

# ***“Together we are power!”: Identities and Values in Euromaidan Slogans***

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## **Abstract:**

This article examines the issues of identity and values in Euromaidan slogans. Different types of identities and the ways of their expression are highlighted: gender, national, regional, social, European and so on. A spectrum of values is portrayed – the values of love, friendship, mutual help, freedom, and dignity. Various linguistic representations of identities and values are examined by using the methodological tools of discourse-analysis on the data obtained from a field research and publications immediately appearing as a reaction to Maidan events.

## **Keywords:**

identity, value, Euromaidan, revolutionary slogan, protest rhetoric.



Events in contemporary Ukraine have become the field for research for the experts from diverse realms. As Volodymyr Kulyk states, *One of the most noteworthy consequences of the recent events in Ukraine is a dramatic change in Ukrainian national identity. In various media one can regularly encounter assertions of individuals' increased self-identification as Ukrainian, greater pride in being a citizen of the Ukrainian state, stronger attachment to the symbols of nationhood, enhanced solidarity with compatriots, increased readiness to defend Ukraine or work for Ukraine, and increased confidence in the people's power to change the country for the better* (Kulyk, 2016, p. 588).

Therefore, identity issues are still in the main focus, since the Maidan revolution and the ongoing Russian-Ukrainian war have become the triggers to actively discuss the current social, political and cultural identities and values. The recent studies revealed that the main values of Euromaidan are the following: *Actually, the above-mentioned dominant values of Maidan give an understanding of what a "Revolution of Dignity" means and consists of: 1) creativity, freedom, independence, self-esteem, curiosity – Self-direction; objectivity, integrity, compassion, loyalty, responsibility – Benevolence; 3) wisdom, social justice, equality, peace, beauty, tolerance, unity with nature, protecting the environment – Universalism* (Sviatnenko Vynogradov, 2014, p. 49). Therefore, the goal of this article is to examine how identities are reflected in linguistic representations and how values are seen through linguistic lenses.

This article is a part of my bigger research on Euromaidan slogans that was published as a separate book in 2015 (see a review of this book made by Łukasz Kutyló in this volume). However, the book was published in Ukrainian, and this is my first article on the topic available in English. I do believe that the Euromaidan contexts are in general terms familiar to a Polish reader, therefore, I do not expose the

revolution timeline, whereas in the abstracts that are dense with linguistic details I provide an extra explanations. The language of the majority of slogans I analyze below is Ukrainian, and for the reasons of text economy and cohesion I provide only their English translation. If the language of a concrete slogan or citation is not Ukrainian, I flag this fact.

I do believe that language is a fruitful field for a research on identities and values. As Deborah Schiffrin holds, (...) *language always occurs in some kind of context, including cognitive contexts in which past experience and knowledge is stored and drawn upon, cultural contexts consisting of shared meanings and world views, and social contexts through which both self and others draw upon institutional and interactional orders to construct definitions of situation and action* (Schiffrin, 1987, p. 4). Cognitive, cultural and social elements were crucial for identity construction during the Maidan events. And furthermore, (...) *the act of narrating is considered an act of constructing identity* (Taniguchi, 2010, p. 212).

A sociopolitical protest called Euromaidan has caused not only creation of a brand-new social discourse, but also renewing of political vocabulary and rhetoric. How have the protesters' identities and values been mirrored in this rhetoric? As Yaroslav Hrytsak states, the identities and values are important factors due to which a society may foresee the further development of its history or even change it: *During the last few years me and my colleagues have been saying that Ukraine has significantly more serious problems not with its identities, but with its values; because identities in Ukraine, no matter how, ensure its existence as a stable political community. However, a set of values which the majority of Ukrainian population shares – and it does not matter where, on the West or on the East – does not allow introduce any radical political and economic reforms in Ukraine. These are the values of a so called "closed society"*

*where the feeling of fear and distrust are dominant, and the main wish of inhabitants is to find a safe place for themselves and their families* (Hrytsak, 2014, p. 93).

However, as Yaroslav Hrytsak duly noted, in the last few years in Ukraine, along with domination of the values of "surviving", the values of "self-expression" have increased their importance (that is seen not only in sociological data, but also in expression of creativity during Maidan). The society where the values of "self-expression" prevail is less disposed to authoritarian regime.

As a matter of fact, an average Euromaidaner, whether consciously or unconsciously, directly or indirectly, has become an author or a co-author of revolutionary slogans. The community of Maidaners has created numerous slogans that were represented: 1) in an oral form during the Sunday meetings (such gatherings were called *viche* as an allusion to the democratic order in the former Kyiv Rus) and on the blocking demonstrations close to the state institutions – the Parliament of Ukraine, the Cabinet of Ministers, the President's Administration, the General Prosecutor's Office, the Ministry of Interior Affairs, as well as at the protests close to Kyiv courthouses; 2) in a written form on the placards, streamers, posters and self-made decorations for the "Christmas tree" (in the Ukrainian language it sounds like *jolka* – it was one of the main symbols of Maidan, situated in its very center), during the protests in other cities in Ukraine and abroad that supported the protest, in the form of graffiti on the walls of the buildings on the Square of Independence in Kyiv where the main events of the protest occurred and in the nearby neighborhoods; 3) in a virtual form on the web pages of a Facebook social network, in blogs, memes etc.

Some of the slogans, of course, represented a certain political group or were over-imposed by politicians from the "stage". For instance,

a singer Ruslana Lyzhychko, who was a moderator for the students participating in Euromaidan, was addressing the protesters with the calls *Peaceful protest!, Maidan is!, Sign!* (a call addressed to Yanukovich to sign the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement). A young political party "Demaliance", in the period of protests not represented in the public authorities structures, in particular, produced stickers with the slogans *Yanukovich pidaresht* (a wordplay is present; its meaning can be explained as a demand that Yanukovich should be arrested and at the same time as an affirmation that Yanukovich is a pederast, subtly referring to his criminal past), *Territory free of berkutushki* (another wordplay is detected; *berkutushka* is a diminutive form for a name of a riot militia formation "Berkut"), *Only victory* and others. Also, the members of a non-governmental organization "Common Case" was distributing stickers with the slogans *I am here not for money; I will not leave Maidan till Yanukovich is resigned*. Those stickers were massively pasted over the territory of Maidan, on the protesters' clothes and on the entrances to the buildings in the living districts of Kyiv as a call for those citizens of the city who by that time had not joined the protest movements yet.

However, the majority of slogans appeared as a result of a "folk creativity". They were produced in a bottom-up manner by the protesters. Mainly, the names of their authors did not become known to public, first of all because of the Maidaners' anonymity, except for the rare cases. For instance, the authors of the slogan *I am a drop in the ocean that will change Ukraine* were the community of creative artists and designers 'Strike Placard'. The idea appeared in a critical moment of the protest, right after the Berkut riot militia attacked and beat up students carrying a peaceful demonstration. The placard immediately was spread in the Internet, the slogan became extremely popular among the protesters and was transformed

into a few other versions: *We are the ocean, not a skating rink* (a hint about the militia's attack of students, as the official reason for "cleaning" the square was to prepare the area for installation of a Christmas tree (*jolka*) and a skating rink for kids); *The ocean consists of drops; You cannot sprinkle the ocean* (here is another wordplay present – in the Ukrainian language the verb *зливати* (to sprinkle) also has a slang meaning – to betray, to share secret information). Some of the slogans' transformations resembled the pieces of poetry: *I am the ocean. You are still the drop. Where is your bottom? Where are your banks? Absorb in desert thirsty time-sand or die*. The leaders of the creative community "Strike Placard" explain the metaphor, put into the slogan: *At some point you realize: There is no weakness in being a drop, even vice versa – you are starting to be proud of that. Yes, I am not strong or brave, I am not a superhero, I am just a small drop, but I can contribute to a struggle with injustice, and I want to do it. It is important. Here I am, without any weapon, without any power, I am standing here and I have a right to demand from authorities that they care about people. For public authorities the greatest fear is common people that are united for a concrete goal* (Desiateryk, 2014). A significant detail about the above cited interview is the fact that the designers did not allow to mention their names, even though it was after Maidan and Yanukovich's escape from the country. In any case, authorship or copyright during the events of Maidan was not a key moment, and production of slogans was treated as a "folk creativity" – more common was becoming a slogan, less authorial it was turning to be and, consequently, more popular and better-targeted.

Revolutionary slogans became the markers of different types of identities: European, gender, regional, social, and national. For instance, the European identity was transmitted through slogans *Ukraine is Europe; Europe*

*is high moral standards; gender – Ukrainian women are against slave future, Free hugs!, regional – Kolomyia is Europe!, social – Scientists are against violence, national civic, political – Ukraine is united, Ukrainians are power!; Ukrainians have no fear; We have one Ukraine.*

In particular, the regional identity also was represented through flags with the city names on them. This rhetoric device that was also used in the Orange Revolution in 2004, on the one hand, gave a possibility to underline the presence of representatives from different regions on Maidan and by this to transmit the important message both to Ukrainian society and international community: Here, the whole Ukraine is represented; it is not a protest of Kyiv citizens or Western Ukrainians; we all are united by a common idea; on the other hand, it facilitated coordination within the community, gave a possibility to easily find compatriots. During Euromaidan the city names were also printed on the protesters' tents and the "Christmas tree"; toponyms became parts of the Self-defense units names; on the Instytutska street the protesters organized a construction made of the small wooden bars with the written names of the cities, towns and villages of the protesters' origin. The journalists of the Television News Service (one of the most popular in Ukraine TV-channel 1+1) named this construction a "wailing and fighting wall". The emphasis on a regional identity was also a tool of mobilization, attraction of the new protesters. As is was mentioned by Mykhailo Havryliuk, a kozak who was abused by Berkut riot militia during the revolutionary events and later became a member of the Parliament of Ukraine, *there was a Chernivtsi tent on Maidan, opposite to the House of the Trade Unions, and we went to the protest every day, carrying flags. It was written "Chernivtsi" on our flag, and we stood close to the stage with it and tried to get closer to the TV-cameras to show to our people in Chernivtsi that Chernivtsi*

*are on Maidan and to motivate them to join us* (Havryliuk, 2014, p. 40).

Special attention must be paid to a gender, and a female identity in particular. Women were an active part of the protest. They performed different volunteers' tasks – culinary, health care, information distribution etc. Women also formed parts of the Self-defense units, and later a separate women's unit was established. According to the sociological data, namely a survey conducted by the Ilko Kucheriv foundation "Democratic Initiatives", has shown that in December 2013 the female part of the protesters constituted 44%. Especially when the protest turned into a combat phase, women in every way tried to express their support to combaters and often called themselves as a peaceful part of a radical protest. This support is reflected in the slogans – *On Hrushevskogo street not radicals, but normal men are fighting* (Hrushevskoho street is a place close to the Independence Square where the peaceful protest turned into a combat phase in January 2014); *I will marry my hero; I will marry a Berkut policeman who will turn to the people's side*. During Euromaidan there were actions that were clearly feminine-colored. For example, women brought stuffed animals for the Berkut militia and representatives of the interior army forces, the slogan of this action was *Ukrainian women are against a slave future*. Olexandra Hryn, a participant of the protest, initiated an action *Free hugs*, giving to all needed people her friendly support and warmth. Mothers of the soldiers that formed Internal Troops were coming to the barricades of Hrushevskoho street, calling the authorities to not to start a fire targeting their sons, and inviting other women to join the protest – *Mothers, join us!* One of the popular Maidan anecdotes had a female sounding. It was about the fact that a Ukrainian man needs three weeks to install a shelf in a bathroom, and only three hours to build a barricade

on Maidan. From their side, men expressed their gratitude in a slogan *Bow to the girls and women of Maidan*.

During the military conflict the emphasis on a female identity did not disappear, but on the contrary strengthened. Certain traditional images of woman-keeper – a caring mother, a gentle sister, a tender daughter, a loyal wife – were actualized, in particular in the series of placards – *Brother, I am praying for you; Father, come back alive; Honey, I am with you*. These placards with the images of women wearing classical Ukrainian *vyshyvankas* (embroidered blouses) appeal to traditional family values of love, trust, support and care. Concurrently, the series of erotic-camouflage posters (the author is Sviatoslav Paschuk) gained popularity among the soldiers of anti-terrorist operation; these posters were united by slogan that was a parody to a traditional commercial cliché – *Separatism is harmful for your health*. Beautiful seductive women are depicted on these posters, each of them symbolizing a certain division of Ukrainian military forces. The pictures are accompanied with the humorous slogans, such as – *The Ukrainian Special Force: Fatal dating; The Ukrainian Air Forces: Hot nose-diving; The Border Guard Service of Ukraine: Hunter's instinct; The Voluntary Battalion "Aidar": Our happiness; The National Guard of Ukraine: Gentle ukrainization; The Volunteer Battalion "Donbas": Gifts for criminals; The Rocket Forces and Artillery of the Ukraine: The last lullaby*.

Therefore, in the rhetoric of the Ukrainian resistance both traditional and modern female identities are actualized. So far, the expression of identity is possible thanks to language. As Olena Matuzkova noticed, *Identity is an extremely complicated and a multi-angled phenomenon that integrates cultural, mental, social, communicative and lingual aspects. All the existing definitions of identity allow us conclude that the identity of an individual or a group is formed*

by a language they use, a culture they belong to, a society they live in, within their intellectual and communicative activities. Language in its nature performs three roles in uniting communicative actors with each other and their culture, namely: 1) a symbol of social identity; 2) a mean of social communication, and 3) a storage of cultural knowledge (Matuzkova, 2014, p. 15).

Besides, various slogans were representing different groups within the Maidan community. For example, a kozak group created a slogan – *Feel the kozak's spirit of Maidan – come to a night shift guarding!* The Automaidan movement (representatives of a Ukrainian middle class who on their cars were driving to the residences of the major politicians to claim the protesters' demands), that in the beginning was supporting only the peaceful means of resistance, introduced a slogan *No violence* (which was formulated in Russian language). The motto of Ultras football fans who also played an important role in the protest was *From Luhansk to Carpathians fan for fan is a friend and a brother!* Slogans, typical for the representatives of the right radical parties, were *Ukraine above all!*; *Glory to nation!* – *Death to enemies!* On the contrary, liberals, criticizing those slogans, proposed to substitute them by the alternative ones – *Human being above all!*; *Human rights above all!*; *Human life above all!*; *Life to friends* (as an antithesis to the above-mentioned *Death to enemies*). The slogan *Ukraine above all!* was criticized, in particular, because it was calqued from a German motto of the Nazi period. Artists also held different opinions when evaluating this slogan. Thus, Olexandr Roitburd negatively responded to this slogan: (...) *'Ukraine above all! Even if we disregard the fact that this is a clear calque, the slogan about giving the priority to the national and state interests nowadays is by nature the most anti-European motto; I prefer Europe because human personality is the highest value there, not Ukraine, Romania or the Principality of*

*Liechtenstein* (original text in Russian, Roitburd, 2014, p. 245).

Distinctively, Ivan Semesiuk interpreted the slogan in a different way, outside the context of prioritizing the state interest versus human rights, but in the stream of state-building and civic society formation: *Think about it, do you really understand the slogan "Ukraine above all" in a correct way? Ukraine, my dears, is our home. We experience some problems at home – sewerage is leaking and ceiling is collapsing, and till we fix it, yes, our home is above all! We'll make repairs and think where to put a coffee table, what color the wallpaper should be, and if our flat mates are not disturbed by a location of our refrigerator. We'll do it for sure, but later* (Semesiuk, 2014, p. 254).

These different interpretations, apparently, are related to the different understandings of a concept of Ukraine (as a state, country, citizens, people etc). The fame of this slogan among the Maidaners can also be explained by the fact that at that time there was already a real, even though hidden, threat to the territorial integrity of Ukraine that later led to annexation of Crimea and a hybrid war in Donbas. The slogan remains acute nowadays, as it is used in the Ukrainian army and at the meetings to commemorate the fallen victims.

Journalists' publications also proved an observation that the right-wing slogans were more popular on Maidan than the left-wing ones: *Almost two months before the militia buses and the barricades made of automobile tires burst in flames, one undistinguished event happened on the Independence Square in the first day of a Vilnius summit in 27 November 2013. A silent demonstration of one of the students' trade union ended up with misunderstanding and distress. Self-made placards of young people who lined up at the stairs of the Independence Square disturbed the crowd of protesters and caused vivid discussions that turned into an indignant choir of voices. Later, in the news, the*

*placards were called "too intelligent": "Organize a trade union, do not pray on Europe", "Solidarity with europeople, fight with eurobosses", "To be afraid of gender – not to go to Europe". One of the placards contained an inscription colored like a rainbow – "Glory to enemies". Left-wing slogans by their content proved to be alien to Euromaidan. (...) The action ended up with lowering the placards to the ground. Those people who brought the placards were surrounded by a tight circle of young men who called the action a "provocation". Only then the action ceased to be silent, as the participants started chanting a slogan that was not written on their placards – "Go to Europe without violence!* (Bludsha, 2014).

Such processes revealed the fact that despite of a social and ideological diversity the new type of civic identity was formed on Maidan, a civic identity for which some ideas were more or less acceptable, whereas some were condemned to a strong criticism.

On the other hand, student-protesters were calling to a general student strike using a citation from Serhiy Zhadan, a contemporary Ukrainian writer: *Learn history! Prepare revolution! Leave the classroom! Go to the street!* The popular slogan that helped Maidaners to stay warm in a cold season – *Who is not jumping is Moskal* (an offensive word to mark Russians, hence in its origin it was a stylistically neutral way to call soldiers in a former Russian Empire) – has become popular already during the students' strike. The motto was criticized in the social networks by the Russian-speaking participants of the protest and gradually transformed into a slogan *Who is not jumping is sovok* (a slang word with a negative connotation to call people with the soviet mentality, a wordplay – this word also has a meaning *scoop*) or *Who is not jumping is Azirov* (a slang word to call a Ukrainian ex-PM who was on duty during the regime of Yanukovych, Mykola Azarov, who was famous for mispronouncing Ukrainian words in a Russian manner and

vice versa). The free encyclopedia Wikipedia defined the slogan *Who is not jumping is... as a popular mem, chant, and action. It is widely spread in many countries and used for grouping, isolation of the opposing side in the conflicts with public authorities or police...* (Wikipedia).

This is an international slogan with a variety of possible terminations. Its forms are known in such countries as Bulgaria, Bosnia, Denmark, Canada, Germany, Portugal, Russia, France, Chile. In particular, Russians during the protest on the Bolotna square in 2011–2012 were jumping with chants *Who is not jumping is a hach* (an offensive word to call people of a Caucasian origin), in a Danish version it literally sounds as *Who is not jumping is loving Putin*. Certainly, there was no clear-cut differentiation of the Euromaidan protesters by slogans, since each of them carried several identities at the same time (e.g., gender and national, or European and regional), therefore the groups were freely borrowing the slogans or were chanting them together in a crowd of one million people.

Notwithstanding, slogans were creating a new identity – a Maidan identity, a strong feeling of belonging to the community that had its own life values, worldview and a way of thinking. Their slogans also created the image of Maidaners in the Ukrainian and world media. According to the sociological survey held by the Ilko Kucheriv foundation "Democratic Initiatives" in December 2013, the motives of joining to the protest (and respectively the values orientations) were divided in such a way: *Among the motives that induced people go to Maidan three proved to be the most prevailing: a violent beating of demonstrators on Maidan in the night of November 30 and repressions (70%), Victor Yanukovych's refusal to sign the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement (53,5%), and a desire to change life in the country (50%). Intentions to change public authorities in Ukraine were also rather strong (39%). Calls*

of the opposition were a stimulus for 5%, and the same percentage of people claimed to join Maidan to take revenge of authorities for their actions (Maidan 2013).

The values of Maidan, naturally, were reflected in its numerous mottos. Using analogy to the well-known inscriptions on the chewing gum wrappers *Love is..*, Euromaidaners tried to explain what Euromaidan was, to define it in their own words by combining these definitions with the funny images. Those posters were located on Internet and distributed on Maidan as a stylized wrapper-sticker, and the protesters could gather a collection of those wrappers, exchanging them with the other protesters, give it as a gift to a friend, glue it to a smartphone or a notebook. With the help of those definitions, Maidaners were trying to explain the values that united them and share this knowledge with a broader community. Those tendencies were a feature of a peaceful phase of the protest.

These posters conveyed the value of love – *Euromaidan is when she is worried, but also is proud of you*, peace – *Euromaidan is when a live Berkut policemen are the decorations for your photos*, freedom – *Euromaidan is when you say "no" to repressions*, personal responsibility and development – *Euromaidan is when it is you who changes the world*, unity of the state – *Euromaidan is when you see Ukraine united*, intelligence – *Euromaidan is when you recognize provocateurs*, hope – *Euromaidan is when you hope*, self-expression – *Euromaidan is to make your own strike placard*, kindness – *Euromaidan is to treat titushka with tea and cookies*, national pride – *Euromaidan is when the most beautiful Christmas tree stands in your country*, friendship – *Euromaidan is when a million of people are at your birthday party*; *Euromaidan is when a million of people stands for one who is hurt*; *Euromaidan is when you have a million of friends, and not in Facebook*; abundance – *Euromaidan is when you run away*

*from people who chase you with sandwiches*, mutual help – *Euromaidan is when strangers care about you*. In one of the definitions the values of truth and clean environment were combined – *Euromaidan is when you separate a truth and a lie, and a glass from plastic*. Some post-soviet values, for instance, a desire to get everything for free, also received a humorous expression – *Euromaidan is when you live for free in the center of Kyiv for weeks*.

At the later, final combat phase of the protest, the values of love and mutual help did not disappear. On the contrary, they remained to be the core ones. It is clearly shown in the series of valentine cards made by the Civic Sector of Euromaidan. Their visual part and short inscriptions-poems, stylized as confessions of love, were full of pacifistic calls – *leave your silly grenades, leave your shields for a scrap metal recycling, go and surrender to love*. According to those valentine cards, the ingredients of combat cocktails were human emotions – *Maidan is to make a cocktail adding freedom dignity again honor the truth and force courage love*. Along with the value of love, the importance of gratitude was highlighted in numerous slogans: *Thank you for a usage of protection; Thank you, the citizens of Kyiv, for a sincere support. Maidaners; Thank you for everything! You are our heroes!; Thank you for freedom!; Thank you, Ukrainian army, for liberation of Kramatorsk* (inscription found on the billboard in a liberated Kramatorsk, a city in Donbas, the original text is in Russian); *Ukraine thanks you* (gratitude expressed to Americans for adoption of the Act for support of Ukraine's freedom, the original text is in English) and in an ironic call to public authorities – *Thank you, we are fed up*. The information awareness, the importance of truthful information about events also could be considered as the Maidan values that were reflected in many mottos: *Your instrument is a cold mind, steel nerves and a hot heart!; Information is our protection; Our*

*weapon is publicity!*, and safety – both physical, as well as emotional, psychological – *Protection of free hearts; We'll protect our kids; Protect your people* and so on.

The series of stickers were introduced on which the Maidan values were emphasizing concrete social changes, such as law obedience, self-development, clean and aesthetic environment – *Maidan is honestly to pass exam to obtain a driving license; Maidan is to plant flowers at your porch; Maidan is to travel more within your country; Maidan is to treat your neighbor with something tasty; Maidan is to put an empty bottle into a garbage lot; Maidan is to park a car according to the rules, even if it is inconvenient; Maidan is to install licensed programs on your computer; Maidan is to clean after your dog on the street*.

One of the Automaidan leader Dmytro Bulatov recalls the values of Maidan like this: *I also came to Euromaidan. Because the European values are very important to me, because there the human being is in the center of these values. His or her life, health, rights and care about people close to you, mutual help – these are the highest values, and all this is not in words, but in deeds* – the original text is in Russian (Bulatov, 2014, p. 35).

However, the question what the European values are – nowadays remains open and to some extent rhetorical. In this context, correlation of the Maidan values with the European ones is questionable, because political, and especially geographical, Europe unites people with the different historical and cultural backgrounds, mentality and, respectively, values. Therefore, it is relevant to analyze the Maidan values in the context of the universal humanistic values. As Andriy Portnov rightly notes, *Regarding the pro-European rhetoric of Maidan, it is typologically similar to the vision of Europe as a space of supremacy of law, the social justice, and the freedom of movement and expression* (Portnov, 2014, p. 116).

Conventionality of such a rhetoric was demonstrated by poster that appeared in the period when Ukrainians were waiting for implementation of sanctions – the world community was constantly expressing its "deep concern" but was not in a hurry to take real measures. On the one hand, the poster, stylized as a letter, was an irony about the Europeanism of Ukraine – *Dear European Union and the United States of America! We no longer need your moral support. Act or fuck off. With Eurolove from EuroUkraine* (the original text is in English). On the other hand, that irony was bitter, as a signature *With Eurolove from EuroUkraine* point to the unfulfilled at that moment expectations of the European help and some disappointment – by this they say that they expressed their desire of European integration, but Europe does not support it. Hence, Maidaners started to realize the importance of a personal responsibility and efforts-making to achieve a better European level of life and political freedoms, which was revealed in a humorous motto – *You want to Europe – lift up your ass*. Pro-European rhetoric ironically was played in *kolomyjka* (short humorous poem) by Irena Karpa – *I was on maidan with euroflags, I vote for Europe by my hands and legs*.

In a special way a Maidan identity was created, and its values were crystallizing in a constant opposition to the purposes of participants on the other side of barricades – public authorities, Berkut riot militia, titushkas, and antimaidaners. Which were the mottos on the opposite side of the barricades? Contrary to the individualized creativity of the Maidan slogans, they were more typical and isolated. To give some examples, many participants of Antimaidan were holding the same printed placard *Stop Maidan* of the same format; whereas among the Maidan slogans were those that were more and less popular, some used by individuals and some by groups. With that in mind, the community called "Strike

Placard" uploaded to the Internet a device which enables to download and print out a poster, but it was also possible and desirable that the users add their own words to a poster. For example, various beginnings of a phrase were suggested – *I go for those who...*; *I go to...*; *I go because...*, and the protesters were finishing the phrases by themselves, printing placards and coming with them to the protest – *I go to get a sweet life outside Mezhyhirja* (Yanukovich's residence, nowadays a so called "museum of corruption"); *I go because freedom is above all!*; *I go because we worth it!*; *I go because I hate regionals* (representatives of the political Party of Regions). *I would like to shoot them!*; *I go for the future of my future kids!*; *I go for those who are already not with us and for those who will be born later*. In such a way a common idea received an individual expression that underlined the main values of the community – freedom and dignity.

Contrary to that, the rhetoric of Antimaidan often implied copying or copying via antithesis. For instance, after Yanukovich refused to sign the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement and the very first protests against his foreign policy were set in motion on the Independence Square in Kyiv, a similar demonstration was launched on the neighboring European square. The "pro-European demonstration-clone" was gathered by the Party of Regions, using the same symbolic attributes of the national blue and yellow and the European flags; a manipulative message of that meeting was the idea that Yanukovich indeed supports the pro-European vector in his foreign policy, but it is too early for us to go to Europe, Ukraine is not ready for this. A "cloning" feature of this rhetoric is clearly revealed in the following nominations: *maidan, Euromaidan – antimaidan; Maidaner, Euromaidaner – Antimaidaner; automaidan – antiautomaidan; automaidaner – antiautomaidaner*. It clearly indicates that Antimaidan

in general was not offering any of its proper views on the situation, but was only denying the Maidan ideas and ideals through contradiction. In the slogans *Euro = homo; No to eurohomointegration* and in a lexeme *Gayrope*, widely used by a Russian media and the Ukrainian sympathizers of Antimaidan, a manipulative pressure on the traditional values of the Ukrainian society was laid. Later on, the Antimaidaners were also copying a number of non-rhetoric revolutionary strategies for proclaiming the Donetsk and Luhansk People's Republics, such as in capturing the buildings of state administration and local public authorities.

Some signs of creativity did appear also inside the special division of Berkut militia. To illustrate this point, some berkuters decorated their shields with an inscription *Go to work!* (the original text is in Russian) or an ironic, borrowed from a mass culture slogan – *Here could be your advertisement!* (the original text is in Russian). Later, in a similar manner, the Maidan activists played with the second slogan within the rhetoric of Ukrainian resistance, applying it in a campaign that demanded the closing-up of a television channel "Inter" because of their New Year programme broadcast featuring the Russian pop-stars who supported military aggression in Ukraine. On a poster, a headstone was depicted with an inscription *Inter. 1996–2015. Here could be your advertisement*.

In the post-maidan period, in the times of Crimea annexation, the values of a united state gained a special meaning. It was revealed in the distribution of a slogan *United country* (the original text is both in Ukrainian and Russian languages); it was located practically on every Ukrainian TV-channel. This slogan can be observed in the context of a thesis about existence of the "Two Ukraines", a civilizational and a mental split between the West and the East, expressed by some of the Ukrainian intellectuals, in particular by Mykola Riabchuk.

Therefore, in the times of a war tension in the state, a real threat to its independence and territorial integrity, the society was experiencing the great need of consensus, of finding the common, not divergent, points. In this light, the journalists also created a video in which they supported the idea of a united Ukraine.

In that period, the anti-Russian rhetoric was also developing. This rhetoric was partially manifested already during Euromaidan in the slogans *Russia is for sad people* (the original text is in Russian); *I was sucked by a dangerous Russia and my life is a never-ending pipe* (the original text is in Russian). However, this rhetoric was naturally intensified after Crimea annexation and the war that was started in Donbas – *Putler* (which is a wordplay, a mixture of Putin and Hitler), *Stop lying and killing! Death to Russian occupants!* (the original text is in Russian); *Close the borders with Russia immediately!*; *Stop Russian terrorism!* During Crimea annexation, the placard with the image of matryoshkas, stylized as Russian soldiers, appeared with the inscription – *Go home!* (the original text is in English). Anti-Russian slogans are directed against the lie of Russian propaganda and the Russian aggression in Ukraine, therefore, the concept of Russia in it refers to the Putin's regime, the state system, not to the Russian people in general. These slogans are mainly formulated in English to attract attention of the global community – *Mariupol still says "no" to Russian occupation; Russia makes war, not peace. The Russian invasion of Ukraine 2014–2015; Russia, wake up, you're drunk; Stop Russian occupation*. On the other hand, on the pro-Russian meetings in Crimea, as well as in Donbas, the call *Russia!* was sounding.

In the post-maidan period, in the times of reforms, a clean-up of authorities became another important value that was conveyed in the slogans – *Nation for lustration!*; *Yes to lustration, no to imitation; Such a situation that we need lustration!*; *We demand lustration!*;

*Lustration or castration!*; *New faces to authorities!*; *Stop betraying Ukraine!* Demonstration calling for a clean-up of public authorities were accompanied by the actions of a "public lustration" when activists themselves were catching parliamentary members and leaving them inside the garbage lots. Aforementioned symbolic acts and expressions were aimed at showing that due to Maidan the public mechanisms of authorities control started developing. Critical thinking was represented as a particular value, along with a critical attitude towards the public authorities (and in particular, towards the activities of the current President Petro Poroshenko) and a special control over its representatives that reveals itself in demands to resign those who do not cope with their duties.

During the military conflict in Donbas, the value of a human life was also revived in the rhetoric of Ukrainian resistance, for instance in a slogan *Come back alive!* which was addressed to the soldiers of the anti-terrorist operation, as well as in the various actions of volunteers, the children's drawings for combaters. Also, the songs with a title *Come back alive* appeared (lyrics by Iryna Tsilyk, performance by "Telniuk Sisters" and "Kozak System" and another one – lyrics by Svitlana Tarabarova). In the Iryna Tsilyk's song the value of life is underlined not only in the context of soldiers' lives, but also the lives of the next generations: *Most importantly, come back and stay forever, and give life, plant, and build, and in your snub-nosed kid the new true joy will blossom*. In the song written by Svitlana Tarabarova, a pride for the Ukrainian soldiers is emphasized: *I am proud of you as proud is mother! I bow and silently pray: come back alive! Come back, soldier! I beg you, come back alive!*

Thus, the protest slogans reflected the identity of euromaidaners in the first place, and later of those people who supported the anti-terrorist operation, as well as their life

orientations and values. The matter of the shift of values, obviously, falls into the scope of sociology more, nevertheless, a linguistic analysis also provides a possibility to see its dynamics. The creativity on Maidan, especially a lingual one, during the protest events proves that the values of self-expression were dominant for maidaners. Finally, not only their slogans, but also a mutual help has shown that in the center of their values was an ordinary person, his or her life, rights and freedoms. ☺

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## „Razem jesteśmy siłą!” Tożsamości i wartości w sloganach Euromajdanu

#### Streszczenie:

W artykule przedmiotem badania uczyniono zagadnienia związane z tożsamością i wartościami obecnymi na sloganach w czasie Euromajdanu. Wyodrębnione zostały różne typy tożsamości, a także sposoby, za pomocą których były one wyrażanie, w tym tożsamość: płciowa, narodowa, regionalna, społeczna, europejska, itd. Zaprezentowano także spektrum wartości ważnych dla uczestników tych wydarzeń, w tym wartości miłości, przyjaźni, wzajemnej pomocy, wolności i godności. Różne, wyrażane za pomocą języka, reprezentacje tych tożsamości i wartości zostały przeanalizowane za pomocą narzędzi badawczych typowych dla jakościowej analizy dyskursu. Za materiał badawczy posłużyły slogany towarzyszące wydarzeniom, jakie miały wówczas miejsce na Majdanie.

#### Słowa kluczowe:

tożsamość, wartości, Euromajdan, slogany rewolucyjne, retoryka protestu.