fundamental and simplest indicators, but since the function words tend to occupy the top ranks of the high frequency words, it is difficult stylistically to determine collocation. Since MI-scores can measure collocation regardless of corpus size, they are suitable for use with small corpora, so in this research MI-scores will be used to measure collocation cooccurrence relationships. As Tabata points out, we need to observe the target collocation in concordance lines to consider it from the stylistic point of view. Also, Tabata notes that comparison with other texts or reference corpora is indispensable for extracting the characterized collocation in specific texts or writers.

We use text mining to examine the quantitative political speech of Russian presidential Addresses to the Federal Assembly and the relation between text and vocabulary, and between Russian Presidential Annual Addresses and vocabulary usage in the Russian media. The text mining approaches allow us to analyze Russian political discourse. Conventionally, the speech analysis of Russian pres-

idents has been carried out qualitatively; that is, these political speeches are analyzed from the political point of view, such as what the president proposed regarding a problem or what he will do regarding relationships with other countries. Of course, researchers have paid attention to what presidents said in the political addresses, but only limited research has been carried out on what kind of vocabulary is used in each president's speech, his policy as a national representative, and the quantitative considerations of the speech style. The various statistical techniques for linguistic study give us further possibilities of text analysis.

3.1.3 Corpus approaches to discourse analysis

McCarthy and O'Keeffe (2012) indicate that corpus linguistic studies give us not only views of the field of language pedagogy, in other words language teaching and learning, but also of literary studies and translation studies, forensic linguistics, pragmatics, sociolinguistics, media discourse, and political discourse. Critical discourse analysis (henceforth CDA) exposes ideology and inequalities in close reading, in other words, to show them by reading the specific texts or analyzing discourse as read between the lines. Van Dijk (2008) says that CDA is a type of research showing the ways the abuse of social power, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. Van Dijk points out that CDA has no direction, school, or specific approaches in discourse studies, but the common perspective and general aims of CDA are closely related in the analysis of the phenomena of dominance, hegemony, ideology, class, gender, race, discrimination, interests, reproduction, institution, social structure, and social order. In political speeches there are a variety of political ideologies.

Reisigl (2008) introduced politolinguistic, which connects rhetoric, CDA, and concepts in political science. Reisigl defines political rhetoric as the practical art and science of speaking and writing in public and introduced eight steps of politolinguistic qualitative analysis. In the first step, the researches pay attention to political problems with linguistic or discursive aspects. In the second and third steps, analysts choose the resources of gathered data and select data as a corpus that is manageable, depending on the research question. In the fourth step the observer makes hypotheses from an overview of the corpus, and in step five the researchers try to make a qualitative pilot analysis to establish analytical categories, while in step six it is necessary to see a detailed case-study on the macro and micro levels, not to mention at the level of context. Reisigl states that these observations allow us to interpret the detail in the social, historical, and political context. In step seven it is necessary to formulate a critique to answer the research questions, and the last, eighth step leads to the application of the analytical results to social cases. Reisigl introduced politolinguistic analysis

of political rhetoric, but he says that there is no analytical toolbox that we can apply to any and all research questions relating to political rhetoric. Therefore, we need to adopt suitable methods for each issue in question. Bayram (2010) says that politics is a struggle for power to put convinced political, economic, and social ideas into practice, and in this process, language plays a crucial role in convincing others to prepare, accompany, influence, and play by language. Fairclough (2006) explains that changes in political strategy and ideology, political leadership, and methods of governance appear in language. Because of the understanding that language is a mediating factor with an influence on politics, the recognition of the importance of the use of words has increased in politics. Charteris-Black (2004) applied corpus approaches to critical metaphor analysis in political discourse, for example, by investigating the metaphors in 51 inaugural speeches of American presidents from George Washington to Bill Clinton. Charteris-Black found seven kinds of metaphors in American presidential inaugural speeches:

- i) Conflict metaphors; rights, freedom, faith or against social phenomena such as poverty, disease and injustice as “enemies”
- ii) Journey metaphors, which are used for efforts to achieve goals
- iii) Building metaphors; the meaning of these metaphors is almost the same as those of journey metaphors to predetermined goals
- iv) Light and fire metaphors, which are based on positive evaluations
- v) Physical environment metaphors, by which American presidents appeal to a significant minority to express that the environment could be stabilized
- vi) Religious metaphors to express faith, linked to Christian belief
- vii) Body part metaphors, which are metonymically related with types of physical action

Gustave (1895, 1993: translated) points out the relationship between the people and the leader. The people have an instinctive urge to try to follow the leader, and people tend not to have a clear logical idea outside of the sphere of their own specialty. To embrace the ideas and beliefs in people’s spirit, the leader uses assertions, repetitions, and means of inflection. This effect is said to be slow but persistent. On the other hand, periodical publications may play the role of leaders, creating opinions of readers, complaining about them and complaining about themselves, saving the effort of reflecting on their own thought. Mautner (2008) focuses on the print media such as newspapers, magazines, and books within the framework of CDA in social science projects. Mautner says that in the case of the news media, there are two points that deserve attention, news level and news sources, because these concepts play a role in understanding the fact that there is chain between the event and its appeal, and this selection is influenced by economic, political, cultural, and social structures. Mautner concludes that the aim of the textual analysis of print media is to identify meaning-making

resources at different linguistic levels, focusing on devices used to position readers into adopting a certain point of view. In addition, print media have nonverbal messages such as photographs, charts, and cartoons, and it is worth considering their effect on readers. It goes without saying that it is important to have access to computerized corpora of print media for analysis.

Fairclough (1995) says that ideology in media should not be considered as a constant and predicted presence in all media discourse by definition. Fairclough indicates that ideology may be an important issue for some instances and types of media discourse, and media texts function ideologically in social control and social reproduction. Our study analyzes the speech style of Russian Presidents in their Russian Presidential Addresses to the Federal Assembly and the articles about these political events in the Russian Press, and we observe these materials from the points of view of political and media discourse, applying corpus approaches.

3.2 Data

In this section we would like to introduce the data of this study. First we will survey the corpus of the Russian Presidential Addresses to the Federal Assembly, after which we will discuss the corpus of the Russian Press.

3.2.1 Corpus of Russian Presidential Addresses to the Federal Assembly

The first President of Russia, Boris Yeltsin, started the custom of the Russian Presidential Address to the Federal Assembly in 1994 in order to voice his policy to bureaucrats or the Russian nation. Therefore, Yeltsin made six speeches during his nine years as President, from 1991 to 1999. Tables 3.3 and 3.4 show the data of Yeltsin’s Presidential Addresses from 1994 to 1999. The data in Table 3.3 are non-lemmatized texts, and Table 3.4 is lemmatized. The STTR (Standardized Type/token ratio) shows lexical richness in appropriate texts. Since STTR calculates every 1000 words, it makes it possible to compare the richness of the vocabulary without being affected by the size of the text file (e.g. Imao 2018, Scott 2010). As Table 3.3 and 3.4 show that the lexical richness of the Presidential Address in 1996 is the highest among Yeltsin’s Presidential Addresses, in that year’s address Yeltsin stated his policy to the members of the government and the Russian people using the highest variety of words.

Putin continued this custom of the Russian Presidential Address to the Federal Assembly from Yeltsin. Putin took office in 2000 and continued to lead Russia as president until 2004. In the presidential election Putin was reelected; therefore, the period from 2004 to 2008 was his second administration. In Russia at that time it was impossible to serve a third consecutive term and the

	Year	Types	Tokens	STTR
Yeltsin	1994	5,552	15,552	66.76
	1995	6,660	20,383	65.99
	1996	5,198	12,442	68.48
	1997	4,819	13,448	65.44
	1998	5,315	14,630	67.45
	1999	6,997	20,740	66.31
SUM	6	17,612	97,215	–
AVERAGE	–	65,752	16,202	66.74

Table 3.3: Yeltsin: Basic lexical statistics (non-lemmatized)

	Year	Types	Tokens	STTR
Yeltsin	1994	3,035	15,552	51.57
	1995	3,581	20,383	51.56
	1996	3,096	12,442	54.89
	1997	2,675	13,448	50.94
	1998	2,968	14,630	52.63
	1999	3,728	20,740	52.14
SUM	6	7,553	97,215	–
AVERAGE	–	3,180	16,202	52.32

Table 3.4: Yeltsin: Basic lexical statistics (lemmatized)

period of presidency was for four years; therefore, Medvedev succeeded Putin for the next four years as President of Russia. Medvedev changed the legal provisions regarding the term of the presidency from 4 to 6 years. After these four years Putin was reelected president. His third administration continued from 2012 to 2018, and in 2018 Putin was again elected president; his fourth administration will continue until 2024. This study will use Putin’s Presidential Addresses until 2016. Hence, in this study the texts of Putin’s Presidential Addresses are 13 files from 2000 to 2008 and from 2012 to 2016. Tables 3.5 and 3.6 show basic information on the corpus of Putin’s Presidential Addresses. The number of types in Putin’s texts is smaller than Yeltsin’s texts. The highest lexical richness in the addresses given by Putin is in the Address in 2000, his first Presidential Address. On the other hand, Putin’s 2012 Address at the beginning of his third administration was the least lexically-diverse.

	Year	Types	Tokens	STTR
Putin	2000	2,420	5,147	67.29
	2001	2,747	6,225	66.39
	2002	2,572	5,690	65.16
	2003	2,645	5,982	64.52
	2004	2,334	5,185	65.53
	2005	2,452	5,217	68.03
	2006	2,837	6,496	66.44
	2007	3,277	8,037	67.30
	2012	3,633	9,681	61.94
	2013	3,254	7,994	63.34
	2014	3,008	7,055	65.34
	2015	2,817	6,565	64.55
	2016	3,126	7,750	64.92
SUM	13	15,528	86,974	–
AVERAGE	–	2,856	6,690	65.32

Table 3.5: Putin: Non-lemmatized statistics

	Year	Types	Tokens	STTR
Putin	2000	1,557	5,147	54.77
	2001	1,784	6,225	54.12
	2002	1,635	5,690	51.21
	2003	1,661	5,982	49.79
	2004	1,498	5,185	52.80
	2005	1,601	5,217	54.14
	2006	1,811	6,496	52.74
	2007	1,999	8,037	54.93
	2012	2,305	9,681	49.63
	2013	2,012	7,994	50.19
	2014	1,929	7,055	53.80
	2015	1,873	6,565	52.70
	2016	2,018	7,750	50.53
SUM	13	6,916	86,974	–
AVERAGE	–	1,822	6,690	52.41

Table 3.6: Putin: Lemmatized statistics

As noted above, Medvedev took the post of the Russian President after Putin’s second administration. When Medvedev took office, not only Russia but the rest world thought that it was a

tandem system because Putin was at the same time the Prime Minister of Russia. Even though Medvedev was in the presidency, as the leader of the country or the person who controlled Russia was Putin, people thought the tandem system with Putin and Medvedev was a puppet show in which Putin controlled Medvedev. Moreover, Putin and Medvedev graduated from Leningrad State University (today’s Saint Petersburg State University). Both studied law at the university and interacted as senior and junior, continuing such a relationship in political office. Medvedev stated that as a successor, he became a candidate of the presidency after Putin’s second administration. For these reasons, in the beginning the Medvedev administration was heavily tinged with the air of a tandem system with Putin. Table 3.7 and 3.8 give information on the Presidential Addresses given by Medvedev from 2008 to 2011. The lexical richness of Medvedev is as high as that in the texts given by Putin. It is interesting that Putin used the greatest variety of words in his first Presidential Address, whereas Medvedev used the greatest variety of vocabulary in his last Presidential Address.

	Year	Types	Tokens	STTR
Medvedev	2008	3,321	8,090	65.27
	2009	3,494	8,484	63.79
	2010	3,070	9,873	65.65
	2011	2,885	7,298	65.91
SUM	4	8,923	32,316	–
AVERAGE	–	3,321	8,090	65.27

Table 3.7: Medvedev: Basic lexical statistics (non-lemmatized)

	Year	Types	Tokens	STTR
Medvedev	2008	2,105	8,484	51.84
	2009	2,311	9,873	52.14
	2010	1,988	7,298	52.78
	2011	1,784	6,706	51.85
SUM	4	4,197	32,361	–
AVERAGE	–	2,047	8,090	51.84

Table 3.8: Medvedev: Basic lexical statistics (lemmatized)

Comparing the average number of tokens, which is given at the bottom of each table, Yeltsin’s average is the highest, but when lexical richness is compared, the order is Putin, Medvedev, and Yeltsin, meaning that Putin appealed to the audience for his policy in that year using the most varied vocabulary, whereas Yeltsin appealed for his policy using the least varied words.

We will use the lemmatized texts of the Russian Presidential Addresses when analyzing the tendencies of word usage only in each Presidential Address to observe what kinds of words Russian President tends to use in political documents. We will use non-lemmatized texts when comparing their character with those of the articles in the Russian press.

3.2.2 The Russian newspaper corpus

When this study analyzes the Russian press, it mainly uses these newspapers: the broadsheet “Независимая газета” (*Nezavisimaya gazeta*) and the tabloid “Комсомольская правда” (*Komsomolskaya pravda*) to investigate how journalists interpreted the words of the leader of the country.

In the comparison of the headlines in the press about each of the Presidential Addresses of the three Presidents, Yeltsin, Putin, and Medvedev. Table 3.9 provides basic information on each newspaper in Russia.

In recent years, various kinds of information have become available from different media platforms, such as newspapers, radio, television, and the Internet. These media indirectly provide the public with value judgments on, among other things, incidents, social issues, presidents, and politicians. Suzuki (2012) pointed out the “gate-keeping function” of the present media in which the media selects the information to which the audience is exposed. In the 1990s Russia, as access to the internet was limited, people obtained information only from television, radio, and the printed press. During Yeltsin’s administration in the 1990’s, the Internet system was not well developed. Therefore, at that time articles was not posted on the newspaper’s web site as they are for today’s internet newspapers. As far as the author could determine, the articles on the web sites and the articles in the published paper are not the same, and the digital archives of the articles on the web site version or published in the paper are not posted on the respective newspaper’s web site, which we will use in this study. The author collected the articles in the four Russian publications from 1994 to 2016 in Russia in 2017. The researcher was allowed access to the archives of the articles at the Russian State Library at the department of the press in Khimki after registration to the library. It was possible to take pictures of the articles in the publications at the Russian State Library from 2016. When we made the corpus of the Russian newspapers, we did not use OCR (Optical Character Recognition/Reader) because the structure of the publications made it difficult to accurately read and digitize articles. For that reason we digitized the articles in the Russian Press by hand. This study collected the articles, in which journalist reported on the Russian Presidential Addresses of each president. The articles about the Presidential Addresses tended to be reported for a week around of the day of the Address to the Federal Assembly.

We made pie charts of the information of the newspapers, “Независимая газета” (Nezavishimaya gazeta) and “Комсомольская правда” (*Komsomolskaya pravda*), that are mainly used in this study⁴. According to the information of their web sites, the daily newspaper circulation of “Независимая газета” (Nezavishimaya gazeta) is 5,694,000 and that of “Комсомольская правда” (*Komsomolskaya pravda*) is 1,240,000. Figures 3.1 and 3.2 show the information on the genders of the readers of “Независимая газета” (Nezavishimaya gazeta) and “Комсомольская правда” (*Komsomolskaya pravda*). More than 80 % of the readers of the broadsheet “Независимая газета” (Nezavishimaya gazeta) are male, while the readership of the tabloid “Комсомольская правда” (*Komsomolskaya*

⁴Made by the author with reference to the newspapers’ web sites. URL: <http://www.ng.ru/advertising/index.php>, URL: <http://advert.kp.ru/nsk/kp/2043/3352>, Accessed June 18, 2018

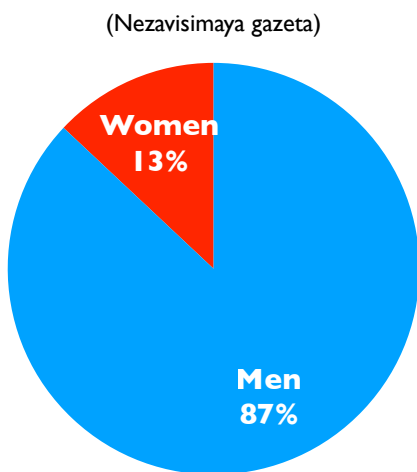


Figure 3.1: Gender readership of *Nezavisimaya gazeta*

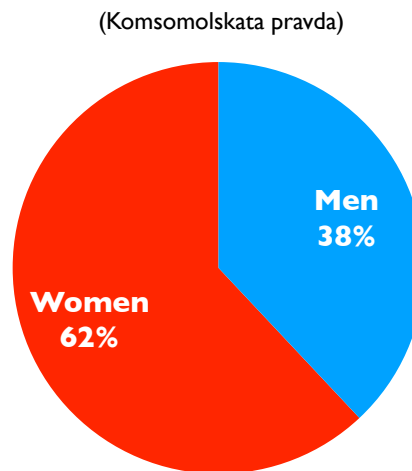


Figure 3.2: Gender readership of *Komsomolskaya pravda*

pravda) is 38 % female and 62 % male. Figures 3.3 and 3.4 show the ages of the readers. Of the readers of “Независимая газета” (*Nezavisimaya gazeta*), 47 % are over 45 years old, followed by the 25 to 34 age bracket – 31 %. Of the readers of the tabloid “Комсомольская правда” (*Komsomolskaya pravda*), 58 % are aged 20 to 54 years. This newspaper seeks to tap the youth market, but teenagers make up only 3 % of its readership.

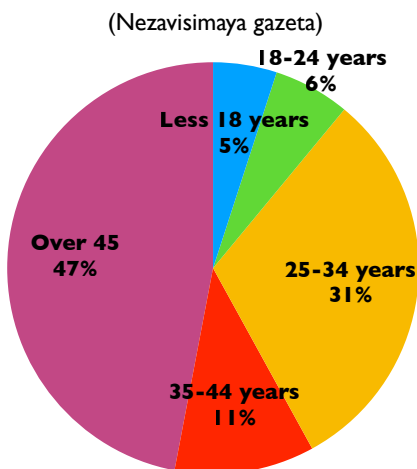


Figure 3.3: Age readership of *Nezavisimaya gazeta*

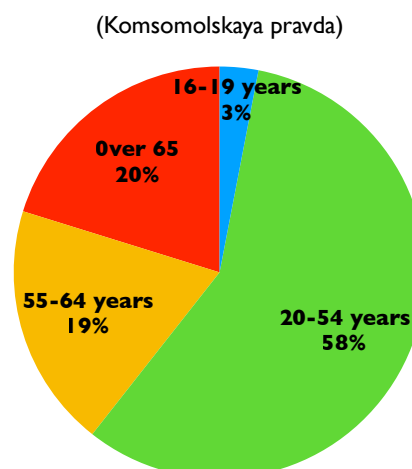


Figure 3.4: Age readership of *Komsomolskaya pravda*

Figures 3.5 and 3.6 provide information on the readers’ professions. The readers of “Независимая газета” (*Nezavisimaya gazeta*) are managers and specialists – 68 %, employees – 21 %, and students – 11 %. On the other hand, “Комсомольская правда” (*Komsomolskaya pravda*) has other demographic categories in its readership: pensioners – 25 % and others – 8 %. As “Независимая газета” (*Nezav-*

ishimaya gazeta) is a business and political newspaper, the characteristics of the newspaper are such that it is considered that the readers are naturally largely businesspeople. “Комсомольская правда” (*Komsomolskaya pravda*) is a newspaper for the younger generation, but as shown in Figure 3.4, students make up only 4 % of its readers. As the characteristics of the newspaper, “Комсомольская правда” (*Komsomolskaya pravda*) has secured readers of all ages and a variety of occupations.

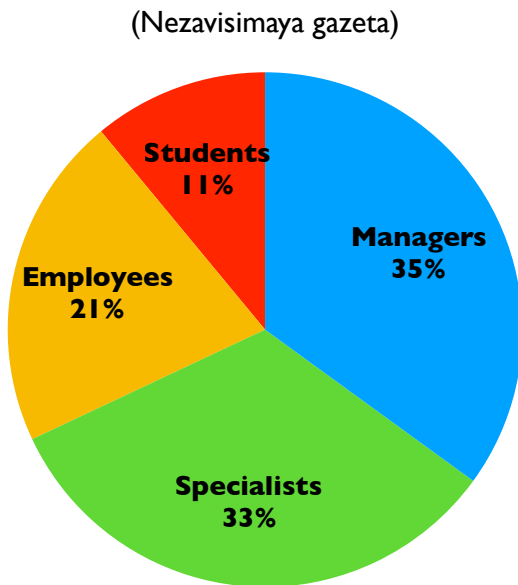


Figure 3.5: *Nezavisimaya gazeta*: Occupation-based classification of its leadership

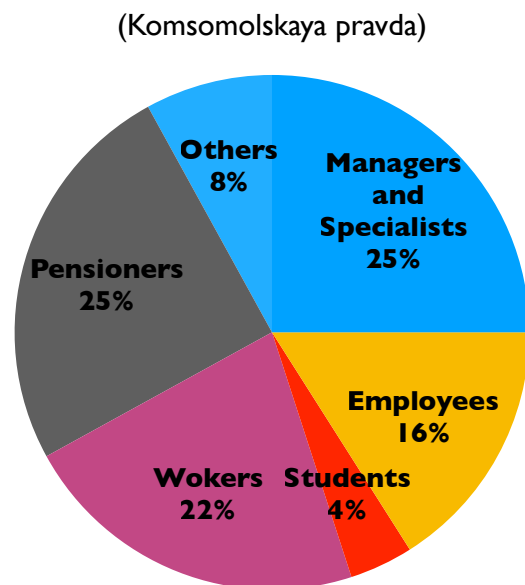


Figure 3.6: *Komsomolskaya prevda*: Occupation-based classification of its leadership

However, since the information on the users of these newspapers is that posted on the site of each newspaper publisher, it is undeniable that the expression of ambiguous expressions and numerical values would affect the judgment of the observer. It is necessary to consider this information as already adjusted by the provider. Table 3.9 provides further information on “Незавизимая газета” (*Nezavisimaya gazeta*) and “Комцомольская Правда” (*Komsomolskaya pravda*) .

The broadsheet	Независимая газета (<i>Nezavisimaya gazeta</i>)	Socio-political newspaper. “NG” (<i>Nezavisimaya gazeta</i>) is the leader of Russia’s new high-quality press. Published since 1990. Each issue has 8 pages. This is one of the first newspapers to work outside the political control of the the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. During the putsch in August 1991, it was banned by the coup plotters of the State Emergency Committee (the State Committee for Emergency Situations). As its slogan, the newspaper took the words from the ancient Roman historian Cornelius Tacitus “The Annals”: “ <i>Sine ira et studio</i> ”, meaning “without anger and fondness” or “without hate and zealousness”. Today’s “NG” is the monthly reading of 100 leading politicians in Russia, with many applications for politics, economics, culture, science, religion, and life in the various regions of Russia.
The tabloid	Комсомольская Правда (<i>Komsomolskaya pravda</i>)	The daily newspaper for the younger generation. It has been published since 1925. Each issue is 8–10 pages. The interest of various age groups in the “KP” (<i>Komsomolskaya pravda</i>) is explained by the newspaper’s desire to keep its readers informed of the main political and economic events. Also, since 1999 “KP” has been issued on Sundays under the name “Толстуха” (Tolstushka) among the peoples of Russia and the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Table 3.9: Information on the Russian publications (Made by the author with reference to “News From RUSSIA”).

Chapter 4

Russian Presidents' Foci and Their Diachronic Changes

4.1 The style of Russian Presidential Addresses to the Federal Assembly

In this section we discuss the styles of the political speeches of the presidents of Russia, Boris Yeltsin, Vladimir Putin, and Dmitry Medvedev, focusing on the structure of the Presidential Address and the statements of each president in Russia. We will discuss tendencies in the Russian Presidential Addresses to the Federal Assembly given by all three Russian presidents. In 4.1.2 we analyzed key words of Yeltsin's addresses, 4.1.3 pointed out key words in Putin's addresses, and 4.1.4 showed key words in Medvedev's addresses. 4.1.5 and 4.1.6 compared all Russian Presidential Addresses to the Federal Assembly to examine the differences and similarities in points of view among the Presidential Addresses.

4.1.1 The structure of the Presidential Addresses

Yeltsin began the custom of the Russian Presidential Address to the Federal Assembly in 1994 to state his policy to the members of government and the Russian people. According to Article 84 of the Russian Constitution, the purpose of the Russian Presidential Address to the Federal Assembly is to inform the Federal Assembly about the political, educational, economic, and social situation in the country and the main directions of the domestic and foreign policy of the state. The Presidential Addresses also have the role of appealing to the listeners as the leader of the country. In Yeltsin's time the text of the Presidential Address was given to some VIPs in Russia in advance of Yeltsin's presentation. Note that beginning with Putin, even VIPs cannot obtain the text before the ceremony. In addition, in Yeltsin's time there were different texts, which in fact Yeltsin stated in the Kremlin, so at that time there were printed versions and the reported version.

In this study we use the printed versions of Yeltsin's Presidential Address texts available on the "Russian President" website maintained by the Russian government. Therefore, it is obvious that there are differences of style in the Presidential Addresses found by comparing Yeltsin's texts and Putin's and Medvedev's texts because since Putin's accession there has only been one version of each Presidential Address. Yeltsin's texts begin with the word "Введение" (Introduction), whereas Putin's and Medvedev's texts begin with a phrase such as "Уважаемые депутаты и члены Совета Федерации" (Dear Members of Congress and the Russian Parliament), "Уважаемое Собрание" (Dear Assembly), "Уважаемые граждане России" (Dear citizens of Russia), "Уважаемые коллеги" (Dear colleagues), and "Уважаемые друзья" (Dear friends). Presidents tend to say the phrases "Уважаемые депутаты и члены Совета Федерации" (Dear members of Congress and the Russian parliament), "Уважаемое Собрание" (Dear Assembly), and "Уважаемые граждане России" (Dear citizens of Russia) at the beginning of the Presidential Address, and "Уважаемые граждане России" (Dear citizens of Russia), "Уважаемые коллеги" (Dear colleagues), and "Уважаемые друзья" (Dear friends) at the end as a signal of the conclusion of the speech. Such a term of address effectively plays a role in making the audience pay attention to the speaker. When presidents say these phrases to the audience, they signal for the audience to listen carefully, not only as a sign of respect to listeners. After these calls for attention, the speaker, the president in this case, continues with a reinforcement, for example (4) and (5).

(4) Уважаемые коллеги! Нам нужно учиться использовать преимущества нового состояния мировой экономики.

(Dear Colleagues! We need to learn to take advantage of the new state of the global economy.)
(Putin 2002)

(5) Уважаемые друзья! Очевидно, что всех нас ждут непростые времена.

(Dear friends! Obviously, difficult times are waiting for all of us.)
(Medvedev 2011)

As in (4) Putin uses "Уважаемые коллеги" (Dear colleague) before a statement about economic gambits. Here, Putin selected the words "коллеги" (colleagues) to give the listeners the impression that they are in the same company and have responsibility for this policy. Medvedev uses "Уважаемые друзья" (Dear friends) to cultivate a sense of community with the listeners. In (5) Medvedev promotes awareness and understanding of the tough future that it might be difficult to avoid in Russia. But to present such negative information, Medvedev calls on the whole Russian nation from the point of a close person like a friend, not from the position of president, and it encourages the listeners to overcome this situation together. Such a term of address to the audience

plays another role in the appeal to his own stance, will, goals, gratitude, and presentation of the problems.

Usually, the Presidential Address is given in the Marble Hall (Мраморный зал) of the Kremlin for about an hour. Putin and Medvedev state the Presidential Addresses on December 12th, the Constitution Day of Russia. However, in Yeltsin's time and at the beginning of Putin's time, the Presidential Addresses were reported in February, March, April, or July. Medvedev delivered his address in 2008 not in the Marble Hall, but the St. George Hall (Георгиевский зал) of the Grand Kremlin Palace.

4.1.2 Yeltsin

Correspondence analysis allows us to observe the relationships between words and texts. Figure 4.1 shows the relationships among Presidential Addresses given by Yeltsin from 1994 to 1999 (top 100 words). We used the lemmatized text with only lower-case words to observe the kinds of usage of words in texts for getting a whole picture. The text name is "Y", with the text for each year named, e.g., "Y_1994". The texts relationship can be separated into two groups, those from 1994 and 1995, and those from 1996, 1997, 1998, and 1999. These years match the periods of Yeltsin's administration, the first period from 1991 to 1995 and the second period from 1996 to 1999. Figure 4.2 shows the typical words used in Yeltsin's addresses. Vocabulary located away from the center is characteristic of the respective text. Keywords in the first period of Yeltsin's administration in 1994 and 1995 include: национальный (national), право (right), конституция (constitution), поддержка (support), гражданин (citizen), правовой (legal), интерес (interest), and безопасность (safety). Keywords for the second period of Yeltsin's administration from 1996 to 1999 include: свобода (freedom), кризис (crisis), экономика (economic), рост (growth), финансовый (financial), предприятие (enterprise), бюджет (budget), исполнительный (executive), порядок (order) and организация (organization). The keywords in the texts from the 1994 to 1995 group are related to politics, whereas those in the second period are related to the developing business or economic situation in Russia.

Безопасность (safety) is a distinctive word in Yeltsin's first administration. The concordance lines show that collocations of безопасность (safety); военная безопасность (military security) and национальная безопасность. Yeltsin's uses of this word in his addresses are for personal security, 3.3 %; military security, 9.9 %; and national security, 23 %. See (6), (7), and (8).

- (6) Демократическое государство не вправе вторгаться в частную жизнь граждан, но оно должно обеспечить каждому человеку личную безопасность и защиту его достоинства.

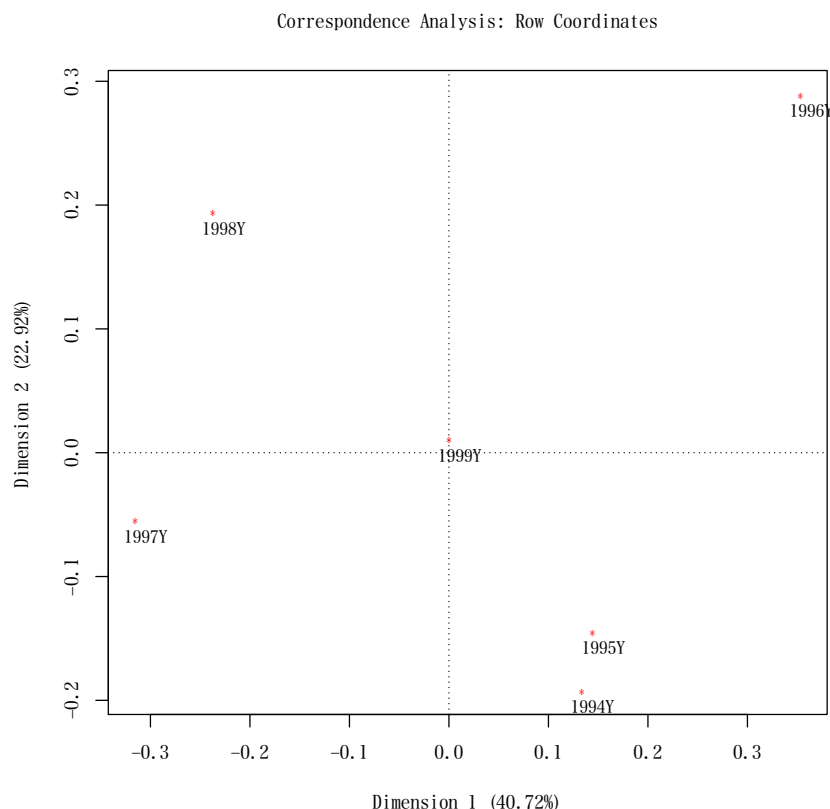


Figure 4.1: The textual relationships of Yeltsin’s Russian Presidential Addresses to the Federal Assembly from 1994 to 1999

(A democratic state does not have the right to intrude into the private lives of its citizens, but it must ensure that every person’s personal security and dignity are protected.) (Yeltsin 1994)

- (7) Один из важнейших аспектов укрепления государственности является обеспечение военной безопасности Российской Федерации.
 (One of the most important aspects of strengthening statehood is to ensure the security of the military position of the Russian Federation.) (Yeltsin 1995)

- (8) Приоритеты в области национальной безопасности нашей страны – это ликвидация очагов военных конфликтов у границ России (...).
 (The main priorities for the national security of our country are the elimination of hotbeds of military conflicts near the borders of Russia (...).) (Yeltsin 1994)

Yeltsin’s national goal was to transform Russia into a democratic country. According to him, a democratic system of governance must provide security, order, and harmony in society with as little

Correspondence Analysis: Column Coordinates

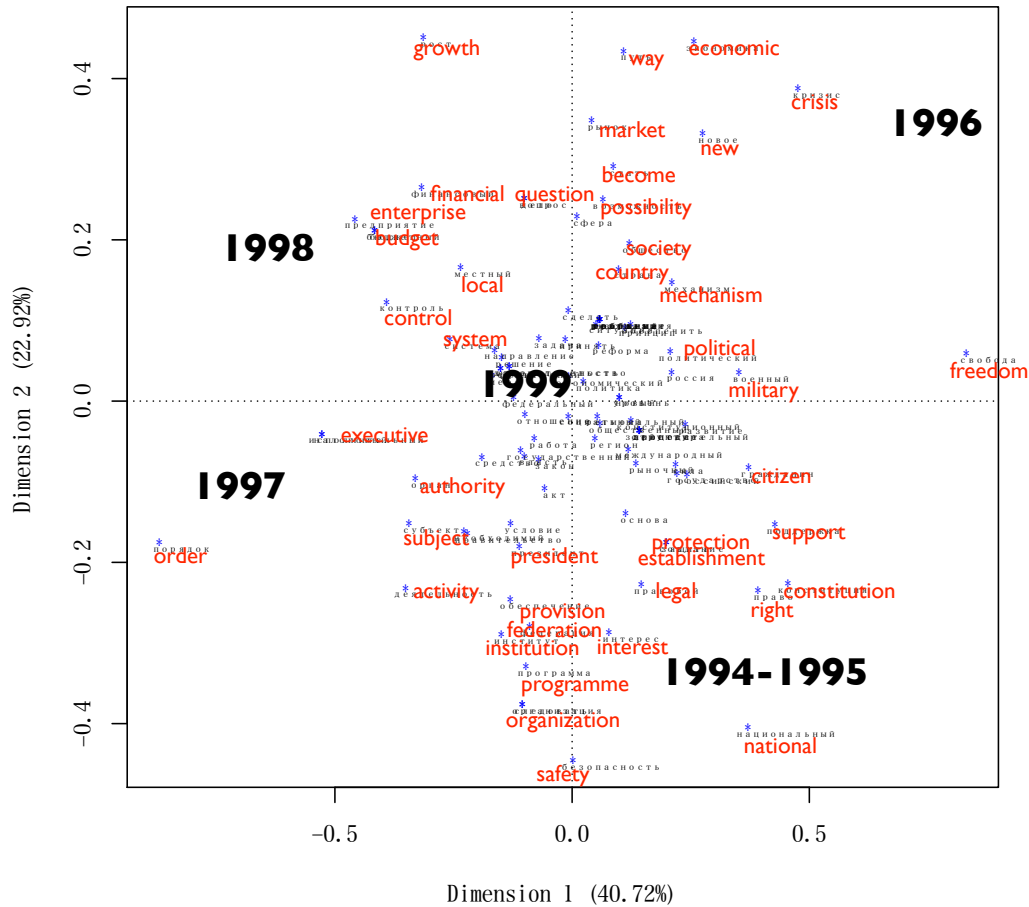


Figure 4.2: The word relationships of Yeltsin’s Russian Presidential Addresses to the Federal Assembly from 1994 to 1999

government interference as possible. The First Chechen War began in 1994 when the Chechens aimed to become independent from Russia, as through such policies as abandoning the Russian Orthodox Church and changing from the Cyrillic alphabet to the Latin alphabet. Russia responded to this conflict with Chechnya with military action. Therefore, Yeltsin almost always mentioned “safety” in connection with military security and national security, as in (7) and (8).

Because Yeltsin intended to transform Russia into a democratic country, he often used the word свобода (freedom) with the право (rights) of гражданин (citizens), россиянин (Russians), or человек (the person). When Yeltsin mentions freedom, he lists such words as безопасность (safety), благосостояние (welfare), солидарность (solidarity), and демократия (democracy). Concordance lines show the rates of their usage in Yeltsin’s addresses: право и свобода граждан (rights and freedom of the citizens) – 12 %, право и свобода россиян (rights and freedom of Russians) – 1.8 %,

право и свобода человека и гражданина (rights and freedom of citizens and the individual) – 11 %. Yeltsin also refers the rights of the citizens in various spheres of society; see (132) and (133).

- (9) (...) создать действующие механизмы обеспечения и защиты прав и свобод каждого человека, независимо от национальности, веры, социального положения (...)
((...) create effective mechanisms for ensuring and protecting the rights and freedoms of every person, regardless of nationality, faith, social status (...)) (Yeltsin 1994)

- (10) Должно неукоснительно обеспечиваться предусмотренное конституцией равенство прав и свобод всех граждан вне зависимости от их национальности.
(The equality of rights and freedoms of all citizens provided for in the Constitution, irrespective of their nationality, must be strictly ensured.) (Yeltsin 1994)

The rights and freedom of citizens, which Yeltsin mentioned in 1994, indicated a framework of behavior in which these rights and this freedom should be recognized throughout Russia. In addition, Yeltsin made the point that all citizens in the whole of Russia have the right to their own beliefs, including religious beliefs, regardless of their nationality, faith, or social status; that is to say, Russian citizens have freedom of religion. In 1999 Yeltsin used the word свобода (freedom) with the sense of avouchment under constitutional law, as in (137) and (12).

- (11) Концептуальной основой конституции российской федерации признано закрепление прав и свобод человека в качестве высшей ценности.
(The conceptual basis of the constitution of the Russian Federation recognized the consolidation of human rights and freedoms as the highest value.) (Yeltsin 1999)
- (12) Думаю, также назрела необходимостъ срочной разработки правовых оснований (...) на территории субъектов российской федерации, где нарушаются конституционные принципы, попираются права и свободы человека.
(I think there is also a need for urgent development of legal grounds in the territory of the Russian Federation, where constitutional principles are violated, human rights and freedoms are violated.) (Yeltsin 1999)

The difference in the expression of the word свобода (freedom) in 1994 and in 1999 reflects the development of democracy in the Russian Federation as the birth of new country. In the first Yeltsin

administration, he aimed to spread an understanding of the word “freedom” because in the Soviet Union the nation did not have a concept of the word “freedom” in their life. In the last year of Yeltsin’s administration, he mentioned the necessity of protecting of human rights under the law.

As Figure 4.2 shows, one of the key words in Yeltsin’s second administration is кризис (crisis). Collocations of this word are affiliated to economy-related words such as экономический (economic), финансовый (financial), бюджетный (budgetary), and банковский (banking). These collocations account for 18 % of the usages of the word кризис (crisis). The usage of кризис (crisis) also shows the attitude of Yeltsin’s administration toward difficult situations. Yeltsin expresses the end of difficulties with the words выход из кризиса (exit from a crisis), избежать кризиса (escape from a crisis), or преодолевать кризис (overcome a crisis). See (13), (14) and (15).

(13) Мы создали рыночную экономику, которая позволила преодолеть кризис без катастроф, выйти из спада и стабилизировать ситуацию.

(We created a market economy that allowed us to overcome the crisis without catastrophe, get out of recession, and stabilize the situation.)

(Yeltsin 1998)

(14) Что надо делать для выхода из кризиса и каким путем двигаться дальше?

(What should (we) do to overcome the crisis, and how should we move on?)

(Yeltsin 1999)

(15) Не избежать кризиса государству, в котором на плаву удерживаются

неплатежеспособные предприятия, не умеющие производить конкурентоспособную продукцию.

(The government should not avoid the crisis that insolvent corporations, which are unable to produce competitive products, find themselves in.)

(Yeltsin 1999)

As in the excerpts in (13), (14), and (15), Yeltsin appealed to the nation as the leader of the country. He presented the idea of an effective market economy, and in this sentence the pronoun “мы” (we) indicates Yeltsin’s administration. In (14) Yeltsin threw out a question to the audience. In this sentence Yeltsin did not say who should overcome the crisis in Russia. Before this sentence Yeltsin listed three questions: “Были ли у России шанс избежать кризиса?” (Were there any chances to avoid a crisis in Russia?), “Являются ли реформы причиной наших бед?” (Are the reforms the cause of our troubles?), and “Что произошло и что происходит в российской экономике?” (What happened and what is happening in the Russian economy?). Yeltsin delivered his address with a questioning style. These questions allowed bureaucrats and the Russian nation to look

back on the Russian situation and see the current situation. In addition, these questions were effectively delivered, as in (14), without showing the specific actor. In (15) Yeltsin included the word “government” as subject to express its duty towards the country. Yeltsin described the ideal of government and presented himself as the leader of the country, comparing the past and current Russia.

The key words in Yeltsin’s addresses tell us the backgrounds of Russia at that time. Yeltsin delivered the problems, policies, and belief to the nation through the Russian Presidential Address to the Federal Assembly.

4.1.3 Putin

To observe tendencies throughout the whole body of Presidential Addresses given by Putin from 2000 to 2016, we applied correspondence analysis. Figures 4.3 and 4.4 show the results of the correspondence analysis. The left side of the figure is for almost the first period of Putin’s administration, the bottom right for the last two years of his second administration before Putin handed the baton over to Medvedev. The upper right side is the period of Putin’s third administration.¹ The keywords on the left side of the figure, which cover almost all of the first period of Putin’s administration, are свобода (freedom), власть (authority), государство (state; noun), государственный (state; adjective), орган (institution), являться (form; verb), отношение (relationship), ситуация (situation), and so on. The keywords on the bottom right for 2006 to 2007 are рубль (ruble), принять (take), ребёнок (child), проект (project), and so on. Keywords from the latest period of the Putin administration are отрасль (sector), предлагать (determine), поддержка (support), просить (ask), коллега (colleague), хороший (good), and so on.

As in Yeltsin’s addresses, the word свобода (freedom) was a keyword in Putin’s first administration. Although the keyword is the same, Yeltsin mentioned the importance of human rights in Russia while Putin mentioned the economic situation with the word свобода (freedom) – 28 % in all his addresses. The rate of expressions with the word свобода (freedom) in 2000 was 25.6 %. See the next examples, (16), (17), and (18).

(16) Необходимо извлечь уроки из нашего опыта и признать, что ключевая роль государства в экономике – это, без всяких сомнений, защита экономической свободы.

(It is necessary to learn from our experience and recognize that the key role of the state in the economy is, without any doubt, the protection of economic freedom.)

(Putin 2000)

¹In fact, Putin’s third administration lasted until 2017, but the Presidential Address of that year was held in March 2018 before the presidential election. Putin delivered his address not from the hall of Kremlin, but from the hall of the Moscow Manege as a campaign speech for election.

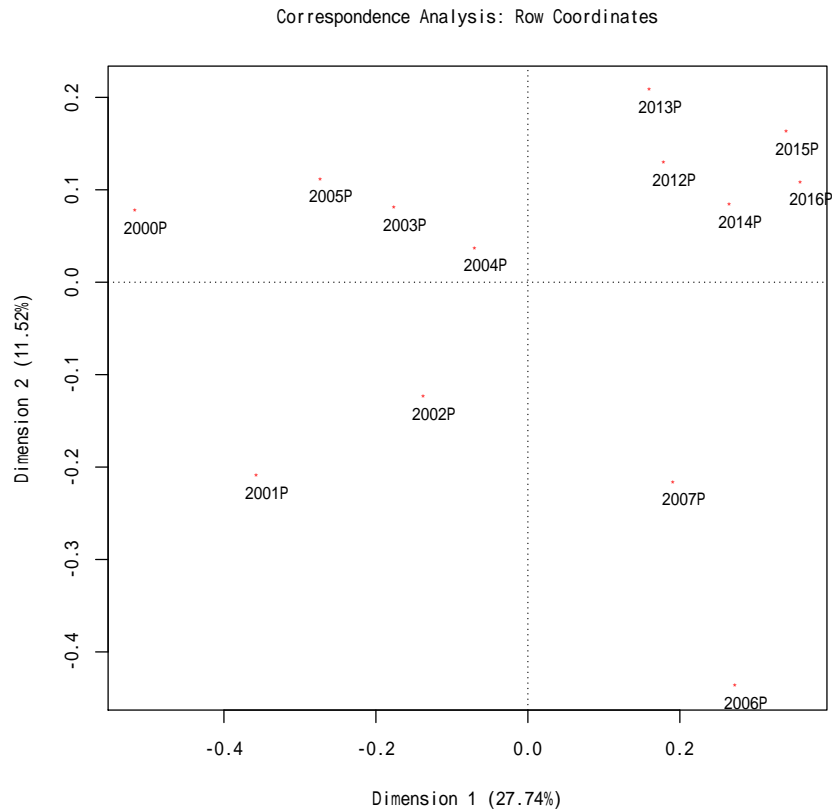


Figure 4.3: The textual relationships of Putin’s Russian Presidential Addresses to the Federal Assembly from 2000 to 2016

- (17) Наша стратегическая линия такова: меньше администрирования, больше предпринимательской свободы — свободы производить, торговать, инвестировать.
(Our strategic line is this: less administration, more entrepreneurial freedom — the freedom to produce, trade, invest.) (Putin 2000)
- (18) Создание правовых гарантий развития российской экономики как экономики свободного предпринимательства и деловой граждан, обеспечение точного и эффективного проведения экономической стратегии на всей территории России.
(Creating legal guarantees for the development of the Russian economy as an economy of free enterprise and for the business initiative of citizens, ensuring accurate and effective implementation of the economic strategy throughout Russia) (Putin 2000)

As in the above examples, one of the keywords in 2000 is the word свобода (freedom). Of course, Putin mentioned the freedom of people and human rights: права и свобода человека (human rights

- (19) Одной из таких сфер, где следует раширять действие экономических механизмов, является образование.
(One such area where it is necessary to expand the action of economic mechanisms is education.)
(Putin 2001)

- (20) Не менее важный государственным приоритетом является обеспечение гражданам гарантий достойной старости.
(An equally important state priority is to provide citizens with guarantees of a decent old age.)
(Putin 2001)

- (21) Прочная и экономически обоснованная государственная стабильность является благом для России и для ее людей [...].
(Robust and economically sound state stability is a blessing for Russia and for its people.)
(Putin 2001)

As in the above examples, when Putin wants to define or form a perception as a new idea to others, he tends to use the word *являться* (form; verb). In (19) Putin mentions the fact of the economic problems in Russia and states that one means to solve this problem is education. Putin put this answer on the end of the sentence, which is an effective technique to make a point in one's own voice. In the same way Putin gave an idea to the audience in (20). In particular, Putin stated the importance of the development of the economic system in Russia, but also indicated that he was paying attention to the life of the nation as a state priority. Such an expression may build a sense of reassurance in the nation. In (21) Putin expresses his view that one role of a strong economic situation is to ensure the welfare of the country and its people. Putin effectively conveyed the ideas of his first administration.

The words *рубль* (ruble) and *ребёнок* (child) are some of the keywords from 2006 to 2007. Most uses of the word *рубль* (ruble) refer to a unit of money or the costs or budgets, of policies – 71 %. Other uses of this words refer to the value of the ruble – 29 %. See examples (22), (23) and (24).

- (22) [...] реальная конвертируемость рубля во многом зависит от его привлекательности как средства, используемого для расчетов и сбережений.
([...] the real convertibility of the ruble largely depends on its attractiveness as a means of calculations and savings.)
(Putin 2006)

(23) В частности, рубль должен стать более универсальным средством для международных расчетов и должен постепенно расширять зону своего влияния.

(In particular, the ruble should become a more universal means of international payments, and it should gradually expand its zone of influence.)

(Putin 2006)

(24) При этом каждый бюджетный рубль должен быть использован рачительно и по прямому назначению.

(In addition, each budgetary ruble should be used diligently and for its intended purpose.)

(Putin 2006)

The word рубль is one of the keywords in 2006 and 2007, and Putin used this word not only as the monetary unit, but also to refer to the value of the ruble. Putin mentioned its value only in 2006, not in 2007. Putin conveyed to the audience the importance of the role of the ruble in the world and stated to the nation that the ruble might serve as hard currency in his address in 2006. The word ребёнок (child) is also one of the keywords in 2006. Here, Putin issued an appeal for a policy to cope with population growth in Russia by providing support to women for the birth of second children and financial support for raising children. From the word программа (program) in 2006 and 2007, it could be expected that Putin's administration made such proposals in this period. See the next examples, (25), (26), (27), and (28).

(25) Россия может стать и одним из лидеров в нанотехнологиях. [...] Считаю необходимым в ближайшее время разработать и принять действенную программу в этой области.

(Russia can become one of the leaders in nanotechnology. I consider it necessary in the near future to develop and adopt an effective program in this area.)

(Putin 2006)

(26) Россия нужна конкурентоспособная образовательная система. [...] Необходимо, в первую очередь, поддержать те высшие учебные заведения, которые реализуют инновационные программы.

(Russia needs a competitive educational system. It is necessary, first of all, to support those higher education institutions that implement innovative programs.)

(Putin 2006)

(27) Считаю необходимым поддержать инициативу российских лингвистов о создании национального фонда русского языка, главными критериями которого должны стать развитие русского языка в стране, поддержка программ его изучения в ближнем и дальнем зарубежье и в целом – популяризация русского языка и литературы в мире.

(I consider it necessary to support the initiative of Russian linguists to create a national fund of the Russian language, the main criteria of which should be the development of the Russian language in the country, support for its study programs abroad both near and far, and in general the popularization of the Russian language and literature in the world.)

(Putin 2007)

(28) Предлагаю также по аналогии с начатым в прошлом году конкурсом инновационных вузов в практику конкурсы программ развития научно-исследовательских институтов.

(I also propose, by analogy with the competition of innovative universities launched last year, to introduce into practice competitions of programs for the development of research institutions.)

(Putin 2007)

As in the above examples, Putin devised several ideas for development in the fields of technology exploitation and the educational system in the last two years in his second administration. When Putin mentioned the necessity of the development of technology exploitation, he used the word Россия (Russia) as a subject. In other words, Putin appealed to the audience regarding the ability of the country of Russia, and for the nation to be conscious of its relationships with different countries, or the position of Russia in the world. When people appeal to such considerations, they use expressions such as *I think*, *I consider*, and as Putin used, *I propose*. Given the character of the Presidential Address, it should be possible to use the word *we* as a governmental group when the president proposes ideas or policies. It may play a role of appealing to policies that had been given unanimous assent by his administration. As in the examples (27) and (28), Putin used the first person when he announced these ideas. Such an expression can effectively appeal to the audience that the ideas occurred just to the speaker. To give an impression of his self-existence as president, Putin effectively uses these expressions.

In the third Putin administration from 2012 to 2016, Putin changed his strategy to appeal to the audience. The keywords in that period are such words as хороший (good), коллега (colleague), and просить (ask). See the next examples of the usage of the word хороший (good) in (29), (30), and (31).

(29) Мы можем помочь людям найти хорошую и интересную работу.

(We can help to find people a good and interesting job.)

(Putin 2012)

(30) Это не только шаг к повышению престижа инженерных и рабочих профессий, но и хорошая возможность ориентироваться [...].

(This is not only a step towards increasing the prestige of engineering and working professions, but also a good opportunity to focus on the most advanced frontiers in the training of engineers and workers, to build on their basis professional and educational standards...)

(Putin 2014)

(31) В целом у нас хороший потенциал для увеличения несырьевого экспорта, при этом мы видим, что в мире растёт протекционизм, к сожалению, возводятся и торговые барьеры.
(In general, we have a good potential for increasing non-commodity exports, while we see that protectionism is growing in the world, unfortunately, trade barriers are being erected...)

(Putin 2016)

Even if in the above examples Putin did not use the word хороший (good), its meaning can be inferred by the audience. As Putin appraised each object with positive words, the nation could be expected to gain that idea. In particular, Russia began to suffer the effects of severe sanctions because of the annexation of the Crimea to Russia in 2014. In Russia the approval rating of Putin rose, but the world reaction was completely the opposite. Against such a background, Putin needed to appeal to the audience with the potential of the country, urging them not to consider Russia an isolated country and not to be anxious about life in Russia or about Putin's administration. The words коллега (colleague) and просить (ask) show the attitude of Putin toward his audience, as when Putin used the phrase Уважаемые коллеги (Dear colleagues) in his addresses.

See the next examples with the word просить (ask), (32), (33), and (34).

(32) Нужно укреплять наши позиции на мировом рынке. И прошу Военно-промышленную комиссию представить предложения на этот счёт, чтобы наши предприятия могли своевременно переключиться на выпуск [...].

(We need to strengthen our position in the global market. And I ask the Military-Industrial Commission to submit proposals on this subject so that our enterprises can switch over to this issue in a timely manner [...].)

(Putin 2013)

(33) [...] мы не можем считать вопрос закрытым. Я прошу и Правительство, и руководителей регионов обратить на это особое внимание.

([...] we cannot consider the question closed. I ask both the Government and regional leaders to pay special attention to this.)

(Putin 2015)

(34) Этим мог бы занять специальный проектный офис. Прошу Председателя Правительства, Дмитрия Анатольевича Медведева, представить предложения по работе такой структуры.

(This could be done by a special project office. I ask the Prime Minister, Dmitry Anatolyevich Medvedev, to submit proposals on the work of such a structure.)

(Putin 2016)

Of course, Putin used the word просить (ask) in his addresses besides those of his third administration, but he used this word in 70 % of his addresses during the third period from 2012 to 2016. As in the above examples, Putin informs his audience of the current situation or current problems in Russia, and then after the negative news asked the audience for help. To deliver assistance Putin called on a concrete organization or the name of a managerial post. It is easy for the listeners to understand the present situation and ways of coping through such a sentence structure. By giving a concrete name, this might gain him the responsibility of dealing with current matters, and at the same time the self-respect of the audience would be flattered through Putin's public request for their help.

The keywords tell us Putin's ideology and the way of his strategies to appeal effectively to the audience. Putin made a point of evoking the meaning of Russia in the world so as to encourage the nation to have confidence in its own country.

4.1.4 Medvedev

The results of the correspondence analysis in Figures 4.5 and 4.6 show the relationship among the Addresses given by Medvedev in his term as president of Russia. The address in 2008 falls on the upper left side, while the addresses in 2009 and 2010 are located on the other side, the upper right side. The address in 2011 is located on the lower bottom side. One of the characteristics of Medvedev's administration was the modernization of Russia, but this word appears as a keyword in his address in 2011. In his first Presidential Address, Medvedev revealed the policies of his administration, using the word национальный (national).

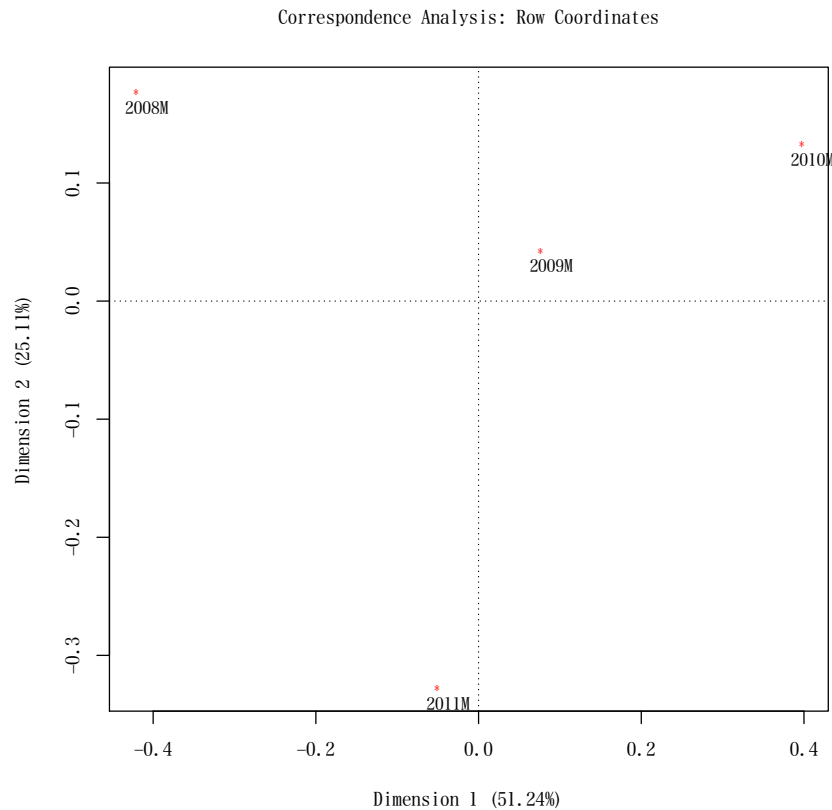


Figure 4.5: The textual relationships of Medvedev’s Russian Presidential Addresses to the Federal Assembly from 2008 to 2011

(35) Для свободново, демократического и справедливого общества враг номер один — это коррупция. Вы знаете, Национальный план противодействия коррупции подписан ещё в июле, а соответствующий пакет законов уже внесен мной в Государственную Думу.

(For a free, democratic, and fair society, the number-one enemy is corruption. You know, the National Anti-Corruption Plan was signed back in July, and the corresponding package of laws has already been submitted by me to the State Duma.)

(Medvedev 2008)

(36) Свобода предпринимательства, слова, вероисповедания, выбора места жительства и рода занятий. И свобода общая, национальная. Самостоятельность и независимость Российского государства.

(Freedom of business, speech, religion, choice of residence and occupation. And common freedom, national. The self-sufficiency and independence of the Russian state.)

(Medvedev 2008)

Correspondence Analysis: Column Coordinates

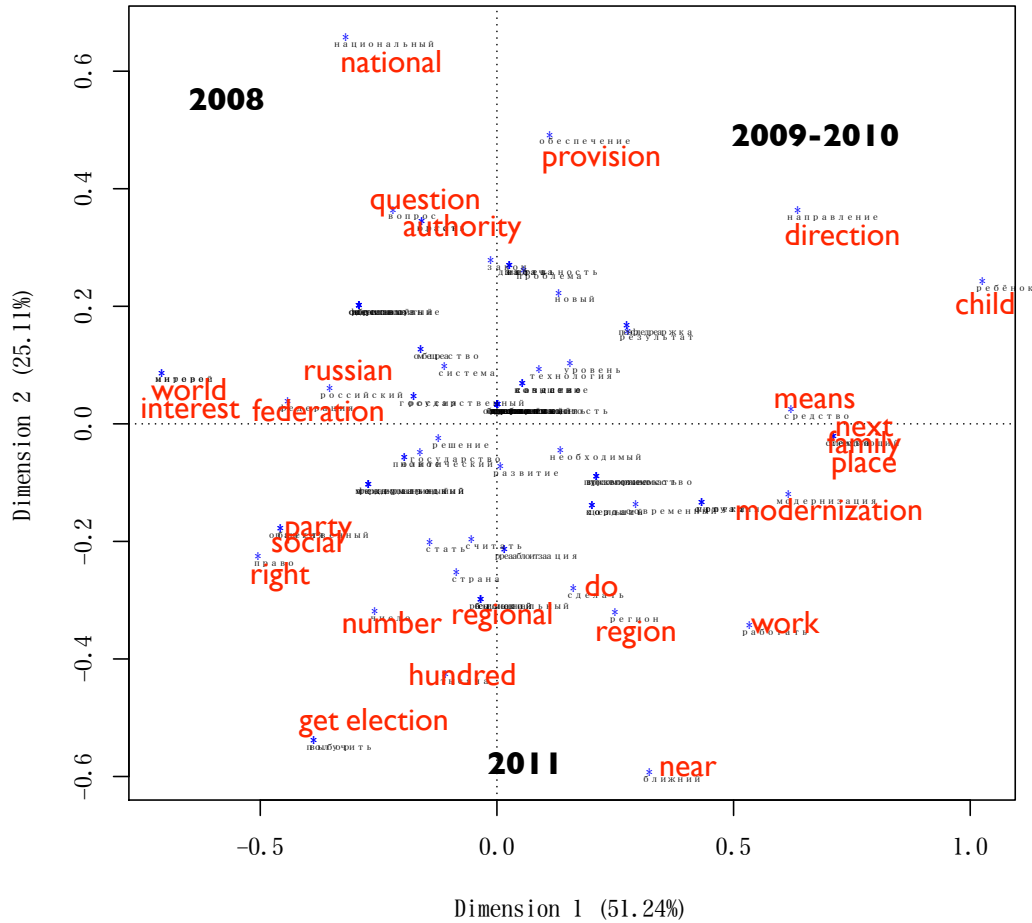


Figure 4.6: The word relationships of Medvedev’s Russian Presidential Addresses to the Federal Assembly from 2008 to 2011

(37) Стратегия развития российского образования в целом скоро будет утверждена Правительством.

Её реализация продолжится как в рамках национального проекта, так и с опорой на недавно принятое законодательство.

(The strategy for the development of Russian education in general will soon be approved by the Government. Its implementation will continue both within the framework of the national project and on the basis of the recently adopted legislation.)

(Medvedev 2008)

In (35) Medvedev mentioned a plan for the elimination of corruption. He defined corruption as an enemy of freedom and a democratic country. By using the word *enemy*, Medvedev evoked the image of fighting with an adversarial foe and made an appeal for the authority for him as president to

take measures against this enemy. In (36) as well Medvedev mentions freedom in various aspects of life in Russia. Of course, Russia is an independent country from the historical point of view, but here Medvedev refers to the subject of its relationship with other countries. In (37) Medvedev announced the idea of the development of Russian education as part of the national project. This scale shows that Medvedev devoted great efforts to improving the educational system in Russia. During the first year of his administration, Medvedev delivered policies with the word национальный (national) that were implemented under his leadership. The use of this key word in 2008 shows that Medvedev appealed to his own role as president of Russia and the necessary conditions for a truly independent democratic country.

The characteristic words направление (direction) and ребёнок (child) used in 2009 and 2010 tell us the direction of policies in Medvedev's administration. The row frequency of the word направление (direction) is 30 times in all addresses given by Medvedev, and the rate of the usage of that word in 2009 and 2010 is 80 %, almost the same rate at which Medvedev indicated the direction of policy in 2009, in the second year in his administration.

- (38) Освое и очень важное направление – нормализация ситуации в моногородах.
(A special and very important direction is the normalization of the situation in single-industry towns.)
(Medvedev 2009)

- (39) Я хотел бы подчеркнуть, что названные мною пять стратегических направлений технологической модернизации являются, безусловно, приоритетными.
(I would like to emphasize that the five strategic directions of technological modernization, named by me, have, of course, priority.)
(Medvedev 2009)

- (40) Четвёртое стратегическое направление – развитие космических технологий и телекоммуникаций.
(The fourth strategic direction is the development of space technology and telecommunications.)
(Medvedev 2009)

The above examples (38), (39), and (40) indicate the usage of the word направление (direction) in Medvedev's address in 2009. The double underscores in these examples promote our understanding of the direction of policies in Russia. By adding the additional value of the connotations of direction, Medvedev appeals to his power as president to lead Russia to become a developed country.

The word ребёнок (child) is a one of the key words of Medvedev. This word is used 24 times total, and Medvedev used it 21 times in 2010. When we checked the word in the plural, дети (children), then Medvedev used it 70 times in his Addresses, or 73 %. Medvedev used the word дети (children) in two years, 2009 and 2010. Medvedev also mentions the problem of population, as Putin had discussed, but Medvedev paid more attention to the educational systems and environment of children and young people.

(41) Даже поездка в школу для ребёнка-инвалида часто превращаеца в пытку.

(Even a trip to school for a disabled child often turns into torture.)

(Medvedev 2010)

(42) Беречь жизнь и здоровье — ребёнка — это прямая обязанность его родных и близких.

(Protecting the life and health of the child is the direct responsibility of his family and friends.)

(Medvedev 2010)

In examples (41) and (42) Medvedev focuses on the child, a weak person. He expresses the fact that a school trip under ordinary circumstances is fun for students, but it would be gruelingly unpleasant for people with disabilities. Here, Medvedev points out that it is necessary to change the environment or the coping processes for students with handicap. Also, Medvedev seeks to make his audience recognize their responsibility as adults, parents, and friends for the growth of children.

(43) Необходимо завершить создание общенациональной системы поиска и поддежки талантливых детей.

(It is necessary to complete the creation of a nationwide search and support system for talented children.)

(Medvedev 2010)

(44) Детей, чаще всего сирот, детей из неблагополучных семей, вовлекают в наркоманию, проституцию, в другие криминальные сферы. Мерзавцев, которые этим занимаются, нужно наказывать самым суровым образом.

(Children, most often orphans, children from dysfunctional families, are involved in drug addiction, prostitution, and other criminal spheres. The bastards who do this, you need to punish in the harshest way.)

(Medvedev 2010)

Medvedev issues an appeal for the government to willingly support talented children in developing their merits in (43), while Medvedev views children who drift into crime with great severity in (44). He calls such children bastards to convey to the audience a negative impression. The problem with this sentence is that Medvedev would confine children who go in for crime. Medvedev describes such children in a reactive way, where he should say that children are victims because of their surroundings, which were created by adults and Russian society. The root of the whole problem was made by other people, but Medvedev does not mention this fact and instead portrays the root as just the criminal offense itself.

(45) И по большому счёту всё, что мы делаем для тех, кого любим сильнее всего — для наших детей, потому что мы хотим, чтобы они жили лучше нас, чтобы они были лучше, чем мы, чтобы смогли сделать то, что, может быть, не успеем делать мы.

(And by and large everything that we do, we do for those whom we love the most — for our children, because we want them to live better than us, that they can perhaps do better than we could hope to do.)

(Medvedev 2010)

As contrasted with (44), Medvedev refers to children as a common focus, *our children*, in (45). We should compare this expression about children in these statements with those concerning children involved in crime, not as children, but rather targets whose harmful influence should be eliminated, because Medvedev did not say “*save them from the criminal sphere*” but instead called them “*bastards*”. On the other hand, children able to make Russia better are the children of Russian society. In addition, in this sentence Medvedev insures against the failure of his own policy to better the level of life in Russia. He expresses this as passing the torch to later generations, but he implies the possibility of not achieving this goal in his administration.

The key words in the last year of the Medvedev administration relate to the presidential election. Medvedev implied that he did not intend to run for president if Putin intended to.

(46) Особенно актуальны такие изменения накануне важнейшего политического события — выборов Президента России.

(Such changes are particularly relevant on the eve of the most important political event — the election of the President of Russia.)

(Medvedev 2011)

(47) Выбор должны быть честными, прозрачными, отвечающими современным представлениям о законности и справедливости.

(Elections should be fair, transparent, consistent with modern ideas of law and justice.)

(Medvedev 2011)

The presidential election was held on March 4th 2012. Medvedev announced the presidential election to the audience to raise interest in the event. In the election to the House of Representatives, it was pointed out that the administration was fraudulent, which led to the rise of a massive anti-government movement. Therefore, it was often said that the government rigged the votes in the presidential election to give Putin an edge. Medvedev needed to state the importance of the presidential election and portray as common sense that the election would take place fairly, even though with the characteristics of the Putin-Medvedev tandemocracy, the result of the election was almost certain to voters. Medvedev implies the near future after the Medvedev administration with the word ближний (near).

(48) [...] безусловным приоритетом на ближайшие годы является. придание дополнительных импульсов интеграционным процессам и укрепление сотрудничества с нашими ближайшими партнёрами.

([...] the unconditional priority for the coming years is to give additional impetus to integration processes and strengthen cooperation with our closest partners.)

(Medvedev 2011)

(49) Для детей старше трёх лет, я читаю, её можно полностью решить в течение ближайших пяти лет.

(For children older than three years, I believe it can be fully resolved over the next five years.)

(Medvedev 2011)

As in the above examples, (48) and (49), Medvedev talks about the near future. At that time Medvedev believed that next Russian president would be Putin; if he had not thought so, he would not have expressed this in this way, ‘*our closest partners*’, and the period to achieve the result as “*over the next five years*”, by which Medvedev implies that the nation should elect Putin as the next president to accomplish these policies for Russian society.

The key words in the Addresses given by Medvedev show us the structure of his administration. In the first year Medvedev set out an ideology of the existence of Russia and he appealed for support as president of Russia by showing his approach to the policies of his administration. In the second and

third years of his administration, Medvedev talked about the principal direction of policies, making an appeal for their importance, while in the last year of his administration Medvedev focused on the next presidential election. These expressions of his policies shows the attitude of Medvedev toward the results of the presidential election for voters.

4.1.5 Key words

In the above section we have seen the features of each president as reflected each year's Annual Address. In this section we will compare the Russian Presidential Addresses given by the three Russian presidents at the same time so as to consider the relationships among three Presidential Addresses and explore the signature speech style. In this analysis we will use the corpus of the Russian Presidential Addresses to the Federal Assembly, which consists of lemmatized texts without stop words, to compare the stylometry in political speech of the three presidents.

The results of the random forest show the error rate of clustering of all these Presidential Addresses. The capital letters refer to the presidents of Russia: Y for Yeltsin, P for Putin, and M for Medvedev. A random forest classification experiment conducted using the R package in CasualConc using the top 1000 words shows an OOB (Out-Of-Bag) error rate of 17.39 % in classifying the addresses given by the three presidents. It is clear from the results of random forest in Figure 4.7, Yeltsin's and Putin's addresses are classified correctly, while all four of Medvedev's addresses are misclassified as Putin's addresses. The correct identification rate of the Presidential Addresses is 82.61 %. The key words in Table 4.1 were extracted based on the mean decrease in Gini. The key words in Yeltsin's addresses are almost all content words, while the key words in Putin's and Medvedev's addresses include both content words and function words.

```
Call:
  randomForest(formula = keyrfgrouping ~ ., data = dat, importance =
TRUE,          ntree = 10000, proximity = TRUE, mtry = 30)
      Type of random forest: classification
      Number of trees: 10000
No. of variables tried at each split: 30

      OOB estimate of  error rate: 17.39%
Confusion matrix:
  M  P Y class.error
M 0  4 0          1
P 0 13 0          0
Y 0  0 6          0
```

Figure 4.7: The results of the random forest comparison of Presidential Addresses

Now, we would like to observe the relationships among these Presidential Addresses in the correspondence analysis. Figures 4.8 and 4.9 present the the results of the correspondence analysis.

Yeltsin
кризис (crisis), неплатёж (non-payment), рыночный (market), 1994, ветвь (branch), правовой (legal), конституционный (constitutional), из-за (because of), механизм (mechanism) выполнение (implementation), соглашение (agreement), азаконодательный (legislative), ...
Putin
уважаемый (dear), говорит (speak), подчеркнуть (emphasize), хотеть (want), вы (you), этот (that), напоминать (remind), просить (ask), мы (we), это (this), коллега (colleague), убедить (convince), сказать (say), хорошо (good), терроризм (terrorism), ...
Medvedev
установление (establishment), тема (theme), нужно (need to), наш (our), пять (five), первое (first), я (I), организация (organization), новой (new), особенно (especially), тоже (also), судья (judge), режим (regime), обязательство (obligation), уровень (level), поколение (generation), ...

Table 4.1: Key words in addresses

Figure 4.8 shows the relationship among texts given by three presidents. Figure 4.9 indicates the key words that contribute to the category and location of each text in Figure 4.8. The texts can be roughly divided into two groups; on the left side are addresses by Yeltsin, and on the right side those by Putin and Medvedev. The addresses from 2000 to 2002 given by Putin, Putin's first administration, are located on Yeltsin's side. On the left side are words related with politics such as орган (organization), федератив (federation), реформа (reform), государство (state), экономический (economic,) and политика (politics). The addresses on the right side are classified as Medvedev's and Putin's. The key words in these periods show the attitude of the president to his audience; Medvedev and Putin tend to explain their statements in more detail.

One of the key words in Yeltsin's addresses is реформа (reform). He used this word 28 % in his addresses, Putin 7 % and Medvedev 3 %. Yeltsin mentions military reforms during his assumption of office as shown in the concordance lines, Figure 4.10. See the following examples of the usage of реформа (reform) in Yeltsin's addresses.

- (50) Основное внимание в дальнейшем должно быть направлено на военно-правовую реформу, продолжение строительства Вооруженных Сил и их глубокое реформирование .
(The main focus in the future should be on military legal reform, the continuation of the construction of the Armed Forces, and their profound reform.)

(Yeltsin 1994)

- (51) Одна из задач военной реформы – привести в соответствие структуру и состав Вооруженных Сил как потенциальным и существующим угрозам и вызовам безопасности России и наших союзников, так и нашим экономическим возможностям.

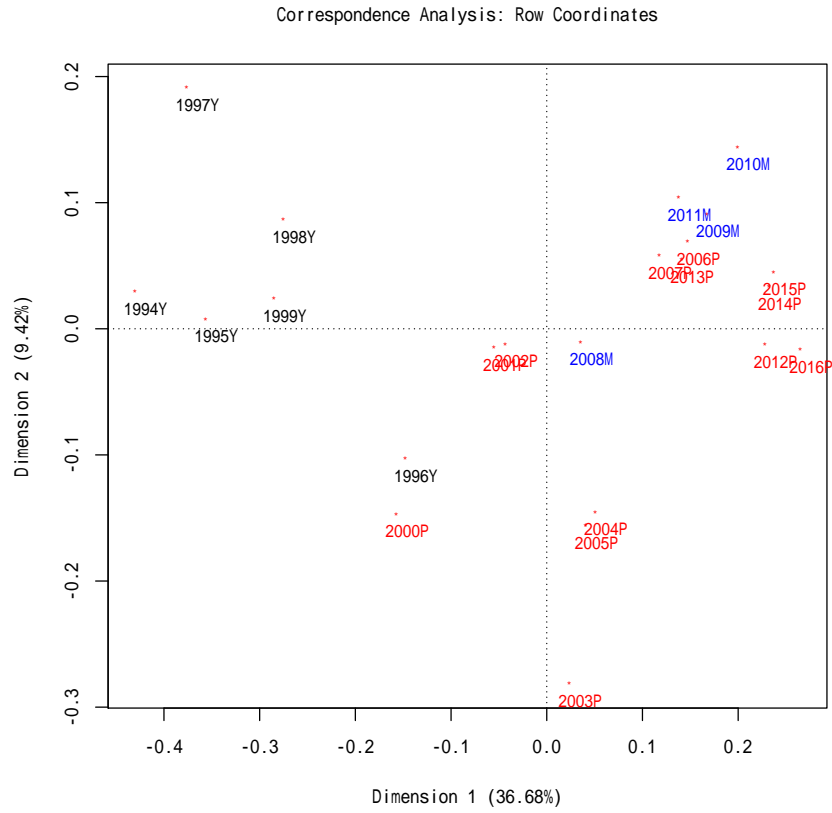


Figure 4.8: The relationships among the texts of the Russian Presidential Addresses (based on 100 most common words of corpus)

(One of the tasks of military reform is to bring the structure and composition of the Armed Forces into line with the potential and existing threats and challenges to the security of Russia and our allies and to our economic opportunities.)

(Yeltsin 1995)

As in (50) and (51) Yeltsin states the importance of military reform for Russia. At that time the First Chechen War (1994–1996) was being fought because of a unilateral declaration of independence. Russia rejected this move, and as a matter of course in its relationships with the other surrounding countries urged them not to hold discussions about independence, and Yeltsin resorted to military action against the Chechen army. However, despite their overwhelming military strength, the Russian troops were weakened due to the disorder after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the reduction of the military budget, and the weaknesses of the Russian army were revealed. In (50) and (51) Yeltsin did not directly refer to the Chechen War, but the phrase “существующий угрозы” (existing threats) tells us the menace of Chechen War.

Correspondence Analysis: Column Coordinates

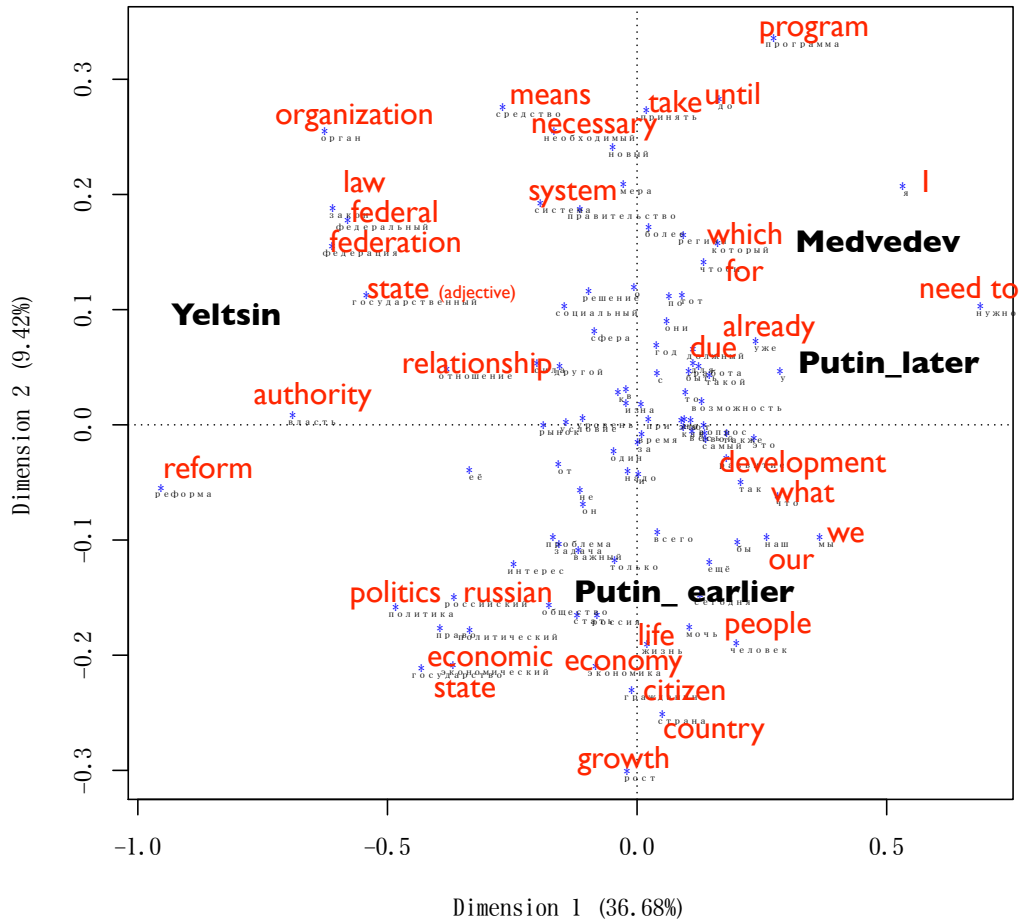


Figure 4.9: The relationships of the words in the Russian Presidential Addresses (based on 100 most common words of corpus)

The usage of the реформа (reform) in Yeltsin’s addresses also tells us of the economic problems in Russian. Figure 4.11 shows the usage of the word реформа (reform); Yeltsin in fact mentions the reform of the economic system second only to military reform. Let us examine how and to what Yeltsin appealed in his own statements.

- (52) Реальная экономическая реформа в России была неизбежна. Отступление от стратегии реформы поставит страну на грань катастрофы.
 (Real economic reform in Russia was inevitable. Departure from the strategy of reform will put the country on the brink of catastrophe.)

(Yeltsin 1994)

рными перестройками, однако, военная реформа не может быть исчерпана. Она немыслима без	Yeltsin_1998.txt
ия еще нет единства, в целом военная реформа осознана обществом как острая и объективная	Yeltsin_1998.txt
1 году получила новый импульс военная реформа . Это – одно из принципиальных направлений	Yeltsin_1998.txt
интересах проведения военно-правовой реформы должно быть обеспечено эффективное	Yeltsin_1994.txt
ю быть направлено на военно-правовую реформу , продолжение строительства Вооруженных Сил и их	Yeltsin_1994.txt
новлении судебной системы, в военной реформе , в государственном строительстве в целом.	Yeltsin_1997.txt
ишной политике и эффективной военной реформе Перед лицом внешних вызовов и угроз нам крайне	Yeltsin_1997.txt
дерации, а также проведению военной реформы . Особенно остро проблемы состава Вооруженных	Yeltsin_1995.txt
ю приступить к осуществлению военной реформы , четко определив ее приоритеты и параметры и не	Yeltsin_1995.txt
етам и основным направлениям военной реформы . В настоящем Послании ограничусь только общими	Yeltsin_1995.txt
юительства Вооруженных Сил и военной реформы . Ключевой проблемой, препятствующей нормальному	Yeltsin_1995.txt
е Силы России. Одна из задач военной реформы – привести в соответствие структуру и состав	Yeltsin_1995.txt
атвели к выработке концепции военной реформы авторитетных независимых экспертов, в том числе	Yeltsin_1996.txt
итах. Одна из важнейших целей военной реформы – создание гибкой и справедливой системы	Yeltsin_1996.txt
молодежь. Вторая особенность военной реформы в условиях формирования демократического	Yeltsin_1996.txt
ься. Вот почему в проведении военной реформы , в преобразовании военной организации	Yeltsin_1997.txt
ых государств. Конечная цель военной реформы – создание достаточной обороны, качественно	Yeltsin_1997.txt
И решим, если увеличим темпы военной реформы , проведем радикальные изменения всей системы	Yeltsin_1998.txt
венного престижа. Проведение военной реформы будет сопровождаться мерами по усилению охраны	Yeltsin_1998.txt
юсть страны и проведение всей военной реформы . Поэтому основные усилия власти следует	Yeltsin_1999.txt
исовом обеспечении проведения военной реформы и мерах по усилению охраны социальных прав	Yeltsin_1999.txt

Figure 4.10: “Военная реформа” (reform of military system) in Yeltsin’s addresses

исходящего. Реальная экономическая реформа в России была неизбежна.	Yeltsin_1994.txt
х Россия приступила к экономическим реформам . Причем “учебных пособий” по	Yeltsin_1999.txt
было обусловлено не экономическими реформами – либерализацией,	Yeltsin_1999.txt
мозила нормальный ход экономических реформ . Более того, усугубились многие	Yeltsin_1997.txt
юго фактора для наших экономических реформ . Однако нельзя исключать, что	Yeltsin_1999.txt
о Востока. Проведение экономических реформ в этих районах должно	Yeltsin_1994.txt
е проводимых в стране экономических реформ монополизм перестал быть чертой,	Yeltsin_1995.txt
аний. Сильно поможет экономической реформе эффективное преобразование	Yeltsin_1994.txt
и стратегических задач экономической реформы . Но ни один регион не имеет	Yeltsin_1994.txt
истральных направлений экономической реформы . Механизмы рыночной экономики	Yeltsin_1995.txt
од не был потерян для экономической реформы . Хотя начало прошлого года было	Yeltsin_1995.txt
социальной ориентации экономической реформы . Важнейший шаг – финансовая	Yeltsin_1995.txt
жи – основная неудача экономической реформы . В 1998 году должны быть	Yeltsin_1998.txt
ка методов проведения экономической реформы , учет и исправление допущенных	Yeltsin_1999.txt
аселения поддерживать экономическую реформу вступает в острое противоречие	Yeltsin_1999.txt

Figure 4.11: “Экономическая реформа” (reform of the economic system) in Yeltsin’s addresses

- (53) Сильно поможет экономической реформе преобразование налоговой системы. Она должна быть поятной и стабильной, по крайней мере, на протяжении года.
(Economic reform will be greatly assisted by the effective transformation of tax system. It should be clear and stable, at least throughout the year.)
(Yeltsin 1994)
- (54) Неспособность одолеть повалыные неплатежи – основная неудача экономической реформы.
(The inability to overcome general non-payments is the main failure of economic reform.)
(Yeltsin 1998)
- (55) [...], при сохранении общего страгического направления, необходимы корректировка методов проведения экономической реформы, учет и исправление допущенных ошибок.

([...], while maintaining the overall strategic direction, it is necessary to adjust the methods of economic reform, taking into account and correcting mistakes made.)

(Yeltsin 1999)

In 1992 Yeltsin implemented economic reforms whereby the Russian economy experienced a change from a centrally planned economy based on Soviet-era socialism to a more economic focus on market functions. However, Russian society was hit by a series of economic crises. As Imoto (2009) points out, the Russian economy suffered a crisis of hyperinflation from 1992 to 1994. Yeltsin appealed to the necessity of reform of the economic system in (52), and by using the negative word “катастрофа” (catastrophe), Yeltsin told his audience of the possibility of a human tragedy in Russia if Yeltsin’s market reforms were not introduced. At the same time Yeltsin supported the policy of economic change by evoking its great promise or high expectations of what would result from it. On the other hand, in the last two years of the Yeltsin administration, he confessed to messing up the economic reforms, as in (54) and (55). Acknowledging that the policy led to failure and confusion in the life of Russian society, Yeltsin tried to move forward effectively. The key words in Yeltsin’s addresses show the current situation in Russia, especially on the sore point of the issues confronting the community in Russia.

The major difference between the addresses of the 1990s and the 2000s is the characteristic of the usage of the personal expressions мы (we) and я (I). If we refer to the lemmatized texts, then the variant forms of these words, of course, are listed as one word each, мы (we) and я (I), avoiding the wide variety of case forms of these words as follows: мы (we), нас (our), нам (us), нас (for us), нами (by us), нас (about); я (I), меня (my), мне (to me), меня (me), мной (by me), мне (about me). For example, if we examine the usage of мы (we), Putin’s addresses are characterized by “нам” (for us) – 22 %. The most important collocations with the word “нам” (for us) are “нужен, нужна, нужно, нужны” (need to) – 48 instances, “необходимо” (necessary) – 14 instances, “надо” (due to) – 7 instances, and “предстоять” (overhanging) – 4 instances.

In this part, we would like to compare the usage of the nominative case forms of мы (we) and я (I) in Putin’s and Medvedev’s addresses. Almost all the usages of мы (we) are collocated with words, referring to responsibility, “мы должны” (we have to) and “мы обязаны” (we must). Concordance lines show the behavior of “мы должны” (we have to) as in Figures 4.12 and 4.13. These expressions make up a large fraction of the usage of мы (we), in Putin’s addresses – 14 %, in Medvedev’s – 13 %. Use of the first-person plural мы (we) allows the speaker to convey to listeners that they should also feel accountable, in other words, they should think of themselves as one member of the party. In particular, as people think that a Presidential Address is a political event for the president

to state his future policy, the audience might well consider it no concern of theirs. To avoid this situation, the president sometimes involves the government and sometimes the Russian nation in this responsibility, depending on the contexts. Let us consider a range of examples of the usage of мы (we):

...и к своей семье. И мы должны восстановить наши старинные ценности	Putin_2000.txt
эстранных партнеров, мы должны все-таки думать о развитии собственной	Putin_2007.txt
лиши граждане. Теперь мы должны добиться, чтобы эта цель присутствовала в	Putin_2003.txt
ятных и четких целей мы должны добиться консолидации для решения наших	Putin_2003.txt
. И в ближайшие годы мы должны добиться того, чтобы расходы на развитие	Putin_2006.txt
зору это потому, что мы должны дорожить таким доверием и отвечать на него	Putin_2012.txt
грактников. При этом мы должны думать, как создать подготовленный	Putin_2013.txt
семьях. Уже сейчас мы должны думать, как будут загружены предприятия ОПК	Putin_2013.txt
ентов. Тем не менее мы должны задать себе вопрос: все ли мы сделали, все	Putin_2004.txt
нее время. И в целом мы должны значительно расширить возможности площадок,	Putin_2014.txt
сегодняшней ситуации мы должны извлечь уроки на будущее, брать в долг	Putin_2001.txt
о, при всём при этом мы должны исходить из того, когда мы всё время	Putin_2012.txt
кна. За десятилетие мы должны как минимум удвоить валовой внутренний	Putin_2003.txt
росов мирной жизни — мы должны найти убедительные ответы на угрозы в сфере	Putin_2006.txt
стах. И такую работу мы должны начать и в основном законодательно	Putin_2013.txt
ей борьбе в мире. А мы должны не просто выжить. Мы должны обладать	Putin_2003.txt
ной собственности. И мы должны обеспечить охрану авторских прав внутри	Putin_2006.txt
значение трёх-пяти лет мы должны обеспечить людей качественными и доступными	Putin_2014.txt
редпринимательства — мы должны общими усилиями создать безопасные условия	Putin_2015.txt
предпринимательства мы должны ответить на все ограничения, которые нам	Putin_2015.txt
страны. В том числе мы должны поддержать гражданскую активность на местах,	Putin_2013.txt
г дополнительных мер мы должны поддерживать экономический и промышленный пост	Putin_2014.txt

Figure 4.12: Putin’s usage of “we” 1

мы должны совершить: мы должны выйти на такие изменения в законодательстве	Medvedev_2009.txt
ии. В конечном счёте мы должны действовать в направлении формирования	Medvedev_2010.txt
ашей страны. Поэтому мы должны научиться слушать друг друга, должны уважать	Medvedev_2011.txt
вого этапа развития, мы должны обеспечить широкое участие граждан,	Medvedev_2008.txt
вам не означает, что мы должны отказаться от новых социальных программ, тем	Medvedev_2011.txt
российской нации. И мы должны поблагодарить за это всех, кто участвовал в	Medvedev_2008.txt
ниям. В то же время мы должны помнить, что большинство сотрудников	Medvedev_2009.txt
ации общей стратегии мы должны предпринять несколько системных шагов. Я их	Medvedev_2009.txt
й. Отмечу также, что мы должны прежде всего сохранять баланс на рынке труда	Medvedev_2008.txt
рупцией. Считаю, что мы должны самым внимательным образом анализировать	Medvedev_2010.txt
роблем. Третье, что мы должны сделать, — расширить самостоятельность школ,	Medvedev_2009.txt
уть инициативы и что мы должны сделать в самое ближайшее время? Уже в 2010	Medvedev_2009.txt
стемный шаг, который мы должны совершить: мы должны выйти на такие	Medvedev_2009.txt
достижимыми, поэтому мы должны сохранять низкий уровень бюджетного дефицита	Medvedev_2011.txt
ты нового поколения, мы должны уже к 2015 году выйти на мировые показатели	Medvedev_2009.txt

Figure 4.13: Medvedev’s usage of “we”

- (56) [...] мы должны задать себе вопрос: все ли мы сделали, все ли возможности для экономического роста и социаль ного развития мы исполизovali? [...] Нет. Прежде всего – не уровень жизни людей.
 ([...] we must ask ourselves: have we done everything, have we used all the opportunities for economic growth and social development? [...] No. First of all — the people’s standard of living is unsatisfactory.)

(Putin 2004)

- (57) В чём заключается суть инициативы и что мы должны сделать в самое ближайшее время?
(We are obliged to continue what we started, to continue updating the Russian state and Russian society as a whole.)

(Medvedev 2009)

Putin and Medvedev effectively toss the question to the audience using мы (we) in (56) and (57). The answers to the questions are obvious to the person posing it; in these cases the person is the politician. Making a point by asking the audience a question allows the speaker to give an answer to that question that is abundantly clear. Putin uses мы (we) more effectively to make the nation and politicians think of themselves as a member of his party or to view Putin as near the nation; see Figure 4.14. Putin uses not only first-person plural but says “мы вместе” (we together) or “мы с вами” (you and I: literally, “we with you”).

ое население — расти,	мы	с вами	знаем все прогнозы в этой сфере. Однако	Putin_2001.txt
напоминала скорее — и	мы	с вами	об этом знаем — торг, в котором, увы,	Putin_2001.txt
иния тех норм, которые	мы	с вами	им предлагаем. Хотел бы также добавить:	Putin_2002.txt
енной страны. Уж если	мы	с вами	людям что-то и пообещали, то нужно	Putin_2003.txt
Но это значит, что и	мы	с вами	должны строить свой дом, свой собственный	Putin_2006.txt
ное положение в мире,	мы	с вами	только тогда сможем сохранить и нашу	Putin_2007.txt
как этого добиться. А	мы	с вами,	те, кто собрался сегодня здесь, в Кремле,	Putin_2007.txt
м, что на всю оборону	мы	с вами	тратим 2,7 процента ВВП в год. А	Putin_2007.txt
й экономики. Недавно	мы	с вами	приняли закон о сельском хозяйстве, в	Putin_2007.txt
сфера деятельности, и	мы	с вами	это хорошо знаем, — это прямая	Putin_2012.txt
информировать граждан	мы	с вами	обязаны, так же как и обязаны подумать на	Putin_2012.txt
и, прямо скажем, и это	мы	с вами	тоже хорошо знаем, ипотекой пользуются в	Putin_2012.txt
а в текущей жизни. Но	мы	с вами	должны понимать, уважаемые коллеги, что это	Putin_2012.txt
ринципу. Да, конечно,	мы	с вами	хорошо знаем, экономическая конъюнктура	Putin_2013.txt
чно, потому что, пока	мы	с вами	принимаем эти решения, люди всё-таки не	Putin_2015.txt
ется. Кстати говоря,	мы	с вами	хорошо знаем, это прежде всего	Putin_2016.txt

Figure 4.14: Putin's usage of "we" 2

- (58) [...] мы с вами тоже хорошо знаем, ипотекой пользуются в основном люди с доходами выше среднего.

([...] You and I also know well, mostly people with above-average incomes use mortgages.)

(Putin 2012)

- (59) Но мы с вами должны понимать, уважаемые коллеги, что это задача непростая.

(But you and I should understand, dear colleagues, that this is not an easy task.)

(Putin 2012)

As in Examples (58) and (59) Putin deliberately behaves so as to convey to the audience that they are members of the Putin administration or that Putin is a near neighbor to the whole nation. People in Russia feel these problems in their own lives, but if the president says “мы с вами” (you

and I), then they feel that the president understands the context of the problems in their lives, as in (58). Also, Putin effectively shares the problem with the politics using “мы с вами” (you and I), which makes the audience recognize that the current problem or issue is not only for the president, Putin, but for “us”. In addition, in (59), Putin continues the phrase with “уважаемые коллеги” (dear colleagues), which enlists his colleagues in his responsibility for the issues, as if members of the Putin administration.

One of Medvedev’s key words in his Presidential Addresses is first-person singular “я” (I). Although Yeltsin began to use “я” (I) in his Presidential Addresses starting from 1995, the raw frequency of usage shows that Yeltsin used it only 11 times in six years. In Russian it is possible to omit the subject because of verbal inflections. If we are to count first person verb forms along concordance lines, we must search on the final syllables of verbs in the present, which can take the forms “-аю”, “-рю”, “-ню”, “-ну”, “-лю”, “-гу”, “-жу”, “-чу”, “-шу”, and “-юсь”. In any of these cases Yeltsin uses the first person singular “я” (I) and first person verb forms without a subject less than Putin and Medvedev did in their Presidential Addresses. When the three presidents, Yeltsin, Putin and Medvedev, use first person verb forms without a subject, they tend to stress their own position. They use “говорю” (say), “подчеркну” (emphasize), “напомню” (remember), “обращаю” (pay), “поручаю” (assign a task), “считаю” (think), and so on.

их практической реализацией. Я рассчитываю на активное участие в этой работе	Medvedev_2009.txt
из налогооблагаемого дохода. Я рассчитываю, что Государственная Дума примет	Medvedev_2010.txt
ительных кампаний. Седьмое. Я рекомендую во всех субъектах Российской Федерации	Medvedev_2009.txt
ом инновационного развития. Я считаю, что нам нужно адресно работать и с теми	Medvedev_2010.txt
олько для этого «занести». Я считаю, что посредничество во взяточничестве, так	Medvedev_2010.txt
стро набирает популярность. Я считаю, что это тоже наше достижение. Кроме	Medvedev_2010.txt
ься закон «Об образовании». Я считаю, что такую практику нужно расширять, а	Medvedev_2010.txt
азвития пенсионной системы. Я считаю, что нам нужно дать людям возможность	Medvedev_2011.txt
известно, тоже было немало. Я считаю, что мы с честью вышли из трудной	Medvedev_2011.txt
государственных корпораций. Я считаю эту форму в современных условиях в целом	Medvedev_2009.txt
государственных корпораций. Я считаю эту форму в современных условиях в целом	Medvedev_2009.txt
елей начинать здесь бизнес. Я также призываю всех, кто родился и вырос в этом	Medvedev_2009.txt
ения наших Вооружённых Сил. Я только что сказал об очень серьёзных решениях,	Medvedev_2011.txt
ежные финансовые институты. Я уверен, что у нас здесь есть также неплохие шансы	Medvedev_2010.txt
основанными и реализуемыми. Я уже говорил об этом, они не должны быть	Medvedev_2010.txt
нас ждут непростые времена. Я уже говорил, что наша страна достойно выдержала	Medvedev_2011.txt
ении российской демократии. Я уже сказал, что гарантируемый ею уровень свободы	Medvedev_2008.txt
ручения Правительству даны. Я утвердил новую конфигурацию облика Вооружённых	Medvedev_2008.txt
ы государственного сектора. Я хотел бы подчеркнуть, что заниматься всем этим	Medvedev_2009.txt
дствах массовой информации. Я хотел бы поблагодарить Федеральное Собрание за	Medvedev_2009.txt
ллионов активных абонентов. Я хочу заметить, что это самый высокий показатель	Medvedev_2011.txt
важного и инновационного	Medvedev_2011.txt

Figure 4.15: The usage of Medvedev’s ‘I’

In this part, we will pay attention to how Putin and Medvedev used verbs with first-person singular subjects in their Presidential Addresses. As the result of the correspondence analysis and random forest, the first-person singular “я” (I) is found to be a key word in Medvedev’s addresses.

Figure 4.15 shows Medvedev’s use of “I”. Medvedev uses it in appeals to the audience for his own ideas. See the following examples, (60) and (61):

- (60) [...] мы обязаны думать, какие природные богатства сможем сохранить и передать будущим поколениям. Вот почему я считаю, что повышение энергоэффективности, [...].
 ([...] we are obliged to think what natural resources we can preserve and pass on to future generations. This is why I think that improving energy efficiency, [...].)
- (Medvedev 2009)

- (61) Нужно использовать всё, что есть, и создавать то, чего нет. Поэтому я предлагаю в ближайшее время решить вопрос о создании общественного телевидения [...].
 (It is necessary to use everything that is, and to create what is not. Therefore, I propose in the near future to resolve the issue of creating public television [...].)
- (Medvedev 2011)

As the characteristic of his Presidential Addresses, Medvedev gives voice on to how to solve the problems or move to the future. As in (60) and (61) Medvedev clarifies the problems or situation of Russia, after which preamble he states his propositions. This allows the audience to understand the idea or statement of speaker effectively. When Medvedev uses the first-person singular “я” (I), he tends to appeal to the audience for his ideas.

питания невозможно. Я прошу	Правительство	подготовить	Putin_2012.txt
банковские ставки. Я прошу	Правительство	и Центробанк	Putin_2012.txt
в Вооружённые Силы. Я прошу	Правительство	и Совет	Putin_2013.txt
экономический форум. Я прошу	Правительство	обеспечить	Putin_2016.txt
тренингов сбережений. Я прошу	ЦБ и Правительство	представить	Putin_2015.txt
в первую очередь. Я прошу	активно	подключиться к этой	Putin_2016.txt
ического отставания. Я прошу	вас	обратить на это особое	Putin_2000.txt
муниципальные власти. Я прошу	вас,	что называется, не	Putin_2016.txt
2 миллиона человек. Я прошу	вдуматься	в эту цифру: седьмая	Putin_2000.txt
работать эффективно. Я прошу	всех,	кто состоит на службе у	Putin_2001.txt
налоговой реформе. Я прошу	депутатов	Государственной Думы	Putin_2000.txt
сельхозкооперации. Я прошу	заняться	этим вопросом и	Putin_2016.txt
ить вопрос закрытым. Я прошу	и Правительство,	и	Putin_2015.txt
иемого собственника. Я прошу	об этом	помнить всех	Putin_2012.txt
ной инфраструктуры. Я прошу	сделать	предложения на этот	Putin_2013.txt
ие делового климата. Я прошу	следственные органы	и	Putin_2015.txt
егда свою политику. Я прошу	также руководителей	СМИ,	Putin_2012.txt
ую в одной статье. Я прошу	ускорить	формальное	Putin_2005.txt
венных организаций. Я прошу	ускорить	внесение	Putin_2012.txt

Figure 4.16: Putin’s usage of “I”

Now, let us turn to how Putin uses the first person singular “я” (I) in his addresses, as shown in Figure 4.16. Of course, Putin also appeals to the audience in favor of his ideas, but as shown in Figure 4.16, Putin tends to use the phrase “я прошу” (I ask/ I beg) in his addresses.

(62) Цифры текущего экономического роста не должны нас успокаивать: мы по-прежнему продолжаем жить в условиях прогрессирующего экономического отставания. Я прошу вас обратить на это особое внимание.

(The figures for current economic growth should not reassure us: We still continue to live in the conditions of a progressive economic lag. I ask you to pay special attention to this.)

(Putin 2000)

(63) Я прошу также руководителей СМИ, ведущих журналистов уделить особое внимание идущим преобразованиям в этих сферах – важнейшая общегосударственная задача.

(I also ask the leaders of the media, the leading journalists to pay special attention to the ongoing reforms in these areas — the most important national task.)

(Putin 2012)

It is one of the characteristics of the speech style of Putin to ask the audience to do something. If we refer to raw frequency, the verb “просить” (ask) without subject in the first-person singular form “прошу” ([I] ask), then Yeltsin used it 1 time in 6 years, Medvedev 2 times in 4 years, and Putin 107 times in 13 years. As in Examples (62) and (63), Putin asks the audience to listen to him. In (62) Putin tells the negative situation in Russia, admitting the fact of economic problems, and he shares the problems with the nation to persuade them to understand the situation. In (63) Putin asks a specific person to listen to him. Putin gently persuades media leaders and journalists to choose the topics to be reported rightly. At the same time Putin makes them fully aware of their responsibility for media reports by making a point of to whom this message is to be delivered. In 2000 the president started to use personal expressions effectively to deliver his own statements and ideas to the audience.

4.1.6 Similarities

Impacts by the expressions of negative phrase

In this section we will discuss the common speech style of Russian presidents in political speeches. The list of the top 100 words by frequency of the corpus of Presidential Addresses shows the most used words to be a conjunction “и” (and), the prepositions “в” (in) and “на” (at), and the negative word “не” (not). The three Russian presidents use negative expression when they want to make strong statements. One of their common characteristic expressions with “не” (not) is “не должен”, “не должна”, “не должно”, and “не должны” (must not). Miyashita and Monzen (2001) researched the effects of negative sentences on cognition and behavior. They say that as a negative sentence

posits an affirmative concept as a premise, the effect of canceling that concept is stressed. The negated sentence involves an operation called cancellation, and the difference from its positive counterpart is greatly affected by this operation of canceling. The following Figures 4.17, 4.18, and 4.19 show the usage of negative phrases. Examples (64), (65), and (66) show the concrete usage of negative phrases by each president.

ложительный пример Белоруссии	не должен	служить	трафаретом. К каждому	Yeltsin_1999.txt
ководства в косовском вопросе	не должна	обернуться	затяжным кризисом в	Yeltsin_1999.txt
ионного строя. И здесь никого	не должна	обманывать	сама готовность этих сил	Yeltsin_1999.txt
ономике. Цель такой стратегии	не должна	сводиться	только к предотвращению	Yeltsin_1999.txt
аполненными. Так продолжаться	не должно.	Мы	уже слишком много потеряли из-за	Yeltsin_1996.txt
канонам журналистики так быть	не должно.	Но	позже, когда в России возникла и	Yeltsin_1995.txt
х ограничений заработков быть	не должно,	а	имеющиеся будем постепенно снимать.	Yeltsin_1995.txt
даже элементарный порядок. Но	не должно	быть	и нового отчуждения власти от	Yeltsin_1994.txt
учшему. В деле реформирования	не должно	быть	абсолютной стихии. В Послании	Yeltsin_1994.txt
ия социального мира в стране,	не должно	быть	тайн, а тем более нарушений	Yeltsin_1995.txt
етвертой власти" любой другой	не должно	быть.	Общая задача всех ветвей власти	Yeltsin_1995.txt
государству и обществу у СМИ	не должно	быть	двойных стандартов и двойной	Yeltsin_1995.txt
анской ответственности. Здесь	не должно	быть	сиюминутной политической	Yeltsin_1996.txt
мифы. Никогда больше в России	не должно	быть	порядков, позволяющих скрывать	Yeltsin_1996.txt
ир – многополюсный, что в нем	не должно	быть	доминирования какого-то одного	Yeltsin_1997.txt
удие. На белых одеждах Феиды	не должно	быть	пятен. Квалификационные коллегии	Yeltsin_1997.txt

Figure 4.17: Negative expressions of Yeltsin

вые условия для бизнеса меняться	не должны.	Пятое.	Нам нужно и дальше укреплять	Putin_2015.txt
зять определенно: мы не боимся и	не должны	бояться	перемен. Но любые перемены –	Putin_2001.txt
уденческие общезития. Цены здесь	не должны	браться	«с потолка», а должны прямо	Putin_2013.txt
ются от предпринимательских, что	не должны	быть	куплены или проданы,	Putin_2000.txt
ции, уже признанные избыточными,	не должны	быть	реанимированы на уровне субъектов	Putin_2004.txt
о не везде. И самое главное, они	не должны	быть	формальным придатком и	Putin_2013.txt
роста, при этом любые изменения	не должны	вести	к проявлению макроэкономических	Putin_2016.txt
ые работают в рыночных условиях,	не должны	выставлять	на продажу и торговать	Putin_2012.txt
и чиновников, их берущих. И мы	не должны	дожидаться,	пока достигнутая	Putin_2002.txt
риального положения семьи. Но мы	не должны	забывать,	что любой национализм и	Putin_2012.txt
нерные кадры. Об этом мы никогда	не должны	забывать.	И нужно, конечно, создать	Putin_2014.txt
им сельхозпроизводителям. Но они	не должны	забывать,	что это не может и,	Putin_2016.txt
и, правительства, президенты, но	не должны	затрагиваться	основы государства и	Putin_2012.txt
ры текущего экономического роста	не должны	нас	успокаивать: мы по-прежнему	Putin_2000.txt
муме, ниже которого мы не можем,	не должны,	не	имеем права опускаться. Таким	Putin_2005.txt
судебной системы. И от этой цели	не должны	отступать.	Именно здесь – сам механизм	Putin_2001.txt
ая всю остроту этой проблемы, мы	не должны	повторять	ошибок Советского Союза,	Putin_2006.txt
ионную революцию. Мы не можем и	не должны	проигрывать	стратегически. Именно	Putin_2000.txt

Figure 4.18: Negative expressions of Putin

(64) По отношению к государству и обществу у СМИ не должно быть двойных стандартов и двойной морали.

(In relation to the state and society, the media should not have double standards and double morality.)

(Yeltsin 1995)

этого нового средства массовой информации	не должен	иметь определяющего влияния на	Medvedev_2011.txt
заплатил соответствующие пени и штрафы. Он	не должен	подвергаться дополнительным	Medvedev_2009.txt
дартах. Деятельность всех должностных лиц	не должна	дискредитировать государство. Их	Medvedev_2010.txt
эм зале. Деятельность всех должностных лиц	не должна	дискредитировать государство. Их	Medvedev_2010.txt
Вообще «ничьих» детей в нашей стране быть	не должно.	Поручаю Правительству совместно	Medvedev_2010.txt
и с пониманием. Полагаю, что по-другому и	не должно	быть, когда речь идёт о народе с	Medvedev_2008.txt
являются к ней и новых участников. При этом	не должно	быть лазеек, позволяющих	Medvedev_2009.txt
я осуществляется прежде всего для них. Нам	не должно	быть стыдно за то, какую страну	Medvedev_2010.txt
и реализуемыми. Я уже говорил об этом, они	не должны	быть избыточными. Во-вторых,	Medvedev_2010.txt
должны быть приватизированы. Органы власти	не должны	быть владельцами «заводов, газет,	Medvedev_2010.txt
и увеличилась рождаемость. Разумеется, мы	не должны	забывать и о нашем старшем	Medvedev_2008.txt
димо, — это доверие и сотрудничество. И мы	не должны	ни на день откладывать решение	Medvedev_2008.txt
ством правосудия и защита прав потерпевших	не должны	приводить к пополнению	Medvedev_2010.txt
ил — соблюдение принципа одного окна. Люди	не должны	сбирать бумаги, бегая по разным	Medvedev_2010.txt

Figure 4.19: Negative expressions of Medvedev

- (65) [...] мы не должны повторять ошибок Советского Союза, ошибок эпохи ‘холодной войны’ – ни в политике, ни в оборонной стратегии. Не должны решать вопросы военного строительства в ущерб задачам развития экономики и социальной сферы. Это – тупиковый путь, ведущий к истощению ресурсов страны. Это – тупиковый путь.

([...] we must not repeat the mistakes of the Soviet Union, the mistakes of the era of “the cold war” – neither in politics nor in defense strategy. We should not solve the problems of military construction to the detriment of the tasks of economic and social development. This is a dead-end road leading to the depletion of the country’s resources. This is a dead-end road.)

(Putin 2006)

- (66) Деятельность всех должностных лиц не должна дискредитировать государство. Их главная задача – улучшать жизни людей.

(The activities of all officials should not discredit the state. Their main task is to improve the living conditions of the people.)

(Medvedev 2010)

In (64) Yeltsin sees the behavior of the Russian mass media as a problem. The negative expression indicates that at that time Yeltsin felt or recognized the problems of their reporting. After this statement Yeltsin adds as follows: *‘Нуждается в укреплении законодательная база свободы массовой информации. Более энергично должны применять её суды и правоохранительные органы.’* (The legislative base of the freedom of mass information needs strengthening. The courts and law enforcement agencies should apply it more vigorously.). In (65) Putin makes a strong plea not to repeat the mistakes of history. Here, Putin recognizes the uneasy relationship between Russia and America and selected the negative expression to emphasize his own statement. In addition,

Putin repeats his evaluation of the historical relationship between the two countries as a mistake and a dead-end road. Prohibiting an action and further adding a negative evaluation of serves to give listeners an unambiguous perception of the value of the act. Medvedev criticizes the work behavior of officials. He knows what they say to the government and uses this situation effectively. At first, he recognized that complaints to the state may exist, but after this sentence Medvedev defined the role of the work of officials. Showing the primary role of officials, the audience, especially citizens in general, might have complaints not about the state, but about the officials. Then Medvedev effectively made a statement to lead the nation to take sides with the government.

Replacement of recognition

Sato (1992) argues that words are inherently cut out or cut off from reality. Two certain kinds of words project clear images by comparison. Yanagisawa (2000) also indicates the role of negative expressions for convincing demonstrations by a contrast between two words, “not A, but B”. Yanagisawa says that the denial is established with the background of the speaker’s “expectation” or “prediction”. By this, the denial can imply “speakers’ intended facts”. In other words, the denied “fact” is a “fact” that the speaker judges as untrue. The form “not A, but B” adds value to B by denying A. In this case, A is the “expectation” or “prediction”. For listeners, B is unexpected and has the effect of giving value to B by presenting A by comparison. The concordance lines shown in Figures 4.20, 4.21, and 4.22 show the usage of the phase “не А, а В” (not A, but B) in Russian Presidential Addresses. The underlined parts in the text of each figure show the part being contrasted.

обойтись. Люди живут не завтра, а сегодня. И результаты реформ хотят	Yeltsin_1999.txt
к нему руководствуются не законами, а инструкциями. Многие	Yeltsin_1997.txt
размера оплаты труда) не имеет никакого значения, а в бедных семьях	Yeltsin_1997.txt
потому власть больше не имеет права навязывать обществу какие-либо	Yeltsin_1998.txt
и – самый верный путь не к подрыву целостности, а к сплочению	Yeltsin_1995.txt
очередь не к закону, не к суду, а к партийной власти. "Доброго	Yeltsin_1996.txt
иенным, стимулировать не консервацию отсталости, а повышение	Yeltsin_1995.txt
стного самоуправления не меньше, а в некоторых случаях даже больше,	Yeltsin_1998.txt
ать полученные деньги не на развитие, а на латание бюджетных прорех.	Yeltsin_1998.txt
триятиям, а банки еще не начали это делать, производители дружно	Yeltsin_1998.txt
и образом, шла и идет не о подавлении свободы, а о подавлении особой	Yeltsin_1995.txt
ями должны заниматься не органы власти, а государственные учреждения,	Yeltsin_1998.txt
рыночной экономики – не откат назад, а движение вперед, развитие	Yeltsin_1994.txt
что судебная власть – не отрасль или ведомство, а такая же опора	Yeltsin_1996.txt
начале 1992 года была не плановой хирургической операцией, а срочной	Yeltsin_1996.txt
зенных товаров отнюдь не повышает, а наоборот, подрывает	Yeltsin_1999.txt
а сделан правильный – не повышение тарифов, а развитие конкуренции и	Yeltsin_1998.txt

Figure 4.20: Yeltsin’s “not A, but B”

аучной отрасли <u>не</u> будет формальной, <u>а</u> принесет реальные	Putin_2006.txt
тельные слова, <u>не</u> в бровь, <u>а</u> в глаз. Ответственность за страну	Putin_2012.txt
ния происходит <u>не</u> в начале года, <u>а</u> в середине. И причиной тому,	Putin_2000.txt
Справедливость <u>не</u> в уравниловке, <u>а</u> в расширении свободы, в	Putin_2016.txt
ь, не всегда и <u>не</u> везде, <u>а</u> в отдельных случаях – мы не сможем	Putin_2005.txt
сдвигов здесь <u>не</u> видно. <u>А</u> между тем первоочередные решения	Putin_2007.txt
медления носят <u>не</u> внешний, <u>а</u> внутренний характер. По объёмам	Putin_2013.txt
ти принимаются <u>не</u> всегда просто. <u>А</u> иногда и вовсе не	Putin_2003.txt
не тревожная и <u>не</u> вселяет оптимизма, <u>а</u> недавно устойчивые,	Putin_2015.txt
ко не всегда и <u>не</u> всем. Но другого, <u>а</u> уж тем более	Putin_2003.txt
вперед, важнее <u>не</u> вспоминать прошлое, <u>а</u> смотреть в будущее.	Putin_2000.txt
ократии просто <u>не</u> выжить, <u>а</u> гражданского общества – не создать.	Putin_2000.txt
в текущем году <u>не</u> вырос, <u>а</u> немного даже и снизился. Я знаю о	Putin_2016.txt
ны здесь стать <u>не</u> главным источником, <u>а</u> прежде всего	Putin_2007.txt
ы знаете, даже <u>не</u> годы, <u>а</u> десятилетия. Они крайне чувствительны	Putin_2006.txt
лидарность – и <u>не</u> декларациями, <u>а</u> конкретными действиями. Это	Putin_2015.txt
ность развития <u>не</u> для избранных. <u>а</u> для всех стран и народов. за	Putin_2016.txt

Figure 4.21: Putin’s “not A, but B”

– должны решать <u>не</u> деньги, <u>а</u> мнение людей, репутация партии и	Medvedev_2008.txt
надо использовать <u>не</u> для латания дыр, <u>а</u> в целях модернизации	Medvedev_2010.txt
находились – надо <u>не</u> изолировать, <u>а</u> вовлекать в диалог. И мы	Medvedev_2008.txt
иметь доступ уже <u>не</u> к обычному, <u>а</u> к широкополосному интернету.	Medvedev_2009.txt
должна составить <u>не</u> менее четверти, <u>а</u> к 2020 году – более	Medvedev_2009.txt
а. Но пока здесь <u>не</u> наведён элементарный порядок, <u>а</u> строительство	Medvedev_2009.txt
сказать: речь идёт <u>не</u> о конституционной реформе, <u>а</u> именно о	Medvedev_2008.txt
эго патриотизма – <u>не</u> показного, <u>а</u> истинного. Я давал	Medvedev_2010.txt
эти программы – <u>не</u> просто подготовил, <u>а</u> тех, кто эти программы	Medvedev_2010.txt
ти лет. При этом <u>не</u> просто решить её, <u>а</u> повышая уровень оплаты	Medvedev_2011.txt
не против Грузии, <u>не</u> против грузинского народа, <u>а</u> ради спасения	Medvedev_2008.txt
ия мы занимаемся <u>не</u> ради самой отрасли, <u>а</u> для того, чтобы выросла	Medvedev_2008.txt
средней тяжести, <u>не</u> связанные с насилием. <u>А</u> если взыскать штраф	Medvedev_2009.txt
. Наши конкуренты <u>не</u> стесняются этого делать. <u>А</u> мы зачастую сидим	Medvedev_2008.txt
сия правосудия – <u>не</u> только карать, но и исправлять. Седьмое.	Medvedev_2010.txt
бесполезно. Нужно <u>не</u> уговаривать, <u>а</u> как можно активнее расширять	Medvedev_2008.txt
ение нашей страны <u>не</u> уменьшалось, <u>а</u> росло. И, конечно, мы обязаны	Medvedev_2009.txt

Figure 4.22: Medvedev’s “not A, but B”

(67) В унижительное положение была поставлена не власть, а само Российское государство.

(It was not the government that was put in a humiliating position, but the Russian state itself.)

(Yeltisn 1995)

(68) [...] поддержка производителей некачественных отечественных товаров отнюдь не повышает, а наоборот, подрывает конкурентоспособность страны, позволяет оставаться на плаву неэффективным предприятиям и топит эффективные.

([...] the support of manufacturers of low-quality domestic goods does not increase, but on the contrary undermines the country’s competitiveness, allows inefficient enterprises to stay afloat and drowns efficient ones.)

(Yeltsin 1999)

In (67) Yeltsin presented an assessment to be considered generally and then presented a new view. Moreover, by notifying the people that as the evaluation is low, rather than the “Russian government”, “the Russian state itself” is in a humiliating position, which can elicit recognition of the community, not a contrast between the government and the people. In (68) Yeltsin uses the paired vocabulary and emphasizes the fact by comparing it. By doing so, it becomes possible to modify the listener’s thoughts on what is generally regarded.

- (69) Реализуются национальные проекты в области образования, здравоохранения, [...]. Проблемы здесь накапливались, вы знаете, даже не годы, а десятилетия.
(National projects are being implemented in the fields of education, health, [...]. Problems accumulated here, you know, over not even years, but decades.)

(Putin 2006)

- (70) Однако объём таких кредитов в текущем году не вырос, а немного даже и снизился.
(However, the volume of such loans in the current year has not increased, but even slightly decreased.)

(Putin 2016)

In (69) Putin mentions the social problems in Russia. Yamauti (2010a) likens the situation of Russia after the Yeltsin administration to the construction of house. Yeltsin destroyed the building, built a new foundation, and transferred it to Putin, but rubbish and other garbage was scattered around the foundation. In other words, it is in a state of social disorder and various problems such as the economy, standard of living, education, and welfare had piled up. Therefore, Putin sought to change the knowledge or recognition of the nation of complaints about life in Russia. Putin stated that these social problems had not accumulated during his own administration but were rather problems that had accumulated over a considerable length of time. In (70) Putin gives negative financial information. As a background to the use of negative expressions, it can be predicted that there was a common public expectation that Russian finances were improving. Therefore, a contrast expressed by negation is used to effectively convey what is actually a negative condition. Here, while emphasizing the current situation by the negative statement, in order to reduce the shock due to this fact, Putin adds the information “slightly”.

(71) [...] решение о принуждении агрессора к миру и операция, предпринятая нашими военными, осуществлялись не против Грузии, не против грузинского народа, а ради спасения жителей республики и российских миротворцев.

([...] the decision to force the aggressor to peace and the operation undertaken by our military were carried out not against Georgia, not against the Georgian people, but to save the people of the republic and Russian peacekeepers.)

(Medvedev 2008)

(72) У нас есть все возможности сделать так, чтобы население нашей страны не уменьшалось, а росло.

(We have every opportunity to ensure that the population of our country does not decrease, but grows.)

(Medvedev 2009)

In (71) Medvedev states the purpose of the military intervention into Georgia. The South Ossetia War, another name for the Russo-Georgian War, took place in August 2008 between Russia and Georgia, as well as between Separatists and Unificationists in South Ossetia and Abkhazia. Yamauti (2010b) points out that this military clash gave the world the possibility of a new cold war between the US and Russia, indicating that Russia cannot escape the Cold War dynamic by trying to recover its influence over the former Soviet Union by force. He explained the structure of the conflict as follows: first is the domestic conflict over separation and independence between the Georgian government and South Ossetia and Abkhazia, second is the conflict between Russia and Georgia, and third is the conflict between Russia and Western countries over Georgia. Medvedev explained the reason for the military intervention into Georgia at that time to the nation so that they would not criticize the Medvedev administration. Medvedev not only stated the object of the invasion but also denied what the people would be expected to feel and changed the viewpoint from the invasion target by appealing to the original purpose of the campaign. In (72) Medvedev gave hope for the possibility of avoiding the thorny question of dwindling population. Russia is had been experiencing a decline in population after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Medvedev in his third presidential article “Россия, вперед!” of September 2009 mentioned the need to stop the trend of population decline. Specific measures include raising the quality of medical care, increasing the birth rate, and coping with alcohol dependence. Here Medvedev indicates the possibility of countermeasures to the declining trend. In addition, he uses “increase”, its antonym, rather than simply reducing or stopping the population decline. As a result of this expression, Medvedev’s assertion was successful in giving hope to and raising the expectations of his audience, politicians, and citizens.

An assertion with a negative expression, especially when conveying it with the conflict structure of “not A, but B”, has the effect of renewing the listener’s recognition as well as that of strengthening the speaker’s assertion with the contrasting vocabulary pair.

Expressions for expansion of awareness

Here, we explore the common expressions by word frequency in the texts of all Russian Presidential Addresses, and we set the span at 2-grams. Figure 4.23 is the result of the word cloud, and the word size reflects its frequency; therefore, words written large are high frequency, while small words are low frequency. It is obvious that one such collocation should “российская федерация” (Russian Federation) (14 %) because presidents mention the country of Russia in their speeches. It is interesting that the expression “не только” (not only) (13 %) is shown as large as the phrase “российская федерация” (Russian Federation). The three presidents commonly use these words frequently in addition to the phrase “но и” (and also) (11 %). The next examples show the contexts of the usage of the phrase “не только но и” (not only, but also). The following figures 4.24, 4.25, and 4.26 show the usage of the phrase “not only A, but also B” in Presidential Addresses.



Figure 4.23: Collocations in 2-grams (top100)

The expression “not only A, but also B” refers to both components, the former and the latter. In the former case, what is supposed is indeed so. On the other hand, the latter shows the speaker’s

ановится категорией не только политической, но и экономической. Перспектива подъема	Yeltsin_1998.txt
– значит, общество не только получит дополнительные ресурсы, но и станет более	Yeltsin_1999.txt
ремени они научились не только пользоваться свободой, но и ценить и отстаивать ее.	Yeltsin_1999.txt
е. Регионы получили не только права, но и средства на их реализацию. Возросла и	Yeltsin_1996.txt
гов. Сформировалась не только правовая база, но и устойчивые традиции местного	Yeltsin_1999.txt
Такой путь позволит не только привлечь инвестиционные ресурсы, но и развязать узлы	Yeltsin_1998.txt
ию. Этим путем идут не только развивающиеся, но и практически все развитые страны.	Yeltsin_1999.txt
кредитоспособность не только самого субъекта Федерации, но и России в целом.	Yeltsin_1997.txt
ное хозяйство – это не только свобода частной инициативы, но и строгий правовой	Yeltsin_1997.txt
ультуре и традициях не только своего, но и других ее народов. Знание культуры и	Yeltsin_1995.txt
уровня жизни всех, не только сильных, но и слабых. Государство должно быть	Yeltsin_1996.txt
сударствам, которые не только следуют международным стандартам, но и, как Россия на	Yeltsin_1995.txt
ми с конечной целью не только стабилизировать производство, но и повысить его	Yeltsin_1995.txt
ления его решений, не только статус судей, но и сам процесс конституционного	Yeltsin_1994.txt
учитывать, что это не только сфера самоорганизации жителей, но и специфический	Yeltsin_1994.txt
итуции. Конституция не только сформировала костяк государственности, но и позволила	Yeltsin_1996.txt
будет. Эти решения не только сэкономят бюджетные ресурсы, но и отобьют охоту	Yeltsin_1998.txt
международные рынки не только товаров, но и капиталов. Это уже подтверждение не	Yeltsin_1996.txt
латой. Важно, чтобы не только у депутатов, но и у всех граждан не возникало вопросов	Yeltsin_1997.txt
о уже подтверждение не только устойчивой работы, но и высокой международной	Yeltsin_1996.txt
и. Вследствие этого не только утрачивается эффективность управления, но и	Yeltsin_1994.txt
ности. Это касается не только федерального, но и регионального уровней. При этом	Yeltsin_1997.txt
еплателей. Страдает не только экономика, но и социальная сфера, поскольку растет	Yeltsin_1994.txt

Figure 4.24: The expression “not only A, but also B” in Yeltsin’s addresses

тренней, но и внешней. Не только по текущим, но и по капитальным операциям. Напомню,	Putin_2003.txt
жную репутацию выгодно не только в экономике, но и в политике, и потому надо четко	Putin_2001.txt
убля. Конвертируемости не только внутренней, но и внешней. Не только по текущим, но и	Putin_2003.txt
ных быть конкурентными не только внутри страны, но и на международных рынках. В России	Putin_2014.txt
и мы обязаны учитывать не только внутривнутриполитическую ситуацию, но и прочность наших	Putin_2001.txt
ания – это возможность не только выбирать власть, но и постоянно эту власть	Putin_2012.txt
ания – это возможность не только выбирать власть, но и эту власть контролировать. Мы	Putin_2012.txt
иганы должны заниматься не только выявлением нарушений, но и профилактикой, не	Putin_2016.txt
Евросоюза сближало нас не только географически, но и экономически, и духовно. Убежден,	Putin_2004.txt
и всего государство, но не только государство, но и других участников процесса. Кстати	Putin_2005.txt
ит. Считаю также, что не только государство, но и бизнес может оказывать всемерное	Putin_2007.txt
эта проблема актуальна не только для бизнеса, но и для бюджетных, муниципальных	Putin_2014.txt
озволит нам обеспечить не только единое, но и одинаково высокое качество деловой среды	Putin_2016.txt
о фронта. Это проблема не только крупных городов, но и сёл, и посёлков. Далее, в	Putin_2016.txt
изни религиозной, жизни не только материальной, но и духовной, ценностей гуманизма и	Putin_2013.txt
причём принципиальных не только на среднесрочную, но и на долгосрочную перспективу,	Putin_2012.txt
и. Вместе с тем Россия не только подписала, ратифицировала, но и на практике выполняет	Putin_2007.txt
иальная политика – это не только помощь нуждающимся, но и инвестиции в будущее	Putin_2000.txt
должны принять участие не только представители Правительства, но и парламента и	Putin_2007.txt
иха с полномочиями. Они не только размыты, но и постоянно перекидываются с одного уровня	Putin_2013.txt
и, в этом залог успеха не только российского, но и всего европейского бизнеса, в этом и	Putin_2004.txt
и, эффективно бороться не только с террором, но и с распространением ядерного,	Putin_2006.txt
Победа была достигнута не только силой оружия, но и силой духа всех народов,	Putin_2005.txt
и работы, широкий выбор не только свободных, но и государственных ситуаций, прежде всего	Putin_2016.txt

Figure 4.25: The expression “not only A, but also B” in Putin’s addresses

intent more clearly. In other words, the speaker’s true assertion or new opinion is mentioned in the latter part. At the same time, it can express the claim that it already knows the points that the listener can be expected to know by touching on the former.

выражаться сейчас не только в ракетах, но и в конкретных и понятных нашим	Medvedev_2010.txt
, должны наблюдать не только государственные службы, но и гражданское общество. При	Medvedev_2010.txt
и. Подчеркну, что не только государство, но и наши крупные компании должны	Medvedev_2009.txt
иссия правосудия – не только карать, но и исправлять. Седьмое. Нашей	Medvedev_2010.txt
она станет центром не только обязательного образования, но и самоподготовки,	Medvedev_2008.txt
во, востребованное не только отечественными, но и зарубежными производителями.	Medvedev_2009.txt
Здесь велика роль не только педагогов, но и местных властей. Они могли бы,	Medvedev_2010.txt
напомню, что право не только политических партий, но и общественных организаций	Medvedev_2008.txt
лицеров – офицеров, не только профессионально подготовленных, но и воспитанных на	Medvedev_2009.txt
детей – это задача не только системы образования, но и отечественной культуры,	Medvedev_2010.txt
ных отцы и матери не только собственных, но и приёмных детей. Мы по праву гордимся	Medvedev_2010.txt
о проанализировать не только успехи, но и промахи. И извлечь из этого самые	Medvedev_2008.txt
комитете». Сегодня не только федеральные, но и региональные, и муниципальные	Medvedev_2010.txt

Figure 4.26: The expression “not only A, but also B” in Medvedev’s addresses

- (73) Эффективное рыночное хозяйство – это не только свобода частной инициативы, но и строгий правовой порядок, единые, стабильные и неукоснительно соблюдаемые всеми правила экономической деятельности.

(An effective market economy is not only the freedom of private initiative, but also a strict legal order, uniform, stable, and strictly following all rules of economic activity.)

(Yeltsin 1997)

- (74) При решении экономических и социальных задач мы обязаны учитывать не только внутривнутриполитическую ситуацию, но и прочность наших международных позиций.

(In solving economic and social problems, we must take into account not only the domestic political situation, but also the strength of our international positions.)

(Putin 2001)

- (75) Воспитание детей – это задача не только системы образования, но и отечественной культуры, общества в целом.

(To nurture children is not only an issue of the educational system, but also of the homeland culture and society as a whole.)

(Medvedev 2010)

In (73) Here, Yeltsin describes the ways of the market economy. The policies of the Yeltsin administration resulted in a pressure on the people’s lives by introducing a market economy. Naturally, the people were dissatisfied with this economic policy, but Yeltsin emphasized his views of the market economic policy. Yeltsin first touched upon what the citizens wished, and Yeltsin himself stated that it is based fully on that point. In the second half, Yeltsin describes how to proceed with policies to make the market economy fully functioning. In other words, Yeltsin understands the

current state of the Russian economy and also understands what kind of market economy the public wants. On the other hand, the Russian economy has been sluggish, lagging policy. To cover this Yeltsin describes what is necessary for the formation of a market economy. In (74) Putin talks about the domestic economy and viewpoints important for improving social life. At this time, the Putin administration was in its second year, a short time after inheriting Yeltsin's "negative heritage". Putin assumes that in the case of economic instability, there is recognition that priority should be given to the domestic situation, which is also important as a matter of course, but indeed in order to solve is the economic and social problems, Russia's standing and position in the international community he also claims is important, and presents how the Putin administration should proceed. In (75) Medvedev mentions the education of children in Russia. When speaking of children's education, obviously a system of compulsory education can be cited. Needless to say, Medvedev also understands the importance of the educational system and is advancing policies to review it. Tsuda (2009) points out that especially in its second year, 2009, the Medvedev administration implemented reforms in various fields such as politics, the economy, welfare, and education. Regarding the issue of the education system, Putin had already incorporated it into the "national priority project" that encouraged such measures in 2005. Mizoguti (2006) reported that Putin had implemented reforms such as establishing an introductory business school for the latest technology and providing financial support. However, in (75) Medvedev highlights the importance of inculcating children's interest in their own culture in education, patriotism, and Russian society as a whole.

By expressing "not only A but also B", the president shows the hearer that he/she grasps the problem with respect to "A", and "B" is also a problem subject, so we may consider this as having the effect of pointing. In their Addresses, the presidents need to appeal to the audience that the leader of the country or "I" am perceiving current circumstances, and this is an important point for the Russian people to make a judgment of the Russian president. Therefore, presidents tend to use the phrase "не только но и" (not only, but also) to appeal to their own ability as the president of Russia.

4.2 Capacity as a leader

In this section we will discuss how the Russian presidents appeal to the audience's own ability as the leader of the country, considering their collocations about responsibility and attitude to the problems. The president's popularity and trust often appear in his approval rating. Most decisions are based on the President's policy, but we believe that the words conveying policy will give the audience an "impression" in addition to the content reflecting the President's consciousness.

4.2.1 The expressions of responsibilities

In this section we will discuss the responsibilities of each president. Почепцов (Pochepcov 2001) points out that the leader of the population gives a solution to their problems; therefore, they are required to choose the appearance and the behavior of a person who is able to solve these problems. As he says, much of the public opinion of the president is attributed to his political policy and depends on the results of the policies, so that public opinion polls are constantly changing. In addition to this idea, we think that there is linguistic influence behind the approval rating. In particular, political speeches are prepared in advance, and what is mentioned is fully discussed.

ВЦИОМ (Всероссийский центр изучения общественного мнения), an independent Russian public opinion agency, researched the ideal president.² The research question is how Russians see the ideal president of the country; how they estimate the extent of his powers and from which social strata, from the point of view of the respondents, the new president should form his team. An ideal president should be, above all, a wise politician, a real “father of the nation”, 48 % of Russians believe. A slightly smaller proportion believe that the president should be first of all a modern, effective manager – 42 %, and those who found this difficult to answer made up 10 %. Почепцов (Pochepcov 2002: 74) says that the population expects power structures to solve their problems, not stories about difficulties with their solution. Power is a symbol of problem solving, not a symbol of hesitation or interrogation.

Because the consciousness of a problem differs depending on the vocabulary used to discuss it, we consider vocabulary to be one clue to examine what the president sees the problem to be. Focusing on the vocabulary expressing the problem makes it possible to compare the attitudes of the speakers toward them. Therefore, we compare the three presidents’ vocabulary with respect to the problem. Here, we observe the vocabulary in a co-occurrence relationship with the target vocabulary. Winnie (2011: 77) defines a collocation as a word or phrase having a set relation with other vocabulary, and as the collocated words are chosen by the speakers or written out, these collocations do not occur by chance. She says that the cooccurrence relationship of a word refers to the vocabulary most frequently appearing in conjunction with the word. Hunston (2002: 12) notes that a collocation is a co-occurrence relation of words based on statistics. One of the statistical methods for measuring co-occurrence is the MI score. Winnie (2011: 94–95) points out that the MI score noticeably measures collocation with vocabulary with which it rarely co-occurs, and the list based on MI scores is likely

²It was conducted on July 21st–22nd, 2007. 1595 people were interviewed in 153 settlements in 46 regions, territories, and republics of Russia.

to include vocabulary that infrequently co-occurs with the search key word. In other words, it is possible to observe the co-occurrence relation with low-frequency vocabulary, and this result is considered not to depend on each corpus size. Philip (2003: 104) says that “*the significant collocates – those which are included in the calculation – are those which occur within a five-word span around the node*”, and we set the span of collocations from N-5 to N+5. We will observe the tendencies of collocations, such as what kind of verb or adjective tends to follow the key words with a given MI score within the span of five words.

President’s attitudes toward problems

Looking at the frequency table (with a stop-word list) in the texts of the Russian Presidential Addresses, words for problems are included in the top 50 words (Table 4.2). The words that we will observe are “проблема” (problem), “задача” (issue), and “вопрос” (question). The word “задача” (issue) is ranked 14th, “проблема” (problem) 17th, and “вопрос” (question) 32nd. A frequency table with low frequencies indicates that the vocabulary items on problems are very numerous, as in the Presidential Addresses. These words are defined in the Толковый словарь (Explanatory dictionary) as follows: “problem” means complicated cases, tasks, or things that require solutions or investigation, or by extension (colloquial), something difficult to solve or accomplish (1. Сложный вопрос, задача, требующие разрешения, исследования, 2. Переносное значение о чём-нибудь трудно разрешимом, осуществимом (разговорное)); “issue” is something that needs to be accomplished or resolved (То, что требует исполнения, разрешения); and “question” is an expression used to receive information that requires answers (Обращение, направленное на получение каких-нибудь сведений, требующее ответа). Because the nature of the Presidential Address requires the president talks about future policies, it is natural that the word “задача” (issue) is used most frequently among the vocabulary items concerning problems. In other words, the President presents missions that will be future tasks. The word “проблема” (problem) describes difficult points to be answered. The word “вопрос” (question) is a case, topic, or subject to be considered, so it is used less frequently than the other two vocabulary items. From the frequency of use of words concerning problems, the characteristics of the Presidential Address can be expressed, and it can be said that the president tends to state the issue to be discussed rather than the topic to be considered.

Tables 4.3, 4.4, and 4.5 show the results of MI scores (MI value ≥ 3). We set the minimum frequency of collocates at two times. We took particular note of the next three types of words in the results: 1. difficulty or importance, 2. solution and 3. occurrence or aggravation. The particular items in the collocations of Yeltsin’s “вопрос” (question) are as follows: 1. difficulty or importance: нерешенность (hesitancy), острый (controversial), остро (urgently), трудный (difficult);

	Words	Frequency
1	Россия (Russia)	1,330
2	страна (country)	1,015
3	государственный (state)	1,002
4	власть (authority)	918
5	государство (government)	916
6	российский (Russian)	890
7	система (system)	736
8	развитие (development)	706
9	федеральный (federal)	679
10	экономический (economic)	650
11	необходимый (necessary)	634
12	орган (organization)	592
13	гражданин (citizen)	562
14	задача (issue)	561
15	экономика (economy)	558
16	решение (solution)	552
17	проблема (problem)	551
18	федерация (federation)	535
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.	.	.
.	.	.
.	.	.
.	.	.
31	регион (region)	390
32	вопрос (question)	374
33	сфера (sphere)	361
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49	правовой (legal)	292
50	международный (international)	285

Table 4.2: A part of the word list of all Presidential Addresses

2. solution: компромисс (compromise), рассмотреть (consider); 3. occurrence or aggravation: встать (stand), вставать (stand), ставиться (be put), признание (recognition). The collocations of the word “проблема” (problem) are: 1. difficulty or importance: нерешенный (unresolved), острота (severity), груз (load), задержка (delay), незамедлительно (immediately), 2. solution: not available, 3. occurrence or aggravation: обострить (exacerbate), обострение (worsening), встать (stand), выявить (reveal), возникать (occur). The collocations of the word “задача” (issue) are: 1. difficulty or importance: неудовлетворительно (unsatisfactory), стоить (worth), приоритетный (priority), важность (importance), первоочередной (primary), 2. solution: уточнить (clarify), выполнить (implement), пересмотр (review), 3. occurrence or aggravation: поставить (put),

ставиться (be put), вставать (stand), стоять (stand). From the results for all collocations, it can be seen that Yeltsin's Presidential Addresses have vocabularies related to difficulties or contain vocabulary co-occurring with vocabulary concerning problems. Looking at Yeltsin's collocations, adjectives and nouns about difficulty may be observed for any of the words related to problems.

Yeltsin											
No.	Word	MI-score	Freq.	No.	Word	MI-score	Freq.	No.	Word	MI-score	Freq.
вопрос (question)				проблема (problem)				задача (issue)			
1	нерешенность (hesitancy)	6.86	2	1	нерешенный (unresolved)	5.78	7	1	угол (corner)	5.69	7
2	спорный (controversial)	5.53	2	2	базирование (basing)	5.71	2	2	неудовлетворительно (unsatisfactory)	5.27	2
3	лицензирование (licensing)	5.05	2	3	взаимоотношения (relationship)	5.71	2	3	посильный (affordable)	5.27	2
4	ответ (answer)	4.53	9	4	острота (severity)	5.56	6	4	последовательность (consistency)	4.95	6
5	встать (stand)	4.53	2	5	груз (cargo)	5.30	6	5	приведение (enforcement)	4.95	6
6	вставать (stand)	4.40	2	6	масштабность (magnitude)	5.30	2	6	уточнить (clarify)	4.64	2
7	пограничный (frontier)	4.40	2	7	одночасье (overnight)	5.30	2	7	поставить (put)	4.31	2
8	компромисс (compromise)	4.35	3	8	первостепенный (primordial)	5.30	2	8	ставиться (be put)	4.27	2
9	ставиться (be put)	4.27	2	9	породить (create)	5.18	6	9	состоять (consist)	4.18	6
10	двусторонний (bilateral)	4.05	3	10	интенсивный (intensive)	4.97	2	10	стоить (worth)	3.99	2
11	блок (block)	4.05	2	11	обострить (exacerbate)	4.97	2	11	приоритетный (priority)	3.98	2
12	казахстан (kazakhstan)	4.05	2	12	накопиться (accumulate)	4.92	5	12	важность (importance)	3.95	5
13	признание (recognition)	3.92	3	13	подходить (approach)	4.71	4	13	острота (severity)	3.95	4
14	принципиальный (fundamental)	3.74	6	14	обострение (worsening)	4.71	3	14	1995	3.82	3
15	внесение (making)	3.69	2	15	встать (stand)	4.56	3	15	вставать (stand)	3.81	3
16	общественно-политический (socio-political)	3.69	2	16	острый (acute)	4.47	20	16	выполнить (implement)	3.69	20
17	остро (urgently)	3.69	2	17	выявить (reveal)	4.42	3	17	стоять (stand)	3.69	3
18	правительственный (governmental)	3.69	2	18	задержка (delay)	4.39	4	18	насуточный (vital)	3.69	4
19	рассмотреть (consider)	3.21	2	19	возникать (occur)	4.10	7	19	пересмотр (review)	3.69	7
20	трудный (difficult)	3.12	3	20	немедленно (immediately)	3.97	2	20	первоочередной (primary)	3.63	2

Table 4.3: Yeltsin's 20 most strongly associated collocates of “вопрос”, “проблема”, and “задача”

The collocations in Table 4.4 with words related to problems in Putin's Presidential Addresses are as follows. The collocations of the word “вопрос” (question) are: 1. difficulty or importance: спорный (controversial), чувствительный (sensitive), 2. solution: проблемный (troubled, note: this word means encapsulating a problem in order to research the resolution of a problem in Russian), ответить (answer; verb), решаться (be resolved), 3. occurrence or aggravation: затронуть (affect), возвращаться (return). The collocations of the word “проблема” (problem) are: 1. dif-

Putin

No.	Word	MI-score	Freq.	No.	Word	MI-score	Freq.	No.	Word	MI-score	Freq.
вопрос (question)				проблема (problem)				задача (issue)			
1	вышеперечисленный (above-mentioned)	7.86	2	1	волнующий (exciting)	6.30	2	1	2003	6.27	2
2	уладить (handle)	7.86	2	2	застарелый (long-standing)	5.71	2	2	однотипный (same)	5.69	2
3	полемика (controversy)	6.86	2	3	демография (demography)	5.30	2	3	стоящий (standing)	5.45	13
4	проблемный (troubled)	5.86	2	4	современность (present)	5.30	2	4	взб (Russian government-owned development bank)	5.27	2
5	затронуть (affect)	5.63	3	5	насущенный (vital)	5.03	5	5	удвоение (doubling)	4.95	2
6	задаваться (be asked)	5.53	2	6	упоминать (mention)	4.97	2	6	выполнимый (workable)	4.81	4
7	подоходный (income)	5.53	2	7	корень (root)	4.56	3	7	планка (bar)	4.69	2
8	спорный (controversial)	5.53	2	8	интегрироваться (integrate)	4.49	2	8	постановка (setting)	4.69	2
9	свободно (freely)	5.27	2	9	продвигаться (move)	4.30	3	9	реалистичный (realistic)	4.69	2
10	чувствительный (sensitive)	5.12	3	10	устраивать (make)	4.30	2	10	общенациональный (nationwide)	4.59	10
11	закрывать (close)	5.05	2	11	накопиться (accumulate)	4.18	3	11	ставить (put)	4.50	12
12	минфин (Ministry of Finance)	5.05	2	12	решать (decide)	4.17	17	12	длинный (long)	4.46	2
13	общественно (socially)	5.05	2	13	неотложный (urgent)	3.97	2	13	решать (decide)	4.38	20
14	преемственность (continuity)	5.05	2	14	острота (severity)	3.97	2	14	ставиться (be put)	4.27	3
15	спокойный (calm)	4.86	2	15	сталкиваться (face)	3.90	4	15	соревнование (competition)	4.10	2
16	проработать (elaborate)	4.86	5	16	недоверие (mistrust)	3.84	2	16	решить (solve)	4.06	24
17	мораль (moral)	4.69	2	17	откровенно (openly)	3.84	2	17	2020	3.86	3
18	ответить (answer)	4.53	2	18	нарастать (increase)	3.79	3	18	общегосударственный (government-wide)	3.81	2
19	решаться (be resolved)	4.53	5	19	обсуждать (discuss)	3.71	2	19	масштабный (large-scale)	3.72	8
20	возвращаться (return)	4.53	3	20	решить (solve)	3.67	18	20	поставить (put)	3.60	11

Table 4.4: Putin’s 20 most strongly associated collocates of “вопрос”, “проблема”, and “задача”

ficulty or importance: насущенный (vital), неотложный (urgent), острота (severity), 2. solution: устраивать (make), решать (decide), обсуждать (discuss), решить (solve), 3. occurrence or aggravation: упоминать (mention), накопиться (accumulate), сталкиваться (face), недоверие (mistrust), нарастать (increase). The collocations of the word “задача” (issue) are: 1. difficulty or importance: планка (bar), 2. solution: выполняемый (workable), решать (decide), решить (solve), 3. occurrence or aggravation: ставиться (be put), стоящий (standing), постановка (setting), ставить (put), поставить (put). Putin also uses words meaning difficulties or occurrences, but when comparing his vocabulary with Yeltsin’s, it can be inferred that Putin took a positive attitude toward problems.

Medvedev

No.	Word	MI-score	Freq.	No.	Word	MI-score	Freq.	No.	Word	MI-score	Freq.
вопрос (question)				проблема (problem)				задача (issue)			
1	квартирный (apartment)	6.86	2	1	взяться (take)	5.71	2	1	дискредитировать (discredit)	4.95	2
2	соответственно (accordingly)	4.74	3	2	надолго (for long)	5.71	2	2	ничего (nothing)	4.69	2
3	убеждение (conviction)	4.69	2	3	пренебрежение (neglect)	4.97	2	3	улучшать (enhance)	4.10	2
4	болезненный (painful)	4.53	2	4	всерьез (seriously)	4.71	2	4	оперативный (operational)	3.27	2
5	выживание (survival)	4.40	2	5	соревнование (competition)	4.13	2				
6	здоровый (healthy)	3.69	3	6	восприниматься (be taken)	3.97	2				
7	сад (garden)	3.69	2	7	избавиться (get rid)	3.97	2				
				8	остро (urgently)	3.71	3				

Table 4.5: Medvedev's collocations of “вопрос”, “проблема”, and “задача” (MI value ≥ 3)

The collocations in Table 4.5 with words related to problems in Medvedev's Presidential Addresses are as follows. The collocations of “вопрос” (question) are; 1. difficulty or importance: болезненный (painful), 2. solution: убеждение (conviction), выживание (survival), 3. occurrence or aggravation: not available. The collocations of the word “проблема” (problem) are: 1. difficulty or importance: всерьез (seriously), остро (urgently), 2. solution: взяться (take), избавиться (get rid), 3. occurrence or aggravation: восприниматься (be taken). The collocations of the word “задача” (issue) are: 1. difficulty or importance: not available, 2. solution: улучшать (enhance), оперативный (operational), 3. occurrence or aggravation: дискредитировать (discredit). As may be seen, one of the differences in the kinds of words used in collocation with the word “вопрос” (question) is that Medvedev gives more concrete words related to the life of nation, such as “квартирный” (apartment), “здоровый” (healthy), and “сад” (garden). Medvedev uses the word “сад” (garden) in the phrase “детский сад” (kindergarten) in his addresses.

Focusing on the use of the vocabulary “проблема” (problem), then there are collocations intended for “time”. Yeltsin uses “одночасье” (overnight), Putin uses “застарелый” (long-standing), and Medvedev uses “надолго” (for a long time). See the following examples, (76), (77), and (78).

(76) Конечно, проблема сложна и в одночасье не решается.

(Of course, the problem is complex and cannot be solved overnight.)

(Yeltsin 1999)

(77) Убеждён, у нас есть уникальный шанс в ближайшее десятилетие кардинально решить и другую застарелую российскую проблему – жилищную.

(I am convinced that we have a unique chance in the next decade to radically solve another long-standing Russian problem — the housing problem.)

(Putin 2012)

(78) Мы взяли за демографическую проблему всерьёз и надолго, но должны понять, что в ближайшие 15 лет будут сказываться последствия демографического спада 90-х годов.

(We have taken the demographic problem seriously and for a long time, but we must understand that in the next 15 years the consequences of the demographic decline of the 1990s will be felt.)

(Medvedev 2010)

As shown in (76), (77,) and (78), Yeltsin, Putin, and Medvedev discuss the problems facing Russia using expressions of time. The differences among them are that Yeltsin appeals to the difficulty of solving the problem in a short span of time; in other words, it will require substantial time to solve the problem, and this expression, “одночасье” (overnight), is one strategy to convey to the audience that resolving the problem is far more complex than most people realize. Putin leads to the end of the problem that had been a problem in Russia for many years. He talks about the possibility of resolving the housing problem, and appeals to the ability of his administration. Medvedev raises the red flag of the population problem. However, as the population problem remains a major problem in Russia, Medvedev conveys to the audience that his administration has been tackling it for a long time. Yeltsin appeals to the difficulty of solving the problems with reference to a short time period, while Putin and Medvedev use words expressing a long time period. If we examine their usage of these words, Yeltsin and Medvedev express the nuance that they were actually implementing policies for unresolved problems with these expressions, while Putin gives hope to the listeners of solving the problems Russia has had for many years.

On the results of the collocations of the word “задача” (issue), Yeltsin and Putin have collocations for the years 1995, 2003, and 2020. These years also indicate the attitudes of the president toward the tasks. As for the relationship with the task in Medvedev’s Presidential Addresses, there is a collocation with the word “улучшать” (enhance). See the following examples, (79), (80), (81), and (82).

(79) Добиться стабилизации уровня жизни, создать предпосылки для его повышения – важнейшая задача 1995 года.

(To achieve a stabilization of the standard of living, creating the prerequisites for its improvement is the most important issue/ task of 1995.)

(Yeltsin 1995)

(80) В Послании 2003 года я ставил задачу обеспечения конвертируемости рубля. [...]. Сегодня предлагаю ускорить отмену оставшихся ограничений и завершить эту работу до 1 июля текущего года.

(In the Message of 2003, I set the issue/ task of ensuring the convertibility of the ruble. [...]. Today I propose to accelerate the abolition of the remaining restrictions and complete this work before July 1 of the current year.)

(Putin 2006)

(81) Мы поставили задачу к 2020 году создать и модернизировать 25 миллионов рабочих мест. (We set the issue/ task of creating and modernizing 25 million jobs by 2020.)

(Putin 2012)

(82) Деятельность всех должностных лиц не должна дискредитировать государство. Их главная задача – улучшать условия жизни людей .

(The activities of all officials should not discredit the state. Their main issue/ task is to enhance the living conditions of people.)

(Medvedev 2010)

Yeltsin and Putin present the year and state the issues of the nation, while Medvedev does not mention the specific year. In (79) Yeltsin presents the issues to the audience in the same year as his Presidential Address, whereas in (80) Putin mentions a past task in the Presidential Address in 2006. He reminds the audience of the issue that he advanced in 2003 and presents the listener with a specific deadline to achieve the task. In (81) Putin lays out a goal with concrete numerical targets and sets a concrete deadline year. Medvedev uses the word “задача” (issue) in a different situation than the other two presidents. Medvedev mentions the tasks but focuses on the role of officials without mentioning policies. Medvedev points the responsibilities and tasks of official posts. Here, Medvedev uses the word “улучшать” (enhance). For the people, the feeling that “the situation of living improves” is unique to each person; there is no goal and it takes time to realize the feeling

that is the living situation is “getting better”. For this reason, here Medvedev merely mentioned the general theory, and we believe it is difficult for the people to appeal to the Medvedev administration.

From the collocations with the words related to problems, we observed that Yeltsin uses collocations expressing the difficulty of the problems, Putin the importance of the problems, and Medvedev specific problems. Turning to how they present the tasks, we observed that Yeltsin mentions issues in the given year, Putin recalls past tasks and sets the goal of achieving future tasks, and Medvedev mentions tasks, but only as a general statement that each person feels a unique degree of accomplishment.

4.2.2 Russian political agendas

In this part, we discuss the various agendas covered in the Russian Presidential Addresses to the Federal Assembly, paying attention to the modality expressing “duty” and consider the sense of responsibility of the president.

Ogawa (2011: 93) expresses the position that modality expressions include objective modality and subjective modality. Objective modality is expressed in the framework of reality in utterances, that is, reality or unreality. A method of direct talk is used for reality, and these expressions use the present tense, past, and future tense. For unreality, a hypothetical / imperative form is used and there is no tense. Subjective modality is an attitude toward the reality of the speaker; it has a wider content than objective modality and adds an additional meaning to the objective modality of whether the statement is reality or not. Ogawa says that to express objective modality, modalities such as possibility, aspiration, obligation, indispensability, or necessity are represented by verbs, “мочь” (can), “хотеть” (want), желать (wish); short form adjectives, “должен” (must), “обязан” (be required); or predicate adverbs, “можно” (may), “нельзя” (cannot), “надо” (need to). Subjective modality is expressed by a particle, “вроде” (kind of), “якобы” (allegedly); an interjection, “хлоп” (pop), “бац” (bang), an insertion word, “наверное” (probably), “вероятно” (perhaps), “к сожалению” (unfortunately); word order; a special modality phrase; or intonation.

We focus on the words in the top100 words that indicate obligation or responsibility: “должный” (must), “надо” (have to), “нужный” (necessary) and “необходимо” (necessary). In the Russian language the words “должный” (must) and “нужный” (necessary) are short form adjectives, which must function as predicates and are inflected to agree with the subject in gender and number. The inflections are as follows; “должный” (must): должен, должна, должно, должны; “нужный” (necessary): нужен, нужна, нужно, нужны; and “необходимо” (necessary): необходим, необходима, необходимо, необходимы.

Note that in the result of lemmatized texts, the inflectional forms of “должный” (must) were

combined as one form, “должный” (must), and the different forms of “необходимо” (necessary) were combined under “необходимый” (necessary). However, the forms of “нужный” (necessary) were treated as different, and only “нужно” was included here. For that reason, we compare the collocations of the words “должный” (must) and “надо” (have to) among the three Russian presidents to observe their attitude toward responsibility. Also, by looking at the vocabulary for “necessity”; “нужный”/ “нужно” (necessary) and “необходимый” (necessary), we think that the viewpoints and values of the speaker can be discerned. We may compare the ideologies of the presidents from the collocations they use.

Presidents’ attitudes toward responsibility

According to Толковый словарь (Explanatory dictionary), the meaning of word “должный” (must) means appropriate or relevant (Подобающий, соответствующий, and должный (must) means 1. Must do something, 2. Of that which will be accomplished by all means, inevitably, or probably (1. Обязан сделать что-нибудь, 2. О том, что освершить непременно, неизбежно или предположительно). The word “надо” (have to) is a predicate, so that anyone with inf., or that someone or something (colloquial), and the very thing you need (сказуемого, кому-чему с инф., или кого-что, или чего (разг.). То же, что нужно. Tables 4.6 and 4.7 show the results of the collocations of the top 20 words in IM score (MI value ≥ 3).

One of the characteristics of the collocations in Yeltsin’s addresses is to give weight to doing something using an adjective or adverb: неукоснительно (strictly), решительно (resolutely), and законодательно (legislatively). Another feature of Yeltsin’s is the co-occurrence relationship with age. Yeltsin sets out the issues the government should address in the given year, 1997, 1998, or 1999. See following examples (83), (84), and (85).

- (83) Должно неукоснительно обеспечиваться предусмотренное Конституцией равенство прав и свобод всех граждан вне зависимости от их национальности.

(The equality of rights and freedoms of all citizens, regardless of their nationality, as provided for by the Constitution, must be strictly enforced.)

(Yeltsin 1994)

- (84) Законодательно должны быть гарантированы независимость и высокий престиж адвокатуры, исключено вмешательство в ее деятельность органов государственной власти.

(Legislatively, the independence and high prestige of the legal profession must be guaranteed, and interference with the work of state authorities is excluded.)

(Yeltsin 1994)

Yeltsin				Putin				Medvedev			
No.	Word	MI-score	Freq.	No.	Word	MI-score	Freq.	No.	Word	MI-score	Freq.
ДОЛЖНЫЙ/ДОЛЖЕН (due/must)				ДОЛЖНЫЙ/ДОЛЖЕН (due/must)				ДОЛЖНЫЙ/ДОЛЖЕН (due/must)			
1	неукоснительно (strict)	7.49	7	1	включать (include)	4.68	3	1	представительство (representation)	5.68	4
2	1998	7.01	5	2	задать (ask)	4.68	3	2	ученик (student)	4.27	3
3	соблюдаться (be observed)	6.68	4	3	мотор (motor)	4.68	3	3	выборы (election)	3.95	3
4	решительно (resolutely)	6.27	3	4	доступно (affordable)	4.36	4	4	совершить (commit)	3.68	3
5	1997	5.42	5	5	иллюзия (illusion)	4.27	6	5	сыграть (play)	3.68	3
6	дипломатия (diplomacy)	5.27	3	6	держать (keep)	4.27	3	6	расширить (expand)	3.55	5
7	предусмотренный (envisaged)	5.27	3	7	наладить (establish)	4.27	3	7	действенный (efficient)	3.27	3
8	рассматриваться (be considered)	5.27	3	8	прикладной (application)	4.27	3	8	критерий (criterion)	3.10	3
9	юстиция (justice)	5.27	3	9	устроить (set up)	4.27	3				
10	включать (include)	5.10	4	10	суверенный (sovereign)	4.01	5				
11	ясно (clearly)	5.10	4	11	брать (take)	3.95	3				
12	строгий (strict)	4.68	5	12	занимать (occupy)	3.95	3				
13	1999	4.68	4	13	производиться (take place)	3.95	3				
14	ветвь (branch)	4.68	3	14	вестись (be conducted)	3.88	4				
15	генеральный (general)	4.68	3	15	сопровождаться (accompany)	3.88	4				
16	законодательно (legislative)	4.68	3	16	проходить (go through)	3.81	6				
17	кабинет (cabinet)	4.68	3	17	строиться (be built)	3.81	6				
18	считаться (be considered)	4.68	3	18	влиятельный (influential)	3.68	4				
19	финансироваться (be financed)	4.68	3	19	иметься (available)	3.68	4				
20	положить (put)	4.36	4	20	ответить (answer)	3.68	4				

Table 4.6: Strongly associated collocates of “должный” (must)

(85) К концу 1998 года бюджетный кризис должен быть преодолен.

(By the end of 1998, the budget crisis must be overcome.)

(Yeltsin 1998)

When Yeltsin states the responsibility as a president, he makes points in his statements to appeal to his authority as president of Russia. In (83), Yeltsin mentions the rights of citizens with sternness by using the word “неукоснительно” (strictly). By defining what should be the absolute authority of the Constitution, Yeltsin shows his competence as leader to the people. In (84), Yeltsin brings knowledge and regulations of the law to give credibility to his ideas. Rather than state how to plan, he conveys confidence from the knowledge of legislation to the audience. In (85), as in the collocation

of “задача” (issue), Yeltsin sets the goal of a task. To present how domestic problems should be addressed, Yeltsin is able to convey the enthusiasm of the regime. Furthermore, the presentation of a specific deadline arouses the expectation of problem-solving among the public.

The co-occurrences of Putins’s “должный/ должен” (must) are almost all with verbs, such as “включать” (include), “задать” (ask), and “держат” (keep). Focusing on the meanings of these verbs, a group of verbs referring to “guiding or opening up”; “наладить” (establish), “устроить” (set up), “сопровождаться” (accompany), and “строить” (be build), were observed in the collocation of words expressing Putin’s views of obligation. See the following examples (86) and (87).

(86) Он (новый университет) должен наладить глубокую научную экспертизу программ развития Дальнего Востока, обеспечить потребность региона в кадрах, [...].

(The new university should establish a deep scientific examination of the programs for the development of the Far East, ensure the region’s personnel needs, [...].)

(Putin 2012)

(87) [...] местная власть должна быть устроена так – а ведь это самая близкая власть к людям, – чтобы любой гражданин [...].

([...] local authorities should be arranged in such a way – and this is the closest authority to the people – so that every citizen.)

(Putin 2013)

As shown in Examples (86) and (87), Putin presents his ideas with an emphasis on how policies should be implemented or administered. As a result of collocations with vocabulary related to the meaning “lead” or “build”, Putin defines how Russian society should be under the Putin administration through the meaning of “create” as a leader of the country.

The collocations of Medvedev’s “должный/ должен” (must) show certain points of the policies of the Medvedev administration, such as the words “представительство” (representation), “ученик” (student), and “выборы” (election). See the following examples (88) and (89).

(88) К каждому ученику должный быть применён индивидуальный подход – минимизирующий риск для здоровья в процессе обучения.

(An individual approach should be applied to each student — minimizing health risks in the learning process.)

(Medvedev 2008)

(89) Выборы должны быть честными, прозрачными, отвечающими современным представлениям о законности и справедливости.

(Elections should be fair, transparent, consistent with modern ideas of law and justice.)

(Medvedev 2011)

It may be seen in (88) and (89) that Medvedev presents his own ideas. The content of his argument itself is not new but seems to be commonplace. In other words, it becomes an assertion reconfirming what is common. With this assertion by reconfirmation, the listener notices that the “natural” is not realized in Russia. Medvedev’s argument does not particularly require the use of special rhetoric, but by aiming to be “a matter of course”, the meaning is conveyed of criticizing earlier policies and conveying a new incisiveness.

Let us now compare the collocations of the word “надо” (have to). Table 4.7 shows the results of collocations by MI scores. When we observe the results of co-occurrence words, Yeltsin has words referring to economic problems, such as “финансово-промышленный” (financial-industrial), “товарный” (commodity), and “инфляционный” (inflationary). Moreover, the usage of adverbs and adjectives like “жёстко” (hard), “твёрдо” (firmly), and “теневой” (shadow) allows us to make predictions of the background in the era of the Yeltsin administration. See the following example (90).

(90) В этом году надо построить мост между инфляционным прошлым и инвестиционным будущим.

(This year we have to build a bridge between the inflationary past and the investment future.)

(Yeltsin 1995)

As the background to this era, at that time Russia was under intense strain from the economic reforms such that the lives of the citizens could not cope with the change. In (90) Yeltsin talks about the shift from an inflationary state to the next stage of investment. Here, he expresses inflation as part of the past and expresses relief that the state of inflation is already ending. However, since the “bridge” to its future is a policy to be built in this year, it may be said that in reality, Russia was still in an inflationary state that it must leave.

The co-occurrence words used by Putin are shown in Table 4.7. They include verbs indicating changes such as “прекратить” (stop), “снять” (remove), and “перейти” (move). See the next example, (91).

Yeltsin				Putin				Medvedev			
No.	Word	MI-score	Freq.	No.	Word	MI-score	Freq.	No.	Word	MI-score	Freq.
надо (have to)				надо (have to)				надо (have to)			
1	приступать (start)	5.97	2	1	аппетит (appetite)	7.97	2	1	самоуспокоенность (complacency)	6.97	2
2	финансово-промышленный (financial-industrial)	5.39	2	2	иностранец (foreigner)	5.75	3	2	высвободить (release)	6.39	2
3	регламентировать (regulate)	5.16	2	3	учить (teach)	4.97	2	3	признаться (confess)	6.39	2
4	межрегиональный (interregional)	5.10	3	4	упрощённый (simplified)	4.80	2	4	всерьёз (seriously)	5.39	2
5	признать (recognize)	4.92	13	5	инвентаризация (inventory)	4.65	2	5	желать (want)	4.80	2
6	мост (bridge)	4.80	2	6	признать (recognize)	4.39	9	6	осваивать (absorb)	4.65	2
7	пресекать (combat)	4.80	2	7	прекратить (stop)	4.39	2	7	уделять (focus)	4.56	3
8	жёстко (hard)	4.65	3	8	затянуться (be delayed)	4.27	2	8	оставлять (leave)	4.39	2
9	немедленно (immediately)	4.65	2	9	отчёт (account)	4.16	2	9	антикризисный (anti-crisis)	4.27	2
10	компенсация (compensation)	4.51	2	10	отдавать (give)	4.07	2	10	воспитание (education)	3.80	2
11	май (May)	4.16	2	11	делать (do)	3.87	13	11	заниматься (deal with)	3.80	2
12	товарный (commodity)	4.16	2	12	реstructuring (restructuring)	3.80	2	12	вернуться (go back)	3.72	2
13	твёрдо (firmly)	4.07	2	13	сад (garden)	3.80	2	13	выгода (benefit)	3.58	2
14	инфляционный (inflationary)	3.97	2	14	научиться (learn)	3.72	2	14	будущий (future)	3.43	3
15	конкурсный (competitive)	3.97	2	15	снять (remove)	3.72	2	15	быстро (quickly)	3.33	2
16	применять (apply)	3.91	3	16	перейти (move)	3.65	4	16	специалист (specialist)	3.31	3
17	теневой (shadow)	3.88	2	17	кардинально (fundamentally)	3.65	2	17	уделить (give)	3.16	2
18	1998	3.78	6	18	законодательно (legislative)	3.45	2	18	формировать (form)	3.11	2
19	суметь (be able to)	3.72	2	19	навести (suggest)	3.45	2				
20	эффект (effect)	3.72	2	20	налоговый (tax)	3.45	2				

Table 4.7: Strongly associated collocates of “надо” (have to)/ Collocates with MI score ≥ 3

(91) Надо максимально снять ограничения с бизнеса, избавить его от навязчивого надзора и контроля.

(It is necessary to remove restrictions from business as much as possible, to relieve it from intrusive supervision and control.)

(Putin 2014)

As the background to this era, Putin had announced a Russian economic liberalization program aimed at the development of Russia. As can be seen in the example sentence, what Putin deemed should be done is to change Russian institutions so as to create major changes in the business world by trying to break away from the system that had been restricted thus far. From the collocation

of “надо” (have to) in Putin’s Presidential Addresses, the attitude of “change” and “transition” of Russia was confirmed.

The co-occurrence words used by Medvedev are shown in Table 4.7. We can see words related to his policies, such as “воспитание” (education) and “антикризисный” (anti-crisis). Focusing on other co-occurrence words such as “самоуспокоенность” (complacency), “высвободить” (release; verb) and “быстро” (quickly), we may discern what Medvedev thinks that he must do for Russia as president. See the next example, (92).

(92) Надо быстро осваивать высвобождаемые в мировой экономике ниши.

(It is necessary to quickly master the niches freed up in the global economy.)

(Medvedev 2008)

In this period, the Russian fallout from the Lehman shock (the financial crisis of 2007–2008), the ruble fell sharply. In (92) Medvedev talks about the necessity of economic globalization, but strongly insists that Russia needs to adapt quickly to it. In order to overcome Russia’s economic downturn, Medvedev needed to inform the public about the perception of the economic system. It can be said that it is necessary to acquire the means to survive, not simply adapt to the global economy.

We focused on two kinds of vocabulary related to responsibility, “должный/ должен” (must) and “надо” (have to), and compared words co-occurring with these vocabulary items. The appeals to what as president should do for Russia and for the people differs for each president. Yeltsin uses adjectives and adverbs to weight his own remarks. Putin is in a position to create a new Russian society in his own administration and emphasizes having brought change to Russia thus far. Medvedev conveyed the sense of crisis of the current state and reconfirmation of what it should be.

President’s points of view

In order to see what is necessary for Russian citizens, we shall focus on “нужный” (necessary) and “нужно” (necessary to), which are direct expressions, and compare their collocations with vocabulary among the three presidents of Russia. The words “нужный” (necessary) and “нужно” (necessary to) mean 1. Necessary, required (Требующийся, необходимый), 2. Useful, such that without which it is difficult to manage (colloquial) (Полезный, такой, без которого трудно обойтись (разг.)).

When we observe the co-occurrence words with “нужно” (necessary to) on the right side of each table (4.8), (4.9), and (4.10), the words allow us to understand certain points of the policies of each administration. Yeltsin used co-occurrence words such as “финансовой” (financial), “опран” (organization), “инфляция” (inflation), “проект” (project), and “работа” (work). These words tell

Yeltsin							
No.	Word	MI-score	Freq.	No.	Word	MI-score	Freq.
нужный/нужен (necessary)				нужно (necessary to)			
1	бояться (fear)	6.84	2	1	начинать (start)	7.57	2
2	корпус (corps)	6.84	2	2	финансовый (financial)	7.57	2
3	регулировать (regulate)	6.84	2	3	форма (form)	7.57	2
4	организационный (organizational)	6.42	3	4	правительство (Government)	7.16	3
5	урок (class)	6.25	2	5	научиться (learn)	6.99	4
6	последовательный (consistent)	6.10	3	6	материальный (material)	6.57	2
7	приватизация (privatization)	5.67	2	7	субъект (subject)	6.75	3
8	комплексный (integrated)	5.52	2	8	орган (organization)	5.99	2
9	ясный (clear)	5.14	2	9	доход (income)	5.57	2
10	акт (act)	4.90	3	10	инфляция (inflation)	5.57	2
11	жесткий (hard)	4.84	2	11	потребность (requirement)	5.57	2
12	законодательный (legislative)	4.52	3	12	основа (framework)	4.99	2
13	управление (management)	4.42	3	13	проект (project)	4.76	2
14	действие (action)	4.25	4	14	принцип (principle)	4.40	2
15	контроль (control)	4.25	4	15	новый (new)	4.40	4
16	инвестиционный (investment)	4.19	2	16	условие (condition)	3.99	2
17	политика (policy)	4.12	10	17	работа (work)	3.89	5
18	деньга (money)	4.07	3	18	российский (russian)	3.87	2
19	совместный (joint)	4.03	2	19	государственный (state)	3.76	2
20	защита (protection)	3.63	2	20	найти (find)	3.76	2

Table 4.8: Yeltsin’s 20 most strongly associated collocates of “нужный/нужно” (necessary)

us that the Yeltsin administration paid attention to financial and economic problems. Also, the co-occurrence words “начинать” (start), “научиться” (learn), and “новый” (new) show the enthusiasm of Yeltsin. See the next examples, (93) and (94).

(93) На внутреннем рынке нам тоже нужно освоить и научиться променять цивилизованные антидемпинговые процедуры, [...].

(In the domestic market, we also need to master and learn how to apply civilized anti-dumping procedures, [...].)

(Yeltsin 1998)

(94) [...] нужно выходить на новый этап работы — максимально использовать время для решения острых экономических задач.

([...] it is necessary to enter a new phase of work — maximum use of time to deal with acute economic problems.)

(Yeltsin 1998)

Looking at the co-occurring words, we can see that the point on which the Yeltsin administration is focusing is economics. As in the example sentence, Yeltsin said that in order for Russia to develop its market economy in the future, it would be necessary to introduce it to a new system. The collocation indicates that Yeltsin is complaining of the need to take the next step.

Putin							
No.	Word	MI-score	Freq.	No.	Word	MI-score	Freq.
нужный/нужен (necessary)				нужно (necessary to)			
1	перманентный (permanent)	8.84	2	1	далекий (far)	8.89	5
2	подвис (branch)	8.84	2	2	благоприятный (favourable)	8.57	4
3	препона (obstacle)	8.84	2	3	школа (school)	8.57	4
4	пруа (pond)	8.84	2	4	правительство (Government)	8.38	7
5	прудить (dark)	8.84	2	5	быстрый (rapid)	8.16	3
6	враг (enemy)	7.10	3	6	вуз (university)	8.16	3
7	очередной (regular)	6.52	2	7	компания (company)	8.16	3
8	свободно (freely)	6.52	2	8	некоторый (certain)	8.16	3
9	учить (teach)	6.52	2	9	подходить (approach)	8.16	3
10	запрет (ban)	6.52	2	10	сообщество (community)	8.16	3
11	оснастить (equip)	6.52	2	11	средство (means)	8.16	3
12	ясный (clear)	5.72	3	12	финансовый (financial)	8.16	3
13	карта (map)	5.67	2	13	активный (active)	7.57	4
14	революция (revolution)	5.67	2	14	всякий (every)	7.57	2
15	искать (seek)	5.52	2	15	ежедневно (daily)	7.57	2
16	недостаточно (insufficient)	5.42	3	16	зарплата (salary)	7.57	2
17	допустить (prevent)	5.38	2	17	иностранный (foreign)	7.57	2
18	площадка (site)	5.38	2	18	обращать (pay)	7.57	2
19	специальность (specialty)	5.38	2	19	обязательный (binding)	7.57	2
20	трудно (difficult)	5.38	2	20	предприятие (enterprise)	7.57	2

Table 4.9: Putin’s strongly associated collocates of “нужный/нужно” (necessary)

The results for the collocations of the word “нужно” (necessary to) in Putin’s addresses, Ta-

ble 4.9, show certain points of the policies of his administration. The co-occurring words tell us something of the policies to which Putin paid attention: “школа” (school), “вуз” (university), “компания” (company), “финансовый” (financial), “зарплата” (salary), “иностранный” (foreign), and “предприятие” (enterprise). Also, we can see Putin’s attitude toward developing Russia with the words “благоприятный” (favourable), “подходить” (approach), and “активный” (active). See the following examples, (95) and (96).

(95) Нужно сформировать благоприятные условия для финансирования инновационной деятельности.

(It is necessary to form favorable tax conditions for financing innovation.)

(Putin 2006)

(96) [...] нам нужно слепо копировать, [...], но проанализировать всю эту практику, взять на вооружение всё то, что нам подходит, можно и нужно.

([...] we need to copy blindly, [...], but to analyze all this practice, to adopt everything that suits us, it is possible and necessary.)

(Putin 2016)

From collocations with the word “нужно” (necessary to), we may surmise that Putin’s policies targeted economics and educational institutions. Furthermore, by observing the co-occurrence relationship with other vocabulary items, attitudes toward policies in the Putin regime can be observed. As in examples (95) and (96), looking at the behavior and contents of the co-occurring words indicates that Putin considered it necessary to positively incorporate what was missing in Russia and create a system institutionalizing it.

The results for the collocations of the word “нужно” (necessary to) in Medvedev’s addresses, Table 4.10, shows certain points of the policies of his administration in the same way as for Yeltsin and Putin. Medvedev’s points of view are indicated by such co-occurring words “школа” (school), “ребенок” (child), and “семья” (family). In addition, the co-occurring words “риск” (risk) and “мешать” (prevent) show how Medvedev appeals to the audience for his own ideas. See the following examples, (97) and (98).

(97) И действовать нужно прагматично, трезво оценивая риск. Но действовать – нужно.

(And we must act pragmatically, soberly assessing risks. But to act is necessary.)

(Medvedev 2008)

Medvedev							
No.	Word	MI-score	Freq.	No.	Word	MI-score	Freq.
нужный/нужен (necessary)				нужно (necessary to)			
1	хаос (chaos)	6.52	2	1	активный (active)	7.57	4
2	демократия (democracy)	3.59	2	2	индивидуальный (individual)	7.57	2
				3	исправить (correct)	7.57	2
				4	норма (norm)	7.57	2
				5	последователь (follower)	7.57	2
				6	средство (means)	7.57	2
				7	трезво (soberly)	7.57	2
				8	школа (school)	7.57	2
				9	функция (function)	7.16	3
				10	следующий (following)	6.57	3
				11	действующий (current)	6.57	2
				12	особенность (feature)	6.57	2
				13	оценивать (evaluate)	6.57	2
				14	риска (risk)	6.57	2
				15	считать (consider)	6.31	5
				16	ребенок (child)	6.16	3
				17	первое (first)	6.09	5
				18	мешать (prevent)	5.99	2
				19	практический (practical)	5.99	2
				20	семья (family)	5.99	2

Table 4.10: Medvedev’s “нужный/нужно” (necessary), MI scores ≥ 3

(98) [...] кто вкладывает деньги в это, – не нужно штрафами, мешая исправить ситуацию.

Напротив, здесь нужно поощрять и максимально применять механизм частно-государственного партнёрства.

([...] Those who invest in it — no need to press fines, making it difficult to correct the situation. On the contrary, it is necessary to encourage and maximize the use of the mechanism of private-public partnership.)

(Medvedev 2010)

Looking at Medvedev’s usage of collocations on necessity in (97) and (98) shows that after mentioning a negative point, he links it to a claim of what to do. In order to strengthen the assertion, contents opposite to the assertion is provided to make a positive and negative contrast for the listener.

Another way of strengthening such an assertion may also be observed in the collocations with “нужный” (necessary) located on the left sides of Tables (4.8), (4.9), and (4.10). The co-occurring words with “нужный” (necessary) also show certain points of policies for each president. Here, we would like to focus on the negative and positive words in these lists. Yeltsin has the negative words “бояться” (fear; verb) and “жесткий” (hard) and the positive word “ясный” (clear). Putin has the negative words “враг” (enemy), “запрет” (ban), and “трудно” (difficult), and the positive words “свободно” (freely) and “ясный” (clear), while Medvedev has the negative word “хаос” (chaos). Medvedev has one more co-occurring word, “демократия” (democracy), but we do not treat it as a positive word because it is a word of thought.

The following examples (99), (100), (101) and (102) concern the usage of the same positive collocated words with the word “нужный” (necessary) in Yeltsin’s and Putin’s addresses.

- (99) Укрепление российской государственности немыслимо без развития науки, смысл которого сейчас предельно ясен: нужна естественная интеграция науки в новые рыночные условия. (Strengthening Russian statehood is unthinkable without the development of science, the meaning of which is now very clear: we need the natural integration of science into new market conditions.)

(Yeltsin 1994)

- (100) Один урок ясен уже сейчас: России нужен порядок.
(One lesson is clear now: Russia needs order.)

(Yeltsin 1997)

- (101) Нужны ясные правовые условия для развития долгосрочного жилищного кредитования [...] .
(Clear legal conditions are needed for the development of long-term housing loans [...].)

(Putin 2004)

- (102) Нам нужны ясные ориентиры, нужен документ, который можно было бы отследить и проконтролировать его исполнение.
(We need clear guidelines, we need a document that can be tracked and monitored.)

(Putin 2012)

Looking at the vocabulary co-occurring with “нужный” (necessary), common collocations were observed for Yeltsin and Putin, but their use was different. Yeltsin used “ясный” (clear) in an

understanding of the situation. He suggests what is obvious and describes what is necessary on that basis. By doing so, the claim is conveyed to the listeners as well as the fact that the speaker, Yeltsin, understands the issue. Putin claims clarity on existing matters. He argues that clarity is necessary and does not criticize the content itself on that count. Putin is in the position of the user who needs a more intelligible explanation. By appealing to the “need for clarity”, Putin has been able to tell the hearer what he grasps the problem to be. Yeltsin describes the necessity seen in the actual situation, while Putin talks about the necessity of seeing the matter and the results of doing so. Now let us turn to an examination of the collocations of “нужный” (necessary) with negative words. See the following examples, (103), (104), and (105).

- (103) [...] люди не должны бояться жить в собственной стране. Нужный современные и эффективные Вооруженные Силы и крепкие правоохранительные органы.
 ([...] people should not be afraid to live in their own country. We need modern and effective armed forces and strong law enforcement agencies.)

(Yeltsin 1996)

- (104) В отличие от некоторых зарубежных коллег, которые видят в России противника, мы не ищем и никогда не искали врагов. Нам нужны друзья.
 (Unlike some foreign colleagues who see Russia as an enemy, we are not looking for and have never looked for enemies. We need friends.)

(Putin 2016)

- (105) России нужна демократия, не хаос, нужна вера в будущее и справедливость.
 (Russia needs democracy, not chaos, it needs faith in the future and justice.)

(Medvedev 2011)

In (103) Yeltsin uses the negative word “бояться” (fear) to argue that it is the state that protects the people. By erasing the image of negative fear, Yeltsin emphasizes what the nation should do in order for people to live in peace in their own country. In (104) Putin talks about the relationship with foreign countries but insists that Russia is seeking relations with other countries as a partner and friend, not an enemy. Putin is not searching for enemies among other countries and argues that the Russian government is innocent, claiming that he has never sought such relationships. Especially at that time of unstable relations between the US and Russia due to the Syrian problem, Putin needed to state Russia’s current position in international relations in order to gain the public’s trust. In (105) Medvedev complains about the end of Russia as a democratic country. He raises “democracy”

for the first time, denies that it is “chaos” next, and finally concludes by drawing on the memory of the people as a condition of the democratic state once again. Medvedev may be trying to eliminate Russian democracy once the people have appeared by claiming that the democracy he is seeking is “not chaos”.

The words “нужно” (necessary to) and “нужный” (necessary) allow us to know the points of policies and the attitude of presidents to the tasks facing them in Russia. By looking at the use of co-occurring words, we clarified the point is not “what”, that is, nothing about policy content, but “how”, that is, what the president should do as his responsibility and how to convey necessary information for the state .

The presidents’ concepts of values

The Толковый словарь (Explanatory dictionary) defines “необходимый” (necessary) as follows: 1. Such a thing without which it is impossible to do, necessary (1. Такой, без которого нельзя обойтись, нужный), 2. Required, inevitable (2. Обязательный, неизбежный). Note that the word необходимый (necessary) is a lemmatized. Table 4.11 shows the results of the collocations by MI scores. From the meaning of the word “необходимый” (necessary), we think that it is possible to observe the values of each president by focusing on this word and its co-occurring words.

Yeltsin has concrete nouns related to the economy, “антимонопольный” (anti-monopoly) and “капиталовложение” (investment), as well as some verbs referring to re-examining, “пересмотреть” (review) and “проанализировать” (analyze). These co-occurring words allow us to predict that Yeltsin paid attention to economic problems and the necessity of readjusting the systems in Russia. When we focus on the words “sogkasovannostp1” (coherence) and “сообща” (collectively), then we can see how Yeltsin tends to achieve the goal of his policies. See the following examples, (106) and (107).

(106) Для этого необходима максимальная согласованность усилий общества, всех ветвей власти и систем управления, осовых политических сил страны.

(This requires the maximum coherence of the efforts of society, all branches of government and control systems, the main political forces of the country.)

(Yeltsin 1998)

Yeltsin				Putin				Medvedev			
No.	Word	MI-score	Freq.	No.	Word	MI-score	Freq.	No.	Word	MI-score	Freq.
необходимый (necessary)				необходимый (necessary)				необходимый (necessary)			
1	насушно (urgent)	6.09	3	1	прогнозирование (prediction)	4.51	2	1	открепительный (absentee)	7.09	2
2	инструктивный (briefing)	5.51	2	2	продлить (extend)	4.51	2	2	удостоверение (certificate)	6.09	2
3	минимально (minimally)	5.51	2	3	сигнал (signal)	4.51	2	3	видение (vision)	4.77	2
4	неординарный (extraordinary)	5.51	2	4	системно (systemically)	4.51	2	4	подпись (signature)	4.51	3
5	набрать (dial)	5.09	3	5	придать (make)	3.77	3	5	всесторонний (comprehensive)	3.77	2
6	антимонопольный (anti-monopoly)	5.09	2	6	выпуск (production)	3.77	2	6	широко (widely)	3.77	2
7	МИА (Ministry of Foreign Affairs)	5.09	2	7	материнский (maternal)	3.63	2	7	распространить (extend)	3.39	2
8	мониторинг (monitoring)	5.09	2	8	обоснованный (reasonable)	3.51	2	8	оперативный (operational)	3.09	2
9	согласованность (coherence)	5.09	2	9	востребовать (claim)	3.43	3	9	привлекать (involve)	3.09	2
10	настоятельно (urged)	4.87	3	10	накопление (accumulation)	3.43	3	10	сократить (reduce)	3.04	3
11	капиталовложение (investment)	4.77	2	11	снять (remove)	3.43	3				
12	подчинение (subordination)	4.77	2	12	тип (type)	3.39	2				
13	дополнение (addition)	4.63	4	13	карта (map)	3.29	2				
14	дополнить (complement)	4.51	2	14	передача (transfer)	3.19	2				
15	доработать (finalized)	4.51	2	15	существование (existence)	3.19	2				
16	тайна (secret)	4.51	2	16	навести (suggest)	3.16	3				
17	сообща (collectively)	4.29	2	17	библиотека (library)	3.09	2				
18	пересмотреть (review)	4.09	2	18	консолидация (consolidation)	3.09	2				
19	проанализировать (analyze)	3.98	3								
20	проявлять (show)	3.92	4								

Table 4.11: The collocations of the word “необходимый” (necessary), MI score ≥ 3

(107) Сегодня нам необходимо сообща вырабатывать рычаги, которые позволят более эффективно упорядочить федеративные отношения.

(Today, we need to work together to develop leverage that will allow us to streamline federative relations more effectively.)

(Yeltsin 1998)

Yeltsin stated in the Presidential Address in 1998 that economic growth is not the ultimate goal but rather the growth of life in Russian society as a whole. It is a widespread improvement in education, science, and the culture of social welfare. Yeltsin says, “the country is in promotion” (Страна на подъёме!) only by doing so. However, for that purpose, it is essential that the entire settlement

and cooperation are indispensable, and this sentence is arguing that it can not be avoided. Also, Yeltsin describes the need to establish a cooperative framework in federal relations for the efficient and rational development of Russia. He explains that this is not aimed at innovation but that it is necessary to balance the rights of the federal government and of each constituent committee to the last degree based on the existing constitution.

When we examine the co-occurring words used by Putin, it is hard to understand at a glance what kind of point is being emphasized. However, focusing on words like “сигнал” (signal), “выпуск” (product), “карта” (map), and “придать” (make), we see that these words are future images or advances of Russia. See the next examples, (108) and (109).

(108) Нам нужна инвестиционная карта России, необходимо дать инвесторам сигнал, на каких территориях выгоднее работать, на какую поддержку государства бизнес вправе рассчитывать.

(We need an investment map of Russia, it is necessary to give investors a signal on which territories it is more profitable to work in, what kind of state support a business can expect.)

(Putin 2012)

(109) Качественному образованию на русском языке необходимо придать глобальный характер.

(Quality education in Russia must be given a global character.)

(Putin 2012)

In 2012, Putin emphasized in his own paper “Нам нужна новая экономика” (We need a new economy) that it was important to tackle issues such as developing an investment environment to reduce economic dependence on natural resources. Putin also cites restrictions on state management of business in the paper. In (108) Putin insists on the necessity of Russian investment, the overall model of corporate support. In (109) Putin describes new values for the the content of Russian education so as to judge things on a global level. This is because there are goals of making world-wide advances in the Russian humanities, information, culture, and other fields. In other words, Putin wishes to make Russia a world-wide brand by establishing values in Russian world, sending them out, and advancing.

The co-occurring words in Medvedev’s addresses, “широко” (widely), “распространить” (extend), and “всесторонний”, represent the concept and the fundamental feelings for achieving the goals of the Medvedev administration. See following examples, (110) and (111).

(110) Необходимо преодолеть широко распространённые представления о том, что все существующие проблемы должно решить государство или кто-то ещё, но не каждый из нас на своём месте.

(It is necessary to overcome the widespread ideas that all existing problems should be solved by the state or someone else, not by each one of us in his own place.)

(Medvedev 2008)

(111) В XXI веке нашей стране вновь необходима всесторонняя модернизация.

(In the 21st century, our country once again needs comprehensive modernization.)

(Medvedev 2009)

In (110) Medvedev describes the attitude toward various problems in Russia. He tries to eliminate conventional ideas and urge some kind of growth for the listeners with the word “overcome”. The problems of the nation are Russia’s problems, therefore it is necessary to solve them with the cooperation of each citizen. Medvedev shares the problems in Russia, while he states that the individual’s success also needs to be shared throughout the whole of Russia. He appeals to the necessity for consciousness as a community. In (111) Medvedev touches on “modernization”, which is also a goal set by his own administration. In the 21st century Russia faces the quandary that it cannot proceed without undergoing modernization. From the end of the 17th century to the 18th century, Russia experienced modernization in the era of Peter the Great and joined the ranks of the great European powers. It is a well-known fact that major changes in Russia are required to achieve modernization. However, Medvedev reports that Russia will not have any options other than “modernization” to gain an important position in the world in the future.

By focusing on words co-occurring with “необходимый” (necessary), we were able to observe what kind of attitude would be pursued as a policy direction and discuss what values the president is trying to advance through policy.

4.3 Section summary

In this section, we examined the features of the Russian Presidential Addresses to the Federal Assembly of each president. From the character of the annual Addresses, the characteristic words obtained by correspondence analysis were mainly vocabulary concerning policy. In the collocation study, we compared the leader’s nature as president based on the vocabulary related to problems, and, based on the vocabulary for responsibility, we examined what is necessary for the nation and what to do as the president. It is actually an active part of politics that greatly affects the president’s

approval rating, but linguistic expression is also heavily involved in the approval rating. If we pay attention to the vocabulary co-occurring with “necessity” when looking at changes in expressions and vocabulary for each president following the times, the Yeltsin administration was a period of an “escape from minus” and “new start”, the Putin administration was a period of a “signpost to the plus” and “creation of new value judgment”, and the Medvedev administration was a period of “sense of some sense of crisis” and “sense of unity of Russia as a whole”.

The aim of the annual Address is to state plans for political policy in the future, but in its expression, the ideology of the speaker and his own appeal as a national leader are incorporated. Therefore, it can be said that analyzing what is being told in addition to listening to what is being told is one important means of knowing “Russia”.

Chapter 5

Media coverage of presidential addresses

5.1 The structure of Russian newspapers

In this section the structure of Russian newspapers will be introduced. Богомолов (Bogomolov 2012: 12–13) clarifies that the structure of Russia’s newspaper is divided into a variety of sections such as: World, Sports, Politics and Business, are designated so that each main section is split into smaller subsections, for example, in the politics and business selection; visiting political leaders, business, neighboring counties and so on. The headlines are written first, followed by the articles which are signed by the reporters who wrote them. The types of articles are short articles about specific themes that match each section. Headlines in newspapers are usually given short titles so that the content of the article is quickly conveyed to the reader.

In this study the articles about presidential addresses are being utilized, therefore it will be examining the high frequency of the vocabulary that would be used such as: “президент” (president), “послал” (sent), “обратился” (appealed) and “послание” (address) in order to make it easy for readers to know what the information is about. The headlines of each article strongly suggests to the readers the types of frequency words they will encounter in the article. In order to emphasize an article, besides the location of the articles, sometimes the headlines are written in all capitals, different fonts, sizes, punctuations and colors. Another feature of Russian newspaper articles is that personal names are often written in a bold type face. On this occasion we have observed articles on the political field and about the presidential addresses, so the person’s names are often from politicians.

The print media including the Internet news have photographs, pictures or cartoons related to the contents of the articles. The articles about the president also have photographs. As far as we observed the articles in the broadsheet Независимая газета (*Nezavisimaya gazeta*) and the tabloid Комсомольская правда (*Komsomolskaya pravda*) printed photographs and cartoons about

president. The following Figure 5.1 and 5.3 are the cartoons from the broadsheet Независимая газета (*Nezavisimaya gazeta*) . As far as we observed, we did not find cartoons about Medvedev in Независимая газета (*Nezavisimaya gazeta*) , instead of cartoons in the articles, readers were presented with impressive photographs, Figure 5.4. Note that, recently, articles about Putin have also shifted from cartoons to photographs.



Figure 5.1: “BUILDING HIS IMAGE AS THE FATHER OF THE NATION BORIS YELTSIN FLIRTING SIMULTANEOUSLY WITH COMMUNISTS, DEMOCRATS AND PATRIOTS” (*Nezavisimaya gazeta*, November 30, 1996)



Figure 5.2: “Радио жирафф” (A radio giraffe) written by Валентин Петрович Катаев (Valentin Petrovich Kataev) in 1927



Figure 5.3: “NON-ALTERNATIVE PUTIN Other presidential candidates will have to play the role of scenery” (*Nezavisimaya gazeta*, January 13, 2000)



Figure 5.4: “The end of the tandem” (*Nezavisimaya gazeta*, December 30, 2011)

The cartoons are sometimes drawn in the style of children’s books such as the cartoon about Yeltsin in Figure 5.1. This is a certain scene from the book “Радио жирафф” (A radio giraffe) written by Валентин Петрович Катаев (Valentin Petrovich Kataev) in 1927. The dialogs of Yeltsin’s cartoon character is the same type of comment “Как живете, караси?” (How do you live, Prussian carps?), and the Prussian carps in that book answered – “Ничего себе, мерси!” (Wow, merci!). The original picture is shown in Figure 5.2. The picture about Yeltsin’s attitude to each thought

in politics was portrayed in the motif of Kataev's work as in Figure 5.2. But Yeltsin asks to the Prussian carps, which are on display in a window as foodstuffs, rather than in their natural living state in the water. Yeltsin's perception of the different section of society was too superficial and he sees all members as "uniform comrades".

Figure 5.3 shows the situation of the presidential election at that time. As shown in the picture, Putin has already taken position of the key with national emblem of the Double-headed eagle to open the door to the Kremlin. The other presidential candidates were described as raising Putin to make it easier to open the door. The result of the presidential election was already a foregone conclusion before the vote and as written in the headline, it was presented that the alternative choices were not just Putin but also the other candidates who were only stage devices for showing the election to be electoral. Figure 5.4 is not a so-called caricature. This is a photograph of an actual work scene where an advertisement is being applied to a billboard. However, in this picture the headline and the work landscape are impressive, the picture of the wall has been switched from Medvedev to Putin, symbolizing the end of the Medvedev administration. Headlines and inserts have the effect of making the content of articles more comprehensible, enhancing the message quality to readers.

Pictures and photographs about presidential addresses

When we focus on the articles in the newspapers which were utilized for this paper, about presidential addresses, only the articles relating to Yeltsin's presidential addresses have cartoons. Figure 5.5 and 5.6 are cartoons about Yeltsin's presidential addresses in 1994 and 1997. The broadsheet *Независимая газета* (*Nezavisimaya gazeta*) performed how Yeltsin derived his first presidential address in 1994. The headline of this article shows the evaluation to this, "ПОСЛАНИЕ ПРЕЗИДЕНТА ПАРАМЕНТУ РОССИИ: МНОГО РИТОРИКИ, МАЛО КОНКРЕТИКИ" (MESSAGE OF THE PRESIDENT TO THE PARLIAMENT OF RUSSIA: MANY RHETORICS, BUT LITTLE OF CONCRETE VALUE), and after this phrase, "СМЕНЫ ВЕХ НЕ ПРЕДВИДИЦЯ, НО УСИЛЯЦЯ ДУХ ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОСТИ И ОПТИМИЗМА" (CHANGE IN MILESTONE IS NOT EXPECTED, BUT THE SPIRIT OF STATEHOOD AND OPTIMISM WILL INCREASE) in smaller font size. Yeltsin, in the illustration, is wearing a bow tie and is highlighted with a spotlight on the stage. The expression of Yeltsin is painted with a hard smile, like a recital unrelated to any political speech. The tabloid *Комсомольская правда* (*Komsomolskaya pravda*) also put a cartoon about Yeltsin's presidential address in 1997 as in Figure 5.6. Yeltsin had heart disease due to a medical condition, and his health condition was rather bad. At the time of Yeltsin's second term, his heart disease worsened and surgery and hospitalization were repeated. There is "ПРЕЗИДЕНТ БУДЕТ НАВОДИТЬ ПОРЯДОК САМ" (THE PRESIDENT WILL LEAD THE

ORDER HIMSELF') in the headline, but in the illustration, the image of a person seen as a doctor who advises Yeltsin is drawn. The doctor in the picture says “Иногда все же необходимо осуществлять и перестановку мебели в квартире, и перестановки в правительстве... Доказано, что это благотворно влияет на здоровье”. (Sometimes it is still necessary to carry out and rearrange the furniture in the apartment, and rearrangements in the government ... It is proved that this has a beneficial effect on health.). Looking at the dialogue of the doctor, the changing of the placement of the furniture and the personnel change of the government are presented as being at the same level, and it is treated as a change of feeling. Yeltsin is drawn listening to the doctor's words seriously. A big discomfort is created in the titles of such illustrations and headlines.



Figure 5.5: “MESSAGE OF THE PRESIDENT TO THE PARLIAMENT OF RUSSIA: MANY RHETORICS, A LITTLE CONCRETE” (Nezavisimaya gazeta, February 23, 1994)



Figure 5.6: “THE PRESIDENT WILL LEAD THE ORDER HIMSELF” (Komsomolskaya pravda, March 07, 1997)

Figure 5.7, 5.8, 5.9 and 5.10 are photographs for the article about Medvedev's presidential address in 2008. The photographs in Figure 5.7 and 5.8 are from the broadsheet Независимая газета (Nezavisimaya gazeta) . The photograph in Figure 5.7 captures Medvedev from the front, and Medvedev is taken from an angle parallel with the national flag. The photograph in Figure 5.8 was printed in the next page of Figure 5.7. This photograph explains “Владимир Путин впервые не произносил, а слушал Послание президента.” (Vladimir Putin did not speak at first, but listened to the President's Message.). The photographs in Figure 5.9 and 5.10 are from the tabloid



Figure 5.7: “The direction of Medvedev. (Photo: The head of state brought down a hail of political initiatives on the heads of parliamentarians.)” (Nezavisimaya gazeta, November 06, 2008)



Figure 5.8: “Vladimir Putin did not speak at first, but listened to the President’s Message”. (Nezavisimaya gazeta, November 06, 2008)



Figure 5.9: “The President chose the Georgievsky Hall of the Kremlin for his first Message as the most solemn one”. (Komsomolskaya pravda, November 06, 2008)



Figure 5.10: “Increase the term of the president (Photo: Vladimir Putin and speakers Boris Gryzlov and Sergey Mironov entered the hall last all of those invited and took their seats in the front row.)”. (Komsomolskaya pravda, November 06, 2008)

Комсомольская правда (*Komsomolskaya pravda*). In the photograph in Figure 5.9, the state of Medvedev’s first presidential address is shown. It shows the solemn atmosphere, where the invited politicians pay attention to Medvedev, listening to his every word. The photograph shows the state of the speech of Medvedev from afar, and the national flag is included from the angle located behind Medvedev, and explains “Президент выбрал для своего первого Послания Георгиевский зал Кремля – как самый торжественный.” (The President chose the Georgievsky Hall of the Kremlin for his first Message as the most solemn one.). The photograph in Figure 5.10 is almost same as the photograph in figure 5.8. As for the headline, the title was written “Увеличить срок президента” (Increase the term of the president), which Medvedev revised in the legislation. Under the this title phrase the photograph 5.10 is add with the explanation, “Владимир Путин и спикеры Борис Грызлов и Сергей Миронов вошли в зал последними из приглашенных и заняли места в первом ряду.” (Vladimir Putin and speakers Boris Gryzlov and Sergey Mironov entered the hall last all of

those invited and took their seats in the front row.). These pictures, Figure 5.7, 5.8, 5.9 and 5.10 are newspapers issued on the same day, but the impression given to the readers is largely different. The pictures of Figure 5.7 and 5.8 certainly explain that Putin was listening to Medvedev’s presidential address, although it can not deny the influence of Putin, Medvedev became the new president and the attitude to lead the nation is seen. The picture in Figure 5.9 and 5.10 strongly impresses that Medvedev’s constitutional amendment is only for Putin. In addition, in the explanation of the picture, the relationship with Medvedev is drawn from the way of Putin’s appearance. From the angle where the presidential flag is located behind Medvedev, it could give an impression that the Medvedev regime comes from the support of the influence of Putin as a Tandemocracy. Even if newspapers are reporting the same subject, the impression given to the reader by the picture, its angle and explanation is different.



Figure 5.11: “For Vladimir Putin, this was the tenth anniversary message to the Federal Assembly”. (Komsomolskaya pravda, December 13, 2013)

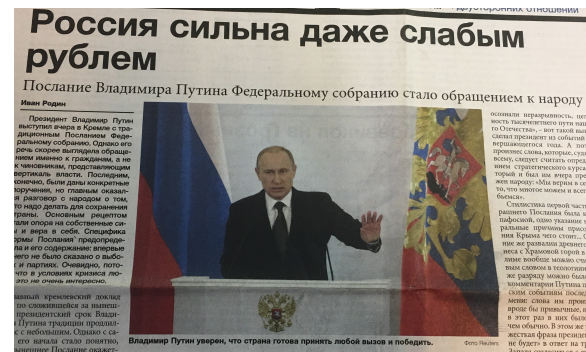


Figure 5.12: “Russia is strong even with a weak ruble” (Nezavisimaya gazeta, December 05, 2014)

Figure 5.11 and 5.12 are from the articles about Putin’s presidential addresses in 2013 and 2014. The photograph in Figure 5.11 shows the appearance of Putin entering the venue with a dash, giving the impression of the opening of the new Putin regime. The explanation of this picture is “Для Владимира Путина это было юбилейное, десятое Послание Федеральному собранию” (For Vladimir Putin, this was the tenth anniversary message to the Federal Assembly.). The photograph in Figure 5.12 shows how Putin speaks about his own policies with the headline “Россия сильна даже слабым рублем” (Russia is strong even with a weak ruble). The picture is taken from an angle where Putin is located in front and the national flag and presidential flag are located on both sides of Putin. This gives the impression that the nation of Russia is guided by Putin. In addition, the explanation under this photograph is written “Владимир Путин уверен, что страна готова принять любой вызов и победить” (Vladimir Putin is confident that the country is ready to accept

any challenge and win.). The description of the photographs, headlines and photographs will give the reader the impression that the Putin administration is full of expectations of decisions that will raise Russia.

Pictures, illustrations and accompanying descriptive text and headlines instantly convey the content of the article to the reader, as well as the impression of the president. Focusing on the presidential addresses, caricatures related to Yeltsin were confirmation of the real sentiment, but for Putin and Medvedev it was confirmed through the photographs that were actually taken, giving different impressions depending on the explanatory sentences and headings.

5.2 News headlines

In this section, articles about the Presidential addresses to the Federal Assembly between the broadsheet and the tabloid will be compared. In section 5.2 the tendency of headlines and strategies of journalists, comparing the two different types of press will be investigated. In section 5.3 the ways the Russian press reports Presidential addresses will be examined.

The role of headlines

When we read newspapers, we tend to read the headlines first. Writers try to write impressive, exciting and eye catching headlines to grab the readers' attention and simultaneously infer the importance of the articles content. The headlines often use vocabulary, language and grammar which has been carefully chosen by the writers to instantly summarize what the article may be specifically focusing on. Eguti (2011: 56–57) explains that, in general, importance of information is evaluated by an editor when the information needs to be downsized to fit in a limited space. The newspaper article has an inverted triangle structure, the most important contents of the article are placed directly under the headline and that importance gradually decreases as a reader move through the article.

In order to control the reader's awareness of the headline layout, the writers also pay attention to the font and size of the characters. The parts that the writers want to emphasize, most often use capitals, bold letters or symbols. Eguti also mentions that newspapers are made up of visual elements such as: dark and light inks, dots and lines. When considering a larger element, elements such as photographs and illustrations can be cited. In printed newspapers, the importance of news is ranked by these visual elements and their arrangement. The news which the editor judged important occupies a large space, devised so as to able to retain the gaze of the reader. In this way, the headline draws attention of the reader using many devices. For that reason, we consider that it is also worth

evaluating the writer’s attention, consciousness and intention in headlines. We will discuss the tendencies of the headlines and strategies of the journalists.

Linguistic devices in headlines

The aim of the comparison of the headlines is to answer the following two research questions: 1) Are there any differences of evaluation of each president between the newspapers the broadsheet, Независимая газета (*Nezavisimaya gazeta*) and the tabloid “Комсомольская правда” (*Komsomolskaya pravda*) ?, 2) Are there any tendencies of the usage of words among the relevant press?. We analyzed the articles, which mentioned Russian Presidential addresses to the Federal Assembly given by B. H. Yeltsin, V. V. Putin and D. A. Medvedev, so that the comparison when evaluating journalists for each president is at the same political official event, and in context. Russian Presidents state the policy and situation of the country, such as an economic issues, standard of living of citizens, the system of social welfare, and the relationships with other countries. The mass media usually inform the public about the details of the Russian Presidential Address to the Federal Assembly the day after the address takes place. On occasions when the media inform the public about the Presidential Address in advance, they try to motivate the nation to pay attention to the political event. When journalists report about the Presidential Address in the press after it takes place, they could influence the readers. While journalists report about the contents of the Presidential Address, they also give an evaluation of the president as a leader of the country. Comparison of the headlines among two different Russian press provides us with an investigation of opportunity the difference in usage of words and an evaluation of each Russian President among them.

	Независимая газета (<i>Nezavisimaya gazeta</i>)		Комсомольская правда (<i>Komsomolskaya pravda</i>)	
	Types	Tokens	Types	Tokens
Yeltsin	105	158	44	55
Putin	313	494	162	270
Medvedev	108	148	100	129

Table 5.1: Headlines information (1) (lemmatized, without stop words)

Table 5.1 provides an information of headlines in the press. Because of the small number of vocabulary in the headline, we lemmatized texts. The words in the headlines about any president

in the tabloid “Комсомольская правда” (*Komsomolskaya pravda*) are fewer than the broadsheet Независимая газета (*Nezavisimaya gazeta*) . The figures 5.13 and 5.14 are the results of the correspondence analysis using the top 100 word in headlines. The words “NG” and “KP” in the figures are the abbreviation of the newspapers Независимая газета (*Nezavisimaya gazeta*) and “Комсомольская правда” (*Komsomolskaya pravda*) . In addition, the words “Y” “P” and “M” are initial characters of Yeltsin, Putin and Medvedev.

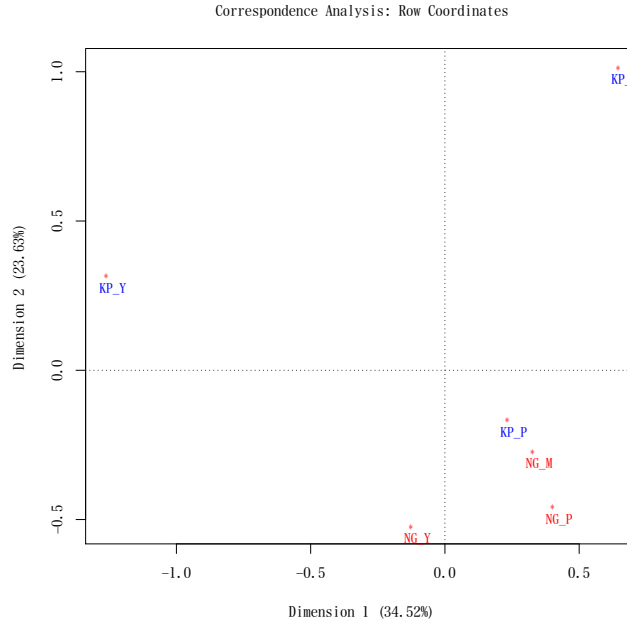


Figure 5.13: The result of the correspondence analysis 1 (lemmatized, without stop words, top 100 words)

The result in Figure 5.13 could be divided into two groups on a y value: the left side is about headlines for Yeltsin’s addresses and the right side is headlines about Putin and Medvedev’s addresses. It is worth mentioning that these two groups are categorized, not by the types of the press, but the fact about whom reported to the journalists in the press. According to the result in Figure 5.14 the key words in the headlines about Yeltsin’s addresses are function words such as: “до” (until), “кто” (who) and “для” (for), even the word “время” (time) which is an abstract word. The location of the key words in the headlines about Putin and Medvedev’s addresses are content words such as: “либеральный” (liberal), “сбыводный” (free), “деньги” (money) and “дети” (children).

Comparing these key words in the articles, the location of key words for Putin and Medvedev are more concrete words, which are related to the contents of their addresses. In other words, journalists tended to pay attention to the contents of addresses of Putin and Medvedev, for example political issues in their addresses, whereas journalists focused on different standpoints in Yeltsin’s addresses. It seems that the major factor of the classification in correspondence analysis is mostly based on the

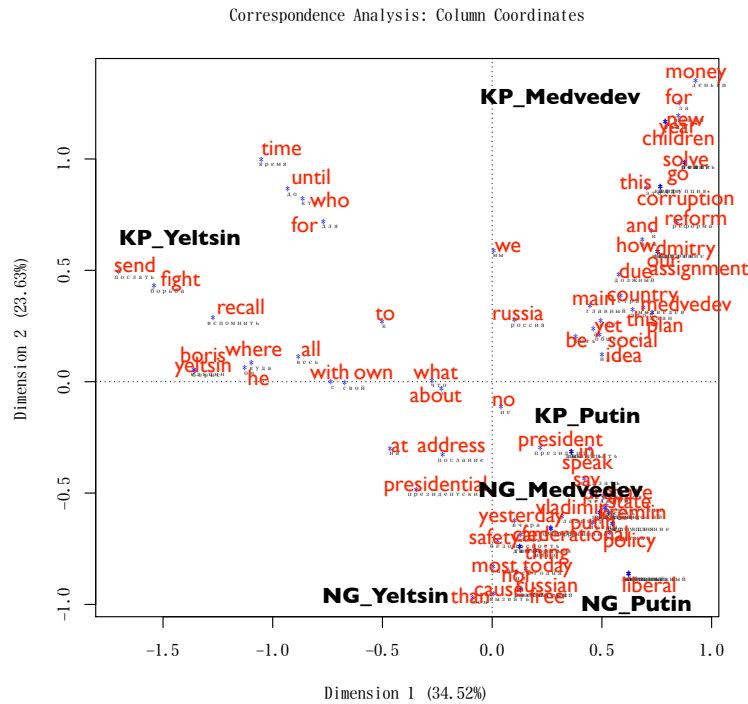


Figure 5.14: The result of the correspondence analysis 2 (lemmatized, without stop words, top 100 words)

name of each president being used in the headline. In order to analyze the roles and features of the headline, it is necessary to investigate the type of vocabulary, symbols and the like.

Linguistic differences in headlines

Now, we classify the types of vocabulary used in two types, positive and negative connotation, and examine headings for each president. The usage of words in headlines indicates the idea of the writer to the relevant incidents. We, readers of the press, first pay attention to headlines, and judge the contents based on these first impressions. Therefore, headlines have the important role in the press of giving an indication of criteria for evaluation.

Table 5.2 shows the usage of words in headlines about Yeltsin's addresses in each press. In the positive area words there are words which mean improvement of situation, whereas in negative words area there are words which indicate the bad situation in Russia. In articles about Yeltsin's addresses, journalists used both positive and negative words, but there was more weighting on negative words. Let us show you some examples of the expressions in the headlines. See next examples (112), (113), (114) and (115).

(112) ВЧЕРА БОРИС ЕЛЬЦИН ОБРАТИЛСЯ С ПРЕЗИДЕНТИСКИМ ПОСЛАНИЕМ К
ФЕДЕРАЛЬНОМУ СОБРАНИЮ

Name of the press	Positive words	Negative words
Независимая газета (<i>Nezavisimaya gazeta</i>)	лучше (better) выдержать (to survive)	не (not) хуже (worse) ни (no) хаос (chaos) анархия (anarchy) диктатура (dictatorship) противоречивый (conflicting)
Комсомольская правда (<i>Komsomolskaya pravda</i>)	высокий (high) привилегия (prerogative)	никак (nohow) ни (not) штык (bayonet) отменить (to abolish) борьба (struggle) хоронить (bury)

Table 5.2: The usage of words in articles about Yeltsin's addresses

В ПОСЛАНИИ, В ЧАСТИ, СКАЗАНО: “АЛЛЕТЕРНАТИВОЙ ДЕМОКРАТИИ МОГУТ СТАТЬ ЛИБО ХАОС ЛИБО АНАРХИЯ, НИ ТОГО, НИ ДРУГОГО РОССИЯ УЖЕ НЕТ ВЫДЕРЖИТ”

(YESTERDAY BORIS YELTSIN CONCERNED WITH THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS TO THE FEDERAL MEETING

IN MESSAGE, IN PARTICULAR, SAID: “ALTERNATIVE DEMOCRACY MAY BE EITHER CHAOS AND ANARCHY, OR DIKTATORSHIP ANY OTHER, NO OTHER RUS-SIA ALREADY NO.)

(*Nezavisimaya gazeta*, February 24. 1996)

(113) Президентское Послание: лучше, чем могло быть, хуже, чем должно быть

(Presidential Address: better than it could be, worse than it should be)

(*Nezavisimaya gazeta*, February 27. 1996)

(114) Перо никак не приравняется к штыку

(The pen can not be equated to a bayonet)

(*Komsomolskaya pravda*, February 15. 1995)

(115) Своим посланием парламенту Борис ЕЛЬЦИН явно намерен “послать” всех, кто хоронил его раньше времени

(In his message to parliament, Boris YELTSIN clearly intends to “send a message” to everyone who buried him ahead of time.)

(*Komsomolskaya pravda*, March 07–14. 1997)

The examples (112) and (113) are headlines from the broadsheet Независимая газета (*Nezavisimaya gazeta*) and the examples (114) and (115) are from the tabloid Комсомольская правда (*Komsomolskaya pravda*). In the headline in (112) the writer's report wraps up Yeltsin's presidential address by

focusing on the key points. This article was published on the day after the presidential address was carried out. This headline consisted of almost negative words, “хаос” (chaos), “анархия” (anarchy), “ни” (no) and “нет” (no). At first the words “хаос” (chaos) and “анархия” (anarchy), which explain the current democracy, evoke memories of the previous situation in the Soviet Union as a negative image to the current state. In the second half, the content in first part, is reversed, as the focus moves on to the future will of the present and positive change, while still admitting the fact that it is negative in the first half opinion and that mistake will not be repeated for the future. In this way, Yeltsin’s willful word’s words have been reproduced, and Yeltsin’s assertion is conveyed to the reader.

The example (113) is an article about the same Yeltsin presidential address, which was referred to in example headline (112). This article was published 4 days after the 23rd February 1996 Yeltsin presidential address. In this headline, positive vocabulary and negative vocabulary are used, and positive contents are stated in the former half part, after that, negative contents are added. Indeed, positive vocabulary is used in the headline, but looking at the contents of the phrase “Yeltsin’s presidential address was better than citizens (or writer) predicted”, and from this expression, it can be said that the approval range of Yeltsin was originally low. However, despite the “better-than had predicted” headline assessment, it is hard to say that the analysis of the contents of the presidential address had matched the more positive headline due to negative comparatives. The headline in an example (114) is from the tabloid Комсомольская правда (*Komsomolskaya pravda*). We consider that this headline was punned on a proverb “the pen is mightier than the sword” (Перо сильнее меча). In this headline the journalist uses the word “штык” (bayonet) not “меч” (sword). By replacing it with the vocabulary of “штык” (bayonet), it could be said that it is strengthening the impression of war and soldiers to the readers. This heading is expressed with double negation rather than assertion in an affirmative sentence, and writers put a stronger claim than the meaning of the original proverb. As you know, “The pen is stronger than the sword” means that thought and information by the press are more influential than violence, but due to press restrictions etc., the writer writes that “The pen can not become a sword”. It can be said that he or she has anxiety about freedom of speech and information freedom in the press in the Yeltsin administration in 1995. In the headline (115) the journalist expresses about Yeltsin’s health condition. By using the negative word “хоронил” (buried), the writer describes the relationship between Yeltsin and other politicians. Here the writer focuses on sending a message to other politicians themselves, Yeltsin has enough physical strength to achieve his policies and suggests his physical strength is recovering. In addition, by showing this example, in what is clearly understood as “in his message to parliament” and the capitalization of Yeltsin’s name, it shows that Yeltsin is the president and president of the state.

Table 5.3 shows the usage of words in headlines about Putin’s addresses in each press. Positive words in his headlines are words which mean development, and opening new doors for Russia in the global community. Whereas, there are negative words which show political problems and national problems. Interestingly, journalists tend to use positive words more than negative words. See the following examples of headlines (116), (117), (118) and (119).

Name of the press	Positive words	Negative words
Независимая газета (<i>Nezavisimaya gazeta</i>)	свободный (free) шаг (step) патриотизм (patriotism) выполнительный (executive) интересы (profit) быстрее (faster) новый (new) мир (peace) добрый (kind) сильный (hard) выживать (survive) развиваться (develop) возрождение (revival)	трудный (difficult) но (but) ни (no) невозможно (impossibly) противника (opponent) убийство (murder) война (war) слабый (weak) подозрительно (suspiciously) оптимизма (optimism) коррупция (corruption)
Комсомольская правда (<i>Komsomolskaya pravda</i>)	новый (new) зажиточный (wealthy) сверхдержавы (superpowers) процветающий (prosperous)	террористы (terrorist) но (but) разрушение (destruction) уничтожить (destroy) прятаться (hide)

Table 5.3: The usage of words in articles about Putin’s addresses

(116) Патриотизм без коррупции

Духовное возрождение нации невозможно вне единство слова и дела во власть

(Patriotism without corruption)

The spiritual rebirth of a nation is impossible without the unity of word and deed in power.)

(*Nezavisimaya gazeta*, December. 13. 2012)

(117) Бюджетный оптимизм Владимира Путина

Сегодня президент объяснит, как будет выживать и развиваться

(Budget optimism of Vladimir Putin)

Today, the president will explain how the country will survive and develop.)

(*Nezavisimaya gazeta*, December. 04. 2014)

(118) “Мы должны сделать Россию процветающей И ЗАЖИТОЧНОЙ СТРОИНОЙ”

(“We have to make Russia a prosperous AND WEALTHY COUNTRY”)

(*Komsomolskaya pravda*, April 20. 2002)

(119) В Сирии мы сражаемся прежде всего за Россию.

Мы обязаны уничтожить террористов на дальних постах

(In Syria, we are fighting primarily for Russia. We must destroy the terrorists to protect our future.)

(*Komsomolskaya pravda*, December 04. 2015)

Looking at the headlines (116), (117), (118) and (119), these headlines are reflected to the contents of the presidential addresses rather than the evaluation of Putin's speeches. The headlines (116) and (117) are from the broadsheet Независимая газета (*Nezavisimaya gazeta*), while the headlines (118) and (119) are from the tabloid Комсомольская правда (*Komsomolskaya pravda*). Putin's strong argument is reflected in the headlines because there are used simultaneously with the vocabulary that negates the negative meaning when the writer uses negative words as in (116): "без коррупции" (without corruption), "невозможно вне единство слова и дела" (impossible without the unity of word and deed). These words play the role to set out the condition of the Russian society, which Putin holds up as an ideal. The headline (117) was derived at the day of the presidential address before Putin's presidential speech. In the headline there is a citizen's concern, expectations for Putin's presidential address with the word "бюджетный оптимизм" (budget optimism), "выживать и развиваться" (survive and develop). The headline (118) is a quote from Putin's presidential address. The writer emphasizes by displaying capital letters in the second half of the quoted part. The headline (119) is focused on the specific current problems. The writer put the idea of Putin on the headline that the military intervention to Syria, using the word "сражать" (fight), "уничтожить" (destroy) against "террористы" (terrorists), and this military action is for Russia.

The Table 5.4 shows the words used in the headlines about Medvedev's addresses in each press. The headlines in both newspapers, the broadsheet Независимая газета (*Nezavisimaya gazeta*) and the tabloid Комсомольская правда (*Komsomolskaya pravda*), have more negative words than positive words. See the following examples of the headlines (120), (121), (122) and (123).

(120) Курс Медведева

Президент в своем первом Послании никому не пообещал легкой жизни

(The direction of Medvedev

The President in his first Message did not promise anyone an easy life)

(*Nezavisimaya gazeta*, November 06. 2008)

Name of the press	Positive words	Negative words
“Независимая газета” (<i>Nezavisimaya gazeta</i>)	новый (new) сохранить (retain) стабильность (stability) оппутинизация (optimized) свобода (freedom) плюс (plus) модернизация (modernization) инициатива (initiative) легкий (easy)	невозможно (impossible) ни (nor) никому (anyone) ошибка (mistake) разочарование (disappointment)
“Комсомольская правда” (<i>Komsomolskaya pravda</i>)	увеличить (increase) новый (new)	враг (enemy) не (not) коррупция (corruption) стыдно (ashamed) драк (fighting) расход (consumption)

Table 5.4: The usage of words in articles about Medvedev’s addresses

(121) Президент признал сохранить финаисовую стабильность

Признаков нового экономического курса в Послании не оказалось

(President urged to maintain financial stability

Signs of a new economic direction in the Message was not offered.)

(*Nezavisimaya gazeta*, November 23. 2011)

(122) “Увеличить сроки президента и Госдумы до 6 и 5 лет”

(“Increase the terms of the President and the State Duma to 6 and 5 years”)

(*Komsomolskaya pravda*, November 06. 2008)

(123) “Нам не должно быть стыдно за страну, которую мы передадим нашим детям и внукам”

(“We should not be ashamed of the country that we will pass on to our children and grandchildren”)

(*Komsomolskaya pravda*, December 01. 2010)

The headlines (120) and (121) are from the broadsheet Независимая газета (*Nezavisimaya gazeta*), and the headlines (122) and (123) are from the tabloid Комсомольская правда (*Komsomolskaya pravda*). These headlines are reflected from the contents of the presidential addresses given by Medvedev. Focusing on the difference in expression between the headline of Putin’s presidential addresses and the headline of Medvedev’s, the writer tends to focus on the negative parts and narrows down the points in Medvedev’s addresses as in (122) and (123). Even if the writer uses a positive vocabulary in (123) such as “стабильность” (stability) and “новый” (new), the headline ends in a negative form, which ultimately denies any positivity. From this, it can be seen that the writer or readers could not get answers to issue of interest from Medvedev’s presidential address. The headline

(122) was published on the same day with the headline (120). The headline (120) focuses on the direction of life of citizens, but in the headline (122) pays attention to the amendment of the Constitution. The headlines (122) and (123) are almost quoted representations of Medvedev's presidential addresses. But these quoted headlines provide insufficient information relating to Medvedev's statements. In the headline (122) Medvedev mentioned that the increase of the term of the president is not constitutional reform, but an amendment of the Constitution. The topic in the headline (123) was a modernization of Russia and to solve the economic issues. Therefore, at first, these headlines could give a different impression from Medvedev's statement.

The role of headlines is to give understanding to the readers of what kind of topics would be written in the articles. The headlines about Yeltsin's presidential addresses are written from the point of the evaluation by the journalists. On the other hand, the headlines about Putin's and Medvedev's addresses are written according to the contents of presidential addresses. The difference of the tendency in headlines between Putin and Medvedev is that the headlines about Putin's addresses are derived from positive points, whereas the headlines about Medvedev's addresses are presented from negative points.

Asking questions to the readers in the headlines

While observing headlines on presidential addresses, although the number is limited, there were headings of the kind that are asking readers "questions" except for quoted parts, in the headlines about Yeltsin's and Putin's addresses. The headlines about Yeltsin's presidential addresses have two headlines in questioning form in the broadsheet Независимая газета (*Nezavisimaya gazeta*) , and three headlines in the tabloid Комсомольская правда (*Komsomolskaya pravda*). The headlines about Putin's presidential addresses have two headlines in question form in the broadsheet Независимая газета (*Nezavisimaya gazeta*) , and eight headlines in question form in the tabloid Комсомольская правда (*Komsomolskaya pravda*). See the following examples of headlines about Yeltsin's addresses (124), (125), (126) and (127), and headlines about Putin's addresses (128), (129), (130) and (131).

(124) ПОЗДНИЙ ЕЛЬЦИН: КУДА ВЕСТИ РОССИЮ?

(LATE YELTSIN: WHERE TO LEAD RUSSIA?)

(*Nezavisimaya gazeta*, February 17. 1995)

(125) НА ЧЬЕМ ЯЗЫКЕ ЗАГОВОРИЛ ПРЕЗИДЕНТ?

(IN WHAT LANGUAGE DID THE PRESIDENT SPEAK?)

(*Nezavisimaya gazeta*, March 11. 1997)

- (126) Куда пошлет нас Президент?
(Where will the President send us?)

(*Komsomolskaya pravda*, February 14. 1995)

- (127) Что Ельцин пошлет с высокой трибуны?
(What will Yeltsin send from the high tribune?)

(*Komsomolskaya pravda*, March 30. 1999)

The examples (124) and (125) are the headlines from the broadsheet Независимая газета (*Nezavisimaya gazeta*), and (126) and (127) are from the tabloid Комсомольская правда (*Komsomolskaya pravda*). The commonality in these headings is to whom talks the president, Yeltsin at that time, his own presidential addresses, and what direction the president is trying to lead Russia. In these headings, anxiety and dissatisfaction of writers or readers are expressed.

- (128) С ЧЕМ СЕГОДНЯ ПУТИН ВЫСТУПИТ В КРЕМЛЕ?
(WITH WHAT, WILL PUTIN PERFORM IN THE KREMLIN TODAY?)

(*Nezavisimaya gazeta*, April 03. 2001)

- (129) Послание президента – что важнее: политика или экономика?
(President's message — which is more important: politics or economy?)

(*Nezavisimaya gazeta*, April 18. 2002)

- (130) Куда сегодня Путин пошлет Федеральное собрание?
(Where will Putin send the Federal Assembly today?)

(*Komsomolskaya pravda*, July 08. 2000)

- (131) А вы чего от послания ждали?
(And what did you expect from the message?)

(*Komsomolskaya pravda*, April 26. 2005)

The examples (128) and (129) are the headlines from the broadsheet Независимая газета (*Nezavisimaya gazeta*), and (130) and (131) are from the tabloid Комсомольская правда (*Komsomolskaya pravda*). Regarding Putin's presidential addresses, in these headings it is not a critical expression, but a posture of "wait-and-see" by the writer. In particular, from the headline it can be seen that writers are watching what style of politics Putin is progressing through, over time from the year the Putin administration was launched.

In the headlines in question from concerning Yeltsin's presidential addresses, writers' anxiety appeared against Yeltsin's government and critical expressions were used, while the headlines for Putin's presidential addresses were focusing on the style of Putin's administration. It was also observed that the writer urged the readers themselves to face and consider about Putin's presidential addresses. It could be said that using the question form leaves the readers to make up their own mind to critically look at the Putin regime or passively accept the policy in the Putin administration. Newspapers give the information of the presidential political event the day before to potentially exert some bias or expectations to the readers to the event of the Russian presidential addresses. At the same time the journalists tend to write the headlines using some strategies. They have a way of writing that hides the true thought of the writers in the headlines.

5.3 Evaluation in news reportage

In this section we will discuss the interpretation in the articles about the Russian presidential addresses. We will pay attention to the expressions about the president in the newspapers. Also, we will argue about the discrepancy between the presidents and the newspapers. We consider that these discussions can allow us to know about the evaluation of the Russian presidents in the media, different points of view between the speakers and reporters, and the relationship between politics and the media.

The Russian people and Mass Media

Седлецкий (Sedlecki 2009) explains that the main tool for shaping and maintaining image at the present stage is through the media. The media is under the control of the Kremlin, so Putin, Medvedev and close ministers are constantly mentioned in the news programs and TV programs, and almost nothing is heard about other politicians. ВЦИОМ (Всероссийский центр изучения общественного мнения: Russian Public Opinion Research Center) presents survey data about which media still retains the attention and trust of Russians, and from which media Russians prefer to get news. Up to May 2015, 75 % of Russians trusted and highly trusted the central TV, continuously — the central press 54 % and the central radio 52 %. According to opinion polls, reliability of the press has gradually declined from 64 % in September 2007 up to 55 % in February 2014. Also ВЦИОМ (Russian Public Opinion Research Center) indicates that Russians do not trust foreign media (50 % do not trust, 19 % strongly do not trust). According to the opinion polls, Russians seem to fundamentally trust the information being created domestically Russia.

The interest level in Russian newspapers relating to number of articles

For a certain event, we think that it can be shown by the number of articles in the newspaper as a method to measure how much public there is in a certain topic interest. Here, we will show how many articles related to the Russian Presidential Addresses to the Federal Assembly of each president, Yeltsin, Putin and Medvedev, that have been reported in two different kinds of newspapers, the broadsheet Независимая газета (*Nezavisimaya gazeta*) and the tabloid Комсомольская правда (*Komsomolskya pravda*).

Articles on the day before the addresses year	Yeltsin's addresses	Articles on the next day after the addresses
1994 February 23(1)	February 24	February 25(1) March 04(1) March 05(3)
1995	February 16	February 17(2) February 18(2)
1996 February 23(1)	February 23	February 24(1) February 27(2)
1997 March 06(1)	March 06	March 07(1) March 11(1)
1998	February 17	February 18(2)
1999	March 30	March 30(1) March 31(1)

Table 5.5: Dates of Yeltsin's addresses and articles in Независимая газета (*Nezavisimaya gazeta*)

Articles on the day before the addresses year	Yeltsin's addresses	Articles on the next day after the addresses
1994	February 24	
1995 February 14(1) February 15(1)	February 16	February 17–20(1) February 22(1)
1996	February 23	February 24(1)
1997	March 06	March 14–17(1)
1998	February 17	February 18(1)
1999 March 30(1)	March 30	March 31(1)

Table 5.6: Dates of Yeltsin's addresses and articles in Комсомольская правда (*Komsomolskya pravda*)

Table 5.5 shows the dates when the Russian Presidential addresses to the Federal Assembly were given by Yeltsin, and the dates of the articles that were published in the press Независимая газета (*Nezavisimaya gazeta*) and 5.6 – in the tabloid Комсомольская правда (*Komsomolskya pravda*). The numbers in parentheses show the number of the articles in the press. The number of published articles could be a rough indication of how journalists paid attention to the event, and how they considered it worthy of attention. When journalists report about the events, they then encourage the readers to pay attention to the events. As Table 5.5 shows, journalists paid attention to the presidential address in 1994, because it was the first year for Yeltsin. Journalists called for attention from their readers on the previous day of Yeltsin's first presidential address to the Federal Assembly. Journalists also reported on the previous day of Yeltsin's address in 1996 and 1997. In 1999 it

reported about the address given by Yeltsin on the same day but only after the address was made. In the tabloid Комсомольская правда (*Komsomolskaya pravda*) there was no report in the year when the custom of presidential addresses was started, while in 1995, even for the second successive day the articles about Yeltsin’s presidential address were published and the last of Yeltsin’s presidential address in 1999 was published on the day before Yeltsin’s speech.

year	Articles on the day before the addresses	Putin’s addresses	Articles on the next day after the addresses	
2000	July 06(1)	July 08	July 08(1)	July 15(1)
2001		April 03	April 03(3)	April 04(1)
2002	April 16(1)	April 18	April 18(2)	April 19(1)
2003	May 12(1)	May 16	May 19(1)	
2004	May 12(1) May26(1)	May 26	May 27(3)	May 28(1)
2005	April 20(1) April 22(1)	April 25	April 25(1)	April 26(4) April 28(1)
2006		May 10	May 11(4)	
2007		April 26	April 27(3)	
2012	December 06(2)	December 12	December 13(2)	December 17(1)
2013		December 12	December 13–14 (3)	December 17 (1)
2014	December 04(1)	December 04	December 05–06 (4)	December 08(1) December 11(1)
2015		December 03	December 04–05 (2)	December 07(1) December 08(1)
2016		December 01	December 02–03(3)	December 05(2)

Table 5.7: Dates of Putin’s addresses and articles in Независимая газета (*Nezavisimaya gazeta*)

year	Articles on the day before the addresses	Putin’s addresses	Articles on the next day after the addresses	
2000	July 08(1)	July 08		
2001		April 03	April 04(4)	
2002		April 18	April 18(1)	April 20(3)
2003		May 16	May 17(1)	
2004		May 26	May 27(2)	
2005		April 25	April 26(2)	April 28(1)
2006		May 10	May 11(4)	May 11–18(1) May 15(1)
2007		April 26	April 27(2)	May 04(1)
2012		December 12	December 13(1)	December 14(1)
2013		December 12	December 13(1)	December 17(1)
2014		December 04	December 05(2)	December 05(1)
2015	December 03(1)	December 03	December 03(1)	December 04(3)
2016		December 01	December 02(3)	

Table 5.8: Dates of Putin’s addresses and articles in Комсомольская правда (*Komsomolskaya pravda*)

Table (5.7) shows the days when Putin gave his presidential addresses and the dates when articles about presidential addresses were published in the broadsheet Независимая газета (*Nezavisimaya gazeta*) , and table (5.8) in the tabloid Комсомольская правда (*Komsomolskaya pravda*). In the broadsheet Независимая газета (*Nezavisimaya gazeta*) , articles are posted before the presidential addresses are actively carried out. What is common in both the broadsheet Независимая газета

(*Nezavisimaya gazeta*) and the tabloid Комсомольская правда (*Komsomolskya pravda*) is that it covers Putin’s presidential addresses for several days. This point is found to be distinctive when compared with articles published about Yeltsin’s presidential addresses.

Table (5.9) shows the days when Medvedev gave his presidential addresses and the dates when articles about presidential addresses were published in the broadsheet Независимая газета (*Nezavisimaya gazeta*) , and table (5.10) in the tabloid Комсомольская правда (*Komsomolskya pravda*). Comparing the number of the articles published before the presidential addresses with Yeltsin’s and Putin’s presidential addresses, there are only a few numbers of articles about Medvedev’s presidential addresses. The similarity of tendency with the frequency of publication of the article about Putin’s presidential addresses is that the articles about Medvedev’s presidential addresses are often reported for several days, especially in the broadsheet Независимая газета (*Nezavisimaya gazeta*) . The years when the newspapers deal with the Medvedev’s presidential addresses are in 2009 in the broadsheet Независимая газета (*Nezavisimaya gazeta*) , and in 2010 in the tabloid Комсомольская правда (*Komsomolskya pravda*).

Articles on the day before the addresses year	Medvedev’s addresses	Articles on the next day after the addresses
2008	November 05	November 06(2) November 08(2)
2009	November 12	November 14(1) November 16(4) November 17(1)
2010 November 25(1) November 29 (1)	November 30	December 01(1) December 02(1) December 03(1) December 06(2)
2011	December 22	December 23(2)

Table 5.9: Dates of Medvedev’s addresses and articles in Независимая газета (*Nezavisimaya gazeta*)

Articles on the day before the addresses year	Medvedev’s addresses	Articles on the next day after the addresses
2008	November 05	November 06(3)
2009	November 12	November 13(3)
2010	November 30	December 01(6) December 02(1)
2011	December 22	December 23(5)

Table 5.10: Dates of Medvedev’s addresses and articles in Комсомольская правда (*Komsomolskya pravda*)

According to the frequency and the number of articles about each presidential address, the broadsheet Независимая газета (*Nezavisimaya gazeta*) covers this political event more than the tabloid Комсомольская правда (*Komsomolskya pravda*). There is also a tendency that the broadsheet Независимая газета (*Nezavisimaya gazeta*) tends to always carry articles on the day before about presidential addresses except for Medvedev, from their first years in office, while the tabloid Комсомольская правда (*Komsomolskya pravda*) sometimes skips reporting about the event of pres-

idential address in advance at this time. On average, the frequency of articles about presidential addresses, in the broadsheet Независимая газета (*Nezavisimaya gazeta*) for Yeltsin’s presidential addresses is 3.33 articles, Putin’s – 4.53 articles, and Medvedev’s – 4.75 articles in their presidency. On the other hand in the tabloid Комсомольская правда (*Komsomolskya pravda*) the number of the articles about Yeltsin’s presidential addresses is 1.5 articles, Putin’s – 3 articles, and Medvedev’s 4.5 articles in their presidency. In 2016, the number of articles about Medvedev’s presidential addresses is the most reported in the two newspapers. It could be said that the interest of the nation to the political event, the presidential address, tends to gradually increase.

5.3.1 Discrepancy between the presidential addresses and the Russian newspapers

One of the roles of the newspaper is to classify and analyze the information, for example, what kind of event will be held, what happened the political event, and so on. In the case of this study, a question could be raised for it there are any different points of view between the statement of the president of Russia and the media coverage. Usually, the articles in the newspapers have a limited amount of space for publication, therefore journalists do not write about the whole theme of the presidential address, but focus exclusively on the most important, useful and interesting information. Here, we will compare the points of view between the presidential addresses and the different types of Russian news papers, the broadsheet Независимая газета (*Nezavisimaya gazeta*) and the tabloid Комсомольская правда (*Komsomolskya pravda*). At first we adopted the correspondence analysis to observe the key words in Yeltsin’s non-lemmatized presidential addresses and the two non-lemmatized Russian newspapers. These results give us an understanding of what kind of words were more often used in texts through the specific years. Also to be clarify the difference of words between the two different types of newspapers, we adopted the random forest.

Description about Yeltsin’s presidential addresses in the two Russian newspapers

From the key words in Yeltsin’s addresses in each year, which we observed in chapter 4 by the top 100 words, we summarized the points of view of Yeltsin as follows. In the beginning of the Yeltsin’s administration, from 1994 to 1995, Yeltsin stated the importance of human rights and freedom. Note that at that time, the Chechen war was occurring, but Yeltsin did not name the Chechen war with the word war, instead of this expression, Yeltsin named it the Chechen crisis. In 1996 Yeltsin appealed that his administration started economic reform, and in 1997 to 1998 Yeltsin mentioned financial and economical reform. In the last year of office, in 1999, Yeltsin focused on economic

issues, and safety assurance. In that year, Russia joined with the members of APEC and set the goal of development and security in Asia and rest of the the world. Yeltsin applied all these points as important targets in his administration.

Now, we would like to compare what the two different Russian newspapers, the broadsheet Независимая газета (*Nezavisimaya gazeta*) and the tabloid Комсомольская правда (*Komsomolskya pravda*) reported. The result of the random forest shows the error rate of clustering of two different types of Russian newspapers. The capital letters refer to the name of each newspaper: NG is Nezavisimaya gazeta and KP – Komsomolskya pravda. A random forest classification experiment conducted using the R package in CasualConc using the top 1000 words shows an OOB (Out-Of-Bag) error rate of 27.27 % in classifying, one file of KP is miss-classified in NG, two files are miss-classified in KP. The correct identification rate of the two types of newspapers 72.73 %. The key words of these newspapers in Table 5.11 were extracted based on the mean decrease in Gini. The key words in the broadsheet Независимая газета (*Nezavisimaya gazeta*) are almost related to contents of political issues, whereas the tabloid Комсомольская правда (*Komsomolskya pravda*) has concrete politicians' names. Note that one of the key words of this newspaper uses the name “Владимир” (Vladimir) but it is not only related to Putin, but also the other politicians' names such as Жириновский (Zhirinovskiy), Рыжков (Ryzhkov), and Исоков (Isokov).

```
Call:
randomForest(formula = keyrfgrouping ~ ., data = dat, importance =
TRUE,          ntree = 10000, proximity = TRUE, mtry = 30)
      Type of random forest: classification
      Number of trees: 10000
No. of variables tried at each split: 30

      OOB estimate of  error rate: 27.27%
Confusion matrix:
      KP NG class.error
KP  4  1  0.2000000
NG  2  4  0.3333333
```

Figure 5.15: The result of the random forest comparison of the broadsheet *Nezavisimaya gazeta* and the tabloid “Комсомольская правда”

To observe the key words in each year in the newspapers, we adopted the correspondence analysis. Figure 5.16 shows the relationship focusing on the texts of Независимая газета (*Nezavisimaya gazeta*) , and we used non-lemmatized text and top 100 words. As the result of correspondence analysis, the articles in the press can not be divided depending on years. It means the usage of words does not depend on the period of Yeltsin’s addresses. Figure 5.17 shows the words in the articles. In the center there are words such as Ельцин (Yeltsin) and президент (president), because journalists reported addresses of Yeltsin. For the location in 1994 in Figure 5.17, there are words related to the countries such as: Российский (Russian), СССР (USSR: Union of Soviet Socialist

Независимая газета (<i>Nezavisimaya gazeta</i>)
речь (speech) экономический (economic) мнение (opinion) считать (consider) систем (system)
президент (president) Ельцин (Yeltsin) образ (way) часть (part) федеральный (federal)
государственный (state) условие (condition) РФ (Russian Federation) Борис (Boris)
реформа (reform) политика (policy) НАТО (NATO) ...

Комсомольская правда (<i>Komsomolskya pravda</i>)
люди (people) прошлый (last) Россия (Russia) удалться (succeed) нынешний (today's)
документ (document) Геннадий (Gennady) назвать (call) Кремль (Kremlin) Николаевич (Nikolaevich)
Владимир (Vladimir) послание (address) зал (hall) Черномырдин (Chernomyrdin) выступление (statement)
Жириновский (Zhirinovsky) кадровый (personnel) ...

Table 5.11: Key words in newspapers about Yeltsin's presidential addresses

Republics), СНГ (CIS: Commonwealth of Independent States) and Чечня (Chechnya), and there are words related to the society of Russia such as: нация (nation) and права (rights). There are also political words such as: Конституция (Constitution) and государственный (state). For the location in 1995 and in 1996, there are words related to the Yeltsin's presidential address, in addition in 1996 there are the words related to the current affairs and выборы (election). In the location in 1997 there are words related to the political system and in 1998 there are words referring to the economic situation, and the last year of Yeltsin's administration. In 1999 there are words such as экономика (economy) and НАТО (NATO). See the following examples (132) to (137).

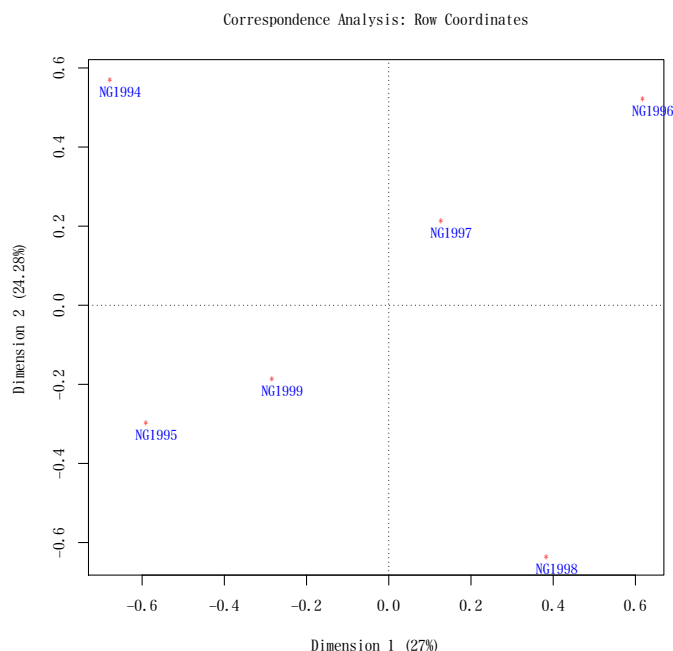


Figure 5.16: The texts' relationships of Независимая газета (*Nezavisimaya gazeta*)

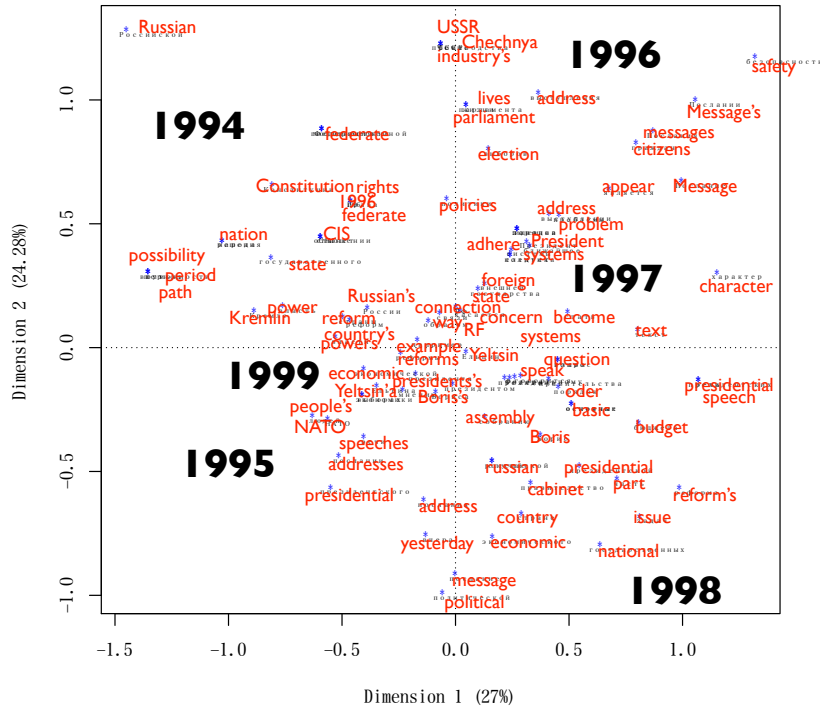


Figure 5.17: The words' relationships of Независимая газета (*Nezavisimaya gazeta*)

- (132) Решение о в Чечне было принято единолично Ельциным.
(The decision on the war in Chechnya was made solely by Yeltsin.)
(*Nezavisimaya gazeta*, February 17. 1994)
- (133) Естественно, что проблемы СНГ также будут трактоваться с государственных позиций.
(Naturally, the problems of the CIS will also be interpreted from a statist position.)
(*Nezavisimaya gazeta*, February 23. 1994)
- (134) Александр Лившиц коснулся экономической часть послания президента.
(Alexander Livshits touched the economic part of the president's address.)
(*Nezavisimaya gazeta*, February 18. 1995)
- (135) Западные СМИ увидели в речи Бориса Ельцина прежде всего ее направленность не
внутри страны, а вовне.
(Western media have seen in Boris Yeltsin's speech, especially its focus is not inside the country
and outside.)
(*Nezavisimaya gazeta*, February 18. 1995)

(136) Нынешнее Послание Ельцина – “еще более особенное” чем два предыдущих, ибо прозвучит накануне президентских выборов, в которых, как известно Ельцин примет участие.

(The current message of Yeltsin is “even more special” than the two previous ones, because it will be shared on the eve of the presidential elections, in which, as we know, Yeltsin will take part.)

(*Nezavisimaya gazeta*, February 23. 1996)

(137) В главе послания, посвященной внешней политике, подчеркивается, что Россия не согласна с попытками НАТО навязать силовые решения в Европе и за ее пределами.

(In the chapter on foreign policy, the message emphasizes that Russia does not agree with NATO’s attempts to impose military solutions in Europe and beyond.)

(*Nezavisimaya gazeta*, March 30. 1999)

In 1994 the journalists paid attention to the points such as the relationship with Chechnya or CIS, in the examples (132) and (133). At that time the journalists mentioned human rights as Yeltsin stated, and we will discuss it later. In the newspaper articles in 1995, the vocabulary related to the presidential address comes out as a characteristic word, but on observation of this vocabulary, it allow us to know that the journalist paid attention to and reported on the response of Western media and the Russian economy as in (134) and (135). As for the articles in 1996, as in (136), the newspaper reported about the coming presidential election. The results of Yeltsin’s political policy had been poor up to then, and the public also felt uneasy due to his health condition and alcoholism. Because it was a presidential election, while in such a state, it can be imagined that this topic was worthy of attention. Also in this year the journalists mentioned the necessity of establishing the concept for military reform. In the articles in 1997, the writers critically mentioned the diplomatic policy such as the relationship with Belarus regarding internationalism and the tightened security. In 1998 the frequency of words show us that journalists mentioned the responsibility of the president for the budget policy and its adoption. As for articles in 1999, as in (137), the journalist focused on the relationship between Russia and NATO, especially the eastward expansion of NATO.

Now, let us show you the key words in the tabloid Комсомольская правда (*Komsomolskaya pravda*). The location in 1995 and 1997 shows the names of leaders of the opposition party. These people were the member of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation. The words in 1996 are about the presidential address and reform in Russia. The words in 1998 to 1999 often used the name of Yeltsin. See the following examples (138) and (139).

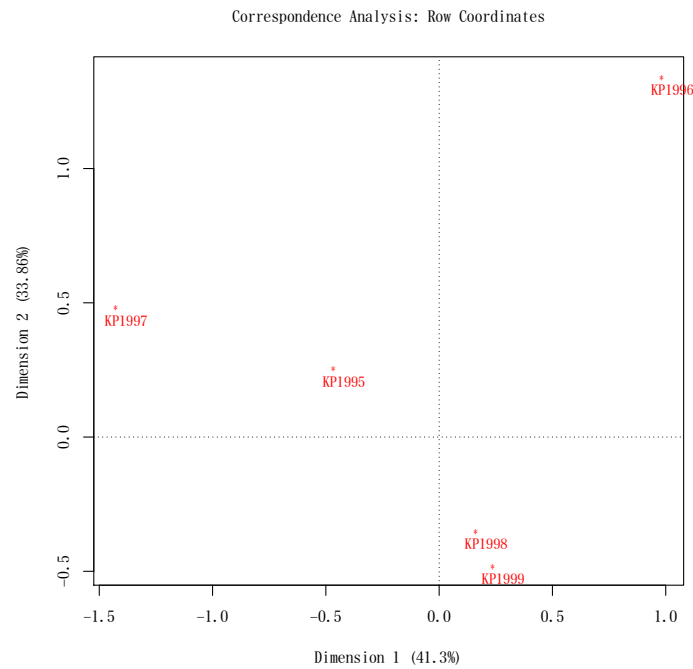


Figure 5.18: The texts' relationships of Комсомольская правда (*Komsomolskya pravda*)

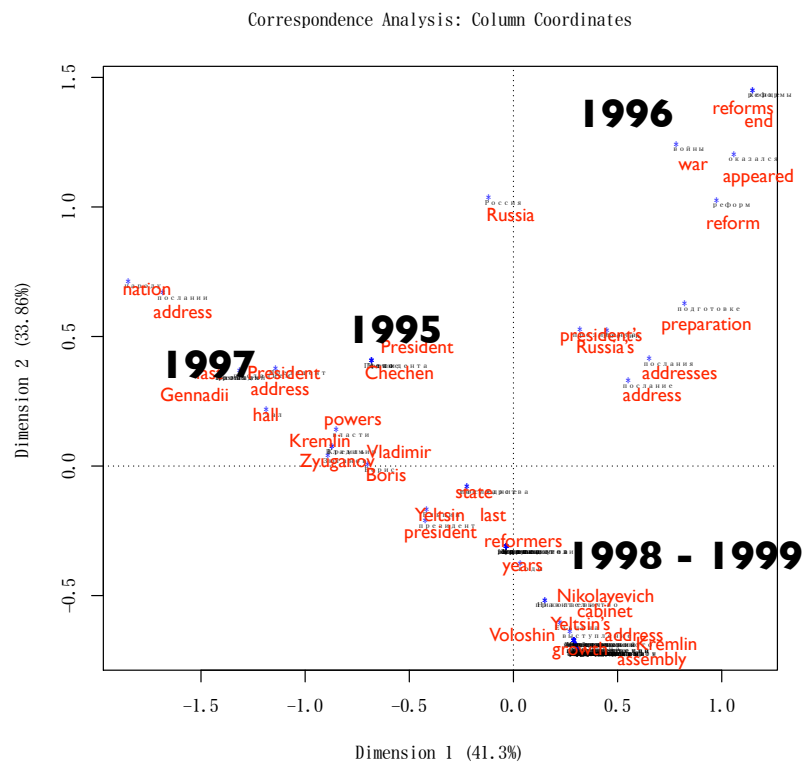


Figure 5.19: The words' relationships of Комсомольская правда (*Komsomolskya pravda*)

(138) Говоря о Чечне, президент порадовался тому, что “общество утверждалось от шовинистической и военной истории”

(Speaking about Chechnya, the president was glad that “society was kept from chauvinistic and military hysteria”.)

(*Komsomolskya pravda*, February 22. 1995)

(139) [...], что радикальный характер реформ был неизбежен и в конечном чете оказался меньшим злом, чем так называемые мягкие щадящие реформы, за которые ратовала оппозиция.

([...] that the radical nature of the reforms was inevitable and ultimately proved to be less evil than the so-called soft, gentle reforms, for which the opposition advocated.)

(*Komsomolskya pravda*, February 24. 1996)

The tabloid Комсомольская правда (*Komsomolskya pravda*) also paid attention to the relationship with Chechnya, as in (138), in 1995. In 1996, the journalist mentioned the evaluation of reform in Yeltsin’s administration, as in (139). In this article the writer focused on the evaluation of the top secret papers on reform, and compared with the opposition party’s own paper, also the writer reported on the conflicting perspectives among politicians of Yeltsin’s administration. In 1997, there are considerations about the direction of the future of Russia, in particular, financial and economic problems and improvement of the social direction of Russia. In 1998 to 1999 the journalists focused on Yeltsin’s health more than the contexts of presidential addresses. For example, how long did he speak in his address, or how did Yeltsin look.

The broadsheet Независимая газета (*Nezavisimaya gazeta*) tends to report about Yeltsin’s addresses according to contexts of Yeltsin’s presidential addresses, especially about the relationships with other countries, presidential election and economic issues, while the tabloid tends to report about opinions from opposition parties, condition of Yeltsin’s administration and his health, and also the specific points about the relationships with other country was focused on the topic of the Chechen War. Comparing with the high frequency words in Yeltsin’s address, it could be said that the newspapers focused on the Chechen War and economic situation in Russia, even though the key words in the two newspapers are different.

Description about Putin’s presidential addresses in the two Russian newspapers

From the key words in Putin’s addresses in each year which we observed in chapter 4, by the top 100 words, the points of view of Putin could be derived in two groups: words from 2000 to 2005 are about freedom, rights and policies, and words from 2006 to 2016 are related to business.

The result of the random forest in Figure 5.20 shows the classification between the broadsheet *Nezavisimaya gazeta* (NG) and the tabloid “Komsomolskaya pravda” (KP). The error rate of classification is 7.69 %, in other words the correct identification rate of two newspapers is 92.31 %. The key words are shown in Table 5.12. The words in *Nezavisimaya gazeta* (NG) are related to the actions or statements of Putin in his addresses such as: считать (consider), отметить (point), слова (words) and речь (speech). The words in “Komsomolskaya pravda” (KP) are related to the economy such as: млрд (billion), ВВП (GDP), рынок (market) and рубль (ruble).

```
Call:
  randomForest(formula = keyrfgrouping ~ ., data = dat, importance =
TRUE,      ntree = 10000, proximity = TRUE, mtry = 30)
      Type of random forest: classification
      Number of trees: 10000
No. of variables tried at each split: 30

      OOB estimate of  error rate: 7.69%
Confusion matrix:
  KP NG class.error
KP 12  1  0.07692308
NG  1 12  0.07692308
```

Figure 5.20: The result of the random forest comparison of the broadsheet *Nezavisimaya gazeta* and the tabloid “Komsomolskaya pravda”

Независимая газета (<i>Nezavisimaya gazeta</i>)
Владимир (Vladimir) считать (consider) смысл (meaning) образ (way)
судебный (judicial) слова (words) тема (theme) например (example) Федеральный (federal)
являться (form) глава (head) президентский (presidential) Геннадий (Gennady)
решение (solution) отметить (point) речь (speech) ...
Комсомольская правда (<i>Komsomolskaya pravda</i>)
обязанный (obliged) создать (build) млрд (billion) Россия (Russia) ВВП (GDP)
сожаление (regret) последний (last) рынок (market) деньги (money) самоуправление (self-government)
дети (children) мир (world) Ельцин (Yeltsin) общество (society) комитет (committee)
гражданин (citizen) рубль (ruble) ...

Table 5.12: Key words in newspapers about Putin’s presidential addresses

The results of the correspondence analysis are in Figures 5.21 and 5.22. Articles in 2000 to 2001 and 2013 to 2016 are located on top upper left side. Articles from 2004 to 2007 are located on the lower left side. Only articles in 2002 are located on the upper right side. The frequency words in 2000 to 2001 and 2013 to 2016 are related to economy and progress of Russia such as: бюджет (budget), экономика (economy) and бизнес (business), and рост (growth) and реформ (reform). The words in articles from 2004 to 2007 are related to Putin’s presidential addresses such as: оглашение (announcement), послание (message) and обращение (appeal). The key words of articles in 2002 are very specific, such as: элит (elite) and Ципко (Cipko). Cipko is a name of Александр Сергеевич Ципко (Alexander Sergeyevich Cipko). He is a Soviet and Russian Social

Philosopher, and Political Scientist, Chief Researcher at the Institute of Economics, as well as at the Russian Academy of Sciences (PIA). See the following examples (140) to (143).

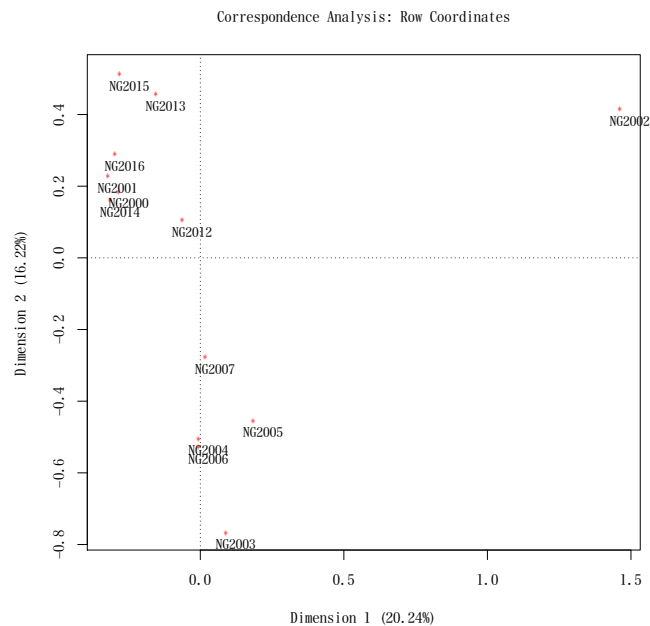


Figure 5.21: The texts' relationships of Независимая газета (*Nezavisimaya gazeta*)

(140) Налоговая реформа, по Путину, призвана выстроить отношения между бизнесом и властью таким образом, чтобы обе стороны осознавали взаимную ответственность.

(Tax reform, according to Putin, is designed to build the relationship between business and government in such a way that both parties are aware of mutual responsibility.)

(*Nezavisimaya gazeta*, June 15. 2000)

(141) Можно было предположить, что Путин обрисует контуры пенсионной реформы, реформы здравоохранения и т.п.

(It could be assumed that Putin will outline the contours of pension reform, health care reform, etc.)

(*Nezavisimaya gazeta*, June 15. 2012)

(142) [...] никогда по определению советская элита не обладала “русским национальным сознанием.”.

[...] Что касается так называемой новой “национальной элиты” [...],

то она была плоть от плоти элиты советской, лишенной национального самосознания.

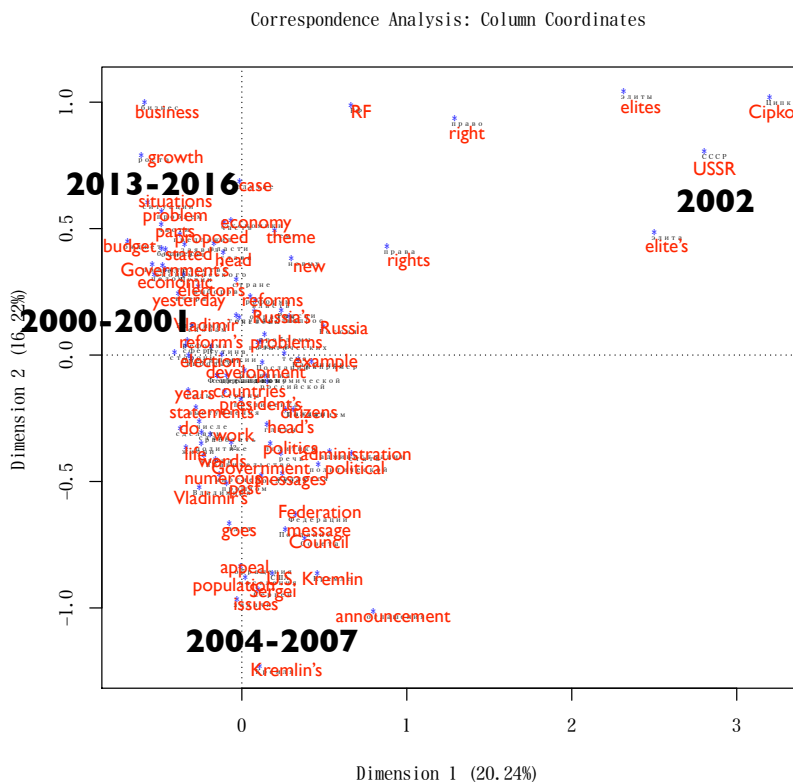


Figure 5.22: The words' relationships of Независимая газета (*Nezavisimaya gazeta*)

([...] never by definition the Soviet elite possessed “a Russian national identity”. [...] As for the so-called new Russian “national elite” [...], then it was flesh and blood of the Soviet elite, deprived of national identity.)

(*Nezavisimaya gazeta*, April 16. 2002)

(143) Минимум общих фраз – и максимум конкретных задач, которые звучали как недвусмысленные приказы.

(The minimum of common phrases is the maximum of specific tasks that sounded like unequivocal orders.)

(*Nezavisimaya gazeta*, May 11. 2006)

In relation to the words for the upper left side for articles from 2000 to 2001 and 2013 to 2016, focusing on the word “реформ” (reform), gave us an understanding what points Putin values. The writers summarized the reform in Putin’s addresses, using the phrases “according to Putin” and “Putin will outline” as in the examples (140) and (141). The journalist compiled the ideas after Putin’s speech, and the writer was predicting how Putin will move policy in the future. This indicates that the

reporters were looking at the contents of Putin's presidential addresses. The key word in 2002 is shown in (142) as one example. At that time in this article the writer focused on the responsibility of the elites to the collapse of the Soviet Union. The person who tried to change the nations' perception about the reason for the shattered country was Ципко (Cipko), located as a frequency word in 2002. Looking at the vocabulary plotted in the lower part, many sentences that were part of Putin's presidential addresses done in the Kremlin were observed. In the use of the word "задача" (issue), the reporter gives a comment on Putin's task presentation. In 2006, an article about the relationship with the United States was seen and a small article called "Наша ответ Америке" (our answer to the US) was compiled. In addition, the writer wrote "Глава государства дал понять" (Head of State gave an understanding), and such expressions show the trust of journalists to Putin's administration. In particular, in the 2006 article, there was a space about "Выдержки из Послания президентна Федеральному собранию" (Excerpts from the Presidential Address to the Federal Assembly), and four items were cited about Putin's presidential address: "Международные угрозы" (International threats), "Армия" (Army), "По отношению к странам СНГ" (In relation to the CIS countries) and "Демографическая проблема" (Demographic problem). Contrary to the 2002 Soviet Collapse and Elite and Russian nationalism problems, the contents in line with the policy of Putin's presidential addresses are posted; once again, especially in 2006 the trust in Putin can be read from reporter's expressions.

For figures 5.23 and 5.24, the results of the correspondence analysis show the relationship among articles and the texts' words in the tabloid Комсомольская правда (Komsomolskaya pravda: KP). In the upper left side there are articles from 2000 to 2002, and the words, except about addresses, are related to the economy and society such as: экономика (economy) and общества (society). In the upper right side there are articles from 2003 to 2004 and 2012, and the frequency words are related to life and people in Russia such as: обеспечить (ensure), люди (people), гражданин (citizen) and жизнь (life), however, these words were almost used in context to military affairs. In the bottom left side there are articles from 2005 to 2006, and these articles mentioned the programs of Putin's administration. In the bottom right side there are articles for 2007 and from 2013 to 2016, and articles in 2015 are located near to the area of articles in 2012. The high frequency words in these articles are related to business such as: работать (work), компания (company), бизнес (business) and предприятие (enterprise). See the following examples (144) to (150).

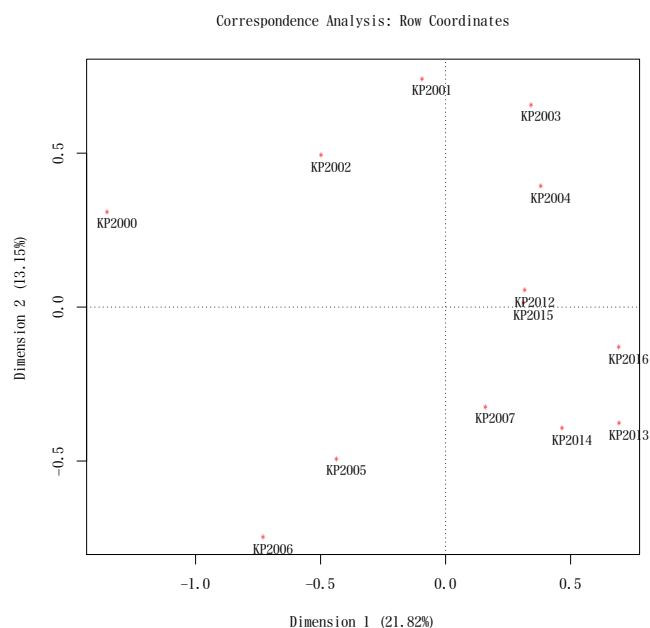


Figure 5.23: The texts' relationships of Комсомольская правда (*Komsomolskaya pravda*)

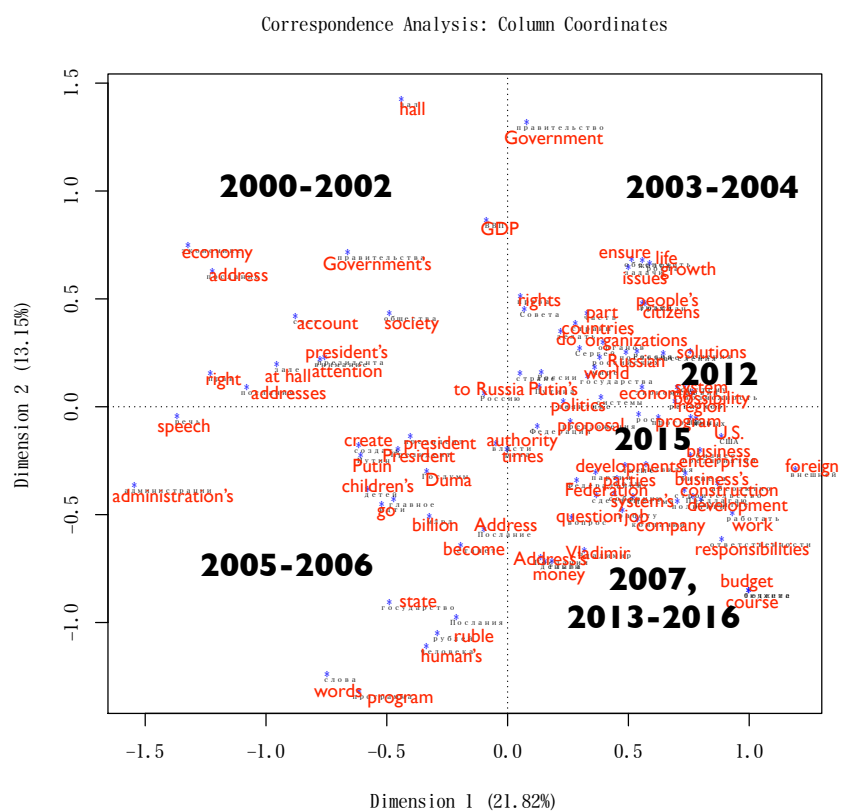


Figure 5.24: The words' relationships of Комсомольская правда (*Komsomolskaya pravda*)

- (144) Страна ожидает, что президент в своем послании наконец-то честно признает, что у его правительства нет стратегии, нет ясного взгляда, как выводить экономику из кризиса.
(The country expects the president to honestly admit in his message that his government does not have a strategy; it does not have a clear view on how to get the economy out of crisis.)
(*Komsomolskya pravda*, April 04. 2001)
- (145) Реформа нужна обществу, но прежде всего – и самой армии.
(Reform is needed for society, but above all — and to the army itself.)
(*Komsomolskya pravda*, April 20. 2002)
- (146) Это оружие позволит обеспечить обороноспособность России и ее союзников в долгосрочной перспективе.
(These weapons will ensure the defense capability of Russia and its allies in the long term.)
(*Komsomolskya pravda*, May 17. 2003)
- (147) Нам необходимо четко знать, как тратятся немалые деньги, в том числе на обеспечение военнослужащих жильем, на военную медицину [...].
(We need to clearly know how a lot of money is spent, including the provision of housing for military personnel, military healthcare [...].)
(*Komsomolskya pravda*, May 27. 2004)
- (148) [...] наши усилия направлены [...] на демографические программы, на улучшение экологии, здоровья людей [...].
([...] our efforts are aimed [...] at demographic programs, at improving the ecology, people's health, [...].)
(*Komsomolskya pravda*, December 02. 2006)
- (149) Так называемые санкции и внешние ограничения – это стимул для более эффективного, ускоренного достижения поставленных целей.
(The so-called sanctions and external restrictions are an incentive for more efficient, accelerated achievement of the goals.)
(*Komsomolskya pravda*, December 05. 2014)
- (150) Что мы хотим уберечь Россию не только от внешних агрессий, но и мобилизовать экономические силы и наладить торговлю.
(What we want is to save Russia not only from external aggressions, but also to mobilize economic forces and to establish trade.)

As a feature of this newspaper, “Komsomolskya pravda” there are mechanisms that can allow the voices of people in various positions. (144) and (145) are excerpts from the articles on the presidential addresses soon after Putin administration had been established. (144) is the opinion of the leader of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation, Gennady Zyuganov. This is a negative opinion written against the Putin administration. (145) is an opinion by reporters. Likewise, complaints about policies are being expressed. As Figure 5.24 shows, one of the key word in articles from 2003 to 2004 is “обеспечить” (ensure), and as in examples (146) and (147) this word was used in the contents in relation to defense relationship. Even in this part, different features of this newspaper are appearing, and most of the contents of Putin’s presidential addresses are excerpted and published, and these two example sentences, (146) and (147), were also extracted from the contents of Putin’s presidential addresses in 2003 and 2004. In the articles from 2005 to 2006, the writers mentioned the demographic programs, which is one of the serious problems of Russia as in the (148). In this example sentence, the reporter summarized Putin’s presidential address in 2006. In the latter period of Putin’s administration, even from high frequency words we can know that Putin focuses on the development of business in Russia. The word “внешний” (external) shows the relationship with other countries at that time as in the examples (149) and (150). (149) is an excerpt from Putin’s presidential address in 2014, and (150) is the opinion of Ирина Мацуовна Хакамада (Irina Mutsuovna Khakamada), who was a Russian politician, member of the State Duma. As shown in the example sentences, Putin has a bullish attitude toward sanctions from Western countries due to the Ukrainian crisis, and in the article it is quoted and reproduced by the journalist. On the other hand, Ирина Хакамада (Irina Khakamada) gave a comment, but just as one of the opinion not from strong criticism.

Looking at the newspapers, the broadsheet Независимая газета (*Nezavisimaya gazeta*) and the tabloid Комсомольская правда (*Komsomolskya pravda*), the *Nezavisimaya gazeta* has summarized Putin’s argument with the words of the writer, whose contents reflect Putin’s presidential addresses. In the articles, there were topics about the relations with the United States, and expressions that appear to agree with Putin’s policy on this. On the other hand, in the “Komsomolskya pravda”, Putin’s presidential addresses are excerpted rather than the writer’s words. Opinions by the readers and some politicians were also posted, therefore this newspaper shows the various perspectives to Putin’s presidential addresses.

Description about Medvedev’s presidential addresses in the two Russian newspapers

The overall goal in the Medvedev administration was “modernization” in Russia. According to high frequency words of Medvedev, which we observed in chapter 4, the tendency of the points of view in Medvedev’s addresses could be described as follows: the presidential address in 2008 was presented about making Russia into a democratic country, the presidential addresses in 2009 to 2010 were about the direction of policy, especially, about children’s education, and Medvedev’s last presidential address in 2011 was about the presidential election.

The result of random forest in Figure 5.25 shows the classification between the broadsheet Независимая газета (Nezavisimaya gazeta: NG) and the tabloid Комсомольская правда (Komsomolskaya pravda: KP). The error rate of classification is 37.5 %, and the correct identification rate is 62.5 %. The result of this classification brought the lowest correct answer rate in the comparison results of the newspapers about Yeltsin’s and Putin’s presidential addresses. Table 5.13 shows words, which define the newspapers NG and KP. In the articles about Medvedev’s presidential addresses in the broadsheet NG, there are words which indicate the feature of Medvedev’s administration such as: инициатив (initiative) and характер (character), while words in the tabloid KP are almost about the policies such as: путь (way), план (plan), население (population), деньги (money), школа (school) and права (rights). The broadsheet NG focuses on the Medvedev’s presidential addresses themselves, and the tabloid KP reports other politicians comments.

```
Call:
  randomForest(formula = keyrfgrouping ~ ., data = dat, importance =
TRUE,      ntree = 10000, proximity = TRUE, mtry = 30)
      Type of random forest: classification
      Number of trees: 10000
No. of variables tried at each split: 30

      OOB estimate of  error rate: 37.5%
Confusion matrix:
      KP NG class.error
KP  3  1      0.25
NG  2  2      0.50
```

Figure 5.25: The result of the random forest comparison of the broadsheet *Nezavisimaya gazeta* and the tabloid “Komsomolskaya pravda”

Figures 5.26 and 5.27 show the results of the correspondence analysis using the top 100 words in the broadsheet Независимая газета (*Nezavisimaya gazeta*) . The groups of the articles by years could be divided into two groups: the articles in 2008 and 2009 are on the left side, and the articles in 2010 and 2011 are on the right side. The words in 2008 and 2009 are related to the state institution such as: Госдума (State Duma), председатель (Chairman) and администрация (Administration), also words about the policy mordanization, and attention to the United Sates and military affairs. The words in 2010 and 2011 are related to Putin, and the key words in 2010 are about the media,

Независимая газета (<i>Nezavisimaya gazeta</i>)
считать (consider) выступление (statement) Дмитрий (Dmitry) дать (give)
беседа (conversation) президент (president) Медведев (Medvedev) характер (character) стать (become)
политический (political) инициатива (initiative) глава (head) государства (State)
мнение (opinion) кампания (company) предложить (propose) ...

Комсомольская правда (<i>Komsomolskaya pravda</i>)
думать (think) оставаться (remain) слова (words) путь (way) место (place)
гендиректор (general director) Миронов (Mironov) план (plan) население (population) деньги (money)
Жириновский (Zhirinovskiy) ответственность (responsibility) школа (school) человек (people)
права (rights) активный (active) ...

Table 5.13: Key words in newspapers about Medvedev's presidential addresses

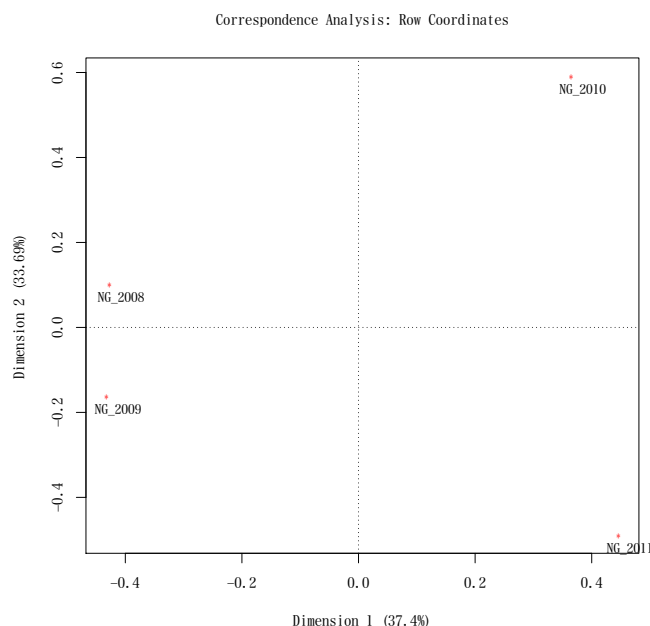


Figure 5.26: The texts' relationships of Независимая газета (*Nezavisimaya gazeta*)

and in 2011 – proposal and reform by Medvedev. See the following examples (151) to (155).

- (151) Первая – увеличить сроки конституционных полномочий президента и Госдумы до шести и пяти лет соответственно. [...]. Вторая – расширить полномочия Госдумы в части контроля над исполнительной властью.

(The first is to increase the terms of the constitutional powers of the President and the State Duma to six and five years, respectively. [...]. The second is to expand the powers of the State Duma in terms of control over the executive.)

(*Nezavisimaya gazeta*, November 06. 2008)

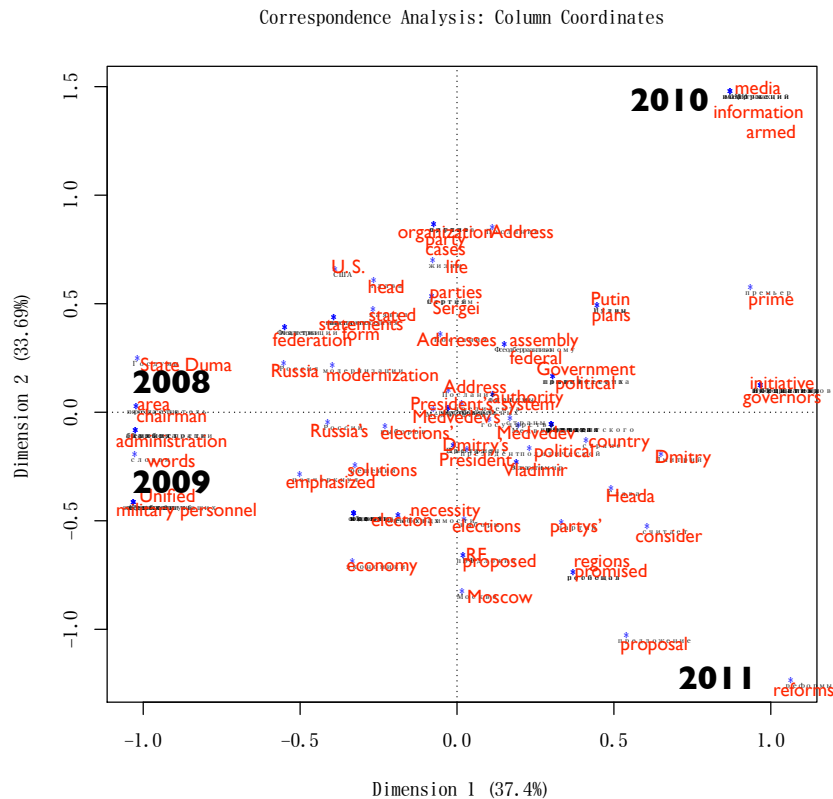


Figure 5.27: The words' relationships of Независимая газета (*Nezavisimaya gazeta*)

- (152) Кроме того, по словам президента, депутаты всех фракций должны осуществлять свою работу на постоянной основе.
(In addition, according to the president, deputies of all factions should carry out their work on a permanent basis.)
(*Nezavisimaya gazeta*, November 14. 2009)
- (153) Приватизация также может привести к закрытию большинства газет, а значит, будет нарушено конституционное право граждан на получение информации.
(Privatization can also lead to the closure of most newspapers, which means that the constitutional right of citizens to receive information will be violated.)
(*Nezavisimaya gazeta*, December 03. 2010)
- (154) Проговаривая это предложение, Медведев как бы обращался к инициатору реформы, и камера показала довольное лицо Путина, который благожелательно кивнул в ответ.
(Speaking of this proposal, Medvedev seemed to appeal to the initiator of the reform, and the camera showed Putin's contented face, who nodded sympathetically in response.)
(*Nezavisimaya gazeta*, November 23. 2011)

(155) Напомним, во время недавней прямой линии премьер Владимир Путин тоже упоминал о выборах губернаторов.

(Recall that during the recent direct line, Prime Minister Vladimir Putin also mentioned the election of governors.)

(*Nezavisimaya gazeta*, November 23. 2011)

When the writer used the words related to the political positions, they discussed the contents about increase in the terms of the constitutional powers of the President and the State Duma and the expanding authority of the State Duma as in (151). The first work of Medvedev as a president of Russia was the amendments to the Constitution of Russia. One of the key words “США” (U.S.) in 2008 was used in the context of the election of the American president. In 2009, the journalists reported the economic situation that Medvedev sees as the solution to the problems of modernization of the Russian economy. Also, when the writers used the word “жизнь” (life) in 2009, the context was about “политическая жизнь” (political life) and “качество/ уровень жизни” (quality/ standard of living) in Russia. One of the characteristics of articles in 2009 was the writers tended to summarize the statements of Medvedev as in (152). In 2008 Medvedev submitted a bill on the news reporting system on the activities of state power agencies in the state-run mass media. In that bill, in order to communicate information on the activities of each parliamentary party equally, the calculation of the broadcasting time required for nationwide television and radio nationwide coverage was carried out. Medvedev stated in his own presidential address in 2010, that appropriate decisions need to be taken at the regional and local levels, and the authorities should not be the owners of factories, newspapers and so on. The writer feels uneasy about the proposal of Medvedev as in (153), and at the same time has a skepticism as to whether the legislation of the media regulation, which is also called the initiative, really is carried out: “Вот только теперь возникают большие сомнения: будет ли реализована эта инициатива?” (But now there are big doubts: will this initiative be implemented?)(*Nezavisimaya gazeta*, December 03. 2010). The presence of Putin also appeared strongly in the Medvedev administration, especially in the latter half of the Medvedev administration Putin’s name was observed as a frequent word. The journalist also wrote Putin’s influence in the Medvedev regime as in (154) without further denying the influence of Putin, and also provided Putin’s information to readers on the election as in (155).

In the broadsheet Независимая газета (*Nezavisimaya gazeta*) , the journalists surely mentioned Medvedev’s policy on economy and life, but the constitutional amendment had been greatly taken up, and furthermore, articles from the writers’ point of view concerning the media law concerned were observed. And in this newspaper, information on Putin was observed from the influence of the

tandem regime with Putin.

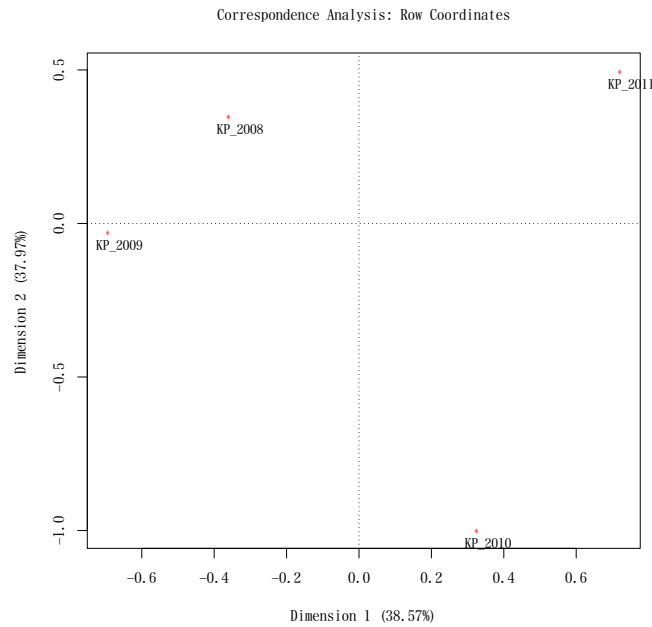


Figure 5.28: The texts' relationships of Комсомольская правда (*Komsomolskya pravda*)

Figures 5.28 and 5.29 show the results of the correspondence analysis for observation of the relationship between texts and words in the tabloid Комсомольская правда (*Komsomolskya pravda*: KP). As articles in the broadsheet Независимая газета (*Nezavisimaya gazeta*: NG), the articles in KP are divided into two groups: the articles in 2008 and 2009 are on the left side, the articles in 2010 and 2011 are on the right side. The characteristics in the articles in 2008 and 2009 are the usage of politicians' names, and attention to America, while the features in articles in 2010 and 2011 are mentioning the policies and election. See the following examples (156) to (159).

- (156) Михаил ВЕЛЛЕР, писатель: [...] противостояние в возможной новой “холодной войне” с США у меня некоторые сомнения вызывает.

(Michael Weller, writer: [...] I personally have some doubts about the confrontation in a possible new “cold war” with the USA.)

(*Komsomolskya pravda*, November 06 2008)

- (157) Глава Ингушетии Юнус-Бек Евкуров: [...], многие впечатлила идея Медведева о сокращении количества часовых поясов.

(The head of Ingushetia, Yunus-Bek Yevkurov: [...], many were impressed by Medvedev's idea of reducing the number of time zones.)

(*Komsomolskya pravda*, November 11 2009)

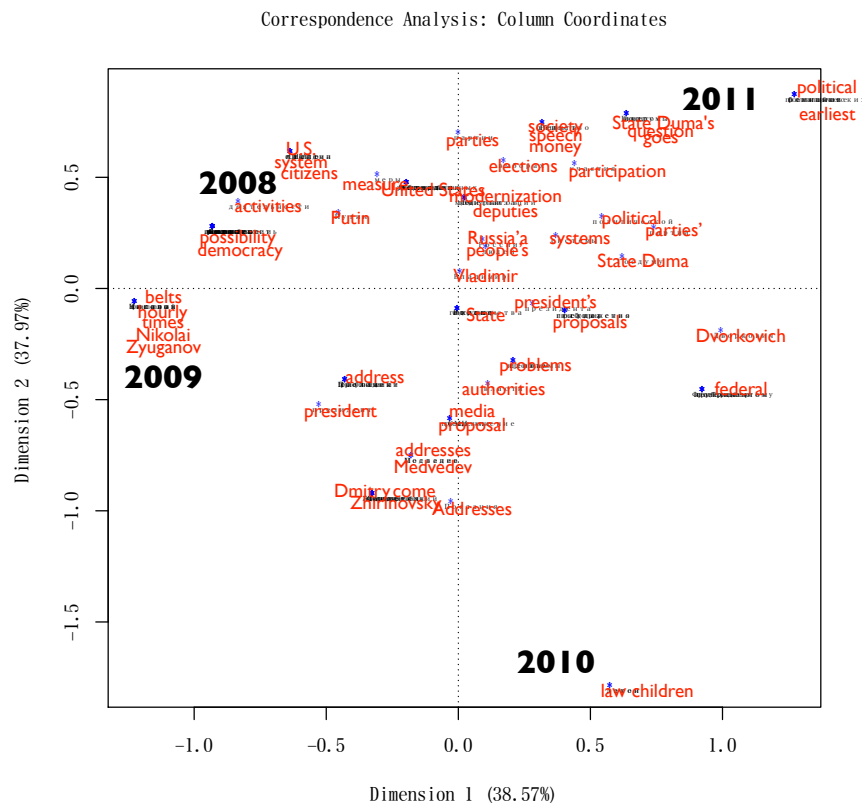


Figure 5.29: The words' relationships of Комсомольская правда (*Komsomolskaya pravda*)

- (158) Михаил ЕВРАЕВ, начальник управления контроля разнечения госзаказа Федеральной антимонопольной службы:

Согласен, что действующий закон о госзакупках надо совершенствовать.

(Mikhail EVRAEV, Head of the State Order Control Department of the Federal Antimonopoly Service:

I agree that the current law on public procurement should be improved.)

(*Komsomolskya pravda*, December 11 2010)

- (159) Лидеры думской оппозиции Владимир Жириновский, Геннадий Зюганов и Сергей Миронов оживленно обсуждали на троих – что им больше всего выгодно из политических реформ Медведева.

(The leaders of the Duma opposition, Vladimir Zhirinovsky, Gennady Zyuganov and Sergey Mironov, were thinking lively about most Medvedev's advantageous reform for them from Medvedev's policies.)

(*Komsomolskaya pravda*, December 23 2011)

What is common in all articles related to the period of Medvedev's administration is that Putin's name was used. Therefore, the name of Medvedev, the vocabulary on the annual instruction, and the name of Putin are gathered at the center of the result of the correspondence analysis as in Figure 5.29. In this newspaper, "Komsomolskya pravda" when the writers reported about the United States in 2008, they mentioned the relations between Russia and America rather than the President of the United States as the broadsheet *Nezavisimaya gazeta* did in 2008. In 2009, the journalists focused on the change of the time zone of Russia, and its consideration of convenience and public health, and the writer put voices of politicians or nations in favor of Medvedev's proposal that Russia should have four time zones like the United States. In 2010 and 2011, many evaluations on the reform by the Medvedev administration were posted. One of the characteristics of this newspaper, the tabloid "Komsomolskya pravda" is the names of a politicians, and many opinions of opposition politicians were put on the articles. Evaluation of Medvedev's reforms evaluation are positive, and in the articles, there were voices of votes in favor of reviewing educational systems and public procurement laws. In this case, Putin was not mentioned at this time; it appeared to be accepted as a policy in the Medvedev administration.

In the case of the articles on Medvedev's presidential addresses, the two newspapers, the broadsheet *Nezavisimaya gazeta* and the tabloid "Komsomolskya pravda" were classified by the same period. Also, comparing classified vocabulary, comparatively similar vocabulary is detected as a high frequency word, which suggests that classification by random forest has more error rate than other presidents' articles.

In the presidential articles given by three presidents of Russia, Yeltsin, Putin and Medvedev, the journalists reported about the economy, the elections, and the constitutional amendment which are directly related to the people's lives and the future of Russia. In addition, the writers mentioned the relations with other countries. It indicates that the journalist and nations are paying attention to the standing position of Russia in the world.

In the newspaper, articles of the broadsheet *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, the presidential addresses are put together by the word of the reporter. The voice of the people who are in different positions, were quoted more in the tabloid "Komsomolskya pravda". Differentiation between these newspapers has been clearly shown, especially in articles in the Putin's administration from the results of the random forest.

5.3.2 Observation of the difference between the presidential addresses and the newspapers from quantitative analysis

The thought of democracy between Yeltsin and the newspapers

In the broadsheet Независимая газета (*Nezavisimaya gazeta*)

The new Russia has a basic philosophy of democracy, and the Russian people also hoped to live in a democratic country; not in a communist or socialist country. Yeltsin especially stated the policy to build a democratic country in his first presidential address in 1994. We will focus on the words Yeltsin stated about democracy with words “человек” (human) and “права” (rights) in the presidential addresses. Figure 5.30 reflects the results in the concordance lines which show the behavior of the word “человек” (human) in Yeltsin’s addresses. The word “человек” (human) was used in collocation with the word “права” (rights). This connected to Yeltsin’s focus on democracy.

государственный контроль за соблюдением	прав человека	в сфере национальных отношений, повысить в	Yeltsin_1995.1
статья: – реальное обеспечение равенства	прав человека	вне зависимости от его национальности; –	Yeltsin_1999.1
не могут не беспокоить факты нарушения	прав человека,	все еще имеющие место в Российской Федерации,	Yeltsin_1999.1
о, особенно когда речь заходит о защите	прав человека,	его чести и достоинства. Последовательное	Yeltsin_1994.1
действующим законодательством в области	прав человека,	защищенности личности увеличился. Указы	Yeltsin_1994.1
Федерации в своем Докладе о соблюдении	прав человека	и гражданина в Российской Федерации сделала	Yeltsin_1995.1
сударственности с принципами соблюдения	прав человека	и гражданина, другими демократическими	Yeltsin_1995.1
тростор для произвола, грубых нарушений	прав человека	и гражданина. Общество ждет от	Yeltsin_1997.1
народно признанные стандарты в области	прав человека	и национальных меньшинств. Начало этому	Yeltsin_1994.1
международных обязательствах в области	прав человека	и основных свобод, учреждена Комиссия по	Yeltsin_1994.1
фикация Европейской конвенции о защите	прав человека	и основных свобод, а также признание	Yeltsin_1999.1
и ведомственными актами. Нынешний Год	прав человека	не должен быть отмечен только дежурными	Yeltsin_1998.1
сновополагающих ценностей, прежде всего	прав человека,	обеспечение национальных интересов России во	Yeltsin_1994.1
нации и двойных стандартов в отношении	прав человека,	общими моральными и правовыми обязательствами	Yeltsin_1997.1
вывод, что положение дел с соблюдением	прав человека	остается неудовлетворительным. Еще один	Yeltsin_1995.1
стремизма. 50-летие Всеобщей декларации	прав человека,	отмечавшееся в ушедшем году, подвело своего	Yeltsin_1999.1
ное решение, способствующее соблюдению	прав человека,	– перевод системы исполнения уголовных	Yeltsin_1998.1
юго действия. Этот ключевой для защиты	прав человека	принцип в первую очередь должны реализовывать	Yeltsin_1995.1
тереступать грань, за которой нарушения	прав человека	становятся системой и образом жизни. Пробелы в	Yeltsin_1995.1
юстных лиц о приверженности соблюдению	прав человека,	торжественными собраниями и конференциями.	Yeltsin_1998.1

Figure 5.30: The word “человек” (human) in collocation with “права” (rights) in Yeltsin’s addresses

юту институт Уполномоченного по	правам человека.	Серьезным обязательством нашего государства	Yeltsin_1999.
их свобод, учреждена Комиссия по	правам человека.	Следующий шаг – добиться подписания	Yeltsin_1994.
их граждан в Европейский суд по	правам человека	за последние несколько месяцев. В проблеме	Yeltsin_1999.
т такое отношение государства к	правам человека,	которое отвечает современному пониманию	Yeltsin_1994.
иваются под угрозой. Комиссия по	правам человека	при Президенте Российской Федерации в своем	Yeltsin_1995.
тва; соразмерность государства	природе человека;	восстановление естественных пропорций	Yeltsin_1994.
нсий за счет прошлых накоплений	самого человека.	Может быть, в перспективе следует даже	Yeltsin_1997.
ции признано закрепление прав и	свобод человека	в качестве высшей ценности. От обеспечения и	Yeltsin_1999.
ние, соблюдение и защита прав и	свобод человека	и гражданина – главная обязанность	Yeltsin_1994.
правовой обеспеченности прав и	свобод человека	и гражданина. Законодательно должны быть	Yeltsin_1994.
сновных задачах – защите прав и	свобод человека	и гражданина, создании условий для обеспечения	Yeltsin_1995.
ие принципы, попираются права и	свободы человека.	Кроме того, необходимо как можно быстрее	Yeltsin_1999.
всей территории России Права и	свободы человека	в таком огромном государстве, как Российская	Yeltsin_1995.
анизмов, гарантирующих права и	свободы человека	и гражданина. Сегодня наиболее актуальны в	Yeltsin_1994.
многие статьи главы 2 “Права и	свободы человека	и гражданина”. Конституция Российской	Yeltsin_1995.
ючения конституционные права и	свободы человека	и гражданина материально обеспечить на самом	Yeltsin_1995.
титuciones, гарантирующих права и	свободы человека	и гражданина. В первом Послании Президента	Yeltsin_1995.
статье 18 Конституции “права и	свободы человека	и гражданина являются непосредственно	Yeltsin_1995.
их собственников, экономической	свободы человека,	партнерских отношений между гражданином и	Yeltsin_1994.

Figure 5.31: The word “человек” (human) in collocation with “свобода” (freedom) in Yeltsin’s addresses

Also, as in the Figure 5.31 of the results in concordance lines, Yeltsin used the word “человек” (human) with the word “свобода” (freedom) and “права” (rights). Yeltsin stated that “freedom” with the “rights of people” was a condition of a democratic country. When Yeltsin uses the word

“человек” (human) , he tends to mention the rights of people, however journalists interpreted this in the newspaper “Независимая газета” (Nezavishimaya gazeta) in different ways. When the journalists used the word “человек” (human), they also mentioned the rights and freedom of people. When they wrote the phrase “the rights of people”, they then reported what Yeltsin stated as his policy. However, when they used the word “человек” (human) in other contexts, they often wrote critically as in the following examples.

(160) Раздел “Человек к демократическом государстве” вообще свешон, потому что именно в нем рассказывается о том, что никакого демократического государства нет.

(The phrase “Man in a democratic state” is completely ridiculous, because there is no democratic state.)

(*Nezavisimaya gazeta*, February 25, 1994)

(161) Будущие выборы президента создают угрозу прихода к власти “сильного человека” [...] Конституция РФ даст ему такие рычаги власти, которые позволят установить новый тоталитарный режим.

(Future presidential elections pose a threat because they might allow the coming to power of a ‘strong man’ [...] The Constitution of the Russian Federation would give him levers of power that would allow him to establish a new totalitarian regime.)

(*Nezavisimaya gazeta*, February 17, 1994)

In (160), the writer criticized the statement of Yeltsin in this sentence and said the concept of a democratic state is not adequately defined. In (161), the writer raised questions about the consequences of the result in the future presidential election. Depending on the result, authority could be given to the person, who already has power in politics or society in Russia. The key words in Yeltsin’s addresses, especially during his first administration, were related to the condition of democracy. To compare the understanding of the democracy in Russia, we will shift to pay attention to the word “демократия” (democracy) in Yeltsin’s addresses and the article in the newspaper.

(162) Без развитого парламентаризма полноценная демократия невозможна. В самое ближайшее время будет обновлена и реформирована система правосудия. Ее роль до сих пор далека от той, которую судебная должна играть в правовом государстве.

(Without a developed parliamentary system, a fully-fledged democracy is impossible. In the very near future, the justice system will be updated and reformed. Its role is still far from the one that the judiciary should play in a rule-of-law state.)

(*Nezavisimaya gazeta*, February 25, 1994)

- (163) Сейчас завершается важный этап преобразования России в демократическое государство.
(Now, an important stage in the transformation of Russia into a democratic state is occurring.)

(Yeltsin 1994)

As in (162), Yeltsin said in his address that it is necessary to develop a parliamentary system in order to have a fully-fledged democracy. At the same time Yeltsin said, as in (163), that his administration was making progress towards achieving its goal of establishing a democratic society. These statements show that democracy had not been established at that time. Yeltsin clarified the process of democratization and appealed to the Russian people to recognize that he was taking steps to establish a democratic society. Then how did journalists interpret the situation of democracy in Russia? The next examples are the articles from the newspaper “Независимая газета” (*Nezavisimaya gazeta*).

- (164) Демократура, пока сидит в Кремле Ельцин, вряд ли перерастет в прямую диктатуру тоталитарного типа.

(While Yeltsin is sitting in the Kremlin demokratura it is unlikely to grow into a totalitarian dictatorship.)

(*Nezavisimaya gazeta*, February 17, 1994)

- (165) Каковы черты нашей российской демократуры? Хотя сохраняется относительно демократический порядок выборности президента и парламента, главные рычаги власти сосредоточены в руках одного человека.

(What are the features of our Russian demokratura? Although the relatively democratic process of the election of the president and parliament remains, the main levers of power are concentrated in the hands of one person.)

(*Nezavisimaya gazeta*, February 17, 1994)

- (166) РУССКАЯ ДЕМОКРАТУРА

В каком государстве мы ждем спустя 40 лет после начала хрущевских реформ, 10 лет от начала горбачевской перестройки и три года с момента ‘самой демократической’ революции в России?

(RUSSIAN DEMOKRATURA

In what state do we live 40 years after the beginning of Khrushchev’s reforms, 10 years from the beginning of Gorbachev’s perestroika and three years since ‘the very democratic’ revolution in Russia?)

(*Nezavisimaya gazeta*, February 17, 1994)

In (164), the writer described Russia under the Yeltsin administration with the word ‘demokratyra’, and he judged that Yeltsin would not become a dictator. Also in the same article, the journalist described the situation of Russia as under the ‘demokratura’ as in (165). He pointed out that even though the political system of Russia is seemingly democratic, in fact only one person has authority, the president of Russia. The word “демократура” (domocracyra) was used ironically. It consists of two opposite words, democracy and dictatorship. This word was used only in an article in 1994. This writer repeated the word “демократура” (domocracyra) 7 times in one articles. In addition, the journalist wrote about the current democratic situation in Russia illogically as in (166). Here, the writer implies that such social situation is unique to Russia by expressing it as Russian democracy using the phrase “РУССКАЯ ДЕМОКРАТУРА” (RUSSIAN DEMOKRATURA) in capital letters. And he looks back on the past big historical events that demanded democratization and casts questions to readers. This sentence has an effect to allow the readers to consider the situation of Russia, and the writer guides the readers ahead towards having a sense of uncertainty or dissatisfaction to the actual condition under the Yeltsin administration. Then, at the last period of Yeltsin’s administration, how did Yeltsin mention the democracy in Russia?

(167) Последнее десятилетие уходящего века стало для России не только историческим, но и сложным идеологическим ‘марафом’: за очень короткий срок преодолен трудный путь к демократии, свободе и раскрепощению личности.

(The last decade of the outgoing century has become for Russia not only a historical, but also a complex ideological “marathon”: in a very short period democracy, freedom and the emancipation of the individual have been achieved.)

(Yeltsin 1999)

(168) Россия не должна свернуть с пути демократии и рыночных реформ, возврата к прошлому не будет – такова главная мысль послания президента на 1999 год.

(Russia should not turn from the path of democracy and market reforms, there will not be a return to the past — this is the main message of the president’s message for 1999.)

(*Nezavisimaya gazeta*, March 03, 1999)

In (167), Yeltsin mentioned the historical path that led to the democratic society in Russia using the metaphorical expression ‘marathon’ to describe his final administration. ‘Marathon’ gives us the impression of a long way and difficult journey. Yeltsin judged that his administration had achieved democracy in Russia in a short period despite difficult circumstances. At the same time the journalist wrote the main points along to the way to democracy in Yeltsin’s administration, and evaluated it that the course of the democracy in Russia as the right way to develop the country. The summary

about democracy by the journalist shows Yeltsin's intention or wish to the democracy in Russia with the word "Россия не должна свернуть с пути демократии" (Russia should not turn from the path of democracy). It implies that Russia is on the path to full democracy under the Yeltsin administration, and democracy from now will depend on the next generation. Yeltsin summed up the results of own policy to lead Russia as a democratic country. The journalist also summed up the important points of Yeltsin's address; on the one hand the journalist wrote that the course of democracy is correct and Russia will not to return to the past, while on the other hand the way to democracy needs to continue to ensure a democratic society.

Yeltsin stated about the rights of people in his addresses, especially in the first period of the Yeltsin administration. On the other hand, journalists raised questions about the fate of the situation in Russia as a democratic country. When Yeltsin used the word 'democracy' in the addresses, Yeltsin stated that the establishment of a democratic society was in process and in the last year of the Yeltsin administration, Yeltsin evaluated that achievement. In contrast, a journalist used the word 'democracy', made up as the word 'demokratura', which was composed of the word democracy and dictatorship. In the last year of the Yeltsin administration, journalists summed up the contents from Yeltsin's address in 1999. They considered that the path to democracy is the right one but was not achieved. Yeltsin mentioned the process of the policy to democracy and its achievement, but journalists interpreted it from a critical stance and evaluated that the democratic society in Russia was still work in progress.

In the tabloid Комсомольская правда (*Komsomolskya pravda*)

The usage of word "человек" (human), in the tabloid Комсомольская правда (*Komsomolskya pravda*) was observed one time in all articles, in addition in this case was not related to the contexts on the condition of a democratic country, it was about the health of Yeltsin. The word "права" (rights) was also observed only twice, but as a form of "право" (right), and this word was used not as a condition of a democratic country. One of the usages of this word was as a "claim", and the other was as a "means". See the following examples (169) and (170).

(169) "Право на применение государственной силы и чеченский кризис".

("The right to use state power and the Chechen crisis".)

(*Komsomolskya pravda*, February 17–20, 1995)

(170) [...] нынешний документ получился цельным – право, народные избранники обзавелись на сон грядущий полезным и содержательным чтивом.

([...] the current document has turned out to be solid — the right, the elected representatives of the people got a dream and a useful and informative read.)

(*Komsomolskya pravda*, February 24, 1996)

(169) is a quotation from Yeltsin’s presidential address in 1995. (170) is a cynical remark of Лившиц Александр Яковлевич (Livshic Aleksander Yakovlevich), who was a Soviet and Russian economist, and at that time he was the Minister of Finance and Deputy Prime Minister of Russia. He defined that the current political document as “чтиво” (read). Both of these usages are not mentioning human rights.

The usage of “демократия” (democracy) was used only in the articles in 1995 in “Komsomolskya pravda”. See the following examples (171) and (172).

(171) Власть зангралась с прессой в демократию – и с ужасом вдруг обнаружила в ходе чеченского кризиса, что ТВ и газеты не очень-то слушаются руля.

(The authorities clashed with the press in a democracy — and suddenly, with horror, discovered during the Chechen crisis that TV and newspapers do not really obey the rule.)

(*Komsomolskya pravda*, February 15, 1995)

(172) Ушедшего от коммунизма, но так и не добравшегося до демократии.

(Gone from communism, but never seized by democracy.)

(*Komsomolskya pravda*, February 22, 1995)

Both of the examples (171) and (172) indicate that Russia was in the process of becoming a democratic country. As (171) shows, in a crisis situation, there is a difference in the provision of information between the authorities and the media, in recognition of what should be reported. Also even the Deputy Prime Minister of Russia admitted the fact of the situation of Russia as in (172).

In the tabloid Комсомольская правда (*Komsomolskya pravda*), there was no made-up word describe to the democracy of Russia. The journalists did not mention human rights, only the writers reported from the points of the Chechen war and the law of Russia. Articles about a democracy were reported to reveal the facts of conditions of Russia as a democratic country.

The thought of democracy between Putin and the newspapers

In the broadsheet *Независимая газета* (*Nezavisimaya gazeta*)

When Putin used the words “права” (rights) and “свобода” (freedom) as in Figure 5.32, in the case of the usage of word “свобода” (freedom), Putin also used “экономическая свобода” (freedom of the economy). When Putin mentioned human rights, he also used the words “обеспечение” (provision), “защита” (protection) and “расширение” (expansion), as well as the word “ограничение” (limitation). See the following examples (173) to (177).

институции, которая определяет права и свободы человека и гражданина. Эти	Putin_2013.txt
говоры о защите международного права и прав человека. Это просто чистый	Putin_2014.txt
ние к правам человека, включая права национальных меньшинств. Не имеют права	Putin_2005.txt
ональных меньшинств. Не имеют права требовать соблюдения прав человека от	Putin_2005.txt
з полной мере будут обеспечены права человека, гражданские и политические	Putin_2003.txt
пафос необходимости борьбы за права человека и демократию, когда речь	Putin_2006.txt
ство немыслимо без уважения к правам и свободам человека. Только	Putin_2000.txt
Терроризм несет угрозу жизни и правам человека, дестабилизирует государства и	Putin_2004.txt
а деле докажут свое уважение к правам человека, включая права национальных	Putin_2005.txt
Общественную палату, Совет по правам человека, другие общественные и	Putin_2013.txt
позволено устраивать селекцию прав и свобод человека в зависимости от	Putin_2001.txt
тления демократии, обеспечения прав и свобод человека. Мы будем и дальше	Putin_2004.txt
я. И без сомнения, обеспечение прав и свобод человека является критически	Putin_2005.txt
и, и прежде всего это касается прав и свобод человека и гражданина. Эти	Putin_2013.txt

Figure 5.32: The words “права” (rights) and “свобода” (freedom) in Putin’s addresses

(173) Никому не должно быть позволено устраивать селекцию прав и свобод человека в зависимости от обложки паспорта [...]

(No one should be allowed to arrange a selection of human rights and freedoms depending on the cover of the passport [...])

(Putin 2001)

(174) В ней (России) в полной мере будут обеспечены права человека, гражданские и политические свободы.

(In Russia, human rights, civil and political freedoms will be fully ensured.)

(Putin 2003)

(175) Терроризм несет угрозу жизни и правам человека, дестабилизирует государства и целые регионы мира, встает на пути экономического и социального прогресса.

(Terrorism threatens life and human rights, destabilizes states and entire regions of the world, and stands in the way of economic and social progress.)

(Putin 2004)

(176) Хотел бы при этом заметить, что никакие ссылки на необходимость борьбы с терроризмом не могут быть аргументом для ограничения прав человека

(I would like to note at the same time that no reference to the need to combat terrorism can be an argument for restricting human rights, and in the international arena for creating unreasonable difficulties for communication between people.)

(Putin 2004)

(177) Шаг за шагом, вместе продвигались к признанию и расширению прав человека, к равному и всеобщему избирательному праву, к пониманию необходимости заботы о малоимущих и слабых, к эмансипации женщин, к другим социальным завоеваниям.

(Step by step, together we moved towards the recognition and expansion of human rights, to equal and universal suffrage, to an understanding of the need to care for the poor and weak, to the emancipation of women, to other social gains.)

(Putin 2005)

Putin declared that no one could interfere with human rights and freedom at the beginning of his administration, promising Russian human rights guarantees as in the examples (173) and (174). In addition, he announced the structure of protecting the human rights of Russia from the war on terror with Putin's own presidential addresses as in (175) and (176). Also, Putin appeals that democratization of the state which is difficult to be noticed by the people has gradually set the foundations of democracy as in (177).

At that time the journalists reported about “права” (rights) and “свобода” (freedom) as follows, see the examples (178) to (182).

(178) Вряд ли президент сочтет нужным нужным затрагивать вопрос о свободе слова в России.
(It is unlikely that the president will consider it necessary to raise the issue of freedom of speech in Russia.)

(*Nezavisimaya gazeta*, April 03, 2001)

(179) Последняя тема обрисована достаточно ярко – “сотни людей, проживающих и работающих за пределами своей страны”, должны быть уверены, что Россия не бросит их, защитит их права и достоинство.

(The last topic is described quite clearly — “hundreds of people living and working outside their country”, must be sure that Russia will not abandon them, protect their rights and dignity.)

(*Nezavisimaya gazeta*, April 04, 2001)

(180) Русские и другие народы не имеют права игнорировать волю и стремления этих людей.
(Russian and other peoples have no right to ignore the will and aspirations of these people.)

(*Nezavisimaya gazeta*, April 16, 2002)

(181) Россия должна настаивать на том, чтобы мировое сообщество уважало права всех народов без исключения, исходило из реалий прошлого и настоящего, обеспечило мирный переговорный процесс восстановления исторической справедливости.

(Russia must insist that the world community respect the rights of all peoples, without exception, proceed from the realities of the past and the present and ensure a peaceful negotiation process for the restoration of historical justice.)

(*Nezavisimaya gazeta*, April 16, 2002)

(182) Вокруг Послания президента Федеральному собранию до самого дня его оглашения интрига – что решится провозгласить президент, а что оставит на потом, кому даст сигнал “на выход”, а кому карт бланш на свободу действий.

(Around the President’s address to the Federal Assembly until the very day of its announcement, intrigue remains – what will the president decide to proclaim and what will he leave for later, who will give a signal to “come out”, and who will blanch the freedom card of action.)

(*Nezavisimaya gazeta*, April 18, 2002)

Focusing on the usages of the words “свобода” (freedom) and “права” (rights), it could be said that the journalists considered that a freedom and human rights are different conditions of democracy in Putin’s administration. Certainly, Putin acts like putting emphasis on freedom and human rights as a pair, but as in the example sentences, as in (178) and (182), freedom seems to be taken as if it is subject to restriction. Only two years after the Putin administration was inaugurated, the journalists already seemed to grasp the understanding of Putin’s freedom to the media. On the other hand, the journalists reported about human rights keeping in step with Putin’s statement, just from different perspectives, as in (179), (180) and (181). The one part of “эти люди” (these people) in (180) indicate the people of former Soviet Union countries. In the article, since it targets the whole nation of Russia and touches on the historical connection of the former Soviet Union, it seems that it draws connection with patriotism and consciousness as a community.

In Putin’s addresses, he referred to one of the principles of democracy as “freedom and human rights” which connected to safety. At this time Russia faced terrorist threats and Putin combined democratic principles with public safety. The broadsheet *Nezavisimaya gazeta* interpreted Putin’s definition of freedom and human rights negatively as it could be viewed to be used strategically as part of Putin’s military policy rather than a social gain. In 2001 and 2002, ‘human rights’ was raised by the broadsheet as the right of the people of former Soviet Union nations to follow their own will had to be supportive of Putin’s administration but could still raise the topic of democracy and freedom indirectly.

Now, we move to the expression of “демократия” (democracy) in Putin’s addresses and the broadsheet *Nezavisimaya gazeta*. Figure 5.33 is concordance lines which shows the usage of the words of Putin’s “демократия” (democracy). In the beginning of Putin’s administration, he put goal of a democracy, and Putin expressed “развитие демократии” (a development of democracy), “реальная демократия” (a real democracy) and “российская демократия” (a Russian democracy). See the following examples (183) to (186).

исследовательное развитие демократии в России возможно лишь правовым,	Putin_2005.txt
воздействие на развитие демократических институтов и процедур оказывает	Putin_2007.txt
в направлении развития демократии, профессиональных начал	Putin_2000.txt
стабильности, и развития демократии в этом регионе. Отмечу, что уже	Putin_2005.txt
ударства, без развития демократии и гражданского общества. Напомню:	Putin_2006.txt
емы. Но ценой развития демократических процедур не может быть ни	Putin_2005.txt
иметь в стране развитые демократические процедуры не просто необходимо,	Putin_2005.txt
ные институтов реальной демократии. Отказывать собственному народу,	Putin_2005.txt
сти, диалога и реальной демократии. Это – наша базовая позиция, и мы	Putin_2005.txt
инструментов реальной демократии. В то время страну раздирали	Putin_2007.txt
полученный в результате демократических выборов Президента, единая	Putin_2000.txt
что молодая российская демократия добилась в своем становлении	Putin_2004.txt
мире. Однако российская демократия – это власть именно российского	Putin_2012.txt
любодных СМИ российской демократии просто не выжить, а гражданского	Putin_2000.txt
ей ценностью российской демократии. Это – наша принципиальная позиция.	Putin_2000.txt
способность российской демократии. Мы должны были найти собственную	Putin_2005.txt

Figure 5.33: The word “демократия” (democracy) in Putin’s addresses

(183) Свобода слова была и останется незыблемой ценностью российской демократии.

Это – наша принципиальная позиция.

(Freedom of speech was and will remain the unshakable value of Russian democracy.

This is our principled position.)

(Putin 2000)

(184) Надо было решить труднейшую задачу: как сохранить ценности, не растерять безусловных достижений о подтвердить жизнеспособность российской демократии.

(It was necessary to solve the most difficult task: how to preserve our own values, not to lose unconditional achievements and confirm the viability of Russian democracy.)

(Putin 2005)

(185) Десятилетиями изолированная от мира, толком не знавшая и не понимавшая его эта элита взяла на вооружение псевдолиберальные и псевдодемократические принципы и ценности.

(For decades isolated from the world, this elite did not really know and did not understand it.

It adopted pseudo-liberal and pseudo-democratic principles and values.)

(*Nezavisimaya gazeta*, April 16, 2002)

(186) Президент сказал, что указом нельзя ввести ощущение свободы, демократии и патриотизма.

То есть, каждый должен внутри себя понять, что он живет в большой, великой стране, и разбудить себе чувства и свободы, и уважения к закону, к власти.

(The President said that a decree cannot introduce a feeling of freedom, democracy and patriotism. That is, everyone should understand inside themselves that they live in a big, great country, and wake up their feelings and freedoms, and respect for the law, and authority.)

(*Nezavisimaya gazeta*, May 27, 2004)

As in the example sentences, (183) and (184), Putin had more democratic ideas and conditions than before, and was trying to build a new “Russian democracy” in his own administration. In the example ((184), Putin stated about the specific aims for democracy under his terms. As in the examples (185) and (186), the journalists supported democratic policies in the Putin administration. The example (185) explains that the result of the present democracy is a mistake caused by past the elite, and it could impress the reader in that the Putin administration is rebuilding a democracy and adding new values.

We could confirm that, although we did not actually catch the statement in Putin’s presidential address in 2004, based on the reporter’s statement in (186), it turned out that the reporter interpreted Putin’s statement. Putin said in his presidential address in 2004 , “Никто и ничто не остановит Россию на пути укрепления демократии, обеспечения прав и свобод человека”. (No one and nothing will stop Russia on the path to strengthening democracy, ensuring human rights and freedoms.), and also he stated as follows: “Очевидно, что молодая российская демократия добилаь в своем становлении значительных успехов.” (It is obvious that the young Russian democracy has achieved considerable success in its development.). The writer’s interpretation implies this newspaper’s support for Putin. Furthermore, it could be said that the writer indirectly prompted a feeling of how to accept “Russian democracy” indirectly.

In the later term of the Putin administration, he gave a different understanding of democracy. Also, the interpretations in the articles supported this to foster a values of the Russian democracy. See the following examples (187) to (190).

(187) Демократия – это возможность не только выбрать власть, но и эту власть контролировать.

(Democracy is an opportunity not only to choose power, but also to control this power.)

(Putin 2012)

(188) Мы должны уделить большее внимание развитию прямой демократии, непосредственного направления.

(We should pay more attention to the development of direct democracy, direct people’s power.)

(Putin 2012)

(189) Президент вскользь сказал, что права человека и демократия отходят на задний план для некоторых держав, когда речи идет о защите их национальных интересов, – и здесь явно имеются США.

(The president casually said that human rights and democracy are receding into the background for some powers when it comes to protecting their national interests, and here the US is clearly meant.)

(*Nezavisimaya gazeta*, May 11, 2006)

(190) Ведь в последние месяцы именно расхождения взглядов в отношении стандартов демократии, современного государства, политических практик и стало причиной нарастания напряженности отношений между РФ и Западом.

(Indeed, in recent months, it was precisely differences of opinion regarding the standards of democracy, the modern state, and political practices that caused the increase in tensions between Russia and the West.)

(*Nezavisimaya gazeta*, December 13, 2012)

As in the example (187), Putin defines democracy, and sets democracy to choose power, that is, who is to be chosen as a leader, and Putin says that the people can also participate and affect this authority. As well as this consideration, Putin states the necessity of the consciousness towards democracy, and he calls for awareness of political participation in citizens, as in (188). In the articles, the writers define the position of democracy of Russia in the world as in the examples (189) and (190). In (189), the writer understands that Putin criticized the way of American democracy. Actually, when Putin made this remark, he did not raise the name of the United States. The reporter picks up that part and tells the reader its interpretation, which could imply how the Russian President is looking at America. In other words, the journalist indicates that Putin states what kind of democracy should be for a country there. Also, in (190), the writer describes the discrepancy of understanding of a democracy between Russia and the West. By depicting the understanding of democracy and the difference in values, the writer reminds the readers that “Russian democracy” is in the process of moving in their own path, different from others.

In Putin’s addresses, there are various types of democracy which are used in differing context, such as “real democracy” and “Russian democracy”. Putin offered his own version of democracy, that was critical of American Democracy. In Putin’s latest term of administration this differentiation of democracy has been addressed more frequently. The broadsheet has offered positive opinion pieces in articles, and while, democracy has not yet been achieved, it is not the fault of Putin, but is due to previous administrations. Furthermore, broadsheet journalists tend to quote Putin when referring to democratic topics rather than making their own critical analysis.

In the tabloid Комсомольская правда (*Komsomolskya pravda*)

Focusing on the usage of the word “свобода” (freedom) in the tabloid “Komsomolskya pravda”, in this news paper, the journalists also viewed the ‘freedom of speech’ and ‘freedom in society’ from negative perspectives. See the following examples (191) to (194).

(191) Секретарша приносит кофе и зефир в шококаде. Пытаюсь закончить оборванную фразу:
наверное, речь – о духовном и нравственном подъеме нации.

– А что там насчет СМИ?

– Вам гарантируется свобода, но – в рамках закона...

Зефир в шоколаде тает во рту...

(The secretary brings coffee and marshmallows in chocolate. I am trying to finish a ragged phrase: probably, speech is about the spiritual and moral uplift of the nation.

– What about the media?

— You are guaranteed freedom, but – within the law...

Chocolate-flavored marshmallow is melting in mouth ...)

(*Komsomolskya pravda*, July 08, 2000)

(192) Но (президент) предложил создать при Общественной палате спецкомиссию по контролю за свободой слова.

(He (president) proposed the creation of a special commission to monitor freedom of speech at the Public Chamber.)

(*Komsomolskya pravda*, May 28, 2005)

(193) Путин назвал главной задачей создание в России свободного общества свободных людей.

(Putin called the main task of creating a free society of free people in Russia.)

(*Komsomolskya pravda*, May 28, 2005)

(194) Не может быть свободного общества свободных людей в стране, где смертность превышает рождаемость, где значительная часть населения живет за чертой бедности.

(There can be no free society of free people in a country where the death rate exceeds the birth rate, where a significant part of the population lives below the poverty line.)

(*Komsomolskya pravda*, May 28, 2005)

The example (191) was written as a sort of story. The writer explained the situation that the correspondents of “Komsomolskaya Pravda” could look into the text of the presidential address. But

when the question of freedom of speech arose, the secretary was described as feeling a twinge of embarrassment. Also, in (192), the journalist reported the attention of the president to freedom of speech. The statement from Putin was reported as in (193), but the writer pointed out the weak point and the real situation of Russia as in (194). In addition, the journalist saw the democracy of Russia as follows;

(195) Идем по европейскому пути, но демократия у нас пока подрастающая...

(We are moving along the European path, but our democracy is still growing)

(*Komsomolskya pravda*, May 28, 2005)

(196) Казалось, когда Путин стал говорить об идеалах демократии, резко обличать отечественную бюрократию, он хотя бы обозначит и эту нашу беду

(It seemed that when Putin began to talk about the ideals of democracy, to sharply denounce the domestic bureaucracy, he would at least mark this our misfortune.)

(*Komsomolskya pravda*, May 28, 2005)

In the example (196), the reporter writes about democracy taking into consideration the state and position in Putin's speech. However the view of the writer is put by using the vocabulary "misfortune". In a similar article (195), the journalist does not intensely criticize the Putin regime and points to the state of real democracy while still understanding it is part of an ongoing process.

In the tabloid "Komsomolskya pravda", strong criticism or support in regards to democracy are not described, and in any part that expresses dissatisfaction on this depicts with a comical and sometimes sympathetic expression.

The thought of democracy between Medvedev and the newspapers

In the broadsheet Независимая газета (*Nezavisimaya gazeta*)

In the case of Medvedev, when seeing the use of 'right' it is used in the context of "international law". When viewed as "human rights", only 3 examples were observed in 2008, and as for "freedom of people" only a few examples were observed in 2008. Figure 5.34 is the usage of the word "демократия" (democracy) in concordance lines. Medvedev expresses about democracy in Russia as follows;

1. Мы знаем: Россия будет процветающей, демократической страной. Сильной и в то же	Medvedev_2008.txt
ной жизни в современном, процветающем, демократическом обществе. Мы сами выбрали свой	Medvedev_2009.txt
эм освоило навыки, практики и процедуры демократии. И в отличие от недавнего прошлого	Medvedev_2008.txt
тии. И в отличие от недавнего прошлого демократическое устройство уже не ассоциируется	Medvedev_2008.txt
ак должна развиваться дальше российская демократия. Считаю, что граждане России сейчас	Medvedev_2008.txt
ль Конституции в становлении российской демократии. Я уже сказал, что гарантируемый ею	Medvedev_2008.txt
ды (прямо скажем, по указанию «сверху») демократические учреждения должны укорениться	Medvedev_2008.txt
с. Уважаемые коллеги! Для свободного, демократического и справедливого общества враг	Medvedev_2008.txt
У нас есть положительный опыт создания демократического государства. Есть не просто	Medvedev_2008.txt
и этом хотел бы подчеркнуть: укрепление демократии не означает ослабления правопорядка.	Medvedev_2009.txt
гапе уделить особое внимание укреплению демократических институтов на региональном	Medvedev_2009.txt
граждан. Это ещё один шаг по укреплению демократической власти, главной задачей которой	Medvedev_2010.txt
ожания порядка. Для защиты и укрепления демократических институтов. Вторая – смертельно	Medvedev_2008.txt
аву страной и в этих условиях укреплять демократические институты и поддерживать	Medvedev_2008.txt

Figure 5.34: The word “демократия” (democracy) in Medvedev’s addresses

(197) И нет никаких сомнений в том, что мы будем вместе продолжать демократические преобразования.

(And there is no doubt that together we will continue democratic transformations.)

(Medvedev 2008)

(198) Теперь вопрос в том, как должна развиваться дальше российская демократия.

(Now the question is how the Russian democracy should develop further.)

(Medvedev 2008)

(199) [...] я представил свою политическую стратегию: опираясь на ценности

демократии, модернизировать экономику и создать стимулы для прогресса во всех областях.

([...] I presented my political strategy: relying on the values of democracy, modernizing the economy and creating incentives for progress in all areas.)

(Medvedev 2010)

Medvedev considers that the foundation of a Russian democracy had been constructed, as in the examples (197), (198) and (199). In (197) and (198) Medvedev was convinced of the establishment of a Russian democracy and states on what direction to embark to specifically develop in further. As in (199), Medvedev brought new values and set the goal of modernizing Russia, relying on Russian democracy. As can be seen from this, in Medvedev administration, democracy was linked to value and understanding to modernization.

Figure 5.35 shows the usage of “модернизация” (modernization) in Medvedev’s addresses. Medvedev had started to consider the concrete policies to progress the modernization in Russia in earnest from 2009. He put the task for achievement in his policies which he mentioned as “для решения задачи модернизации” (for solution of the issue of modernization) or “направления модернизации” (the direction of modernization) in his own addresses.

нацелены на решение задач модернизации России. Нам нечего, как принято	Medvedev_2009.txt
тельности для решения задач модернизации и технологического прорыва.	Medvedev_2009.txt
нацелены на решение задач модернизации России. Нам нечего, как принято	Medvedev_2009.txt
ерь о практических задачах модернизации нашей страны. Начну с того, что я	Medvedev_2011.txt
ти. Четвёртое. Под задачи модернизации должна быть настроена и наша	Medvedev_2009.txt
ервых, мы обязаны заняться модернизацией государственного сектора. Его	Medvedev_2009.txt
льности выбора стратегии и модернизации . Представительство политических	Medvedev_2011.txt
технологии может сыграть и модернизация армии. Это может нравиться или не	Medvedev_2010.txt
пользовать прежде всего на модернизацию нашей экономики. Соответствующие	Medvedev_2010.txt
в, совокупно выделяемых на модернизацию здравоохранения, должны пойти на	Medvedev_2010.txt
и приоритетным направлениям модернизации получены первые результаты:	Medvedev_2011.txt
влюсь на этих направлениях модернизации , потому что считаю это	Medvedev_2009.txt

Figure 5.35: The word “модернизация” (modernization) in Medvedev’s addresses

Then, how did the journalists in the broadsheet *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, reported about Medvedev’s policy, the modernization of Russia? See the following examples.

(200) Большую часть Послания он (Медведев) посвятил теме модернизации .

(He (Medvedev) devoted most of the Message to the subject of modernization.)

(*Nezavisimaya gazeta*, November 14, 2009)

(201) Не скрою, было принято слушать, что президент видит решение проблем модернизации экономики России, в том числе и с тех позиций, которыми вплотную уже в течение ряда лет занимаемся мы.

(Frankly, it was customary to hear that the president sees the solution to the problems of modernizing the Russian economy, including from the positions that we have been working on closely for a number of years.)

(*Nezavisimaya gazeta*, November 16, 2009)

(202) Тому формирования конкретных условий для модернизации президент Дмитрий Медведев обошел стороной.

(The topic of the formation of specific conditions for the promotion of ideas of modernization, was bypassed by President Dmitry Medvedev.)

(*Nezavisimaya gazeta*, November 22, 2010)

In the example (200) in 2008, the journalist reported Medvedev’s policies from a rather positive perspective, and the writer continued the sentences as follows: “Медведев фактически озвучил программу стратегического развития страны на десятилетия вперед”. (Medvedev actually voiced the country’s strategic development program for decades to come.). On the other hand, as in (201) and (202), the writers evaluated the policy of Medvedev’s modernization from critical

points of view. As one journalist wrote in (201), the critical opinion was described that it is customary to hear about the modernization problem solving in Medvedev's presidential address. However, in fact, Medvedev has only two presidential addresses as of 2009. Also, as in (202), the journalist points out the attitude of Medvedev to his own policy; modernization, from critical eyes.

In the broadsheet *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, journalists had given positive evaluations to the initiatives of the new Medvedev regime at the beginning, but gradually grew critical to his "modernization policy of Russia", which Medvedev was mainly trying to modernize through economic terms.

In the tabloid Комсомольская правда (*Komsomolskya pravda*)

The tabloid Комсомольская правда (*Komsomolskya pravda*) tended to quote the statements of Medvedev and opinion of nations in various positions. In the case of the policy of Medvedev, "modernization policy of Russia", the journalists also reported according to the course of this newspaper. See the following examples (203) to (206).

(203) В XXI веке нашей стране вновь необходима модернизация. И это будет первый в нашей истории опыт модернизации, основанной на ценностях и институтах демократии.

(In the 21st century, our country needs modernization again. And this will be the first modernization experience in our history, based on the values and institutions of democracy.)

(*Komsomolskya pravda*, November 13, 2009)

(204) Леонид ПОЛЯКОВ, заведующий кафедрой общей политологии высшей школы экономики:

Ведь ясно, что модернизировать экономику, социальную сферу можно только с помощью живой, действующей политической системы – она должна стать мотором модернизации.
(Leonid POLYAKOV, Head of the Department of General Political Science at the Higher School of Economics:

After all, it is clear that modernizing the economy, the social sphere is possible only with the help of a living, current political system – it should become the engine of modernization.)

(*Komsomolskya pravda*, November 13, 2009)

(205) Алексей МАКАРКИН, первый вице-президент Центра политехнологий:

А вот у общества много вопросов: зачем это, что мы получим, не есть ли модернизация просто слово?

(Alexey MAKARKIN, First Vice-President of the Center for Polytechnology:

But society has many questions: why is it, what will we get, isn't modernization just a word?)

(*Komsomolskya pravda*, December 01, 2010)

(206) Евгений ЯСИН, экс-министр экономики РФ:

Очень нравится предложение по экономическим санкциям в отношении коррупционеров. Они гораздо эффективнее посадок, которые портят деловой климат и отпугивают бизнес – главную опору модернизации.

(Yevgeny Yasin, former Minister of Economics of the Russian Federation:

I like the proposal on economic sanctions against corrupt officials. They are much more efficient obstacles that spoil the business climate and scare away business — the main support of modernization.)

(*Komsomolskya pravda*, December 01, 2010)

In the tabloid “Komsomolskya pravda”, the reporter quoted the words of Medvedev and conveyed the necessity of modernization. As an opinion on modernization, the article describes the views of people of various positions, and many of them have political knowledge. As in the example sentences, people judge from the findings critical of the president’s modernization.

In the broadsheet *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, at the beginning was a positive attitude towards the new reform of Medvedev, but as Russia faced economic stagnation, articles on policies became critical writing. In the tabloid “Komsomolskya pravda”, views of people with political knowledge on the modernization of Medvedev are posted, encouraging readers to make a professional judgment.

5.4 Section summary

In this section, we looked at how the Russian presidential addresses were being reported in the newspaper using two different kinds of newspapers, the broadsheet Независимая газета (*Nezavisimaya gazeta*) and the tabloid Комсомольская правда (*Komsomolskya pravda*). From the frequent words seen in the articles, it turned out that the reporters were paying attention to the Russian economy and human rights. Sometimes they cited the actual remarks of the president and reminded their readers. As for Yeltsin’s presidential addresses, the format of the articles about that event could not be established, or the report had not been decided yet, and so the writers reported from another view, for example, Yeltsin’s health status. When it comes to the Putin administration, the separation of the two kinds of newspapers is observed, which shows that they are viewing the Putin administration from their respective standpoints. A statement by the opposition party is also posted, but there was no strong criticism against the Putin regime. Regarding Medvedev’s presidential addresses, both newspapers, from what was an initial positive perspective, printed ever growing critical articles that drew on Putin’s name or influence and the tandem relationship between them.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

In this study, we conducted a political discourse analysis from two angles. First, we dealt with the Russian presidential addresses and compared the three presidents, Yeltsin, Putin and Medvedev, in what style they were telling about the future policy to the audience. Secondly, we compared the vocabulary usage, expressions, etc., from two different kinds of Russian newspapers, the broadsheet Независимая газета (*Nezavisimaya gazeta*) and the tabloid Комсомольская правда (*Komsomolskaya pravda*), on how to interpret the president's words. The analytical method analyzed texts from the standpoint of discourse analysis using text mining. There has been no time-lapse and quantitative analysis of the Russian presidential addresses so far, but through this research, in addition to understanding the president's words quantitatively we could gain a qualitative from the statistical method and this also made it possible to compare the Presidents' leadership style. Since vocabulary and phrases used at high frequency are easy to remain in the audience's consciousness, it turned out that the presidents of Russia used such a method when pressing new ideas, plans, and visions. In addition, such expressions are also used by the media, increasingly aware of the public's consciousness.

Relationship between politics and the media

Even now, in Russia there is regulation of media through state media laws. After the collapse of the Soviet era, the Russian Federation was established as a new state, and people tried to gain a lot of freedom, but it is undeniable that there is a difference in perception between the freedom and rights that the state supports and the freedom and rights that the people demand. While confusion continued, Yeltsin had led the state as the first president of this new state, but unfortunately during this turbulent period the newspapers evaluated Yeltsin's political wave negatively. The Putin administration started with the process of further developing Yeltsin's foundation. Furthermore, initially Putin was not known as a politician, but by his youthfulness and leadership he led Russia

through a revival of restoring Russia as a super power and succeeded in giving hope to the people. In addition, Putin began media reform in order to reign in control. There was no intense criticism in the newspapers from this time, but the opinion towards the Putin regime is stated with the subtle expressive strategy of reporters. In the Medvedev administration, direct criticism was observed, unlike evaluation by Putin's presidential addresses. At first glance, it seems that reporters and citizens have a negative opinion to the Medvedev regime, but from the media standpoint, being able to critically publish political articles to the public is a matter of getting the freedom they requested. How the public receive the words of the president directly or through articles in the media impacts on the president's approval rating.

The future perspectives

A major problem with newspaper subscriptions is that 'moving away from newspapers' can be seen in Russia as well as in Japan. Iijima (2009) refers to the delivery route of media as one of the causes. Staff at post offices in Russia have to manually fold the newspaper and then periodically stamp the address of the subscriber on a printed band before sorting them. Furthermore, it takes a very long time to deliver these newspapers to the buyer's hand so that they can be delivered on the ordinary postal delivery route. Iijima also mentions that as a custom since the Soviet era in Russia, most newspaper companies do not issue newspapers on Saturdays and Sundays, so in the modern society the increasing use of the internet news is spurring a decline of newspapers .

In the modern society, the Internet has become its core infrastructure, which makes it possible to browse various types of articles in various languages. From now on, we can make quantitative consideration not only of Russian articles but also of journal articles in other countries dealing with similar issues. For example, in the future, I would like to consider how the media coverage of the Northern Territories problem, which is a longstanding problem, is changing. This problem is not simply a matter between Japan and Russia. It also matters to the U.S. As a next step, we need to examine different perspectives in news coverage of the territorial issue in Japanese, Russian, and American press. By so doing, we will clarify how differently the territorial issue is perceived by the three countries.

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