

Отримано: 30 листопада 2025 р.

Прорецензовано: 15 грудня 2025 р.

Прийнято до друку: 18 грудня 2025 р.

email: yuliia.maslova@oa.edu.ua

ORCID ID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5568-8282>

email: uyanova.viktoria@onu.edu.ua

ORCID ID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2821-1833>

email: olga.yakovleva.1920@gmail.com

ORCID ID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7686-7637>

DOI: [http://doi.org/10.25264/2519-2558-2025-28\(96\)-31-39](http://doi.org/10.25264/2519-2558-2025-28(96)-31-39)

Maslova Yu. P., Ulianova V. O., Yakovlieva O. V. Conceptualisation of war as a national tragedy in Ukrainian newspaper discourse during the full-scale Russian invasion. *Наукові записки Національного університету «Острозька академія»* : серія «Філологія». Острог : Вид-во НаУОА, 2025. Вип. 28(96). С. 31–39.

UDC: 81'27:070(477)

Yuliia Maslova,
PhD, Associate Professor,
The National University of Ostroh Academy, Ostroh, Ukraine
Viktoria Ulianova,
PhD, Associate Professor,
Odesa I. I. Mechnikov National University, Odesa, Ukraine
Olga Yakovlieva,
Doctor of Philology, Professor,
Odesa I. I. Mechnikov National University, Odesa, Ukraine

CONCEPTUALISATION OF WAR AS A NATIONAL TRAGEDY IN UKRAINIAN NEWSPAPER DISCOURSE DURING THE FULL-SCALE RUSSIAN INVASION

The understanding and framing of the war as a national tragedy in the newspaper discourse of Ukraine necessitates a scientific interpretation, reflection and strategic vision of post-war reconstruction. Newspapers are a source of a large amount of facts and analysis, including reports, articles, and interviews, which provides readers with a deep understanding of events and topics, shapes cultural and social realities, and reflects national aspirations and narratives. The study used the descriptive method, the method of observation of the linguistic material of Ukrainian-language journalism, and component analysis to organise the verbalisers of the war conceptualisation. An associative experiment was conducted among young people to investigate associations with the word «war», which allowed us to identify the emotional and cognitive reactions of students.

Keywords: newspaper discourse, concept, communication, Russian-Ukrainian war, newspaper text.

Маслова Юлія Петрівна,
кандидат філологічних наук, доцент,
Національний університет «Острозька академія»
Ульянова Вікторія Олегівна,
кандидат філологічних наук, доцент,
Одеський національний університет імені І. І. Мечникова
Яковлєва Ольга Василівна,
доктор філологічних наук, професор,
Одеський національний університет імені І. І. Мечникова

КОНЦЕПТУАЛІЗАЦІЯ ВІЙНИ ЯК НАЦІОНАЛЬНОЇ ТРАГЕДІЇ В ГАЗЕТНОМУ ДИСКУРСІ УКРАЇНИ В ПЕРІОД РОСІЙСЬКОГО ПОВНОМАСШТАБНОГО ВТОРГНЕННЯ

Розуміння та фреймування війни як національної трагедії в газетному дискурсі України вимагає наукової інтерпретації, рефлексії та стратегійного бачення повоєнної відбудови. Газети є джерелом великої кількості фактів та аналітики, охоплюючи репортажі, статті та інтерв'ю, що забезпечує читачам глибоке розуміння подій та тем, формує культурні й соціальні реалії та репрезентує національні прагнення й наративи. У дослідженні використано описовий метод, метод спостереження за мовним матеріалом українськомовної журналістики та компонентний аналіз для організації вербалізаторів концептуалізації війни; проведено асоціативний експеримент серед молоді для дослідження асоціації зі словом «війна», що дозволило ідентифікувати емоційні та когнітивні реакції студентів.

Ключові слова: газетний дискурс, концепт, комунікація, російсько-українська війна, газетний текст.

Introduction. The conceptualisation of the war as a national tragedy in Ukrainian newspaper discourse during the full-scale Russian invasion reflects the interaction between media narratives, national identity and collective perceptions of wartime reality. The press presents the war through frames of heroism, resistance and the struggle for freedom, shaping collective memory and contributing to the construction of both the national self-image and the image of the enemy. Newspapers document the lived realities of wartime and influence the associative perceptions of young people, encoding key societal concepts in periods of crisis and forming a dense verbal and semiotic network of meanings. During the invasion, newspaper discourse has served not only as a primary source of information but also as a space for conceptualising the war, articulating values, norms and cultural interpretations. It highlights military and political dimensions while also addressing sociocultural and humanitarian consequences, emphasising human dignity and the protection of rights. Ukrainian newspapers frame the war through the lens of national unity and patriotism, express

condemnation of the aggressor and reflect international support. They function as a platform for expressing collective emotions such as anxiety, shock, pride, grief and indignation, and they reinforce societal cohesion in the struggle for independence and sovereignty.

It is noteworthy that in times of technical limitations (blackout), newspapers become a reliable source of information, so it is worth recalling M. McLuhan's famous aphorism «The medium is the message», which emphasises that the impact of the media is not so much in the content of the message as in the media technology itself, which changes the way people think and interact (McLuhan, 1964). In times of technical constraints, when electronic media may not be available due to lack of electricity and internet, print media remain accessible and become an important source of information. This emphasises their role as a stable and reliable media. Thus, M. McLuhan's statement is relevant in the context of using newspapers during times of technical constraints, emphasising the importance of understanding not only the content but also the form of media, which significantly affects the way people think and interact, especially in times of crisis.

Unlike fast-moving digital news, newspapers require more time to read and reflect on information, promoting deeper understanding and analytical thinking. They also stimulate a different form of social interaction, where people discuss what they read in the press in face-to-face conversations, for example, while in a shelter during a prolonged air raid when there is no internet connection.

A significant aspect of the conceptualisation of the war in the newspaper discourse is the modelling of the image of the «Ukrainian hero» as a representative of national identity, strength and endurance, which aims to encourage citizens to act, be active, determined and support the patriotic spirit. In war (and other extreme situations), existential resilience acts as the foundation for maintaining a structured everyday life. It not only allows individuals to uphold a sense of order in their world, but also combats the feelings of absurdity, cynicism, and nihilism that war breeds. These emotions permeate daily experiences, aiming to dismantle common sense and rationality. Existential resilience safeguards individuals from succumbing to an unbearable state of existence, where human life loses all meaning (Shevchuk et al., 2023). The newspaper discourse also explores the aspect of humanitarian aid during the war, focusing on the suffering of the civilian population, the value of human life, human dignity, and emotionally describing the destruction of infrastructure, etc. All of the above forms the image of the war in the «publicistic picture of the world» as a mega-tragic event that requires international attention and support for Ukraine from the entire civilized world.

The use of the Ukrainian language in newspapers not only as a means of communication, but also as a symbol of national unity, is becoming an important factor of consolidation. In the context of war, language becomes an effective tool of mobilisation, a way of distancing oneself from the aggressor and affirming cultural and national uniqueness. When analysing Ukrainian-language newspaper texts, we come across the use of linguistic strategies and tactics that authors use to conceptualise war, such as rhetorical figures, interjections, appeals, metaphors, paraphrases and other means of expression that influence the perception of events and shape the emotional reaction of readers. The concept of war in modern times has a rather high level of activation of polysemantic verbalisation, since the military reality of Ukraine has led to the expression of expressive nominations by all possible means of language. In the process of naming the war (based on the materials of the Ukrainian-language press), we can trace the emergence of political neologisms, professional military vocabulary and terminology. The war gave rise to a strong emotional national outcry, which is difficult to express in literary words, so the newspaper discourse intensified the use of profanity to nominate events, phenomena, objects, and actions in this conceptual field. The abundance of expressions of war in contemporary journalism clearly demonstrates the psychological state of Ukrainian society in times of social disturbance.

Theoretical perspectives. The role of the media in shaping public perceptions of war has aroused considerable interest among international and Ukrainian researchers. The media not only informs about events but also actively influences public opinion, in particular through the choice of topics, framing of information and creation of emotional content.

The linguistic and stylistic aspect of the study of newspaper discourse is covered by the works of A. Zahnitko (2007), O. Popkova (2020), L. Tishakova (2007), Y. Maslova (2023), O. Khoroshun (2014), M. Navalna (2011), N. Fairclough (1995) and others. The issue of linguistic objectification of various concepts in media discourse has been studied by Y. Maslova (2023), M. Skab (2007) and others. The symbolic language of the newspaper was described by O. Yakovlieva (2018). The attitude of Ukrainians to the war with Russia and reflection of this attitude in the discourse of daily life in wartime were described in the work «The Discourse of Daily Life during the War: the 2022 Ukrainian Projection» (Klymanska et al., 2023). Psychological analysis of attitude of the civilians of Ukraine toward military personnel in wartime were made in «Civilian Attitudes Toward the Military through the Prism of Personal Experience in Wartime Ukraine» (Klymanska et al., 2024).

Muriel Edelman in her work «The Construction of Political Spectacle» (1988) analyses the role of the media in shaping war as a political spectacle. According to her observations, the media not only selectively cover events, but also create certain frameworks (frames) for presenting information that affect the perception of the conflict. In particular, the focus on military heroism can obscure attention to civilian casualties, while the use of certain language and images can create an emotional impact that shapes public opinion and helps mobilise support or condemnation of the war.

Ruth Wodak and others in their book *The Discursive Construction of National Identity* reveal how the media contribute to the formation and maintenance of national identity through narratives of war. They use the method of critical discourse analysis to show how, through symbols, language and retrospective narratives, the media not only informs but also actively influences collective memory and ideological perceptions of war (Wodak et al., 2009).

George Lakoff in his work «Metaphor and War: The Metaphorical System Used to Justify the Gulf War» (1991), which examines how linguistic metaphors justify military action, argues that metaphors play a central role in shaping public opinion and support for war, as conceptual metaphors such as «fighting for justice» or «defending the nation» give legitimacy to the conflict.

Linguistic conceptualisation plays an important role in understanding the mechanisms of media discourse formation. Ukrainian linguistic conceptology, which was formed in the twentieth century, was represented by the works of such scholars as I. Holubovska (2016), A. Zahnitko (2010), L. Lysyenko (2004), Kosmeda (2010, 2013) and others. They laid the foundations for the study of concepts in the linguistic world view and their influence on public thinking. Researchers such as George Lakoff, Charles Fillmore, and Wallace Chafe have made a significant contribution to the development of cognitive linguistics by examining how concepts shape language and thinking.

The conceptualisation of the war as a national tragedy in the media discourse is based on the theory of social identity and the theory of mass communication. These theories raise the question of how the media explicate and interpret events, forming collective memory and promoting social cohesion. Depending on the channel of information transmission, Karpenko divides mass media discourse into mass media discourse of the press (or newspaper discourse) and mass media discourse of television, as well as mass media discourse of radio and mass media discourse of the Internet (Karpenko, 2018).

Traditionally, discourses are classified according to the way information is presented: television and radio discourse, newspaper discourse, theatre discourse, film discourse, literary discourse, advertising discourse, political discourse, religious discourse, and public relations discourse.

The sociolinguistic model of discourse typology is also worthy of attention, according to which newspaper discourse is seen as a type of mass information institutional discourse, the centre of which is the communication between journalist and reader. It is newspaper discourse that has become an important mechanism for shaping interpretations of military events and their impact on Ukrainian society, as this specific form of communication covers not only the transmission of facts but also the creation and maintenance of a certain image of events that can influence citizens' perceptions of the realities of military life. Newspaper discourse is based on the use of language and text structure to express opinions, assessments, and beliefs, and to create an image of events or phenomena.

One of the most essential features of newspaper discourse is the selection and processing of information. Editorial decisions, the choice of headlines and the structure of articles influence the way events are perceived and create a certain effect or impression. The language of newspaper texts used by journalists conveys the tone and mood that the reader feels when perceiving information. Also, newspapers represent certain values, stereotypes, beliefs and editorial policies that affect the perception of news by readers. This is a complex and significant aspect of mass communication, which is determined by the essential role of newspapers in shaping public opinion and shaping the socio-cultural environment during the war. Newspapers also play an important role in preserving historical memory. They document events that become part of history and provide future generations with an opportunity to understand the past. Through newspaper archives, we can study how societies developed, what issues were relevant in different periods, and how people and governments responded to them.

The conceptualisation of war in newspaper texts represents the process of forming and verbalizing concepts, ideas, terms, and categories related to military realities in various aspects – military, political, social, cultural and linguistic-philosophical. The concept of war is universal and nationally labelled for all cultures of the world. Given the complex and long struggle of Ukrainians for their independence, the conceptualisation of war acquires an extensive system of verbalization and explicates additional meanings through the context of the Ukrainian national experience. The concept of war is verbalized in newspaper discourse in a rather multivectoral and emotional way. In the context of Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine, the mother tongue is not only a means of communication, but also a powerful symbol of national identity, cultural heritage and national sovereignty.

To deepen the understanding of this concept, it is essential to outline the linguistic and cognitive organisation of newspaper discourse under wartime conditions. **1. Conceptual schemes (frames).** Frames, in the sense proposed by Ch. Fillmore, are mental structures that organise knowledge and facilitate the interpretation of events (Fillmore, 1982). In media discourse, they set the contextual parameters of perception, allowing readers to relate new information to established experiential models. E. Goffman's analysis demonstrates how framing structures everyday social reality (Goffman, 1974). Within wartime discourse, the war frame encompasses participants, the spatial dimension of hostilities, events, strategies, outcomes, and psychological factors, thereby guiding the interpretation of military actions and shaping evaluative responses. Through framing, the media establish the dominant optic of perception, intensifying its emotional impact via strategic lexical choices. **2. Cognitive metaphors.** Cognitive metaphors, following G. Lakoff, structure abstract concepts through concrete images, as the human conceptual system is fundamentally metaphorical (Lakoff, 1980). The war metaphor is widely used to conceptualise political, economic, or social processes, enhancing their dramatic and affective resonance. By transferring military terminology to other domains, journalists amplify patterns of fear, solidarity, or mobilisation. Joint works by Lakoff and Gentner demonstrate that metaphorical structures shape societal interpretations of crisis phenomena (Lakoff et al., 1987). **3. Cognitive models and scripts.** Scripts, according to Lakoff (1987), represent typical sequences of actions that enable the prediction of events. In newspaper discourse, they appear as crisis scenarios, heroisation scripts, or success narratives that organise representations of war and provide interpretive stability for the audience. **4. Categorisation.** Categorisation allows information to be systematised by assigning events to particular types («crisis», «victory», «threat»). The principle of cognitive economy, outlined by E. Rosch, presumes minimal cognitive effort for maximal informational output (Rosch et al., 1978). Through linguistic means, the press integrates events into pre-existing cognitive structures of readers. **5. Interpretive schemas.** Interpretive schemas ensure rapid processing of information by activating prior knowledge and experience. They regulate which events become salient and which remain peripheral, thereby influencing the formation of public evaluations and attitudes. **6. Social and cultural influences.** Social and cultural factors shape interpretive schemas by determining the broader context in which information is perceived: values, collective memory, linguistic traditions, and shared expectations inform culturally specific models of comprehending war. They create a unified communicative space and stabilise emotional reactions within society.

In sum, the linguistic and cognitive organisation of newspaper discourse defines the ways in which language structures collective thinking and the interpretation of wartime events. Evaluation, as a central component of discourse, operates both consciously and unconsciously: emotional responses emerge automatically, which corresponds to R. Lazarus's claim about the pre-reflective nature of evaluative processes (Lazarus, 1974).

A. Zahnitko defines evaluation as one of the deep principles of discourse organisation (Zahnitko, 2007, p. 61-62). A special place in the coverage of this issue is occupied by Zh. Krasnobaeva-Chorna's monograph on the functioning of evaluation in phraseology and the peculiarities of the linguistic representation of values at the phrase level of the axiological picture of the world. The study has an undeniable scientific novelty, is based on the concepts of linguistic axiology and is supported by a wide range of factual material from the Ukrainian and English languages (Krasnobaeva-Chorna, 2009).

Since any culture has the concepts of positive and negative, the researcher examines in detail the evaluation, which is an important element of the axiological world-view (Krasnobaeva-Chorna, 2009). The axiological picture of the world has its own dominants that

determine the type of culture supported by the language. It is a component of the linguistic, collective and individual consciousness, which can be described with the help of concepts as semantic formations that reflect the perception and understanding of a certain phenomenon in social reality (Mamysh, 2017). By examining the evaluative language used in media, we can gain insights into how language is employed to shape public perception and influence behaviour. This analysis can help us to understand the strategies used by politicians, journalists, and other public figures to persuade and manipulate audiences, as well as to develop critical thinking skills to evaluate the messages we encounter.

Methodology. The study employed a set of complementary methods to analyse the conceptualisation of war in contemporary Ukrainian newspaper discourse. The monitoring method served as the primary instrument for systematically collecting and examining newspaper materials published during the full-scale Russian invasion, enabling the identification of recurrent topics, dominant narratives and key linguistic patterns that structure the conceptual field of *war*. Methods of continuous sampling, classification and description were applied to extract and organise linguistic units representing the conceptual content, while observation of linguistic material and component analysis made it possible to systematise the verbalisers of the war concept and trace their semantic organisation in newspaper texts. To investigate the associative dimension of the concept *war*, an associative experiment was conducted, as this notion occupies a central place in the political, social and cultural experience of contemporary Ukraine. The associative method reveals cognitive, evaluative and emotional components underlying the national linguistic worldview and is widely used in psycholinguistics to uncover semantic and affective patterns activated by key stimuli. The survey involved first- to fifth-year students of the National University of Ostroh Academy and I. I. Mechnikov Odesa National University. Data were collected through the Mentimeter platform, which provides real-time visualisation of responses; participants accessed the survey using a digital code and provided one word or phrase associated with *war*, allowing the reconstruction of its associative field.

Results. The concept of war is presented in newspaper discourse with a variety of emotional perspectives. Every day in the news articles of the newspaper discourse, we record an extensive system of nominations, the core of which is the lexeme war: «In addition to people, the war brutally destroys nature» (Holos Ukrainy, 2022), «Zelenskyy told what determines the timing of the end of the war» (Holos Ukrainy, 2022). We can see a fair tendency of journalists to connote the war rather negatively: «I am strongly against this cruel and unjust russian invasion of Ukraine!» (Holos Ukrainy, 2022), «In the 21st century. Why is this war so cruel, cynical and savage?» (Vysoky Zamok, 2022), «Many children have seen with their own eyes the horrors of war and what even an adult psyche cannot withstand» (Uriadovyi Kurier, 2022).

There is also the use of aphorisms, phrases, paraphrases, and other figurative language units in newspaper texts: «Some die at war, and some make a profit from selling oil» (Uriadovyi Kurier, 2022), «We are on our own, God-given land, which we defend and protect. And whoever comes to us with a sword will die by the sword! (cf.: Live by the sword, die by the sword)» (Volyn, 2022), «With fire and sword, or One of the 'burners' of racist evil» (Halychyna, 2022), «As, after all, is the war, which is easy to start but difficult to stop» (Chornomorski Novyny, 2022).

Ukrainian newspapers play an important role in structuring national identity through the conceptualisation of war as a national tragedy. This conceptualisation is carried out through linguistic and semiotic mechanisms that convey the collective experience of war, evoking common emotions and a sense of belonging to the nation. The newspaper discourse thus functions as a mediator in the process of reproduction and reinterpretation of national myths and symbols, which strengthens social cohesion and national solidarity.

Journalists present their attitude to the war in epithetical phrases such as: senseless, liberation, merciless, ruthless, shameful, hybrid, terrible, great, large-scale war, cf.: «This tragedy and senseless war can take over your homes» (Uryadovy Courier, 2022), «It is safe to say that the Third World Hybrid War has begun...» (Radio Svoboda, 2022), «There are voices that this is a liberation war!» (Den, 2022), «The ruthless war took the life of Oleh Stepanovych Lytvynchuk» (Volyn, 2023), «There has never been a more shameful war» (Gazeta.ua, 2022), «A Mariupol girl who knows what a terrible war is not from films, but, unfortunately, from her own life» (Uriadovyi Kurier, 2022), «2022 was the year of the return of a large-scale war to Europe» (Gazeta.ua, 2023), «An undeclared, but no less a bloody war is claiming the lives of our compatriots every day» (Vechirnia Odesa, 2022). The conceptualisation of the war as a national tragedy in the newspaper discourse of Ukraine during the period of Russia's full-scale invasion is a vivid manifestation of the interaction between media narratives, national identity, and collective memory. The analysis of this phenomenon represents the complex role of the press in shaping public understanding of the war, from individual and collective heroism to national tragedy, including losses, moral and ethical dilemmas, and real challenges to national security and sovereignty.

The issues of war and women are present daily in various publications, including articles, reviews, and short notes in newspapers, which are framed within the system of femininities: «Military servicewomen in the Armed Forces of Ukraine are playing an increasingly important role – even in its combat units» (Halychyna, 2022), «For the first time in Ukraine, a military servicewoman successfully completed a qualification course for the Special Operations Forces and became part of a unit» (Ukraina Moloda, 2023), «The story of female officer Kateryna» (Den, 2022), «Female tank operators» (Ukrainska Pravda, 2022), «A female soldier with a story» (Den, 2020), «Gender does not matter: a female officer of the Volyn brigade told about her service» (Volyn, 2022), «A young military servicewoman died in Donbas» (Vysoky Zamok, 2022), «But the feeling that you are a heroine is worth all the money!» (Vysoky Zamok, 2021), «The heroine went to the enemy and counted enemy equipment» (Chas, 2022).

These examples reflect the important social role of women and the tragedy of the war. Newspaper narratives serve not only as a tool for informing the public but also as a means of constructing social reality, and levelling gender stereotypes, which affects the formation of collective ideas about war, heroism, and the concentration of joint efforts for victory. During the war, women took on a huge responsibility: some for their families and children, helping on the home front, many others at the front, taking up weapons and going to the hottest spots of hostilities to defend their families and homeland, and thus adopted new gender roles (Ulianova, 2021).

The image of a woman verbalised in newspaper discourse also represents the history of wartime women as a model of courage, bravery and independence, and at the same time a process of humiliation, loneliness, sacrifice, abuse, fear, horrors and rape, as seen in the following examples: «A russian soldier raped a woman and threatened her child» (Volyn, 2022), «There are many reports of rape of Ukrainian women by the occupiers» (Radio Svoboda, 2022), «Law enforcement officers announced suspicion to two russian scoundrels who raped a pregnant woman in Velyka Dymarka during the occupation» (Hromadsky Revizor, 2022), «Rashists

in Kherson region raped a 6-month-old girl» (Holos Ukrainy, 2022). These excerpts from newspaper articles highlight the horrific crimes committed by the Russian military against the civilian population of Ukraine during the war. They reflect profound violations of human rights and international humanitarian law, characterised by acts of sexual violence, including the rape of women and children.

In wartime in Ukraine, the authors of the articles actualise the images of a warrior of light, guardian angel, ascetic, superhero, aviation hero, soldier of the Armed Forces, and defender: «Warriors of Light» on the front line» (Holos Ukrainy, 2022); «Our guardian angels, knights of the sky, Ukrainian «ghosts». Let us thank the heroes-aviators who continue to defend Ukraine!» (Gazeta.ua, 2022.), «Warriors of light return it to the homes of Ukrainians» (Uriadovyi Kurier, 2022), «He will forever remain a warrior of light: a famous beekeeper from Ternopil region died at the battlefield» (Svoboda, 2022), «I was often asked: Have you seen a superhero? No, I used to say. And now I understand: my superhero is a Ukrainian soldier!» (Uryadovyi Kurier, 2022), «During the war, our children dream of getting an autograph not from Hollywood stars, but from the soldiers of the Armed Forces of Ukraine» (Holos Ukrainy, 2023.), «A lot of work has been done during the year since the full-scale invasion, but the war is not over, so the need for courage and strength of Ukrainian heroes is still as relevant as it was on the 24 February» (Vechirna Odesa, 2023), «Our sacred duty is to remember and honour the heroes who gave their lives for the future of Ukraine. After all, as long as we remember, our Heroes live with us. Eternal memory. Heroes do not die!» (Vechirna Odesa, 2023).

The glorification of defenders plays an important role in strengthening national identity by emphasising the importance of sacrifice for the sake of the higher ideals of freedom and independence. It not only honours their contributions and sacrifices, but also contributes to the creation of new national myths and heroes that become part of the collective national identity. The heroisation becomes a tool for affirming national values, such as courage, self-sacrifice, and love for the native land.

By using tropes, journalists emphasise their vision of various aspects of today's military life, highlighting essential features, and attributes of a person, object, and phenomenon they describe. The nature of the journalists' imaginative mindset is expressed in phraseological expressions: «One man in a field is no warrior» (cf: no man is an island) (Uryadovyi Kurier, 2016), «...one man in a field is no warrior – this is not about our Armed Forces of Ukraine» (Ukrayinska Pravda, 2014), «...and not without reason: «endure to the end, Cossack, – you will become an ataman!» (cf: Fortune favours the brave (the bold), or Latin expression: Fortes fortuna adjuvat) (Holos Ukrainy, 2014).

The nominations related to the enemy have an exclusively negative connotation and indicate anger, aggression, and hate. They are full of evaluative lexemes and phrases: «Russians are not a people, but beasts, boors, a wild horde of murderers and thieves. Truly, Katsaps are beasts. Fierce, bloodthirsty, but... mortal» (Ukraina Moloda, 2022), «Putin's bandits, by the way, are quite satisfied with the so-called 'special military operation' during the 'elections'» (Chernomorski Novyny, 2023), «Among the mobilised Russian military and their mercenaries fighting in Ukraine, one third are chronic drunks, alcoholics, drug addicts, homosexuals, mentally ill, suicidal, convicted murderers, rapists, robbers who have changed prison for war» (Ukraina Moloda, 2022). The analysis of newspaper materials shows that the construction of the image of the enemy is a central element in the creation of narratives about the liberation war. The media portrays the enemy not only as an external aggressor but also as a threat to national values, identity, and the existence of the Ukrainian state. This conceptualisation helps to mobilise society and strengthen the national spirit.

In the newspaper discourse, journalists present emotional connotations at the lexical level to create an image of the enemy through accurate emotionally evaluative verbs, adjectives, nouns, and comparisons: «The world is already fed up with the stench of putler's cave regime. These are not soldiers, they are murderers of civilians and state terrorists, they are bloodthirsty aggressive bastards who live from wars» (Kanal 33, 2022), «But Putin is a predator who is not satisfied with frozen food. And we must defend ourselves, our children, our homes, our lives» (Chernomorski Novyny, 2024), «Wild and unwashed moskals are running amok in Ukraine!» (Zvyagel, 2022), «At the request of the Ukrainian authorities, the enemy, for their further prosecution, should be called who they really are: by nationality and country; therefore, orcs, racists, horde, katsaps, moskals, muscovites, swamp unwashed scum, northern freaks, etc.» (Zvyagel, 2022), «The occupiers committed terrible crimes against children, women, the elderly, and animals. That is, they are absolute barbarians. And thank God that every Ukrainian has realised that the only way to confront this horde is through armed confrontation. That is, in the literal sense of the word, we have to destroy it» (Chornomorski Novyny, 2022), «The under-empire is coming to an end» (Vysoky Zamok, 2022), «The mad putler can only satisfy real fools» (Vysoky Zamok, 2022), «These are the tasks set by the World Club of Odesa residents immediately after the start of the full-scale invasion of our land by Russian fascists» (Vechirna Odesa, 2023), «The horde and the bastards who attacked our country are not human beings. Our people can go to the tanks with their bare hands, and they couldn't stop this insane Putin?» (Chernomorski Novyny, 2022), «Every day in Ukraine, including Odesa, sirens continue to howl, reporting another terrorist attack by racists. But no one doubts that the day of our Victory will come» (Chornomorski Novyny, 2024), «...which are now being demonstrated by the defenders of Ukraine's independence from Putin's Russia, we can be sure: we have defeated communism, we have defeated Nazism, we will defeat racism!» (Chornomorski Novyny, 2024).

Ukrainians are characterised by a high level of negative emotions towards the enemy, which is related to their freedom-loving nature, sense of justice and long-standing struggle with their aggressive neighbour: «We have European Square ahead of us, and our blue and yellow flags, not tricolours. Ahead is Volodymyr's Hill. In honour of our great knyaz, not their petty tsar» (Vechirna Odesa, 2023).

The construction of the enemy image in newspaper discourse during the war involves the use of various narrative strategies, symbolic codes, and rhetorical devices to create a polarised image of the 'other'. This process aims to create social cohesion within the in-group by focusing on the threats posed by the external aggressor, which will influence public consciousness and stimulate the mobilisation of public opinion against the enemy.

Rhetorical strategies, such as demonization, dehumanisation, and moralisation, play an important role in constructing the image of the enemy. Demonization includes the image of the enemy as absolute evil, while dehumanisation deprives the enemy of human qualities, presenting him as a threat not only to security but also to the existence of civilisation's values. Moralisation implies an understanding of war as a struggle between good and evil, where one's side acts as a defender of moral principles. Symbolic codes, such as metaphors, allegories, and symbols, are effective tools in creating an image of the enemy, allowing to abstract and generalise

individual events into universal concepts that are easily perceived and remembered by the audience. The use of such codes helps to consolidate the perception of the enemy, giving it certain negative characteristics that simplify the process of identifying the «other» and activate collective fears and antagonisms.

Journalists use zoo-lexemes to construct the image of the aggressor country and its bloodthirsty leader, as well as to make the enemy recognisable: «Putin's dogs are real pigs in real life» (Halyske slovo, 2022), «Today, russia resembles a predatory fox that climbed on the roof of a chicken coop and shouts that it has been attacked by chickens – Jen Psaki» (Chas, 2022), «moskals are bastards, they have always been aggressive, stupid, and cruel...» (Ukraina Moloda, 2019), «Russians, like locusts, are moving in the western direction» (Ukraina Moloda, 2022), «But this does not mean that the 'mustached cockroach' is ready to give any specific order for the Belarusian army to enter the war» (Gazeta.ua, 2022), «Ukrainians and the moscow dragon» (Holos Ukrainy, 2022), «And the grenade will soon be taken away from the monkey, and he will be put in a cage, on the bench of the UN International Tribunal. Where a bloodthirsty monster who has been committing crimes against humanity for a very long time and with impunity should be sitting» (Kanal 33, 2022), «The Cyclop will not get enough» (Vysoky Zamok, 2022), «Experts say that Putin has been fighting his feelings of inferiority all his life, constantly demonstrating that he is strong, that he is a dominant alpha male» (Ukraina Moloda, 2023), «Hundreds of thousands of Ukrainian men and women have joined the ranks of the Armed Forces and are 'sobering up' the wild russian bear every day» (Kanal 33, 2022), «The crazy monkey with the grenade was a 'racist bear'» (Kanal 33, 2022), «And this is when the racist bear is roaring and snarling along our border» (Den, 2021), «How many more victims do we need for the world to understand the real threat of the northern monster?» (Svoboda, 2022).

The above examples eloquently testify to the highest level of emotions (emotionally evaluative verbs, adjectives, nouns, etc.) and deep feelings of the authors of newspaper texts addressed to a heterogeneous readership of Ukrainians. They are aimed at forming an unequivocal negative attitude and negative assessment of the war as a national tragedy that was artificially created and imposed on Ukrainians by the aggressor country.

Considering the relevance of the research topic, we set out to identify and describe not only the fundamental mental formations, i.e. the concepts generated by the war that materialised in newspaper texts in our country, but also to survey students to analyse the reaction of young people to this tragedy.

Therefore, to gain a deeper understanding of the socio-cultural, psychological and political aspects of war and its impact on society, we conducted a survey to identify the semantic content of the associative field of the word 'war'.

As a result of the survey, we received more than fifty reactions caused by the stimulus word war (see Figure 1). Most of the reactions are represented by the following lexical items: death, tears, pain, fear, anxiety, trauma, violence, despair, madness, grief, hatred, loss, destruction, loneliness, depression, sadness, anger, overwhelm. All of them have negative connotations and demonstrate emotions of anxiety, tension, despair, depression etc.

Please write down the associations that you have with the word 'war'.
296 responses



Figure 1. Associations caused by the word stimulus 'war': results of a survey of 296 respondents (2025, September-October) in the form of a word cloud (Mentimeter).

Source: Own research with usage of Mentimeter

Most of the respondents expressed their reactions with nouns (destruction, struggle, enmity, violence etc.), and we also recorded two adjectives that our respondents associated with the word «war»: nuclear and full-scale. It should be noted that among the reactions of young people there were also associations with positive connotations (freedom, independence, victory, heroism, courage, strength, fearlessness, bravery, indomitability), which indicates that Ukraine perceives the war as national liberation and just. And the reactions expressed by lexemes with negative connotations – racism, genocide – confirm this fact.

The categorical and unambiguous condemnation of the war, the highest emotional level of negative assessment in the statements of young people can be explained by the political ideology of Russia. The political ideology of Russia is based on the special civilisational mission of Russia (this term is used by American historian Timothy Snyder), the «seniority of the brotherly people», intolerance to elements of the culture of other nations; totalitarianism and imperialism, the use of Russian Orthodoxy as a moral doctrine, and geopolitical instruments.

Among the reactions of the students who participated in our survey were lexemes that name the attributes of war, such as weapons, bombs, shelter, sirens, missiles. The last three lexemes in the context of war have an undoubtedly negative evaluation, while the lexeme weapon, can have both positive and negative connotations. For example, in her research, Y. Vasyanovych (2020)

notes a neutral evaluative reaction to the lexeme war, but given that the author conducted her study before the full-scale invasion, we have different results.

In our experiment, young people interpreted the lexeme weapon with positive connotations as a symbol of the effective struggle of Ukrainians against Russian invaders in the following context: if there are weapons, there will be victory.

The next thing that deserves attention is that the recipients often used lexemes denoting family relationships in their responses, such as mum, dad, sister, brother, family. The most frequent word in their responses was dad. The presence of such lexemes in the responses indicates that for today's young Ukrainians, just as for our ancestors, family, and family values are extremely important, and this sense of family and security is passed down from generation to generation. It is understandable why the most frequent word among the words with the meaning of family relationships was dad. Defending the homeland and fighting the invaders who have been encroaching on Ukrainian territory since ancient times is the primordial duty of men, although women are now serving in the Armed Forces of Ukraine.

Among the answers was the phrase: «How are you?», which has acquired a kind of symbolic meaning during the war. It is with this phrase that Ukrainians express their care and love for their relatives and friends. This question has become synonymous with the phrase: «I love you». There was even a website for psychological support with a corresponding name: <https://yakty.com.ua/>.

Thus, the full-scale war with Russia causes anger, indignation, hatred, anxiety, fear, horror, pride for Ukraine and its army in the majority of Ukrainian students. The results of the experiment suggest that, firstly, surveyed Ukrainian students, like other segments of the country's population, perceive the war as a terrible national tragedy that disturbs and causes strong negative emotions; secondly, from the point of view of Ukraine, it is a national liberation and just war. According to a survey conducted by the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology, a full-scale war with Russia mainly causes anger/indignation/hate/disgust (53%), pride for Ukraine and its army (52%), and anxiety/fear/terror (38%) among Ukrainians.

Discussion. A comparative analysis of the scientific works published on this topic shows that there are different methodological approaches and emphases in the study of the linguistic conceptualisation of war. Despite the common goal of these works is to study the representation of war through linguistic mechanisms, their objects and research focuses differ significantly. The article by Pavlushenko O. A. «Semantic Field of the Concept of «Russian-Ukrainian War» in the Ukrainian Media Space of the Wartime Period» (Pavlushenko, 2023) focuses on the semantic field of the concept of «Russian-Ukrainian war» in the digital media space of Ukraine.

The author reconstructs the structural model of the concept, identifying thematic groups of verbalisers and analysing their frequency. The main emphasis is placed on the structural and lexical analysis, which provides systematisation and quantitative measurement of linguistic means. Scientific work by Kostusiak N. M., Shulska N. M. and Kostrytsia N. M. «Metaphorical Verbalisation of the Concept of «War» in Modern Media Headlines» (Kostusiak et al., 2022) is devoted to the identification of key metaphorical models in media headlines. The authors explore the functional potential of metaphors, considering them as a means of expressing texts and forming emotional resonance. This approach focuses on the cognitive and pragmatic aspects of media communication.

Research by Nitspol V. I. «Metaphorical Conceptualisation of War in American Media Discourse (Based on Articles on the Russian-Ukrainian War)» (Nitspol, 2023) is aimed at analysing the metaphorical conceptualisation of war in the American information space. The author identifies productive structural, ontological and orientational metaphors, such as War Is A Game, War Is A Disease, And Ukraine Is Up And Russia Is Down, demonstrating how metaphorical models reflect the cultural and mental peculiarities of American society. Our study focuses on the conceptualisation of the war as a national tragedy reflected in the Ukrainian-language newspaper discourse. The emphasis is on the analysis of socio-cultural aspects, in particular the impact of the war on collective memory, the formation of national identity and the heroisation of the people. The use of an associative experiment, modern analysis tools (Google Trends, Mentimeter), as well as semantic analysis of frames, metaphors, and scenarios made it possible to understand the emotional and cognitive dimension of this phenomenon. Ideological narratives, media images of heroes and enemies, as well as gender aspects in martial law were studied separately. A common feature of all the works under consideration is the emphasis on the important role of language as a means of shaping public perception of war. At the same time, these studies differ in their focus and approaches: Pavlushenko O. A. conducts a structural analysis of the concept in the Internet discourse; Kostusiak N. M., Shulska N. M. and Kostrytsia N. M. analyse metaphorical models in media headlines; Nitspol V. I. studies metaphorical conceptualisation in the Western information space; our study integrates the socio-cultural, cognitive and pragmatic dimensions, offering a comprehensive approach to the study of the concept of war. This multidisciplinary approach is a testament to the relevance and multifaceted nature of this topic in the current period of global transformations and crises.

Conclusions. Newspapers, through narratives of heroism, civilian suffering, destruction and loss, continue to play a vital role in preserving historical truth and shaping collective memory during the full-scale war in Ukraine. As a key medium of public communication, newspaper discourse has become a central mechanism for interpreting military events and their societal implications. A newspaper article, viewed as a linguistic text, not only reports facts but actively constructs perceptions of wartime reality, contributes to national consciousness and supports social mobilisation, particularly when other channels of information are limited due to technical constraints. The conceptualisation of war in newspapers involves the formation and verbalisation of ideas and categories associated with military experience, producing an emotionally charged and multidimensional representation of the concept *war*. This process relies on core elements of linguistic and cognitive organisation, including frames, cognitive metaphors, models and scripts, categorisation, interpretive schemas and socio-cultural influences, which together structure knowledge, guide interpretation and shape collective patterns of understanding. Analysis of linguistic material shows that newspaper discourse forms an extensive nominative system centred on the lexeme *war*. Adjectival nominations dominate, while noun and adverbial forms appear less frequently; figurative units such as aphorisms, phraseological expressions and paremias intensify evaluative meanings; epithetical constructions convey public attitudes; femininities verbalise women's wartime experiences; exclamatory syntax enhances expressivity; and zoo-lexemes construct the negative image of the aggressor state. Ukrainian soldiers are consistently portrayed through elevated figurative nominations such as *superhero*, *guardian angel* or *warrior of light*, whereas the enemy is depicted through coarse, emotionally marked lexemes atypical of neutral journalistic style. The associative survey demonstrates that most

reactions to the stimulus *war* are negatively connoted nouns expressing anxiety, tension and despair; however, a number of positive associations indicate that young Ukrainians perceive the war as a just national liberation struggle. The lexeme *weapon* carries a positive meaning as a symbol of effective defence, and frequent References to family relations highlight the centrality of family values in Ukrainian cultural consciousness. The data also reveal that radio remains the leading traditional medium, while newspapers and magazines maintain their significance as trusted sources of information, particularly under martial law. Young audiences rely on diverse media, including state, independent and digital sources, and prioritise verification and critical evaluation of information in the context of hybrid warfare and intensive anti-Ukrainian propaganda. Future research should include continuous monitoring of leading Ukrainian media to trace evolving societal assessments of the war and to examine emerging linguistic phenomena, including new lexical units, syntactic patterns of verbalisation and broader issues within pragmalinguistics and text linguistics.

References:

1. Chafe, W. L. (1994). *Discourse, consciousness, and time: The flow and displacement of conscious experience in speaking and writing*. University of Chicago Press.
2. Edelman, M. (1988). *Constructing the Political Spectacle*. University of Chicago Press.
3. Fillmore, J. (1982). *Frame semantics*. In *Linguistics in the morning calm: Selected papers from the SICOL-1981* (pp. 111-112). Seoul: Hanship.
4. Goffman, E. (1974). *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organisation of Experience*. Harvard University Press.
5. Holubovska, I. (2016). Lingvokulturni kontsepty u movnij kartini svitu ukrainskogo etnosu [Linguocultural concepts in the linguistic picture of the world of the Ukrainian ethnos]. In A. Arkhangel'ska (Ed.), *XX – XXI centuries: genre-style linguistic metamorphoses in the Ukrainian language and literature: a collective monograph* (pp. 71–95). Olomouc: VUP.
6. Karpenko, Y. (2018). Gazetnyi dyskurs yak typ masovo-informatsijnogo dyskursu [Newspaper discourse as a type of mass information discourse]. *Studia-linguistica*. <http://studia-linguistica.knu.ua/gazetnij-diskurs-jak-tip-masovo-informacijnogo-dyskursu>.
7. Klymanska, L., Klimanska, M., & Haletska, I. (2023). The Discourse of Daily Life during the War: the 2022 Ukrainian Projection. *Journal of Education Culture and Society*, 14 (1), 526-550. <https://doi.org/10.15503/jecs2023.1.526.550>
8. Klymanska, L., Malachivska-Danchak, M., Klimanska, M., & Haletska, I. (2024). Civilian Attitudes Toward the Military through the Prism of Personal Experience in Wartime Ukraine. *Journal of Education Culture and Society*, 15(2), 43-65. <https://doi.org/10.15503/jecs2024.2.43.65>
9. Kosmeda, T., Plotnikova, N. (2010). Lingvokonceptologija: mikrokoncepto sfera sviatky v ukrainskomu movnomu prostori [Linguistic conceptology: the microconceptsphere of holidays in the Ukrainian language space]. Lviv: Pais.
10. Kosmeda, T. (2013). Systema reprezentyvanjkh aksiolohichno markovanykh smysliv: obraz-kontsept «Voda» (na materiali slovnyka «Halytsko-ruski pryrovidyky») [System of represented axiologically labelled meanings: image-concept «Water» (on the material of the dictionary «Halychynan-Rus' proverbss»)]. *Odesa Linguistic Bulletin*. Issue 2. pp. 59-72. http://nbuv.gov.ua/UJRN/olinv_2013_2_9
11. Kostusiak N. M., Shulska N. M. and Kostrytsia N. M. (2022) Metaphorical Verbalisation of the Concept of «War» in Modern Media Headlines. *Scientific Bulletin of the International Humanitarian University*. Series: Philology. No. 56. 60-65
12. Krasnobaeva-Chorna, Zh. (2009). *Suchasna kontseptologija : kontsept ZHYTTIA v ukrainskii frazematsi : monohrafiia* [Modern conceptology: the concept of LIFE in Ukrainian phraseology : a monograph].
13. Lakoff, G. (1980). *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. (242 pp.)
14. Lakoff, G. (1987). *Women, fire and dangerous things: What categories reveal about the mind*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
15. Lakoff, G. (1991). Metaphor and War: The Metaphor System Used to Justify War in the Gulf. *Peace Research*, 23(2), 25-32.
16. Lazarus, R. S. (1974). Cognitive and Coping Processes in Emotion. In B. Weiner (Ed.), *Cognitive Views of Human Motivation*, pp. 45-56. New York: Academic Press.
17. Lysychnenko, L. (2004). Struktura movnoi kartyny svitu [Structure of the linguistic picture of the world]. *Linguistics*, 5-6, 36-41.
18. Mamych, M. (2014). Komponenty tsinnisnoi kartyny svitu v movi zhinochoho zhurnalu [Components of the value picture of the world in the language of a women's magazine]. *Linguistic studies: Collection of scientific papers of H.S. Skovoroda Kharkiv National Pedagogical University*, 38, 111-115.
19. Maslova, Y. (2023). Verbalizatsiia kontseptiv viina, myr, zhinka, cholovik u gazetnomu dyskursi Ukrainy u voiennyi period [Verbalisation of the concepts of war, peace, woman, man in the newspaper discourse of Ukraine in the war period]. *Scientific Notes of the National University of Ostroh Academy: Series "Philology"*, 17(85), 71–77. [https://doi.org/10.25264/2519-2558-2023-17\(85\)-71-77](https://doi.org/10.25264/2519-2558-2023-17(85)-71-77)
20. Maslova, Y. (2023). Rerezentatsiia zoomorfnoi metafory v suchasnomu gazetnomu ukrainskomovnomu dyskursi voiennoho periodu [Representation of the zoomorphic metaphor in the modern Ukrainian-language newspaper discourse of the wartime period]. *Topical Issues of the Humanities: Interuniversity Collection of Scientific Papers of Young Scientists of Ivan Franko Drohobych State Pedagogical University*. Drohobych: Helvetica Publishing House. Issue 60. Vol. 3. 102–108. <https://doi.org/10.24919/2308-4863/60-3-16>
21. Maslova, Y. (2023). Paremiolohichni odynyty v suchasnomu gazetnomu dyskursi Ukrainy voiennoho periodu: pragmatychnyi efekt [Paremiological units in the modern newspaper discourse of Ukraine during the wartime period: pragmatic effect]. In *Scientific Notes of the National University of Ostroh Academy: Philology Series*, 298–302. Ostroh: NaUoA Publishing House. [https://doi.org/10.25264/2519-2558-2023-17\(85\)-298-302](https://doi.org/10.25264/2519-2558-2023-17(85)-298-302)
22. McLuhan, M., Fiore, Q. (1968). *War and Peace in the Global Village*. Bantam Books.
23. McLuhan, M. (1964). *Understanding media: the extensions of man*. Signet Books.
24. Nitspol V. I. (2023). Metaphorical Conceptualisation of War in American Media Discourse (Based on Articles on the Russian-Ukrainian War). *Philological Sciences. Scientific Notes of Vasyl Stefanyk Precarpathian National University*. Vol. 21. 45-52. DOI: 10.15330/philnauki.2023.21.45-52
25. Pavlushenko O. A. (2023) Semantic Field of the Concept of «Russian-Ukrainian War» in the Ukrainian Media Space of the Wartime Period. *Actual Problems of Philology and Translation Studies*. Issue 27. 89-93
26. Rosch, E., & Lloyd, B. (1978). Principles of Categorisation. In E. Rosch & B. Lloyd (Eds.), *Cognition and Categorisation* (pp. 24-47). Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum.
27. Shevchuk, D., Lebediuk, V., & Mozol, M. (2024). Cognitive «Noise» in the Political Judgements of Youth. *Youth Voice Journal*, 14(3), 150-161. DOI: 10.13140/RG.2.2.31046.4896
28. Shevchuk, D., Shevchuk, K., & Zaitsev, M. (2023). Existential resilience of human being in the wartime everyday life. *Journal for the Study of Religions and Ideologies*, 22(65), 28-42.
29. Skab, M. (2007). Slovtovirni potentsii slova yak konceptovyrazhalnyi zasib [Word-forming potentials of the word as a conceptual and expressive means]. *Bulletin of Vasyl Stefanyk Precarpathian National University*. Philology, XV-XVIII, 478–482.
30. Ulianova, V. (2021). Stereotypy radianskoi i postradianskoi feminnosti [Stereotypes of Soviet and post-Soviet femininity]. *Language*, (35), 45–49. <https://doi.org/10.18524/2307-4558.2021.35.237862>
31. Vasyanovych, E. (2020). Psyholingvistichnyi analiz asociatyvnoho polya viina yak fragmentu movnoi kartyny svitu ukrainskykh studentiv-humanitariv [Psycholinguistic analysis of the associative field war as a fragment of the linguistic picture of the world of Ukrainian

humanities students]. *Scientific Notes of Vernadsky TNU. Series: Philology. Social Communications*, 31(70), 1, Part 1. <https://doi.org/10.32838/2663-6069/2020.1-1/03>

32. Wodak, R., de Cillia, R., Reisigl, M., & Liebhart, K. (2009). *The Discursive Construction of National Identity* (2nd ed.). Edinburgh University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9780748637355>

33. Yakovlieva, O. (2018). Symvolna mova gazety (na materiali ukrainskoho suspilno-politychnoho tyzhnevnyka «Dzerkalo tyzhnia») [Symbolic language of the newspaper (based on the material of the Ukrainian socio-political weekly Dzerkalo Tyzhnia). *Young scientist: Scientific journal*. № 9.1 (61.1), 157-160.

34. Zahnitko, A. (2010). Klasyfikatsiini tipolohii kontseptiv [Classification typologies of concepts]. *Linguistic studies*. 21, 12–21. http://nbuv.gov.ua/UJRN/lingst_2010_21_4.

35. Zahnitko, A. (2007). Suchasnyi politychnyi hazetnyi dyskurs: rytoryka i sintaksys [Modern political newspaper discourse: rhetoric and syntax]. *Donetsk Bulletin of the Shevchenko Scientific Society*. Donetsk: Eastern Publishing House. 16. 5–19.